

WHAT ABOUT THE WOMEN ?
ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY & THE HIGHER
EDUCATION OF WOMEN C.1862 - 1914

MICHAEL PENMAN

'What about the Women?'
**St.Andrews University & the Higher
Education of Women c.1862-1914.**

by Michael A Penman



This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a
Master of Arts (Honours) Degree in Scottish History at St.Andrews
University.
Michael A. Penman, February 1995.

Acknowledgements

Undertaking this study has been an enjoyable learning experience and one made all the more pleasurable by the help I received from many people in the course of my work.

Most especially I would like to thank my supervisory tutor Dr Catriona Burness, whose fascinating Honours course 'Hidden From History: Women in Scotland c.1800-1990' first made me aware of the history of the Women's Higher Education Movement. Dr Burness's advice, constructive criticism and historical knowledge have been available, invaluable, inspiring and reassuring at all times.

I was also delighted to find so many archivists interested in this topic. In particular, I would like to thank the staff of St. Andrews University Muniments. To Mr Robert Smart of that Department I am indebted for his expert knowledge and advice on sources, personalities and events relevant to the University, the LLA, and women students; I am also grateful for access to his own research on the first year of women students at St. Andrews and UCD reproduced in Table 8. Mrs C. Gascoigne and Mrs P. Jackson of St. Andrews also kept me right and were always enthusiastic to help me locate further sources, as were the service staff of the University Library.

I would also like to thank Mrs Jane Auld and Mr Michael Bolik of Dundee University Archives for their help with sources, and Dr. Lawrence Williams of Dundee University's Modern History Department who advised me on some 19th century educational questions. Many thanks also to Miss Jane Liston and the rest of the staff of the Hay Fleming Scottish History Reference Library, St. Andrews; to Mrs Jane Pirie of Aberdeen University's Special Collections and Archives; and to the staffs of the National Library of Scotland and Edinburgh University Library.

I must also say a special thank you to Mrs Rosemary Muir-Wright the current Warden of University Hall, St. Andrews, for allowing me to examine the materials held in the Hall. I am also grateful to Mrs Muir-Wright's predecessor Miss L.E.M. Walker, who is currently preparing a centenary book on the history of the Hall, for helping me with some questions about women students.

Without the generous funding of a Carnegie Scottish Universities Trust Vacation Scholarship I would not have been able to dig through the necessary archives in St. Andrews: I would like to thank that body for the opportunity to gain such experience in primary source research. I discovered far more material than I had originally expected; hopefully this may prompt further research into women in higher education both at St. Andrews and in general.

Finally, I would like to say a last big thank you to my parents and to Angela.

Chapter One: Why St. Andrews University?

"In the Women's Movement there were always three great fights going on - First Education, then Medicine, then the Suffrage for Women." ¹

Lady Frances Balfour (1858-1931).

It is only as a result of recent research that an understanding has been approached of the position of women in the Victorian and Edwardian Scottish education system.² Broadly, these studies have demonstrated that until the last quarter of the 19th century the beloved national tradition of equal educational opportunity from parish schools to a University for all classes was a fallacy for Scottish women. Furthermore, after the 1872 Education Act and right up until the present day change and progress in the opportunities for girls and women in Scotland's National Education system have always been seen to be conditioned and thus limited by contemporary perceptions of gender.³

However, from c.1870 to 1914 numerous campaigns were pursued to secure greater provision, equality and improvements in female education at elementary, secondary and higher levels. These efforts perhaps reflected the hopes of middle-class women especially that education would prove a far quicker, more tangible cause and effect of social, economic, and personal change for the good in the lives of women crucially of all social classes, than would say the Suffrage movement. ⁴

¹ Quoted by E.Gordon in 'Women's Spheres' in 'People & Society in Scotland Vol II 1832-1914', John Donald 1987 P. 226.

² See Sheila Hamilton, 'Women and the Scottish Universities c.1869-1939 - A Social History' [unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Edin.Uni. 1987]; L.Moore, 'The Scottish Universities & Women Students c.1862-92' in J.Carter/D.Withrington eds. 'The Scottish Universities: Distinction & Diversity' JD 1992; See below P.2 n6, n7, n8..

³ See S.Brown, 'Research on Gender in Education: Monitoring Bleakness or Instigating Change?' in *Scottish Affairs* 5 Autumn 1992.

⁴ Indeed, echoing Lady Balfour's prioritisation, education and teaching have recently been underlined as a 'borderland' of activity, the penetration of which by moderate feminists was more readily accepted by Victorians than that by women into Medical practice, politics and most of the other professions. This "borderland" concept involves a recent revaluation of the Separate Sphere gender models of the private, domestic sphere of women and the public, work sphere of men as one too over-simplified to account for the ambiguity and variegation of women's activity at home and work in the 19th century; discussed in A.Digby, 'Victorian Value & Women in Public and Private' in T.C.Smout ed., 'Victorian Values' OUP 1992.

Yet for individual women in this period such change was not achieved overnight. Rather it inevitably differed across different social classes and geographical areas and at Elementary, Secondary, Higher and vocational education levels. And it came slowly in the face of numerous obstacles. Recent studies have thus rightly emphasised the importance of various campaigns by middle-class women 'pioneers' and sympathetic male educationalists in Britain to extend and improve female education provision in forms perceived as suitable for the 'sphere' of girls and women of each class at each level.

The increasing emphasis placed on the three Rs and more systematic domestic training than just needlework for Scottish working-class and middle-class girls in compulsory elementary state schools after 1872 has been discussed elsewhere.⁵ Here though, stress should be placed on the disadvantages gifted girls in these schools continued to face in studying Classics and Mathematics alongside boys preparing often for one of Scotland's four ancient Universities.⁶ Similarly, before 1872 Secondary schooling and a continuum of post-elementary learning up to University "can scarcely be said to have any place in the educational economy of Scotland" for either gender in private or parish schools.⁷ But thereafter where such a system was developed, for girls this was usually only through private study, or in middle-class fee-paying Girls' Day schools, or in state Higher Grade Burgh schools for boys *and* girls where a limited academic curriculum replaced the traditional female 'acclompishments' of Governesses and Dame schools.⁸ In the eyes of School Boards, Governors and parents the curricular needs of boys continued to come first as most girls were expected to leave school early

⁵ See L.Moore, 'Educating for the Women's Sphere: Domestic Training versus Intellectual Discipline' in E.Gordon/E.Breitenbach eds. 'Out of Bounds' EUP 1992; H.Corr, 'The Schoolgirls' Curriculum & the Ideology of the Home 1870-1914' in Glasgow Women's Studies Group, 'Uncharted Lives' Press Gang 1982.

⁶ L.Moore, 'Invisible Scholars: Girls Learning Latin & Mathematics in the Elementary Schools of Scotland Before 1872' in *The History of Education*, 13,II,1984. In Scotland in 1851 5.4% of school girls[1 in 19] were taught Latin; 1 in 58 were taught Maths. Typically this was only in rural schools where there was only one school Master and before the appointment after c.1850 of women as sewing and infant mistresses. In England in 1851 one in 369 girls were taught Latin and 1 in 249 Maths.

⁷ 1873 Colbrooke Commission cited in R.D.Anderson. 'Education & Opportunity in Victorian Scotland' p.175.

⁸ See R.D.Anderson *IBID.* and 'Secondary Schools & the 19th C in Scotland', *Past & Present*, 109,1985; J.Scotland 'The History of Scottish Education' Vols I,II, passim; J.Fewell & F.Paterson eds.'Girls in their Prime - Scottish Education Revisited', passim, SAP 1990; Eleanor Patrick, 'Women & Post-Elementary Education in Scotland 1872-1918', MA Hons.Dissertation St.Andrews UN, 1982. For the narrow female culture of the 18th and 19th centuries see R.Marshall *op.cit.* Part 3; E.Grant, 'Memoirs of a Highland Lady' 1898 (Canongate 1989 ed.).

for domestic service, non-skilled work or marriage (to become a Mother and housewife or 'ornament' depending on her social class); those gifted girls who did stay on at school typically became governesses or teachers in 'Dame', infant or industrial schools.

It is fair to say therefore that the campaign for Women's Higher Education was disadvantaged as much both by the shortcomings of girl's primary and secondary schooling and the general position of women as by the exclusion of women from Scotland's four ancient Universities until 1892. Certainly, before the state educational reforms of c.1889 to 1905 there was little effort made on a *national* scale to systematically link and raise the standard of female education at all three levels. However, women higher education pioneers arguably had more vocational ends in sight - which linked their efforts to girls elementary and secondary schooling - than just their equal admission to University learning and degrees as a means of adequately testing knowledge pursued for leisure. For after the 1872 Education Act there was a great mutual demand for women elementary teachers and for respectable jobs in teaching, and social or clerical work, to allow a surplus of women of working-class and middle-class background to support themselves.⁹ Significantly, although there was also some need for women Secondary teachers in Girls' private Day schools, the categorisation of women especially as suitable infant teachers - a patriarchal view shared by Victorian men and women - further engendered and limited girls' schooling and female teacher training. As a result of the same socialisation there had arguably been a female moral force argument - so as to improve the treatment of women and children - behind the demands of women pioneers to study medicine. The latter campaign formed the original focus of the Women's Higher Education movement.

In this context a focused study of St.Andrews University's contribution to the women's Higher Education movement is surprisingly absent.¹⁰ The movement

⁹ In 1851 65% of Teachers (certificated and Uncertificated) were men, 35% were women; by 1911 30% were men and 70% women - 75% of certificated teachers in 1914 were women; H.Corr, 'The Sexual Division of Labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession' in Humes & Paterson eds 'Scottish Culture & Scottish Education 1800-1980', John Donald 1980.

¹⁰ Sheila Hamilton includes much material on St.Andrews University's efforts in her comparative Ph.D. study of all four Scottish Universities, but most of this deals with women students integration after 1892 - there is scope for a closer evaluation of St.Andrews efforts in female education before 1892 .

elsewhere in Scotland has been far better researched, most notably Sophia Jex-Blake's unsuccessful and ugly struggle against Edinburgh University at the forefront of the campaign for women's Medical education and degrees.¹¹ Norman Shepley's case study of St. Georges, Edinburgh, reveals a multi-faceted organisation created by the middle-class women and University Professors behind the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women (EAUEW), formerly the Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association (ELEA) begun in 1867. After 1874 the EAUEW, whilst outside the University system, offered women University-standard lecture courses by sympathetic Professors with exams qualifying for Edinburgh University certificates of proficiency. It might thus be claimed that St. Georges, by creating a preparatory scheme for exams for girls (1876), then a Training College for women hoping to be Secondary teachers (1886) and a Girls' High school with an academic curriculum (1888) did indeed maintain an Edinburgh tradition of taking "the lead at every advance of the women's educational movement in the 19th century."¹²

In Glasgow the main thrust of the movement lay similarly outside the University system but grew up alongside it with lectures from sympathetic Professors contributing to the foundation of Queen Margaret College (QMC) for women in 1883.¹³ Lindy Moore though, has shown convincingly how, for reasons discussed below, Aberdeen University both before and after 1892 was "no pioneer of higher education for women."¹⁴ Looking to England, the movement for private girls' Secondary schools with academic curriculums and for University-level tuition and exams for women began almost a decade before that in Scotland. But Rita Tullberg has traced the successive refusals of Cambridge University to give its associated middle-class women's colleges -

¹¹ See C. Blake, *The Charge of the Parasols: Women's Entry to the Medical Profession*, Chapter 3, Women's Press, 1990. Also W. Alexander, *'Early Women Medical Graduates'* in Gordon/Breitenbach *op.cit.*.

¹² N. Shepley, *"Women of Independent Mind: St. Georges School Edinburgh & the Campaign for Women's Education 1888-1988"*, P.1. L. Moore describes the ELEA/EAUEW as "the organisation which was to have the greatest influence in pioneering higher education for women in Scotland" in *'Aberdeen & the Higher Education of Women 1868-77'* in *Aberdeen University Review*, 163, 1980, P.280.

¹³ Mrs. Campbell, *'The Rise of the Higher Education of Women Movement in Glasgow'* in *The Book of the Ninth Jubilee of Glasgow University*, GUP 1911. Not to be confused with the recent *'The Excellent Women: A History of Queen Margaret College, Edinburgh'*, John Donald 1994.

¹⁴ L. Moore, *'Bajanelles & Semilinas: Aberdeen University & the Education of Women 1860-1920'* P.132, AUP 1991; Also R.D. Anderson *'The Student Community at Aberdeen 1860-1939'* AUP 1988.

Girton and Newnham - official permission to sit its Tripos exam papers, attend lectures, or matriculate and graduate with degrees (in 1887, 1897 and 1920-1). Cambridge men feared the loss of male students to Oxford if women were admitted, as well as the threat women might pose to the University's government and the value of its degrees. Women were only finally admitted there on the same terms as men in 1948, some 29 years after their admission to Oxford and 70 years after their entry to London University in 1878 where - as at Trinity College, Dublin, at this time - they could be examined and receive degrees without residential tuition.¹⁵ Women were moreover admitted from the first to tuition and degrees in several of the new town University Colleges founded in the late 19th century - for example like Bristol (1876), Victoria College in Manchester (1880), Aberystwyth and Bangor (1884) - although this was some ten to 20 years after their admission to some Universities in the United States and Continental Europe.¹⁶

Against this briefly sketched background the absence of a closer study of St. Andrews University's efforts to educate women is then curious in that that institution felt able to claim *of itself* most notably in April 1883 to the Scottish University Commissioners that it "has thrown itself zealously into the movement for the Higher Education of Women".¹⁷ This culminated in 1895 with the self-congratulation from its own Students Representative Council - which included then three women members and seventeen men - that St. Andrews "has done more to foster the education of women *throughout the country than any other institution in Scotland*."¹⁸

These claims it will be shown were largely based on the strength of the University's higher certificate for women, a correspondence exam begun in November 1876. This took the unprecedented step of awarding completing candidates - of any age and without a time limit for completion - the title of LA (Literate in Arts) for passing a

¹⁵ See R. MacWilliams-Tullberg, 'Women at Cambridge: A Men's University though of a Mixed Type' London 1975; K.C. Bailey, 'A History of Trinity College Dublin 1892-1945' DUP 1947.

¹⁶ See below Chapter 2, P.10, 10n.

¹⁷ 'Memorial Showing the Reasons for the Existence of the University & Praying that Clause 4 Section 8 providing for the possible dissolution of the University & Colleges may be Cancelled', St. Andrews University Senate to Scottish University Commissioners 20 April 1883, SRO MS ED 26/7.

¹⁸ St. Andrews University SRC Handbook, 1895 P.13.

7

set number of exams at University level at either of two standards - Pass and Honours - in centres around Britain, Europe and the Empire. This title was changed in 1881 to its more famous form of LLA.- Lady Literate in Arts to avoid confusion with a more inferior men's LA awarded to trainee teachers after two years at Edinburgh University.¹⁹ The scheme ran until 1931, examining 11,117 individual women and awarding 5117 completed diplomas.²⁰ But St.Andrews' claim to have been a leader of progress in Scottish women's education was further boosted first in 1883 with its close involvement in helping to found, and in 1890 union with, University College in Dundee (UCD). The latter from its foundation in 1883 admitted women to tuition and degrees.²¹ Then in 1896 a Committee of the University established University Hall, the first Women's Hall of Residence in Scotland actually owned by a University.

St.Andrews University's pioneering of women's education was also alluded to by contemporary women's organisations and men educationalists.²² Indeed on several occasions in the early 1880s the remarkable suggestion was made that St.Andrews become an all women's University.²³ Its track record for educating women after 1892 was also lauded by St.Andrews women students themselves. One women medical graduate felt that "St.Andrews had always been at the forefront of any struggle for the Higher Education of women. It is not surprising that as soon as the law permitted women were admitted on absolutely equal terms with and in the same classes as men..."²⁴

Such a reputation may indeed be suggested as deserved by the plain fact that from 1892-3 to 1914 (and in the inter-war period) there were proportionally on

¹⁹ University Court Minutes, 7 July 1880.

²⁰ N.Smart, 'Literate Ladies: A Fifty Year Experiment' Alumnus Chronicle, 19, 1958; See Appendix: Table 2.

²¹ D.Southgate, 'University Education in Dundee' EUP 1982; M.Shacfe, 'University Education in Dundee 1881-1981: A Pictorial History' UCD 1982.

²² See passim the Ladies Edinburgh Magazine 1877-80, the Scotsman, the St.Andrews Citizen, The Academic Review 1893, Education News 1878-1914.

²³ Indeed this suggestion was what encouraged me to study St.Andrews University's role in the Women's Higher Education movement more closely; See below Chapter 2 P.15-17 and Chapter 4 P..

²⁴ Margaret Menzies-Campbell, 'Some Recollections Of University & Early Days in Practice 1912-1920', Dundee University Archives MS 15/92, 1977 P.2. This was a record another women medical graduate, Elizabeth MacDonald, felt was "unique in Britain" in 'Look Back in Wonder', P.109.

average at least 10% more women students at St.Andrews and its affiliate UCD than at any other Scottish University as Table 1 demonstrates:

Table 1: Women Students as % of Matriculation Rolls of Scottish Universities c.1892-1914.²⁵

	Number of Women Stu.s 1895-6	Women as % of Total of each University's Stu.s	No. of Women Stu.s 1900-1	Women as % of Total of each University's Stu.s	No. of Women Stu.s 1913-14	Women as % of Total of each University's Stu.s
St.Andrews	37	18.2%	95	34.4%	127	42.3%
UCD	45	19.7%	26	22%	67	31.5%
Edinburgh	167	9.1%	252	8.96%	552	14%
Aberdeen	34	4.5%	100	13%	360	30%
Glasgow	242	8.6%	350	17.1%	662	22.7%
Scotland	525	8.9%	823	13.7%	1768	20.6%

However with these very positive images of St.Andrews University in view the purpose of this brief study is really to test these assertions. By examining the relevant primary sources²⁶ it is hoped to assess just what were the nature, timing and motivations of St.Andrews University's contribution to the women's higher educational movement c.1892-1914, as well as to the associated areas of girls' Secondary schooling and Women's Teacher training. What was the educational and market value to women of the LLA and of the other educational efforts made by St.Andrews? Did St.Andrews actively campaign for women's equal admission to the Scottish Universities with men, if so what were its motives for doing so?

Then after 1892 there is a need to briefly survey just how women students and later staff were received and to what extent they were integrated into Scotland's most ancient seat of learning, at both formal (classes, study facilities, residences, bursaries,

²⁵ Table collated from S.Hamilton PhD *op.cit.*, P. 455 to P.459, n.b. figures for 1892-3 to 1896-7 not listed in this study, thus collated from St.Andrews Uni. Muniments in Folder D:1 University Hall collection/J.M.Anderson 'The Matriculation Roll of St.Andrews University 1747-1897' St.A 1905.

²⁶ This can be done by exploring the available primary archives of official minutes, ordinances and addresses, petitions, reports and statistical calendars; contemporary local and national newspapers, educational journals, and student magazines; the proceedings of the Scottish University Commissioners and Education Departments; and various private correspondence and personal memoirs.

exams etc.) and informal (in recreation facilities and social, political, Residential and town life etc.) levels.²⁷ Was it the case that because St.Andrews had been a pioneer of women's Higher education before 1892 it would continue to be so after women had entered the Colleges as undergraduates and perhaps staff?

Although this may involve much straight forward reporting of facts and figures, contrasting the answers to these questions to developments in the women's education movement elsewhere in Scotland and Britain may suggest some further conclusions about the pace, nature and catalysts of change in the position of Victorian and Edwardian women. They may also reveal something more of contemporary and particularly Scottish attitudes to gender and education .

²⁷ This distinction between formal and informal levels of integration is the model employed by S.Hamilton in her PhD; it is proposed to continue with this model with a view to modifying some of what she says.

Chapter Two: The Garrett Affair and the Early Women's Education Movement in St.Andrews c.1862-1876.

First Contact: 1862

"She [Dr.Day's Secretary] came rather primed with difficulties: the Professors were so afraid of me; the students are so particularly rough here, and will certainly insult me; Dr.Heddle's Chemistry class is absolutely essential...he is a timid man...who would particularly object to doing anything singular...the whole Senatus would probably refuse to sanction anything so novel...she herself thought the whole scheme impracticable." ¹ Elisabeth Garrett.

Elisabeth Garrett-Anderson (1836-1917) was the first woman to seek matriculation at a British University for the purposes of graduation and entry to a profession.² The fact of her ejection from Middlesex teaching Hospital in 1861 due to the men students' resentment of her good results, and then the successive rejection of her applications to Cambridge, Oxford, Glasgow, London and Edinburgh Universities, though by narrow margins, are perhaps not well known.³ But the reversal of Garrett's matriculation as a medical student at St.Andrews University in November 1862 is notorious. However a closer look at Garrett's dealings with St.Andrews - then an institution of only 181 students - arguably reveals a Professoriate of whom many were already persuaded of the need for women's medical education and women doctors.

Seemingly Garrett's wealthy Father had approached the University's Vice-Chancellor informally about her admission and met no obstacles. Yet upon her arrival in St.Andrews on October 30th 1862, with a letter of introduction to the Regulus Professor of Anatomy, George Day, her formal application was not presented to the University Senatus. Instead Day ensured that she paid and signed for her matriculation

¹ Garrett to her sister, November 1862 in Louisa Garrett-Anderson, 'Elisabeth Garrett-Anderson', P.149.

² For a biography of Elisabeth Garrett see IBID or Jo Manton, 'Elisabeth Garrett-Anderson', Methuen 1965.

³ She was rejected by 18 votes to 16 by Edinburgh University Senatus and 11 to 10 by London University: L.Garrett-Anderson, op.cit., P.95-6.

and class tickets for his own Anatomy course and Professor Heddle's Chemistry lectures before anyone objected.

In retrospect this fait accompli immediately set Garrett's application on a bad footing. Garrett herself, her biographers, her Father, Day, St. Andrews' Principal Tulloch of St. Mary's College of Divinity, and some sections of the Press felt she was ill-treated by a petty University Senate. An unspecified body of male students too seemed to be "almost to a man on my side" and ready to petition on her behalf in the ensuing struggle.⁴ It was perhaps likely though that once admitted Garrett's serious study and good results would have worn out her undoubted novelty value to many of these young men. Moreover it is just as easy to see "the want of straightforwardness" with which the "novel issue" and the moral and practical problems in that day and age of a young, middle-class woman's admission to medical classes, demonstrations and exams beside males of average age 16 to 19, had been dropped in the Senate's lap a few days before the Winter Session.⁵ Women prior to this time had had no place in the Colleges, other than as cleaning staff.⁶ Several respected Universities had after all rejected Garrett's application. On November 3rd the Senatus returned her fee stating that MacBean, the matriculation officer, hadn't had the power to admit her and that the matriculation of women was not specifically provided for in the University's charters. But the Senatus did appoint a Committee to seek legal advice as to whether the University itself was empowered to do so, a concession no other University had extended.⁷

Garrett herself sought legal opinion, one lawyer finding against the Senatus for breach of contract. The Lord Advocate, Sir James Moncrieff, also found nothing in the

⁴ "So much so that when some allusion was made in the introductory lecture today to my advances by my arch enemy Forbes there was a regular tumult of cries of applause. Their [the men students'] feeling is that the Senatus is treating me very unjustly. This student told Dr. Day that the Senior students of the two colleges were to meet tonight and consider the question and if (as he thinks certain) they pass a resolution unanimously approving of my admission, a general meeting of all students will be called and a memorial prepared for their signature. Even if we fail, to have all three Medical Professors on my side will be good points..." *IBID.* P.103.

⁵ J.D. Forbes - letter from Day 4th November in *Forbes Letter Book VII*: the latter also includes Forbes's correspondence with medical Professor Robert Christison of Edinburgh University, Jex-Blake's infamous opponent; *Senate Minutes*, 18, Nov 1st 1862.

⁶ In the 16th century an act was passed to prohibit all women - even clerics' and Professors' female relatives - from entering the colleges unless they were char ladies over 50 years old; A. Smith, 'A Not So Monstrous Regiment of Women' *Alumnus Chronicle* 1992 P.7-9.

⁷ *Senate Minutes* November 1 and 4 1862

University's foundation charters to prevent the Senatus admitting women to lectures if it wished. However, he did feel the "admission of female students *with a view and with the right of graduation and the other privileges of the students in the University* [presumably voting for an MP] is an innovation which the Senatus Academicus in my opinion have no power to permit." A similar ruling was reached in 1872-3 by the Court of Session against the Edinburgh Medical women in that the admission of any suitably qualified 'person' to a University was held not to include women; no University could force Professors to teach women against their wishes.⁸ However in 1862 at a time when women had not yet begun to emerge as separate legal agents in terms of earnings, property and marriage rights or as a movement in politics and education, this legal decision was a debatable one. It was based perhaps more on conventional perceptions of moral propriety and the socio-economic role of women in a man's world which at that time were already being challenged. It is interesting to note that by 1869-73 Moncrieff, then Edinburgh University's Chancellor, was prepared to support Jex-Blake et.al.'s right to medical degrees and careers.⁹

Thus in 1862 St.Andrews University Professors had been put in a difficult position. In some respects they were fortunate. Garrett did briefly consider litigation, wearing silk dresses around town to appear as if she could afford it. But she desisted as she was committed to strategies of persuasion by academic achievement so as not to offend University and Medical authorities. As a pioneer she wanted to begin the task of eradicating the maltreatment of women by male doctors by graduating with other intelligent women from a British University with degrees of the highest standard so as to rebuff male criticism, and not one of those colleges open to women in Dublin, the United States or Europe.¹⁰ This uncompromising policy stood in contrast to the more 'militant' approach against the Universities' discrimination by Jex-Blake which served

⁸ C.Blake, *op.cit.* Chapter 3.

⁹ *Scotsman* June 13th 1874.

¹⁰ The Sorbonne opened its Paris doors to women in 1865, Berne in 1865, Helsinki in 1870, Geneva in 1865, Zurich in 1864, and some of the United States Colleges were opened to women in the 1860s. Garrett felt it important that only the right kind of exceptionally intelligent women should enter the professions as to offset male criticism of women failing exams - and she withdrew her public support for the Women's Suffrage movement; See C.Blake *op.cit.* Chapter 2. The *Lancet* and *British Medical Journal* seized upon Garrett's rejection by St.Andrews as it did Jex-Blake's later failure of exams during her litigation against Edinburgh University, to assert the impropriety of women doctors.

to delay women's admission to Edinburgh University's medical faculty after 1892.¹¹ Comment on Garret's rejection by St.Andrews raised varying degrees of hostile and sympathetic comment in the national and local press, but a scandal akin to that in Edinburgh in 1873 was avoided.¹²

More importantly however, although a women's Higher Education movement had not yet emerged in Scotland quite a number of St.Andrews Professors were - as the Scotsman noted - not unsympathetic and "reactionary" in their response to women's medical or general University education.¹³ The final Senatus motion rejecting Garrett on November 14th 1862 was proposed by her "arch enemy" James D. Forbes, Principal of St.Andrews' United College (Arts and Medicine faculties). His motion was passed without recorded debate by 7 votes to 2 and 3 abstentions. It was Forbes who had Garrett's fee returned via the lowly MacBean, allegedly holding Senate meetings upstairs so as to exclude the arthritic Day, and issued detailed instructions to the janitors on how to physically prevent Garrett entering the lecture Halls.¹⁴ Yet perhaps as many as half of St.Andrews' Professors had voted in accordance with their concerns about the professed illegality of women's University admission *at that time* rather than with their true feelings on the proposal or any moves which might be made to further its realisation. In 1867 five St.Andrews Professors signed a petition for Emily Davies - who had come to support Garrett in St.Andrews in 1862 - to the Taunton Commission in support of higher education for women.¹⁵ Then in April 1874 it was reported in Parliament by Hertford MP Cowper-Temple, in support of his proposed Bill seeking provisionary powers for women's admission to the Scottish Universities, that eight of

¹¹ C.Blake, op.cit., Chapter 3; S.Hamilton, Ph.D. op.cit. Chapter 1.

¹² Comment in the Scotsman, the Times, the Glasgow Herald the St.Andrews Citizen, the British Medical Journal, the Lancet, the English Women's Journal, and the Spectator all around late Nov/early Dec 1862 - the first four of the newspapers articles are held as cuttings in J.D.Forbes Letter Book VII, 172 g).

¹³ Scotsman 14 November 1862.

¹⁴ A Copy of these instructions is extant in Forbes Letter Book VII; the seven Senate votes against Garrett were those of Forbes, Ferrier, Fischer, Sellar, Veitch, Shairp and Swan; those for were Tulloch and Cook; those abstaining were Heddle, MacDonald and Mitchell.

¹⁵ L.Moore in J.Carter/D.Withrington op.cit. P. 145, 10n.; The Taunton Commission was appointed in 1864 to "consider and report" on school endowments in the North of England - Emily Davies petitioned the Commissioners to extend their brief to look at Girl's schooling and herself gave evidence - S.Curtis, The History of Education in Great Britain, London 1948; R.MacWilliams-Tullberg, op.cit. Chapter 3.

St.Andrews' 14 Professors (unnamed) and 12 of Edinburgh's 35 were in favour of such legislation.¹⁶

Significantly this is a moderate pattern which characterised St.Andrews' attitude to women's education between 1876 and 1892. That is, Professors working quietly as enlightened individuals or a petitioning body to forward the movement's cause, but as a public funded institution obeying the letter of the law until change in its provision could be effected. Arguably, although St.Andrews' student intake had risen by over 10% between 1861-2 and 1862-3, St.Andrews could not afford to scare off any of its men students. It is interesting that when John Stuart-Mill (1806-73) served as University Rector in the 1860s no coverage appears to have been given to his then radical stance on Women's rights and education.¹⁷

Nevertheless, there were tensions resultant in this division of loyalties between libertarian progress and University prosperity on the one hand and legality on the other. In April 1872 and November 1873 Sophia Jex-Blake petitioned the University to allow those women ejected by Edinburgh University to complete their medical degrees at St.Andrews.¹⁸ It must be stressed that by this time St.Andrews, isolated from the input of commerce, industry and the professions which the three city Universities enjoyed, was facing an alarming drop in its income, endowments and student numbers, slipping towards a nadir of only 130 students in 1876.¹⁹ With over £3000 worth of debt as a result of agricultural depression, the failure of both its Local Exams scheme in 1867 and a Men's Residential Hall c.1868-74, and painfully low Professorial salaries, this was it must be stressed a major crisis. Significantly it will be shown it was a crisis which did not go away until the 1890s and which arguably influenced St.Andrews efforts in women's Higher Education.²⁰ In 1872-3 though, as in 1862, "the chance to secure all

¹⁶ The Scotsman June 13th 1874.

¹⁷ 'The First Ornamental Rector of St.Andrews University - John Stuart-Mill', A.J.Mill, Scottish Historical Review, 1964. Mill left £6,000 to women's higher education in his will, half of which was to be gifted to the first University to open its classes and degrees to women. In 1881, Professor William Knight, convenor of the LLA, discussed below, wrote to Mill's widow inquiring if this bequest was still available as St.Andrews was then considering carrying out that reform. M.St.John Packe, The Life of John Stuart Mill, London 1954, P.494 - See below Chapter 4.

¹⁸ Senate Minutes 13 April 1872 [petition for Medical lectures with a view to a certificate], 1st November 1873 [a petition from 15 women].

¹⁹ In 1876 Edinburgh University had 2351 students, Glasgow 1773, and Aberdeen 677.

²⁰ See R.Cant, 'A Short History of St.Andrews University' P.140-1; Report of the Scottish University Commissioners 1876: Fiscal Report P.119-124.

wealthy female medical students [was] surely something to a small University."²¹ The Senate appointed a sub-committee to review the University's powers to matriculate women. But it became "engaged in prolonged [unrecorded] discussion" in which it was "found impossible to agree on any motion." The Senatus rejected the petition, resolving to "wait until the whole subject of the matriculation of women has been discussed and settled in Parliament."²² By the same token the University Court rejected the application of Elizabeth Garrett's London Women's Medical School to have its classes recognised for graduation purposes in 1874-5.²³

The Movement Begins: St.Andrews & the National Scene 1863-1876

"...at that time St.Andrews was isolated and curiously out of touch with the broader currents of Scottish national life. It was the traditional home of conservative policy, and in that respect did good service to the country: but it did not respond as Edinburgh and Glasgow did to the quickening influences of progressive thought and action."

William Knight 1902.²⁴

Waiting for legislation was a state of affairs women seeking admission to University faced nation-wide before 1889. In 1862 Garrett had to be content with private tuition from Day and then a degree from Paris to qualify for Britain's Medical Register. However, before say c.1883 girls and women still had to prove themselves to many critics as being mentally and physically capable of academic study. Indeed it is important to stress that throughout the 75 years in question here women felt they had to perform to the highest standards possible be it in Medical exams, University correspondence exams or in running their own Medical or Arts colleges, just to achieve the smallest acceptance or tolerance from male critics.²⁵ This was Emily Davies' first

²¹ The Spectator 8 Nov 1862 reproduced in the St.Andrews Citizen.

²² Senate Minutes Nov. 15th 1873.

²³ University Court Minutes 25 Nov. 1874, 31 March 1875.

²⁴ W.Knight 'Early Chapters in the History of St.Andrews and Dundee' 1902, P.25.

²⁵ Jex-Blake certainly felt this pressure at Edinburgh and though four of her female colleagues attained marks in the top seven of Edinburgh University's medical exams in 1870 out of a class of 152, when she failed an exam as a result of the distractions of taking the University to Court her critics claimed this proved women's incompetence - C.Blake op.cit P.102; see also remarks by E.Garrett IBID; Emily Davies insisted that Girton women sit the same exams as Cambridge men for the same reasons - R.MacWilliams-Tullberg op.cit Ch.2.

16.
task in establishing unofficial (1863) and later official (1865) access for women to Cambridge University's Local 'middle-class' exams to counter the painful "want of thoroughness" in girls' schooling she helped highlight.²⁶ By 1870 this movement had evolved into two rival women's colleges, Hitchin (later Girton) and Newnham, each carefully supervised by middle-class women preparing some 50 or so middle-class girls with the help of sympathetic Dons for the University 'Little-Go' and Tripos exams.

Two similar colleges emerged in Oxford - Lady Margaret and Somerville.²⁷ London University, providing for those women unable to attend the capital's 'ladies' colleges founded in the 1840s and 1850s, offered first an external exam and special women's certificate, and by 1878 full admission for women to non-residence degrees. Arguably the London and Oxbridge Women's Colleges formed social and curricular links with the middle-class schools of the Girls Public Day School Company founded in 1872 which had 34 schools in England by 1890.²⁸

In Scotland the deficiencies of female secondary and higher education and the need to equip a surplus of working and middle-class women to support or to improve themselves for the good of the nation as trained teachers, rather than say ill-educated governesses, was no less felt. Nevertheless, the movement began there a little later, inspired by events in England. Edinburgh's Ladies' Educational Association (ELEA) led the way beginning in 1867 with 'University-level' courses of 20 to 40 lectures, exams and certificates awarded in the Arts and popular Sciences to on average 150 to 200 women a year.²⁹ These were mostly married women over 30 years of age but a significant number attained an exam standard equal to the best of the men and the number of serious women undoubtedly increased after 1874 when Edinburgh University agreed to award candidates a University Certificate; renamed the EAUEW, an annual calendar of women's results and a scheme of bursaries was established.

²⁶ R.MacWilliams-Tullberg, *op.cit.* passim; quote from English Secondary Schools Inquiry 1867 Evidence - Davies had petitioned to have girls schooling included in the Commission's remit and herself gave evidence *IBID.* P. 138-9.

²⁷ *'Lady Margaret Hall - A Short History'* OUP 1923 passim.

²⁸ R.MacWilliams-Tullberg *op.cit.* P.40.

²⁹ S.Hamilton *op.cit.* P.55 and Table P.155; It should be stressed that it is impossible to define a uniform standard of 'University level' learning and exams a point made by L.Moore, *'The Aberdeen Ladies' Educational Association 1877-1883'* in *Northern Scotland* 3 1980; . The ELEA/EAUEW taught largely the same subjects as the LLA (See Table 3A) minus French and German .

Meantime in 1869-72 the University briefly opened its doors to women medical students who had to pay for some separate classes and run a gauntlet of opposition. Less controversially, from 1865 Scottish schoolgirls had been able to study to sit the University's Local Exams a scheme primarily designed to link boys' schools to the Universities.³⁰

At this stage then St.Andrews was indeed 'a remote point lying at an outside', on the periphery of the women's Higher Education movement.³¹ Yet for a small seemingly decaying University in a coastal fishing and market town its position on women's education before 1876 can be contrasted favourably with that of Aberdeen and Glasgow Universities. It is admittedly difficult to gauge the level and direction of local and Professorial opinion on women's education in St.Andrews. The local paper The St.Andrews Citizen briefly reported events like Emily Davies' exams and college success, the first women Tripos in 1872³² and Edinburgh Professor Masson's support for the ELEA. The Citizen also came out in support of Edinburgh's medical women in 1872-3 and lamented the lack of Fife schoolgirls taking advantage of bursaries for the Edinburgh University Local exams.³³ Yet in no sense does it reveal a level of debate in St.Andrews about the need for women's higher education comparable to that going on in Aberdeen's contemporary Press and University. But as Lindy Moore has shown Aberdeen's efforts were minimal, plagued by disagreement and indecision. An Aberdeen LEA was founded by businessmen only in 1877. Its Professorial lectures received no official recognition from Aberdeen University which ran its own Locals and Women's Higher Certificate schemes in the 1880s: the ALEA folded in 1886.³⁴

However, in St.Andrews an LEA was founded in 1868, inspired by social links with Cambridge. But it too seems to have had little success and has left no real

³⁰ J.Menzies, 'On Local Exams for Women' in Ladies Edinburgh Magazine II 1876 P.86.

³¹ The Association for the Better Endowment and Extension of St.Andrews University in St.Andrews University Calendar 1879-80, P.142.

³² One of first three Tripos women was Louisa Lumsden, the future Principal of St.Leonards and Warden of University Hall, who had revised for her exams while in St.Andrews with one of the other candidates, Miss Harriet Cook daughter of the University's Professor of Hebrew.; 'Yellow Leaves' P. 58.

³³ The St.Andrews Citizen, Jan 7 1871; Apr 5 1873; Mar 18 1876.

³⁴ L.Moore 'Aberdeen University & the Higher Education of Women' AUR 163 1980 and op.cit. in Northern Scotland 3, 1980.

records other than sporadic *winter-time* adverts in the Citizen (in 1870, 1872, 1873, 1877, 1878, 1881) for courses of six to eight lectures covering subjects like elementary Greek, the Latin Poets, Natural History basics, 19th century poetry or Moral Philosophy.³⁵ Significantly though it was organised by a small core of middle-class women which included: a Mrs. Rogers, a local minister's wife and daughter of Dr. Cook, the University's former Principal of St.Mary's College ; Mrs. Roger's sister Miss Isabella Cook; Mrs. Lewis-Campbell, the wife of the University Professor of Greek; and Mrs. Fischer, the wife of the Professor of Mathematics.³⁶

These women formed part of a small philanthropic network around the University and in touch with other networks of women and sympathetic academics in Cambridge, Edinburgh and Glasgow. Along with their husbands and some of the other Professors who taught the LEA's courses - men like Baynes (English Literature), Purdie (Chemistry), Nicholson (Natural History), Tulloch (Literature) and notably William Knight (Moral Philosophy) - they were behind the foundation and governing of St.Leonards' School for Girls and offered bursaries to girls taking the St.Andrews University Locals and the LLA, discussed below, as well as support for other women's local causes.³⁷

However, the LEA's demise around 1881 was a reflection both of the town's small populace and the low academic standard of girls' schooling in St.Andrews and its surrounding hinterland. A glance at the Citizen or a Town Directory before c.1880 reveals a number of 'Young Ladies Institutes' or private dame schools and an elementary Parish Board school all of which taught girls the three Rs and various feminine and domestic accomplishments, especially needlework, French, singing and drawing. This was the case even in the more middle-class Madras College until 1888 where boys did secondary classics and mathematics with access to 20 bursaries to the University.³⁸

³⁵ The St.Andrews Citizen, Oct 15 1870; Nov 2 1872; Jan 4 1873; Oct 27 1877; Nov 30 1878 (Article); Nov 5 1881.

³⁶ J.M Grant ed. 'St.Leonards School 1877-1927' PP 1927, P.8; Cook supported Garrett in 1862.

³⁷ The St.Andrews Citizen Nov 25 1871 saw Professors Tulloch, Baynes, Campbell and Purdie and Mrs Rogers, Campbell and Purdie on a Town Hall Platform for Women's Suffrage addressed by Millicent Garrett-Fawcett, Elizabeth Garrett's sister; Mrs.Purdie served on the School Board IBID.

³⁸ J.Thompson, 'The Madras College 1833-1983' FERC 1983 P.13-44.

It was thus perhaps inevitable that a Mrs. Daniells, a co-founder of Women's Higher Education Associations in St. Andrews and Glasgow reported that "the fact of the place [St. Andrews] being so small [meant that] there is not a sufficient number of girls to keep up an annual supply and the thing has dwindled to a mere intellectual amusement [for]...middle-aged women...there is too great a gap between any educational institution here and the University."³⁹ Certainly the uncertificated, wintertime St. Andrews LEA was of little use for Fife's women teachers. But whilst as a result the St. Andrews LEA courses had little structure and no exams or certificates like those of the EAUEW, the women's education movement was in a similar state in Glasgow.⁴⁰ There, sympathetic Professors offered only occasional short lecture courses to middle-class women: "the great difficulty was to find ladies who are at once able and willing to take the lead."⁴¹ An LEA and Women's University Higher Certificate did not begin in Glasgow until 1877 and 1879 respectively although then with the much greater ultimate success of founding QMC. Yet even in Edinburgh the LEA often struggled to attract a respectable number of the capital's women teachers or serious rather than dilettante women.⁴² It found the addition of less academic subjects necessary to bridge the gap with local girls' schools with poor academic curriculums as well as with older women.⁴³

Already here perhaps is the obvious answer to the question which must be asked of St. Andrews' provision for women in the 1880s as the LLA diploma scheme took off and the EAUEW and QMC established extra-mural women's Arts faculties alongside Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities: why did St. Andrews not offer women systematic tuition in classes as well as examination? Mrs. Daniells felt that "the active-minded, highly intellectual people of a superior class would not choose St. Andrews as

³⁹ Correspondence to the ELEA quoted in S. Hamilton *op.cit.* Chapter 1.

⁴⁰ The St. Andrews LEA did have one £20 scholarship for the woman highest in three subjects - *Education News* Dec 21 1878; The LEA also offered bursaries to women for further study after taking the St. Andrews University Locals or LLA after 1876 - See below Chapter 3, P. 45-6.

⁴¹ L.R. 'The Higher Education of Women in Scotland', *Ladies Edinburgh Magazine* III 1877; Mrs Campbell *op.cit.*; S. Hamilton *op.cit.* Chapter 1.

⁴² "At least one-half of those who throng a well-filled classroom are dilettante", *Ladies Edinburgh Magazine* III 1877 p.89.

⁴³ L. Moore in *Northern Scotland op.cit.*

a residence."⁴⁴ Future events would partly bear this out. However, even in the 1860s and 1870s St.Andrews had already received special attention in relation to women's education. For in November 1862 the Scotsman (later a firm supporter of Jex-Blake) had suggested that St.Andrews and its small, intimate classes "would be a very favourable field [for the] experiment" of mixed-gender University classes; the paper felt the first women were "all but certain to be true and devoted students."⁴⁵ Thus the unique fact of St.Andrews having a small University free from all the distractions of city life, a fact which had historically made it a very popular study place for men, was now used to accommodate women, anticipating indeed a key selling-point forwarded for the propriety of St.Andrews as a residence for young single women after 1892.⁴⁶ This perhaps hints at women's easier integration at St.Andrews into a traditional University 'spirit' than elsewhere.

Further evidence of St.Andrews moral potential to educate women before 1892 lies again in the Parliamentary debate of Cowper-Temple's 1874 Bill. The proposer argued that St.Andrews "would most appropriately become a place where such women as wished to pursue their studies with a view to entering the (medical) profession could do so." In reply Sir Lyon Playfair, MP. for St.Andrews and Edinburgh Universities and a St. Andrews resident, argued that eight Professors could not speak for the 1,200 staff and former graduates of St.Andrews University General Council, nor supply the extra resources necessary for mixed or separate University classes. This last was notably an argument which would be repeated by significant St.Andreans in the 1880s. Furthermore, although Playfair was a supporter of women's general admission to the Universities he feared risks to women's health caused by hard study, proposing a "lower degree" as girls couldn't cope with Latin, Greek and Mathematics.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ S.Hamilton *op.cit.* Chapter 1.

⁴⁵ The Scotsman Nov 14 1862.

⁴⁶ The Association for the Better Endowment and Extension of St.Andrews University in St.Andrews University Calendar 1879-80, P.142-3. The St.Andrews Citizen March 19 1892 felt "the overgrown and frequently rowdy classes in the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen are calculated rather to repel than to attract ladies" of a particular class who would undoubtedly prefer quiet, studious, picturesque and healthy St.Andrews. See College Echoes 4 Nov 1898?

⁴⁷ The Scotsman June 13 1874.

Cowper-Temple's Bill was defeated by 194 votes to 151 in April 1875. Whilst though it is easy to support Playfair's comment about girls' poor secondary schooling this was a problem slowly tackled by the Scottish Education Department (SED), after 1872. It was a problem St.Andrews too was to confront in its own quite impressive fashion. The University's contribution to the women's higher education movement had hitherto been a curious mixture of negative legal decisions and unofficial support for unsuccessful local women's lectures. These failings were somewhat mitigated by individual Professors' petitions for women's admission to University education and the early birth of the favourable image of St.Andrews as a suitable place for women students.

However, at the height of the University's aforementioned fiscal crisis in session 1876-7 several educational schemes were launched by the University which offered women some post-secondary education. These efforts clearly undermine Playfair's argument that St.Andrews had no resources to spare for women's education. For it was officially St.Andrews University rather than, as in Edinburgh and Glasgow, an extra-mural women's association that was to take the initiative in most of these schemes, perhaps unexpectedly influencing women's education far beyond the limits its normal residential teaching resources would have allowed.



Elisabeth Garrett-Anderson - a photograph taken during her stay in St.Andrews in 1862.

Chapter Three: From Day to Knight - The St.Andrews University Education Schemes: Response to a Crisis.

"St.Andrews may be far smaller but she is much in advance of her larger rivals...[and] certainly can prove that in encouraging extra-mural teaching in towns within her circle of influence...St.Andrews has determined to go as far in the female education movement as she can go in the existing state of the law,"

The Glasgow Herald June 1 1877.

On December 9th 1876 Dr. Alexander Roberts recommended to the Senatus of St.Andrews University that "a higher certificate be given to women."¹ There is no accompanying explanation in the Senate Minutes of specific motivations for such a scheme. But what is apparent at this time is a tremendous earnestness in St.Andrews to promote the University's "prosperity and expanding sphere of usefulness".² For the St.Andrews Professoriate this then was not just a response to an aroused late-Victorian spirit of civic mindedness and 'improvement' to ensure a national economy of competitiveness. It also involved a genuine if in some significant ways limited effort to satisfy the growing demand for women's education.

Yet between c.1876 and 1883 it was moreover a question of fighting for the survival and revival of this dangerously decayed institution. As Principal Tulloch lamented "our chief and most serious difficulty is to find adequate work for our men [Professors]."³ It followed thus that the various proposals seriously aired by outsiders for the dissolution of St.Andrews University c.1870 to 1883 and its transfer to Dundee, Edinburgh or Perth were countered by various extension schemes organised by the Professoriate.⁴ These were reinforced by a new, vigorous and often

¹ Senate Minutes December 9 1876 Vol 20 P.43 - Roberts was Professor of Humanity and Convenor of the Locals Exam Committee in the 1880s.

² Principal Tulloch in The Scotsman June 7 1877; and to University Commissioners, Report: Evidence & Appendix Vol II P.92-8, 1876. Also Education News IX 1884 report of meeting of General Council of St.Andrews University, 28 Nov 1884.

³ IBID P.92-3.

⁴ R.Cant op.cit; these schemes were a far more serious threat to the University than the numerous other proposals made throughout its History to move it to a more significant population centre, P.141-2; St.Andrews Professor Heddle stated to the University Commissioners "if we could be transferred to Dundee I

controversial policy of advertising. But it is important to realise that it was undoubtedly as a result of this crisis that St. Andrews University was more receptive of close association with Women's Higher Education: had St. Andrews been thriving it might well have been less interested in women's needs.⁵

In this context 1876, the nadir of St. Andrews' decline, was undeniably a turning point. In that year Dundee Minister Professor William Knight (1836-1916) was appointed to the University's Chair of Moral Philosophy. He clearly had a tremendous reverence for St. Andrews University and its academics and thus a desire to see their fortunes rejuvenated.⁶ It was Knight who convened the LLA Committee until 1902 playing a leading role in the development of that scheme's character and in the University's other extension schemes, most of which involved new educational provision for women. The question indeed might be asked how much or little would St. Andrews have done for Women's education both before and after 1892 without this energetic individual. Yet Knight was also still a man of his times whose attitude to women's education had only advanced so far. He consistently advocated women's higher education "to make the domestic sphere more fruitful of good". Women he felt should not be admitted to University Divinity and Law faculties as this to him seemed "as unnatural as it would be for women to enter the House of Commons...or to sit upon the Episcopal Bench."⁷ After 1886 Principal (later Sir) James Donaldson (1831-1915), who took over the LLA after Knight's retiral, was similarly an advocate of classical allusions to a woman's education as a means of elevating her character to aid the Empire and training her for elementary teaching as sound preparation for

believe we could live and perhaps flourish; but if not, I think we will gradually cease to live..", cited in D. Southgate, *op.cit.* P.2.

⁵ Interestingly women were more readily admitted into Finnish Universities unofficially after 1870 and officially after 1891 as at that time the Finnish Nationalist movement welcomed all the home support it could get to help it in the crisis of self-determination from Sweden and Russia; R. Franzen 'Rivals or Allies? Gender Interaction in the Finnish Student Christian Federation 1897-1914' in *J. of Scandinavian History* 19, 2, 1994 - see Chapter 6 Conclusion.

⁶ W. Knight 'Principal Shairp and Friends' 1888 and 'Early Chapters in the History of St. Andrews & UCD' 1902 and 'Professor William Knight - A Biography' 1905.

⁷ W. Knight 'The Higher Education of Women with Special Reference to the St. Andrews' University LLA title and Diploma for Women - being a lecture delivered in the University Colleges of Leeds, Liverpool, Bristol etc.....' B&S 1887 P.11-2; Also Knight in *Education News* March 8th 1890 where he emphasised the need for "filling up the vacant spaces of their lives of frivolity... [to ensure] a more highly educated, variously educated, systematically educated race of mothers."

motherhood.⁸ Such patriarchal views of the socio-economic role of women did it will be argued characterise and limit the way St.Andrews campaigned for women's University education and the way women students were received at St.Andrews after 1892.

However, that between c.1876 and 1892 the implications of women's higher education were still limited by such gender socialisation is surely reflected in the University's prioritisation of its other education schemes - or "expedients" - before its all-women LLA.⁹ It is therefore equally expedient to discuss first the St.Andrews University's Locals exams scheme, links with Dundee and its Chair of Education.

The St.Andrews University Locals.

This was a scheme which had first failed in 1867 but was revived by the University in 1876 following the example of Cambridge (1861) and Edinburgh (1865). Aberdeen began a similar scheme in 1880 and like St.Andrews' (but unlike Edinburgh's and the Oxbridge Locals) these exams were not designed only to raise the standard of boys' schooling.¹⁰ The St.Andrews Locals examined school pupils at preliminary, junior and senior levels in English, Mathematics, Latin or Greek, French or German, History, Geography, Physics, Botany, Music and Art. Its Committee was until 1881 joined with the LLA Committee. The latter's fund was used to make up the deficit cost of the Locals scheme.¹¹ Furthermore with a selection of bursaries from similar sources as those attached to the LLA, discussed below, St.Andrews' Locals were popular right up until their replacement by the SED Leaving Certificate and University entrance exams in 1888 and 1892 respectively.

⁸ J.Donaldson, 'University Addresses 1886-1910' P.272-4 and 'The Nature of Woman' Hand-written Essay by Donaldson in St.A Uni. Archives Donaldson Papers Box 7.

⁹ The expansion of the Higher education of women by the University is listed as the 5th expedient of 7 (the others being a Science Faculty, a Dundee College, Local Exams, extension lectures, an Education Chair and course, an expanded Theology Faculty) in 'Letters & Suggestions From Another Friend to St.Andrews and Dundee' in W.Knight, 'Early Chapters...', op.cit. P.136.

¹⁰ L.Moore in Northern Scotland op.cit. P.130.

¹¹ LLA Committee Minutes, *passim*..

Significantly, unlike the Aberdeen Locals, which were taken mostly by girls amid fears this would render its value inferior, the St. Andrews scheme enjoyed a healthy gender balance.¹² More importantly the scheme established a network of links with Scottish schools and Colleges, particularly in those hinterland areas like Dundee (at the High School and UCD centres, in what was known at that time as a 'woman's town' because of its large textile industry female labour force), Broughty-Ferry, Cupar, Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, Arbroath, Montrose and St. Andrews itself from which after 1892 many women students came to St. Andrews.¹³ A number of these localities (e.g. Aberdeen) were also popular LLA centres if not though the home towns of later women students. Kelso Ladies College notably offered each of its students passing three or more subjects in the St. Andrews Senior Local exam a £15 bursary "on condition that candidates study at Kelso Ladies College for the LLA title."¹⁴ Furthermore the St. Andrews locals established a similar smaller network of centres in England especially in London, Liverpool and Newcastle, again popular LLA centres and the homes of a number of later St. Andrews women students. Many senior schoolgirls were undoubtedly attracted to the Locals as a Senior Certificate gave holders the title of AA (Associate in Arts) entitling women over 18 to "act as assistant teachers."¹⁵ Thus it should be considered that, as a modification to the emphasis that Sheila Hamilton places upon the LLA alone in attracting women to St. Andrews University after 1892, the Locals exams established links from 1876 to 1892 which served the same function.

¹² Number of Men & Women candidates for St. Andrews Locals Exams 1885 and 1892.

	No. Men 1885	No. Women 1885	No. Men 1892	No. Women 1892
Preliminary	262	290	200	225
Junior	195	107	95	107
Senior	46	94	23	94
Sub-totals	503	555	318	426
Grand Total	Men + Women = 1058		Men + Women = 744	

¹³ In 1892, the last year of the scheme, there were Locals centres for the Preliminary Certificate in: St. Andrews 44; Broughty-Ferry 20; Buckhaven 8; Cupar 14; Dalbeattie 19; Dornoch 6; Dundee(UCD) 14; Falkirk 19; Forfar 20; Kelso(Ladies College) 13; Kinghorn 10; Kirkcaldy 40; Kirkwall 1; Kirriemuir 23; Lerwick 12; Leven 14; Montrose 4; Newport 11; Oban 18; Strathay 12; Tayport 3; Thurso 1; Tillicoultry 6; Wick 10; Liverpool 9; London 15; Newcastle 15; Sunderland 16; West Hartlepool 10. LLA/Locals Calendar 1891-2.

¹⁴ St. Andrews University Calendar 1879-80, P. 150-1; LLA/Locals Calendar 1879-80, P.149-51.

¹⁵ IBID.

University College Dundee(UCD) & the St.Andrews Chair of Education.

The fair number of both Dundee school pupils taking the St.Andrews Locals in the 1880s and of Dundee men students attending St.Andrews' classes reflected a natural link with the University.¹⁶ In 1875-6 several St.Andrews Professors responded to the growing demand for higher education to help realise the city's commercial and industrial potential by offering lecture courses and exams in Dundee. This relationship indeed was seen as potentially the most profitable extension of St.Andrews as Dundee offered a ready supply of students, money, technical expertise and schools and hospitals for teacher and medical training. Giving evidence to the University Commissioners in 1876 Principal Tulloch and Professors Nicholson, Shairp, Heddle and Pettigrew reported that whilst in St.Andrews they had classes of ten to 30 students (and Pettigrew none at all in Medicine¹⁷) in Dundee they lectured to mixed audiences of 300 to 400 people of which "one third or so might be female." This last was a figure similar to attendance at the ELEA/EAUEW. In Tulloch's Literature classes "the person who might be said to be at the head of all who attended was a girl." Similar reports were given of women in the Natural History, Physiology, Education, Chemistry and Poetry lectures.¹⁸

However, the foundation of a teaching college in Dundee was not achieved until 1883 when Miss Mary Ann Baxter (1801-84) of the wealthy Dundee jute Baxters endowed the non-denominational University College "for providing the education of persons of *both* sexes and the study of Science, Literature and the Fine Arts." ¹⁹ This was a hard-fought departure from the original proposal in 1874 of founding a Technical College for men only. Until the latter was endowed it was

¹⁶ This link was made possible with the building (and rebuilding) of the Tay Rail Bridge; St.Andrews University paid for a set amount of train tickets to be held for Dundee travelling students.

¹⁷ In 1864 St.Andrews Medical degree regulations were altered; the University could annually graduate only 10 men, already registered medical practitioners over the age of 40 at a cost of £50 each - see J.S.G.Blair, *op.cit.*, Chapter 3.

¹⁸ Report of the Royal Commissioners of the Universities of Scotland - Evidence & Appendix Vol II P. 96, 135, 389, 442; Senate Minutes April 18 1876.

¹⁹ St.Andrews Catalogue Material UCD LF1000.B6E82 of LF1000.G7E96; D.Southgate *op.cit* Chapters 1, 2.

proposed that those men attending the Professorial lectures in Dundee matriculate as St.Andrews students. In 1876-7 Knight had received a mixed response about women's matriculation from those English academics he had asked to send him written recommendations of what form any Dundee College should take.²⁰

Discussion of women's education in Dundee really requires separate study but it should be noted that the position of women within UCD was periodically troubled. In 1890 St.Andrews and UCD were united finalising their affiliation proposed by the University Commissioners in 1883. But while UCD men were thus able to attend St.Andrews classes UCD women were not and were only able to graduate by arrangement from that other 'ladies University', London, after 1891 and with St.Andrews degrees after 1892. Then in 1893 a major dispute broke out between St.Andrews and UCD. Borne of tensions rooted in the notion of the 1870s and 1880s that the ancient University might be transferred to Dundee this battle concerned the distribution of Chairs, lectureships, Senate votes and Government moneys and had eventually to be solved in Parliament.²¹ The resultant breach in the union from 1895 to 1897 brought upheaval to the education of both UCD men and women and often saw the resources of women's education used as a tool by the rival parties to win support amongst educationalists and the Government.²²

Despite these problems Elisabeth MacDonald - a St.Andrews MA student (1896-9) and then a medical student at St.Andrews and UCD(c. 1899-1904)- was able to look on UCD as an institution where women had been readily accepted from the first by Professors and men students both academically and socially. Dundee schoolgirls

²⁰ D.Southgate, *op.cit.* Chs.1-2. W.Knight 'Early Chapters,' *op.cit.* P. 47-66; for example A.S. Farrar of Durham University felt "although I approve of the thing [Women's University education] I see so many practical difficulties [in admitting women to UCD] that I do not think it desirable for a young institution to face them. Of course let ladies attend lectures but don't admit lady students until some long established institution shall have solved the problem. Cambridge is looking it frankly in the face, and will perhaps solve it by and by", P.66.

²¹ The *St.Andrews Citizen* Nov 28 1895; D. Southgate, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

²² Lord Bute, Rector of St.Andrews University was determined to see UCD dissolved; in 1896 although he had offered no money to the £6,000 University Hall fund Bute paid £20,000 to build a Medical Dept. in St.Andrews so as to ensure the proposed conjoint St.Andrews-UCD Medical School did not exist only in Dundee: he was also willing to grant no bursaries "unless perhaps a very few in favour of women medical students so as to ingratiate ourselves as much as possible with those schools.", *Donaldson Papers Box 32 - 2 Nov 1894*.

and schoolboys were after 1892 encouraged to cross the Tay to St. Andrews with competition bursaries offered by the Academies and High school for St. Andrews University and UCD.²³ Indeed St. Andrews' first women graduate Agnes Blackadder (MA Ordinary 1895) came from Dundee and had at first matriculated at UCD. Dundee women constituted a healthy proportion of St. Andrews' women graduates thereafter.²⁴ In St. Andrews itself, judging from issues of 'College Echoes' in the mid 1890s, the enormity of the dispute with UCD perhaps served to detract from the novelty of the first women students.²⁵

But despite the dispute, it should be stressed that wealthy Dundonians gave generously to St. Andrews University's schemes for women's education, including bursaries for the LLA, the Locals and degree students and large donations to the University Hall erection (1891-6) and extension (1910-2) funds.²⁶ Crucially these were links cultivated by Knight who together with James Stuart, a St. Andrews graduate and co-founder of the Association for the Better Endowment and Extension of St. Andrews University in 1877, had fostered links with businessmen and lectured to women in Dundee, Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy and Perth. As a result Ladies Educational Associations began in these towns after 1878 and United College doubled the value of its Endowment bursaries.²⁷

The St. Andrews-UCD link was further cemented after 1895 with the foundation of a Teacher Training College in Dundee under the control of a Local Committee which included in its membership St. Andrews and UCD Principals and Professors.²⁸ Women and men trainee teachers were allowed to follow concurrent University courses at both Universities with practical tuition in schools in both

²³ E. Bryson 'Look Back In Wonder', 1966 passim.

²⁴ For example in 1901 nine women graduated MA: three from Dundee, two Arbroath, one each from Broughty-Ferry, Cupar, Montrose and Birmingham. In 1902 13 women graduated MA: three again from Dundee... Senate Minutes 2 April 1902/31 March 1902.

²⁵ College Echoes issues 1893-97.

²⁶ W. Knight, 1896 op.cit., P.32-47.

²⁷ W. Knight, IBID; R. Smart, op.cit. P.26.

²⁸ J. Scotland, 'The History of Education in Scotland', passim and M. Cruickshank, A History of Teacher Training in Scotland, 1970, passim; 'St. Andrews Provincial Committee for Training of Teachers', 1905, Donaldson Papers Box 12.

towns. Interestingly though, in 1877 and again in 1889 St.Andrews University Court and UCD's Council petitioned the Scottish Education Department (SED) for assistance to establish their own Teacher Training College in St.Andrews to give trainees access to University education: Donaldson especially wanted teaching to be a graduate profession although it was not until the late 1880s that he included women teachers in this plan.²⁹ St.Andrews special claim to fulfil such a role sprang from its appointment of Professor J.M.D.Meiklejohn (1830-1902) to the Chair of the History, Theory and Method of Education in 1876.³⁰ It was though only in 1889 that St.Andrews asked that its proposed University Training College be open to women also. However on both occasions St.Andrews' petitions were rejected as it was felt there were not enough local practice schools.³¹ Education remained a non-MA subject until 1892. Significantly though it proved a popular UCD subject and the second most popular LLA subject.

Ladies Literate in Arts 1876-1914 (-1931).

I. The Educational Merits of the LLA.

"There is something almost pathetic in the eagerness with which women have realised...that half a loaf of bread [the LLA] is better than no bread, and have rushed to adorn themselves with the only academic fragment that has been vouchsafed to them, but it must not therefore be inferred that this is enough..." Christina Struthers 1883.³²

The organisational details of this famous scheme have been covered expertly elsewhere.³³ The concern here is to assess the value of the correspondence coursework, exams and titled diploma to both women and the University.

²⁹ IBID: Education News (which Donaldson edited for a while), XV Nov 1 1890.

³⁰ The St.Andrews Citizen Nov 11 1876.

³¹ By 1902 it was feared by parents that there were not enough men teachers in St.Andrews to save women teachers the difficulties of having an intimidating male trainee teacher in their class disrupting lessons - St.Andrews Citizen Oct 11 1902; Dundee Advertiser Dec 23 1902.

³² C.Struthers 'The Admission of Women to the Scottish Universities' Aberdeen 1883 P.16.

³³ See R.Smart op.cit.; W.Knight 'A History...' 1896.

Upon its launch the LA was welcomed in several quarters as the answer to the demand for "a certificate attainable by private study which could save Scotch women the trouble of seeking one in England from Cambridge and London."³⁴ By allowing women to study at home the LA placed less strain on the Victorian sense of moral propriety of parents and husbands offended by the thought of women living in Residence together or attending the same public classes or exams as men.³⁵ But the LA was more especially useful for women teachers who would like certification but could either not get or afford a Normal school (Teacher Training College) place, or who as uncertificated assistant and pupil teachers could not leave work to take up two years' residential studies: in 1879 the LA moved its exam dates from April to June to accommodate women teachers out of term time.

As Table 6 demonstrates it was as a service course for intending or practising women teachers in Scotland and England - and of course for leisured women - that the LA found its niche. From the beginning taking just one of the any three (and in 1883 five and in 1885 seven) subjects required for a diploma from a choice ultimately of over twenty-five was advertised as a "license to teach in the subjects in which they have passed or taken Honours."³⁶ This was a claim widely circulated with details of the scheme to Secondary schools and Women's Colleges in the UK. Knight and the University consistently insisted the LA courses and exams were equal in standard to the men's MA degree - often using the same question papers in subjects on the University curriculum. This involved a conscious effort - but crucially one not officially sanctioned by Government or church educational authorities - to ensure that "...the *degree* of LA is...to women what the MA is to men, and the growing anxiety on the part of men to affix this symbol of college culture to their names before trying their fortunes with school boards shows that it must be found a marketable article."³⁷

³⁴ L.R.op.cit in Ladies Edinburgh Magazine II 1877.

³⁵ R.M.Tullberg op.cit, Chapter I; W.Knight, Lecture 1887, P.5-6.

³⁶ St Andrews University Calendars 1878-1931; The St Andrews Citizen Dec 30 1876. (for subjects of LLA see Table 3A, 3)

³⁷ The Glasgow Herald & The St Andrews Citizen June 2 1877.

However, that the LLA title seemed to constitute a new 'degree' (as many educationalists and candidates mistakenly thought) and was thus illegal, being created without the consent of Parliament or the other Scottish Universities, was the most serious of several criticisms levelled at the St. Andrews scheme. Significantly these criticisms seem only to have been voiced publicly in Aberdeen between 1883 to 1887. As Lindy Moore has demonstrated however the temporary abandonment of Aberdeen University's Higher Certificate for Women (awarded for passes in three subjects) c. 1884-8, was due primarily to the popularity of the LLA in the North-East.³⁸ Indeed on the eve of the Universities Act (Scotland) LLA candidates far outnumbered those women taking all the other Scottish Universities Women's certificates lumped together.³⁹ Despite the petitions of Professors and the ALEA, Aberdeen University refused to grant women a similar title. It followed the advice of Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities, which as city institutions could rely on attracting enough women to its extra-mural women's certificates without offering them such "glittering bait" as a title.⁴⁰ Nonetheless once any bias is cleared away much of the Aberdeen criticisms of the LLA can be substantiated. Indeed they look forward to doubts expressed and acted upon by educational authorities concerning the LLA's educational merits.

In a stinging article in 1886's 'Education News' Alexander Mackie, Professor of Mathematics in Aberdeen and a preparatory tutor for the LLA, slammed the "less important" St. Andrews for offering their women's title to fill "a most dire and ominous vacuum in the University chest"; that is for selling courses at 2 guineas per candidate for their first two exams, 1 guinea for each subsequent exam, and with a charge of 4 guineas for the completed diploma signed by the University Chancellor.

³⁸ In 1881, 1882, 1883 and 1884 respectively, 92, 175, 255 and 440 candidates sat LLA exams in Aberdeen.

³⁹ Number of Women Taking University Women's Higher Certificates 1888-9.

Year	St. Andrews LLA	Aberdeen W's H.C.	Edinburgh W's H.C.	Edinburgh EAUEW	Glasgow W's H.C.
1888	553	34	6	231	15
1889	536	35	15	203	19

⁴⁰ Professor Struthers, Aberdeen Press & Journal 12 Sept 1877.

He felt St.Andrews had breached "University etiquette" with a "ridiculously easy exam". He maintained that the LLA reading lists involved too many advanced books for unsupervised women to cope with but contradicting himself he insisted the exams could be done by rote memory cramming from prefaces alone. He alleged women could easily get Honours certificates but that there was an alarming 25 to 30% who annually failed to pass a single subject. There were too many easy "superficial" subjects to choose from; exam questioning and marking was scandalously inconsistent in contrast to the more solid academic base of the Aberdeen Women's Higher Certificate which taught only University subjects, English and Modern Languages.⁴¹ John Struthers, Aberdeen's Professor of Anatomy and a strong advocate of women's education, crucially attacked "that piece of tinsel" the LLA as it was offered by a University which vended diplomas as an examining body, that is - like London University - without actually systematically teaching the women in classes: he argued it would be less radical to admit women to University classes and degrees.⁴² Mrs. Struthers too, quoted above, criticised the LLA as a separatist sop with no market value as a teaching qualification and which might actually marginalise the campaign for women's equal entry to the Universities.⁴³

In reply for St.Andrews Principal Donaldson insisted "the LLA exams have been made equal to those of the MA, they are unquestionably difficult. Many candidates are rejected...I have had conclusive proof that in various parts of England women estimate the LLA as the highest title which they can attain..." In this defence he was supported by letters from LLA candidates who above all emphasised their own lack of vanity and the high level of advanced study necessary for the LLA which often exceeded that for the MA.⁴⁴

⁴¹ A.Mackie 'The Higher Certificate for Women' in Education News Nov 13 1886 P.803-4. He accused Professor Meiklejohn of marking competent Education papers down for bad spelling and passing poor papers attaining less than 50%.

⁴² Struthers op.cit.; Professor J.Trail Aberdeen Press & Journal 13 Sept 1886.

⁴³ C.Struthers op.cit..

⁴⁴ J.Donaldson 'University Addresses' 1 Nov 1887P.38-9; See also letters by Mackie and Donaldson in Education News Nov 27 1886, Dec 4 1886 and Article on lecture by Knight to the Aberdeen EIS Jan 22 1887;

However, in exploring the record evidence it is difficult to confirm or deny Donaldson's assertion that the LLA was of MA degree standard. Before 1892 most of the LLA's subjects were not taught as part of the University curriculum. But the scheme did contain most of those subjects - especially Modern Languages, Education and Popular Sciences - which some educationalists at that time argued should be introduced to modernise and widen the University curriculum.⁴⁵ The MA then had only seven compulsory subjects: Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Moral Philosophy, Logic & Metaphysics, Natural Philosophy and Comparative Philology. A glance at the set LLA reading and exam for Honours Latin in June 1886 for example does suggest a marked similarity with those set for MA students.⁴⁶ There are moreover regularly repeated resolutions in the Senate and LLA Committee minutes to ensure that the standard of the LLA was as close to University level as possible and where necessary improved.⁴⁷ With these efforts in view Mackie's criticism of the poor intellectual quality of the exams should be treated with caution. On the other hand St. Andrews did frequently concede the difficulty of attaining a uniform standard of coursework and questions.⁴⁸ After 1892 and ironically the widening of the University curriculum to include most of the subjects offered by the LLA as part of a more structured three or four year Arts or Science degree, it surely became more difficult to equate syllabuses done by correspondence with those actually *taught* in the University. This must have been particularly so where complex theory or practical laboratory work was involved despite the introduction of practical Science exams in

also letter by LLA candidate, 'Unfledged', defending the self-taught LLA women and an article in Aberdeen Girls' High School Magazine 1, 1, 1885 by Annie Black 'The LLA Degree' P.16-7.

⁴⁵ See R.D. Andreson 'Education...', 1985 op.cit. Chapter 3 'University Reform 1858-78: Science & Culture' and Chapter 7.

⁴⁶ St. Andrews University Calendar 1885-6 P.75-6; LLA Calendar 1885-6 P.7 to 15.

⁴⁷ For Example: Senate Minutes Nov 2 1878, 8 March 1884, 1 April 1902 - also at the end of every LLA Committee Report to the Senate; LLA Committee Minutes Dec 10 1878 ("should be greater uniformity in the Honours standard for the LA certificate, certain subjects in this years programme being so much easier than others.."), March 10 1891("requests the examiners to be specially careful in assigning Honours to any candidate and generally to keep up the standard of the exam.."), July 20 1892 ("attention was called to the great disproportion between the number of those who pass and fail in the various subjects and it was decided that the question of granting a pass on the Honours paper should be very carefully considered.."), Dec 12 1901.

⁴⁸ To University Commissioners July 1890 P.3 [Petition held in Misc. Folder UY3778 in St. Andrews University Archives] and to EED 1902-4 [LLA Committee Minutes, passim].

some LLA centres after 1900. Thus perhaps inevitably in 1895 it was very quietly "no longer intimated that the standard of exam for the MA and the LLA of this University was equivalent."⁴⁹ After 1895 the University did though allow women to sit MA papers to count towards an LLA diploma.⁵⁰

Closer analysis however, of the available LLA statistics over the period does suggest a preference by candidates for what were viewed by some contemporaries as 'easy', less traditional academic subjects. More importantly such analysis can be used to underline the gap, which varied by locality and social class, between girls' Secondary education and University learning. As Table 2 shows a fair proportion of LLA candidates annually failed to pass at either Pass or Honours level in one or more subject, in this period averaging 15 to 20%. This perhaps should not be unexpected. Overall by 1914 some 40.5% of candidates had qualified for a diploma taking on average three years to complete. This contrasts favourably with the similar matriculation and drop-out rates of men students before 1892 and significantly of both men and women students after 1892 until 1914 (discussed in Chapter Five). It had long been a tradition for students to attend University for just a session or two to 'finish' their education or to add concurrent University courses to their teacher training without graduating: women were not the only 'dilettantes'. Many LLA candidates surely had an interest in only one or two subjects, failed to complete their private studies because of domestic or teaching commitments or failed exams thus falling short of the number of subjects necessary for a diploma. Many women continued to add subjects and a "special value" to their completed diplomas.⁵¹

However, a breakdown of the LLA results by subject suggests that the exams were perhaps harder than Mackie would have us believe. Tables 3A and 3B

⁴⁹ LLA Committee Minutes Dec 16 1895: a fact not pointed out by Knight in his 1896 History of the LLA; in 1906 Professor Herkless did point out that "the LLA is not a degree but a diploma...the LLA examinations may not be according to the standard of those for the MA degree in the University; but after most careful consideration of the pass degrees in Oxford and Cambridge we...believe that it is at least equal to a pass degree of these Universities...we think that holders of the LLA diploma should be recognised by Education Committees for the purpose of allowances..." cited by R.Smart, op.cit., P.24.

⁵⁰ See Senate Minutes 1895 on ; also University Hall Committee Minutes passim and Annual Hall Reports 1911, 1912, 1913 in UY3778 op.cit.

⁵¹ W.Knight, 'A History...', op.cit. 1896, or 'Lecture...', 1887 op.cit.

demonstrate that throughout the period in question LLA candidates clearly preferred subjects which would help them in the teaching profession. Education, English Literature and French were clearly most in demand. Significantly German, History, Geography, Political Economy and several of the Sciences (Chemistry, Botany, Geology, Zoology and Physiology) were far more popular than Latin, Greek, Mathematics or Moral Philosophy. As Moore and Corr have shown far fewer girls than boys were taught Classics and Mathematics at Elementary and especially Secondary levels even in Scottish state schools after 1872. This situation continued after 1892. Elisabeth MacDonald tells how her Mother had difficulty persuading her teacher to let girls take Latin and Maths classes in order to sit Dundee Harris Academy and St. Andrews University bursary exams in the 1890s.⁵² Indeed working and lower middle-class girls were disadvantaged not only by the increasing emphasis on domestic training in elementary schools but along with middle-class girls in fee-paying day schools by the fact that until 1913 Mathematics and Latin or Greek were worth twice as many points as French or German in St. Andrews University bursary and entry exams. This was a double bind. Schools inevitably began to favour Latin over Greek and French over German to the neglect of a fuller Classical or Modern Languages education.⁵³ Many women after 1892 thus had to study the classics privately before entering University. On average women students c.1892-9 came to St. Andrews a year or two older than men although this gap narrowed after c.1900.

But women's neglect of Classics, Mathematics or Philosophy as their LLA subjects was not perhaps always through choice. Although as Table 8 suggests a fairly high proportion of women students after 1892 had to take beginner's Junior Latin, Greek or Mathematics in their first year - and perhaps resit the Ordinary degree courses in these subjects - a significant number went on to take Honours degrees in

⁵² E. Bryson *op.cit.*, P.83 - Elisabeth only ever learnt "one line of Greek." See L. Moore, 'Educating for the Women's Sphere.', *op.cit.* and 'Invisible Scholars...', *op.cit.*; H. Corr, 'The Schoolgirl's Curriculum...', *op.cit.*

⁵³ F. Melville, 'University Education of Women in the 20th Century', address to Glasgow Pupil Teachers in *Education News* XXVI 1901, P.551-2.

Classics or Mathematics.⁵⁴ The first woman to attain an MA Honours degree at St. Andrews did so with a First class in Classics. Classics appears to have been the most popular Honours degree among Hall women up to 1914 along with Mathematics and Modern Languages.⁵⁵ Clearly many Victorian women wanted access to the same subjects as well as the same degrees as men but were perhaps frustrated by their schooling.

However it has already been argued that most LLA candidates pursued those subjects many Victorian educationalists felt should replace the general Classical degree in order to make Scotland's Universities and her teachers more responsive to the commercial needs of the age. Principal Donaldson, a consistent campaigner for teaching to become a graduate profession, went so far as to say that Scottish Universities were really just dull "schools" without advanced learning or specialist research.⁵⁶ In this context it is perhaps understandable why even the more dilettante LLA subjects like Fine Art and Aesthetics and Music, or those subjects which women could use in place of the religious and pupil hygiene instruction they would have received in Training Colleges, were almost as popular as the core pre-1892 MA subjects. The Senate's reluctant offer of a scholarship of £35 and special value LLA diploma if candidates took all seven MA topics as their LLA subjects (1885), and the recommendation that they choose subjects from Classical, Philosophical and Scientific groupings (1886), appear to have made no difference.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ One women student, Mary Mitchell (MA1903) sat Ordinary MA Latin eight times - Senate Minutes 9 August 1908 P.74.

⁵⁵ Hand-written Record of Residents held in University Hall: Honours degrees - Classics, Maths, Modern Languages 11; English Literature 9; History 8; Medicine 22; Philosophy 5; Chemistry 3; Economic Science 2; Theology, Botany 1. Between 1892 and 1998 St. Andrews 10 women sat Honours Maths, 10 Honours Greek, 4 Honours Latin, 2 each of Honours Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, Logic and English Literature (for which the Honours paper began after 1898); and 1 each Chemistry and History - the men were more concentrated in Honours Nat.Phil, Greek, Latin, Maths, Chemistry, Logic: see Alphabetical Lists of students held in St. Andrews University Archives 1892-3 to 1898-9. Women students seem to have taken Classics despite the reported hostility to women of Classics Professor Lindsay after c.1900 - E.Osman (MA St.A 1916 1st in Classics), 'Recollections of University Hall 1912-17', typescript held in University Hall, P.4.

⁵⁶ J.Donaldson 'On Some Defects in the Educational Organisation of Scotland', Contemporary Review XLI 1882; Papers in Donaldson Papers Box 2.

⁵⁷ Statement of Changes made to the LLA 1877-1892, held in Donaldson Papers Vol.66: however the first women to achieve this all-MA LLA, a Miss Jessie Scott-Ferguson in July 1886, was denied the full £35 and awarded only £20 "as gratia, it is not to be taken as a precedent for future years.." [Senate Minutes 29 July 1886].

But Tables 3A and 3B also reveal quite a high failure rate at Pass and even more so at Honours levels in subjects like English, Education, French, Logic and Mathematics, sometimes over 25 to 50%: for example in Honours English Literature in 1895 21 women passed and 58 failed, in 1900 22 passed and 29 failed. These figures can be broken down further. After 1887 the University and LLA Calendars published the LLA results with individual gradings at Pass and Honours of A (80% +), B (60 to 80%) and C (50 to 60% at Pass level but at Honours corresponding to a Fail but with a compensatory Pass award.). Therefore in Table 4 the figures for 1890, 1895 and 1900 suggest that although most candidates sat Pass level exams many of the Pass awards recorded in Table 3A were in fact narrowly failed (C grade) Honours papers. For example in English Literature in 1890 596 women attained a Pass award: 73 attained an A (12%), 220 a B (37%), 122 a C (20.5), and 183 a compensatory Honours Pass (30%). Comparing these tables also reveals a greater number of C awards at both levels in popular subjects like English, Education and French and Physiology.

It should again be stressed that many LLA candidates would have been self taught. Knight and the University were well aware though of these subject trends and endeavoured to counter them. The EAUEW statistics for this period indicate a similar pattern of subject choice and results although it did not offer French or German.⁵⁸ But it is interesting that even in those subjects Knight was prepared to admit constituted "the line of least resistance" to candidates, like Modern Languages and the sciences, the results attained could be construed as poor.⁵⁹ This must surely be taken as reflection of the low academic standard of girls' Secondary education c.1870-1914 and the limitations of improvements in this field to meet University standards which varied across social classes and geographically. Arguably most A and B awards and completed LLAs were attained either by women in the major cities or towns which

⁵⁸ S.Hamilton *op.cit.* P. 104-5.

⁵⁹ W.Knight, *Lecture op.cit.* 1887 P.20-1; "The danger is that a candidate whose bent is scientific may take her one language, which is almost sure to be French - and all the rest of her subjects in the popular Sciences.."

Knight visited in 1887 and where preparatory tuition for the LLA was offered; or by girls educated in middle-class Girls' High or Public Day schools with liberal curriculums of which there were notably fewer in Scotland than England.⁶⁰ But can these reservations about the LLA's educational merits be mitigated by the market value the diploma had for its holders?

II. *The Market Value of the LLA.*

As Table 5 shows until 1893-4 there were more Scots-based women taking the LLA than English or Welsh, but thereafter the number of Scots women levelled out and declined to a small minority by c.1910. English numbers rose steadily to peak in 1909 and declined slowly thereafter until the scheme began to lose money in 1924 and was discontinued in 1931. Before c.1892 the appeal of the LLA for all women was surely that it provided them with both a titled diploma well known for its intellectual difficulty and heavy work volume in teaching circles, and also a potential alternative or supplement to Training College teacher's certificates, as Table 6 suggests.

But in Scotland after the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act the teaching profession was so rapidly 'feminized' that a large proportion of those women examined for a Training College place and competent enough to get one were rejected. They had to continue as uncertificated or pupil teachers perhaps studying for their certificate externally. Of the smaller number of men applying to Training Colleges to qualify for Headships and Secondary posts a far smaller proportion were rejected. To illustrate this, in 1877 the year of the LA's introduction, 112 women sat the entry exam for the Church of Scotland Training College in Glasgow; 10 failed but only 52 got places. Of the 75 men who applied 17 failed but 50 got places.⁶¹ By the same token women trainee teachers were eligible for only a few competitive bursaries while most men trainees were guaranteed fees and maintenance awards for larger sums. More

⁶⁰ Noticeably those English speaking girls sitting exams in French and German in France and Germany attained a high proportion of As.

⁶¹ H.Corr, 'The Sexual Division of Labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession 1872-1914' in Humes/Paterson op. cit., P.141.

importantly after 1873 men trainee teachers were funded to take concurrent University courses, an option which half of their number took by c.1880.⁶²

In this context the LLA must understandably have been an attractive, cheaper and flexible alternative for many working and lower middle-class women to the stressful cram of a two year self-financed College course. Moreover, women were sorely limited by the fewer Science and Languages which females could study in Secondary school and Training College in comparison to males, and by the compulsory domestic training women had to receive at both these levels.⁶³ The LLA may have served as an alternative which allowed intelligent, ambitious women to improvise the testing intellectual education they felt they were deprived. This may have been especially the case at a time when many educationalists - Donaldson included - sought to make teaching a graduate profession. Furthermore for English women, the LLA allowed them to follow their male relatives in tapping into the recognised superiority of Scottish University professional training.⁶⁴

However, in Scotland effective moves were made after c.1892 towards the end of the uncertificated teacher. Women were admitted to the Universities as full-time or concurrent teaching students in 1892, Carnegie University fees began in 1901, and the SED took over the Training Colleges from the Churches and reformed the curriculum and funding of teacher training in 1895, 1898 and 1905.⁶⁵ This surely explains why the number of Scottish women resorting to the ad hoc alternative of the LLA declined when it did.

⁶² Men trainee teachers got £20 bursaries if they passed Training College Entry exams amounting to two years fees free; if they took concurrent University courses they had their fees paid and £3 allowance. Women trainees however, had to compete for bursaries of £8 to £18, they had to pay at least £3 fees a year. The college got £100 for each man and £75 for each woman; after 1895 Universities were able to take on Queens/Kings students (trainee teachers) and got £25 per man and £20 per woman - C.Struthers, 'The Admission of Women to the Scottish Universities' 1883 P.12. "Mixed Colleges preferred women, who as of a higher social class than men, could pay their own way.." - M.Cruickshank op.cit. P. 91.

⁶³ IBID., P. 90-1 reports that in Training Colleges before the reforms of the 1890s women students were able to take one language (usually French) and one Science while men were able to take three of each because the women had to do needlework, cooking/cleaning and drawing courses.

⁶⁴ HMI Matthew Arnold stressed the superiority of Scottish Teacher Training over the more 'Monastic' church-run English Teacher Training to the 1886 Cross Commission, cited in M.Cruickshank, op.cit., P.112.

⁶⁵ IBID. It would be interesting to break down the LLA results to compare those attained at Scottish centres against those in England to see if any links can be made with the reciprocal reputation that English middle-class girl's schooling was better than Scots.

In England however there was no such reform of teacher training nor the sanction of concurrent University courses for men or women by the Church-run Training Colleges. The problem of uncertificated and pupil teachers was not dealt with until after 1945. Alternative certification and thus the LLA therefore remained a necessity for an increasing number of working and middle-class English women with a view to posts in both state and private girls' schools. The numbers of English LLA candidates only began to decrease after 1909, and then very slowly. The decline perhaps followed the removal in 1906 of the LLA from Appendix B of the EED's Teacher's Register, which recognised *general education certificates* entitling holders to a higher teacher's starting salary of £100 for men and £90 for women.⁶⁶ But more likely it came after the introduction of the 'Bursary system' of funding teacher training in 1907.⁶⁷ Thus it was arguably as an ad hoc response to the limited opportunities available to their gender in Teacher Training - in terms of College places, Curriculum, funding and teaching posts at the end of the day - that women turned to the LLA in perhaps unexpected numbers and for so long.

However it must be stressed that the LLA appears to have had a greater *unofficial*, word-of-mouth value in the teaching market than it had as a recognised teacher's qualification. The LLA did have some official recognition.⁶⁸ Yet apart from these privileges and those extended to candidates by St. Andrews University itself, the LLA - like Victorian women generally - did suffer from an ambiguity of legal status.

In December 1884 an unsuccessful appeal was made to the London Education Department to have those LLA candidates who passed at Honours level in three

⁶⁶ Donaldson Papers Vol 34; the average salary of Scottish state school teachers 1872-1900 was £121 to £145 for men and £62 to £72 for women; Miss Lumsden received £300 p.a as Headmistress of St. Leonards Girls' School - her teachers got £150 p.a. - H. Corr, 'An Exploration into Scottish Education' *op.cit.* P.305; M. Hamilton ed. 'St. Leonards School 1877-1977' P.78-9.

⁶⁷ P. Horn, 'The Victorian and Edwardian Schoolchild', AS 1989: in 1914 32% of women in English Elementaries were certificated and College trained; 27% certificated but not College trained; 41% uncertificated and untrained. P. 165.

⁶⁸ In October 1879 the Cambridge University Teacher Training Syndicate accepted the LLA "as equivalent to graduation" in their exams. In 1887 the Ministry of Public Instruction in France accepted the LLA as equal to Sorbonne or Lycee Modern Languages Certificates. In March 1890 the LLA was placed by the General Medical Council on its list of exams entitling students to exemption to preliminary Medical school entry exams: see W. Knight, 1896 *op.cit.* P.8-9 and R. Smart, *op.cit.*

University subjects exempted from repeating Departmental exams in these subjects to test their eligibility for Headmistressships.⁶⁹ In July 1890 Knight and Donaldson led a deputation to the Scottish University Commissioners seeking recognition for the LLA as a non-residential degree or "quasi-degree" for women, insisting the LLA exams and results be "severely tested" by the Commissioners. This came at a time when it was expected that women would soon be admitted to the Universities and St. Andrews itself was planning both a co-educational Teacher Training College and a Summer School for women, discussed below. But the Commissioners insisted steps be taken "by which the present elasticity of the LLA might be reduced."⁷⁰ Much effort was expended in 1891-3 reorganising the LLA subjects into five compulsory groups along the lines of the new MA regulations. But neither the Commissioners or the LLA Committee appears to have accepted these changes.

This was a pattern of events repeated in 1902-6 but with the emphasis now on the value of the LLA to English women. The LLA Committee appealed to the English Education Department to have the diploma placed on Appendix A of its Teacher's Register which recognised certificates as acceptable Teachers' qualifications entitling holders to better salaries and senior posts without resitting exams in subjects they had already studied.⁷¹ However the EED objected to the "dilettante" subjects of the diploma which it felt "not altogether worthy of an institution which is properly desirous of being respected as an authority in education."⁷² Despite efforts to drop Fine Art, Aesthetics and Music and to draw up a satisfactory Teacher's LLA Diploma with compulsory subjects and a five year time limit, the EED rejected the application as it was still a "non-residential qualification"⁷³. This was arguably a curious stance for the EED to take at a time when most English women Teachers were

⁶⁹ IBID P. 11.

⁷⁰ 'The University of St. Andrews & the Higher Education of Women' six page Memorial held in UY3778. St. Andrews University Archives.

⁷¹ Donaldson Papers Box 34.

⁷² IBID January 1904 passim: "candidates are apt to choose [a course] which neither in all the subjects included nor in the order which they are taken, nor in the relation of the subjects one to another can be regarded as satisfactory."

⁷³ LLA Committee Minutes January 1904 op.cit..

uncertificated and the non-residential correspondence certificates of the College of Preceptors and the Oxford and Cambridge Locals were already listed in Appendix A of the Register. Finally between 1906 and 1908 the EED temporarily cancelled the aforementioned Appendix B of its Teachers' Register which since 1892 had included the LLA.⁷⁴ Despite these privileges women teachers holding just an LLA were still technically looked upon as 'uncertificated assistants' in the same way as holders of the untitled EAUEW, QMC, Cambridge and Aberdeen University Women's Higher certificates.⁷⁵ As if to underline this ambiguity, in 1919, long after St. Andrews University's failures to have the LLA officially recognised, the Senatus was still appealing to the SED to have those teachers who attained their LLA before 1896 admitted to salaries at graduate level.⁷⁶

Such non-recognition of the LLA should though not be over stressed. Certificates like those of St. George's Training College in Edinburgh were similarly not recognised by the SED despite St. Georges women being in demand world-wide as Secondary school teachers; Edinburgh University's Teacher's Certificate was not recognised by the SED between 1887-1895.⁷⁷ Clearly as the University Commissioners, Education Departments and School Boards took steps to integrate Scottish Universities and schools into a national system and to increase the quality of state Teacher Training, such extra-mural certification became less desirable even though a sizeable number of women still found it a viable and at times necessary strategy to seek such ad hoc certification. A similar pattern can be seen among women improvising their medical education and forming a network of posts in women's hospitals and Medical Colleges established by women themselves.⁷⁸ More cynically though these authorities had a vested interest in excluding as many as possible of the

⁷⁴ Donaldson Papers Box 34. St. Andrews held an extra exam diet that year to allow some 54 women to register before the deadline [See Table 2].

⁷⁵ Letter from 'Justice' complaining that SED does not recognise LLA as University graduate equivalent - Education News Sept. 12 1896 P.607.

⁷⁶ LLA Committee Minutes 16 Jan. 1919.

⁷⁷ Academic Review, February 1893, P.18.

⁷⁸ See C.Blake, *op.cit.* and W.Alexander, *op.cit.*.

large number of women who possessed such certification from access to the privileges of pay and promotion to which a Normal School, degree education or more rigorously structured correspondence diploma education entitled teachers: women teachers indeed were a source of cheap labour undercutting the breadwinner's wage demanded by men.⁷⁹

But as Struthers argued in the 1880s, the absence of Professorial instruction to LLA candidates and their uncontrolled choice of subjects and timetable, perhaps inevitably disqualified the diploma from recognition as a teaching qualification after 1890. Without classes the LLA undeniably failed to inculcate transferable teaching skills as well as knowledge of a subject to those candidates untrained in the practicalities of the classroom. Nor seemingly could the LLA stand as a general degree. In 1892-3 eight women who had passed enough EAUEW courses, for a certificate Knight expressed a curiously low opinion of⁸⁰, were allowed to graduate with MAs from Edinburgh University. Similarly, women with Higher Certificate class passes at QMC were allowed to graduate from Glasgow University.⁸¹ A session earlier Knight had failed to secure Degree status for the LLA surely with a view to allowing St. Andrews women to graduate in 1892-3. Clearly the EAUEW and QMC certificates were more highly valued for its Professorial tuition of women.⁸² In 1902-4 however it is interesting to note that Knight vigorously opposed any moves to make certain LLA subject groupings compulsory for candidates, supporting only their recommendation as he feared it went against the popular flexibility of the scheme. This last was a spirit he correctly felt would "remain more suited to the circumstances of the majority of women" even after their admission to the "racehorse cram" of Universities.⁸³

⁷⁹ H.Corr, 'The Sexual Division of Labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession 1872-1914', *op.cit.*

⁸⁰ W.Knight, 'Lecture...', 1887, P.13 - he felt the EAUEW certificate to be "rarely admirable in many respects."

⁸¹ W.N.B.Watson, 'The First Eight Ladies', *University of Edinburgh Journal*, 23 1967-8.

⁸² "If taken with Honours [the LLA] represents much the same standard as the certificate of Edinburgh." - *Ladies Edinburgh Magazine* V 1879.

⁸³ W.Knight, *Lecture 1887, op.cit. P. 5.*

But it does seem as though the LLA, despite some justifiable doubts about the educational value of some of the diploma's aspects, did help women secure teaching posts where more a personal consideration of applicants' qualifications by Boards, school Governors or Headmistresses was involved.⁸⁴ Indeed as a result of a wide network of contacts built up over a 55 year period in English Girls' Day School and Women's College circles and with certain Scottish School Boards - particularly those to which Knight regularly advertised the LLA and where Preparatory LLA classes were offered - the diploma may have carried quite some value. Certainly women who had sat LLA exams or attained a completed diploma and gone on to secure assistant mistress-ships, Headmistress-ships or lecturing posts in Women's or Training Colleges, contributed in turn to the improvement of girl's secondary education c.1876-1931, and the LLA's market value. This networking doubtless worked in a manner similar to that of St.Andrews men (and women) graduates, and was perhaps symbolised by the special badge and hood which the Senatus granted to LLA holders after 1883.⁸⁵ Gustav Hein, a Modern Languages Teacher at Aberdeen Girl's High School which prepared its senior girls for the St.Andrews Locals and then the LLA, asserted in 1883 that "*the degree* [my italics] may be illegal but...I know for a fact that in England the best places in Secondary ladies schools are now preferentially given to ladies who possess such a title as St.Andrews is giving" a claim echoed by Knight in 1887, and by several women teachers elsewhere.⁸⁶ Moreover as Robert Smart stresses the LLA was also taken by women who pursued careers in local government, the suffrage campaign, the civil service, medicine and social and secretarial work: arguably capable women were able to make more of the LLA than Knight had

⁸⁴ "I thought perhaps the LLA might still rank tacitly as something assisting in promotion. I believe, in spite of official denials, that it does so act, but generally where there is a strong personal influence behind backing up the candidate." Letter 17 Nov 1909, from London County Council Training College to Miss Annie Lloyd-Evans MA St.Andrews 1892-7, Head of Church of Ireland Training College in Dublin. Donaldson Papers Box 34.

⁸⁵ Senate Minutes 10 March 1883. Interestingly the LLA was held by the first two women English Schools Inspectors and the first woman President of the FES - R.Smart, 'op.cit.', P. 28.

⁸⁶ L.Moore, Northern Scotland 3 1980 op.cit. P.143 ; W.Knight Lecture 1887, op.cit. - "At present when the claims of rival candidates for important educational posts, both at home and abroad, have been considered, the possession of the LLA title has sometimes determined the election in favour of the holder." P. 24.

envisaged in emphasising its value to teachers.⁸⁷ The LLA perhaps though achieved success before its organisers had time to consider its 'legitimisation' as it were by the educational authorities. Certainly before c.1884 there is no evidence in the official minutes of steps to define the diploma's vocational position.

Conclusions.

It is important to stress that at St.Andrews - unlike the EAUEW, St.Georges, Glasgow's Queen Margaret College, the ALEA and the women's colleges in Cambridge and Oxford - it was the University as an institution which forwarded Victorian women's Higher Education as a matter of policy. The LLA met the demand and lifestyles of those women who could not undertake or afford residential studies. By offering women a controversial title much advertised and discussed in the Press and educational journals it undoubtedly raised public awareness of women's academic capabilities and demands.

It also publicised the pioneering of St.Andrews University. Indeed it could be argued that St.Andrews was reinventing and reinvigorating itself in such a novel, commercial manner as to provoke some criticism of its hard-sell methods.⁸⁸ Certainly it extended its visible influence far beyond that of its city rivals. Numerous LLA centres were established throughout the British Isles, Europe and the Empire each, if possible, run through a ladies Committee with local teachers or ministers invigilating at exams usually held in the halls of Colleges or Universities. Two Professors (at £25 p.a. each) were appointed annually to set and mark the exams in each subject. Bursaries were offered by the St.Andrews LEA, teachers in St.Andrews and Dundee (the High School), the St.Andrews and Kirkcaldy branches of the EIS, Kirkcaldy's Lord Provost and by the National Union for Improving the Education of Women in England. There were as aforementioned a large number of preparatory classes for the

⁸⁷ R.Smart *op.cit.* P.28-9; L.Leneman, 'A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland' 1991, Appendix, p.253-73.

⁸⁸ A.Mackie in Education News Nov 1886; St.Andrews' "touting at HQ" was satirised in the Scotsman May 28 1877.

LLA offered mostly in England but also by St. Georges school in Edinburgh, Kelso Ladies College, Dennistoun Ladies' College in Glasgow, Aberdeen Girls High School and Dundee's co-educational High School.⁸⁹ This confirms the diploma did contribute to the development of female Secondary education moving towards a continuum between elementary, secondary and higher levels.

Finally whilst, as contemporaries commented, the scheme helped revive St. Andrews' image and reputation as a healthy and popular educational institution with a renewed "prospective capability of extended usefulness", too much should not be made of the fiscal income from the scheme.⁹⁰ A small amount from the LLA fund was used to pay University debts. But at a regular profit of £150 to £300 a year with running costs of two or three times this amount the fund - amounting to approximately £2000 in 1892 - was sensibly dedicated as a separate budget to forwarding women's Education through creating bursaries for women students and erecting, running and extending University Hall for Women and paying the Hall Warden's salary.⁹¹ "Miserably poor" St. Andrews was really only saved by windfalls from private benefactions and government grants after the union with UCD.

After Knight's retiral (1902) the LLA did arguably become "a money-maker", run by the University Court rather than the Senatus after 1908. Over a thousand candidates a year enrolled towards the end of that decade with up to half of them

⁸⁹ There were LLA preparatory centres also at three Colleges in London; University College, Nottingham; Correspondence Colleges in Cambridge, Colchester, Tooting, Sheffield, Colchester and Bristol; Dennistoun Ladies College, Glasgow; and by private individuals in Edinburgh, London and several other English towns - St. Andrews University Prospectus 1906 in UY3778.

⁹⁰ In a statement to the University Commissioners in April 1883, discussed below on Page 47 and in Chapter 4, the Senatus listed the several schemes which illustrated the University's renewed "prosperity and usefulness [and] inherent vitality", listing the LLA first, the Locals scheme second, then UCD and then calling for a Government Grant to further the University's revival and stressing the suitability of St. Andrews as a small University with healthily small classes - SRO MS ED 26/7 op.cit. - in the hope that the Commissioners would drop the proposal in their first draft bill to dissolve St. Andrews if it no longer proved viable: a similar appeal was lodged in May 1883. The Spectator felt that "so much interest is manifested in the degree [LLA] that it may safely be predicted it will yet lead to the introduction of sweet girl graduates...before long within the walls of our University..." [St. Andrews Citizen Aug 7 1886]. In 1883 Aberdeen University had commissioned the University Commissioners insisting that to dissolve St. Andrews University would have been a "public calamity." [Scotsman April 23 1883].

⁹¹ For example in 1900 the LLA course fees amounted to £1,107; £571 from diploma fees; and with other sources amounted to a total income of £1,721; some £1,484 of this was expended on examiners fees, centre fees, postage, advertising, Hall Warden's salary etc.. In 1902 the University's total income was £22,317, the overall balance £112,889: see Donaldson Papers Box 15.

examined in London.⁹² It might then be argued that the LLA had been just an understandable expedient to both revive the University and offset the need of educating women in separate or co-educational classes, or was developed as such when it proved popular. After all in April and May 1883 the Senatus had stressed St.Andrews' efforts in women's higher education to the University Commissioners in an appeal to have them drop clauses in the draft Universities Bill which provided for the abolition of St.Andrews University and its Colleges should they prove non-viable. No real effort it might seem was made to reorganise the LLA's structure to make it an officially acceptable Teachers' diploma in 1890-3 and 1902-6 *regardless* of whether this scared away candidates. Yet the other education schemes held up with pride to the Commissioners in 1883 underline the reality that St.Andrews' efforts to help women - though limited by the law, the University's location and its finances - did not stop at the LLA.

Admittedly before 1892 St.Andrews perhaps did less than Edinburgh's EAUEW and St.Georges, with its Girls' High School and Training College, to improve female education at all levels. Yet as aforementioned, whilst St.Andrews would only start a Training College with UCD at the third attempt in 1895, a number of St.Andrews Professors - most with daughters to educate - joined in a private capacity with their wives and ladies from the St.Andrews LEA in founding the St.Andrews School for Girls Company in 1877, modelled on the English Girls' Day School Company of 1872. This was not a scheme officially attached to the University although numerous Professors sat on the Company's Governing Council. The latter received considerable loans from the Senatus out of the LLA fund helping them to buy the St.Leonards property and expand their teaching facilities.

As a fee paying Boarding school though St.Leonards has been said to have "appealed to a social stratum where careers were not a high priority for women."⁹³

⁹² R.Smart, *op.cit.* P. 26. Legal opinion was sought as to whether the Court or Senatus should control the LLA fund.

⁹³ R.D.Anderson, '*Education and Opportunity...*', *op.cit.* P. 249.

This is to go too far: St.Leonards girls certainly went on to St.Georges Training College and to teaching posts in Girls' private Day schools, including their alma mater. But whilst St.Leonards was the first secondary school of its kind with an academic curriculum in Scotland it did not have a natural affinity to its local University. In contrast St.Georges High School girls constituted one fifth of Edinburgh University women students in the 1890s; the LLA preparatory class of Aberdeen Girls' High School stopped after 1897 as the girls prepared to attend Aberdeen University instead. St.Leonards girls were prepared though for Girton, Oxford or London Matriculation exams. Their aim clearly was a teaching post in an English Girls' Day school or Women's College.

Some senior girls may have attended St.Andrews University lectures after 1892 to help them prepare for these exams.⁹⁴ But links with Cambridge reflected the ethos behind St.Leonards. Louisa Lumsden (1840-1935), the first Principal, and her successors were typically drawn from Girton, Oxford or Cheltenham Ladies Colleges, where the aim was not only to supervise resident pupils' studies but also to oversee girls' moral character, social behaviour and physical health.⁹⁵ St.Leonards imported these ethics.⁹⁶ Arguably it was this Victorian patriarchal ethos of intellectual, moral, social and physical supervision - "to secure something of the discipline of an English College...without in the least forfeiting the individual liberty dear to the Scot and myself personally" - which Lumsden and Knight (a St.Leonards share-holder) had in mind for middle-class women in their 'Scottish Girton', University Hall.⁹⁷ However that such an ethos and Women's College formed part of Knight's long-term vision in 1877 only partly refutes charges that St.Andrews University's schemes for women's education - and chiefly the LLA - were merely half measures which served to

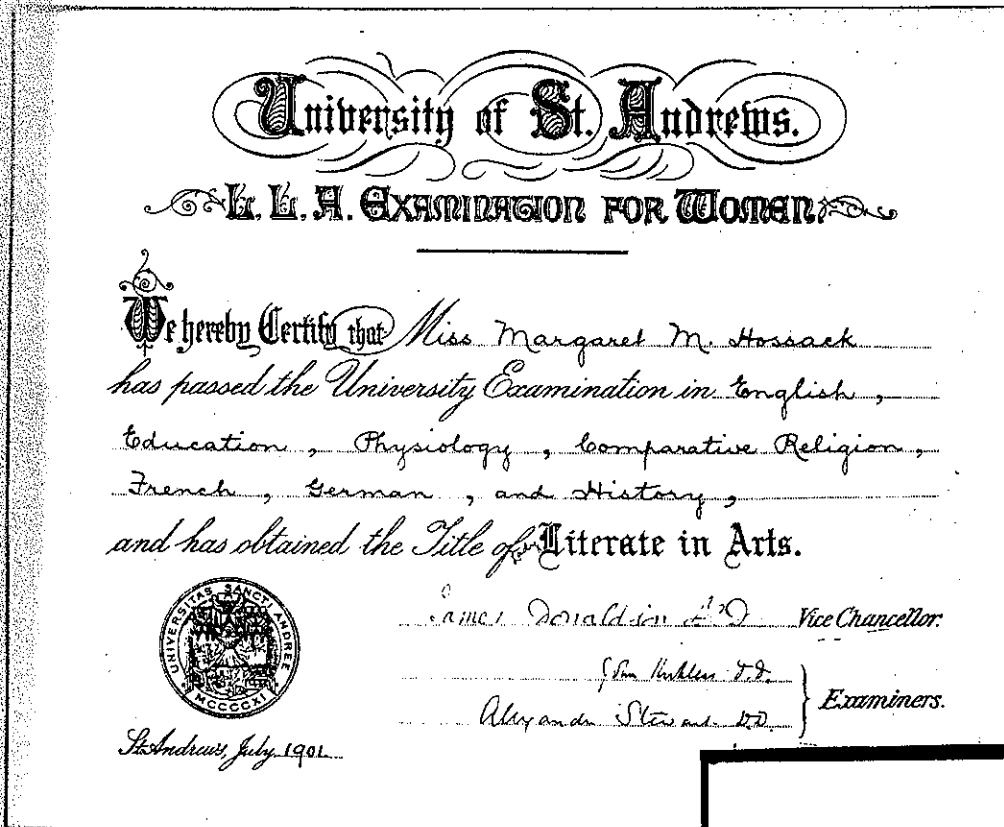
⁹⁴ M.Hamilton, 'St.Leonards School 1822-1977', *op.cit.* P.16; Elisabeth Garrett sent her daughter to St.Leonards; for St.Georges/Edinburgh facts see E.Patrick, *Dissertation, op.cit.*

⁹⁵ A.Digby/P.Searby, 'Children, School and Society in 19th Century England', 1981, P.168-172; 'Lady Margaret Hall - A Short History' 1923 OUP; A.Gardner, 'A Short History of Newnham College', Bristol 1921.

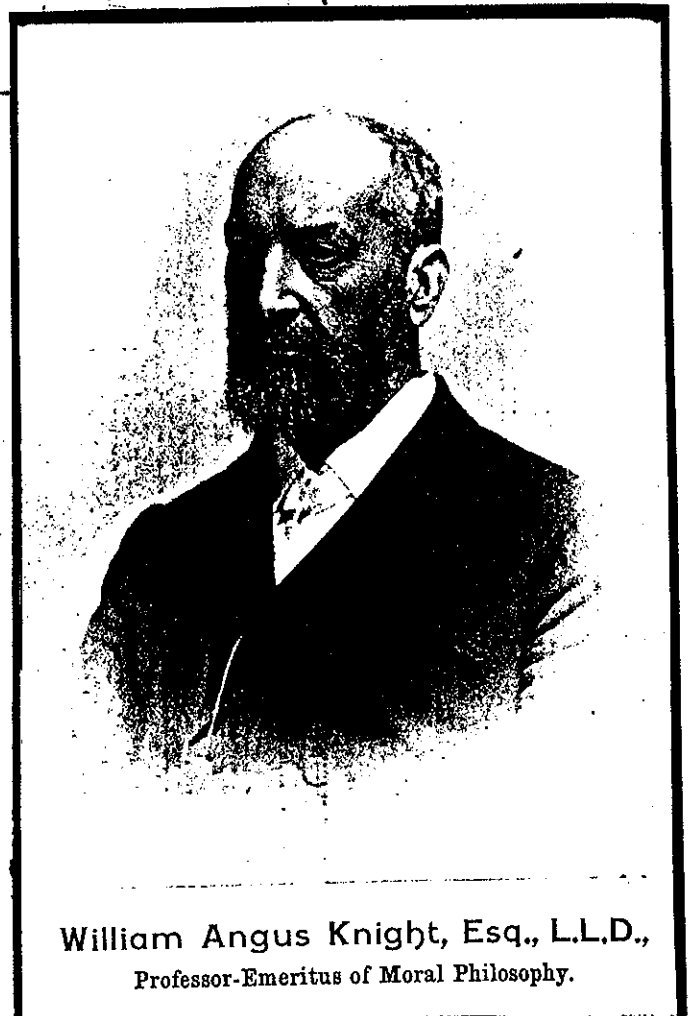
⁹⁶ Swedish Drill, compulsory walks, letter-writing and curfews, needlework and drawing formed an integral part of the curriculum.

⁹⁷ L.Lumsden, 'Yellow Leaves - Memoirs of a Long Life', 1933, P. 119; article 'Hostel for Scottish Students' in *St.Andrews Citizen* Feb. 25 1911; See below Chapter 5.

marginalise the issue of women's equal admission to the Scottish Universities. Did St. Andrews actually campaign for women to be admitted as matriculated students to classes and graduation?



LLA Certificate: note the subject choices.



Chapter Four: St.Andrews as a Lobbyist for Women's University Admission c.1881-92?

"The aim of the convener of the LLA scheme was *at the first* and has ever since been: 1) to develop the education of women on the only lines possible to the University at the time when the scheme was started; 2) to raise a fund - if the scheme could be made to succeed - by means of which the University of St.Andrews might ultimately build and equip a Hall of Residence for its women students should they ever be admitted...; 3) to have a bursary fund for the women students of the University."

William Knight 1896.¹

There are no mentions of Knight's second or third aims in any University record before c. 1890. These may rather be objectives perceived as viable as the LLA took off.² But there is some evidence that between 1876 and 1892 St.Andrews did, again as a matter of policy, press for the admission of women to the Universities and to St.Andrews in particular. Again this reflected the ethos of "usefulness and prosperity" which had prompted St.Andrews to respond to contemporary 'progressive' demands with an energy arguably unequalled by any other University. However, any impression that St.Andrews was an uncompromising champion of women's equal education rights requires some qualification.

In February 1881 the Senatus acknowledged receipt of seven petitions from women's groups in: Arbroath (15 signatures); Cupar (54); Dundee (35); Dunfermline (85); Perth (47); St.Andrews (from Mrs.Daniells and 34 LLA holders); and from 22 ministers, teachers, Headmasters, councillors and professionals in Brechin. All of these appealed for the University to offer some form of higher education instruction for women.³ The Senate's response was quick and decisive. On March 12th 1881 it declared (and printed) its "willingness to grant separate courses of systematic

¹ W.Knight, 'A History...', 1896 *op.cit.* P.3-4.

² R.Cant, 'A Short History of the University of St.Andrews' 3rd ed.1992 asserts the LLA "looked forward" to these goals from its commencement in 1876-7, P. 145. Knight does add "[that] but for the hope of accomplishing such ends, nothing would have warranted him in giving the time and labour he has devoted it - under the direction of the Senatus - for nineteen years."

³ Senate Minutes March 12 1881 to July 4 1881; W.Knight, 'A History...' 1896 *op.cit.* P. 12-4; St.Andrews University Calender 1881-2.

University instruction to women, provided a sufficient sum of money is raised by the petitioners (or others) to enable this to be done."⁴ This necessity that women pay for the scheme themselves was a sensible one in the wake of the failure of the St. Andrews LEA at that time and of the failure of College Hall for men 1868-74. Similarly in July 1891 it was resolved that the LLA Fund and private donations should meet the cost of University Hall and that no General Fund expense should be incurred.⁵ These precautions reflected perhaps not only the University's financial difficulties but the feeling that University co-education was still an untried experiment which might yet prove unsuccessful. Nevertheless Knight does appear to have sought out some extra funding (up to £3,000) from the estate of John Stuart Mill, the former Rector of St. Andrews in the 1860s.⁶

The exact position of the University on the delicate issue of mixed classes between 1876 and 1892 is difficult to gauge. In 1881 the Senatus asked the petitioners to finance "the additions to the teaching staff of the University which would be required to carry out separate courses of instruction for women in the subjects of graduation..."⁷. Clearly out of fiscal necessity the Senatus had shifted to a majority in favour of co-education by 1892. Donaldson advocated a decision on the propriety of mixed classes only after experience.⁸ Some others, including Principal Peterson of UCD, drew upon the success of mixed classes in the U.S.A. and Britain's new town colleges to justify their introduction in Scotland, insisting that the presence of women would bring the "promotion within the colleges of order and decorum."⁹

In 1890 Knight stated to the University Commissioners that a planned St. Andrews women's Summer Session was not designed "to foreclose the plan of

⁴ IBID.

⁵ University Court Minutes 24 July 1891.

⁶ See above Chapter 2, P.13 n18.

⁷ IBID. as above Chapter 4, P. 56 n3.

⁸ Donaldson was a committed member and appointee of the Liberal Party whose Bill eventually admitted women to the Universities; Handwritten Essay 'The Education of Women' in Donaldson Papers Box 7; See A.Scott-Lowson PhD. op.cit.

⁹ St. Andrews Citizen March 26 1892; Principal Peterson told the University Commissioners in 1889 that "it [the introduction of women students to mixed classes] has appreciably elevated the standard of manners and conduct in the intercourse of students with each other while it has also tended to promote a healthy spirit of intellectual rivalry..." - General Report of University Commissioners 1889. op.cit., 27 Oct 1890 P.290..

conjoint University teaching of the sexes but merely to make a definite commencement on the too long neglected task of teaching women."¹⁰ But he still felt that "it may also be found expedient to provide at St.Andrews for the separate instruction of those women who prefer it". Indeed in 1887 he stated that each University town should have separate Women's Colleges.¹¹ This was a reflection not only of Knight's desire to attract women from the social class which attended Girton. Rather it also reveals perhaps the socialising influence of schemes like Girton, the EAUEW, Queen Margaret College and the LLA in the previous twenty years which served to confirm the perceptions of many Victorian educationalists that to be morally respectable and unthreatening to the position of men, female education should, whilst given greater equality, be as separatist as possible.¹² Thus as a respected and successful scheme the LLA might inadvertently have slowed the pace or need of women's admission to the Universities.¹³

But that in March 1881 St.Andrews University's Senatus was concerned to give women separate instruction within a legal and morally proper context was confirmed by its resolution that "every female student attending the University shall lodge or board with some *family* in St.Andrews, to be approved of by the Senatus".¹⁴ This move echoed Emily Davies' desire at rural Girton to keep the women students under close supervision far from the distractions of Cambridge and men so as to avoid scandalous publicity for the "infidel" experiment of women's University education.¹⁵

However the Senate's final March 1881 resolution was a step at no time undertaken by its counterparts who seemed to have been content to wait for the relevant legislation to be passed by a pedantic Government and to let women continue

¹⁰ 'The University of St.Andrews & the Higher Education of Women', July 1890 - memorial to University (Scotland) Commissioners, P.4.

¹¹ W.Knight, 'Lecture...', 1887, *op.cit.*.

¹² S.Hamilton, *PhD op.cit.* *passim* conclusion.

¹³ The need for separate classes should a large number of women enroll in 1892-3 was something also suggested by UCD Principal Peterson who expressed concern that St.Andrews may not know how to best handle UCD's women students when the two institutions were affiliated. - Peterson 'Introductory Addresses' 1893-4, P.20-1 in Tractates University of St.Andrews Donaldson Papers LF1111.T8.

¹⁴ *IBID* as above P. 56 n3.

¹⁵ See Emily Davies' fear of criticism in 'That Infidel Place - A Short History of Girton College 1869-1969', CW 1967.

extra-mural education schemes outside their Universities. For whilst obeying the letter of the law and recommending women meanwhile take the LLA "the Senatus [was] further willing to urge upon Parliament the claims of Women to the privileges of matriculation and graduation provided that the admission of women students, the demand for graduation in Arts and Sciences and the existing interests of the University warrant such a step."¹⁶

By November 1881 a Senate Committee had drawn up a statement of "nearly unanimous" support in St. Andrews for commencing women's instruction.¹⁷ In April 1882 the Senate appealed to the Lord Advocate that an Executive Commission be established with powers to admit women to the Universities as well as initiate other reforms.¹⁸ This appeal was repeated in April 1883 both in a memorial to the University Commissioners seeking the removal of Section 4, Clause 8 of the first draft of the Universities (Scotland) Bill which allowed for the dissolution of St. Andrews University, and in a separate petition to the Commissioners to include a Clause admitting women to the Universities in its second draft, a request urged publically by the St. Andrews Professoriate.¹⁹ In April 1883 the EAUEW, ALEA and the Dundee, Glasgow and Perth Associations for the Higher Education of women also quickly appealed against the absence of such a clause in the Bill. But the other Scottish Universities appear to have remained silent on this issue at this time.²⁰ As if to thank those women who used St. Andrews' Education schemes and so ensured the success of the University's appeal to have the issue of its dissolution swiftly dropped, the Senatus in 1884 "earnestly recommend[ed] that power - at present denied by the law -

¹⁶ Senate Minutes July 4 1881.

¹⁷ 30 November 1881 Memorial to the Lord Advocate of Scotland presented in January 1882 by deputation of Knight, and Donaldson, Resolution 6 in McIntosh Scrapbook 1838-95 - St.A LF1111.M2E95.

¹⁸ IBID.

¹⁹ All petitions in Scotsman April 23 1883; Senate Minutes April 10 1883; St. Andrews Citizen of April 23 1883 contains a letter reproduced from the Manchester Guardian in which it was asserted that "It is indeed only because it has not the power to do so that [St. Andrews] University has restrained from making provision for the matriculation and regular instruction of women. The first serious experiment in making University teaching freely accessible to women in the United Kingdom would it appears, already have been made at St. Andrews if St. Andrews had had its way."; on April 1 1883 St. Andrews University Council, including its MP Sir Lyon Playfair, had supported calls for the admission of women to be provided in the Universities (Scotland) Bill.

²⁰ S. Hamilton PhD. op.cit., Chapter 1.

be given to the Scottish Universities to admit women to the full privileges of University Education."²¹ In the 1880s the Senatus and University Court did naturally spend far more time protecting its own interests in the debate surrounding the proposed revision of the Arts curriculum, the organisation of Science Faculties (and at St.Andrews a proper Medical school), the introduction of University entrance exams and St.Andrews' affiliation with UCD, than it did pressing for women's admission to the Universities. It must be stressed that these petitions were in some part naturally motivated by the desire to off-set St.Andrews' crisis and to make the University appear progressive and energetic. Yet St.Andrews undoubtedly spent more time than the other Scottish Universities actively calling for such legislation in the genuine belief that women deserved admission to classes and graduation.

Between 1884 and 1889 though it could be argued that St.Andrews neglected to press upon the Commissioners the need to end delaying this necessary legislation. As Sheila Hamilton has shown complacency was arguably the case elsewhere with the general assumption that women's admission was imminent. Edinburgh University, deterred perhaps by the scandal of the Jex-Blake affair, left women's education and lobbying to the EAUEW and sympathetic Professors. Edinburgh women's education pioneer, Louisa Stevenson, felt however that EAUEW's lectures and exams had become more amusing than systematic. Glasgow's Queen Margaret College remained separate and without a titled degree, its academic pretensions often the object of male derision. In Aberdeen the Women's Higher Certificate was temporarily abandoned due to low attendance. In Dundee women did seem to enjoy new educational advantages in day and evening classes. But as aforementioned they were not able to graduate until 1891-2.²² In Cambridge the hesitant lobbying for admission to degrees by the divided women's educational movement was rejected by the University.²³ Interestingly however, women's groups too seem to have done little after 1884 to pressurize the

²¹ Memorial to University Commissioners re. Universities Bill, 1884 no date, in MacIntosh Scrapbook op.cit..

²² See Chapter 3 P.26: L.Stevenson point in L.Moore op.cit., Northern Scotland, P.146.

²³ R.MacWilliams-Tullberg, op.cit. Chapters 6 to 9.

government for legislation; the question of women's admission to the Universities does not seem to have been much debated by the Scottish University Commissioners.²⁴

Arguably as at these institutions support for women's education in St. Andrews was not unanimous. But here internal opposition was voiced only by the always isolated Professor J.B. Pettigrew (1834-1908) of Medicine, who until 1892 had no students to teach, and his far more respected Natural History colleague the Teetotaller and anti-suffragist Professor W.C. Macintosh (1838-1931). Pettigrew opposed the Senate resolutions of March 1881, July 1881, January 1882, April 1883 and 1884 as well as countless proposals regarding the LLA.²⁵ In 1883 moreover, Pettigrew, Macintosh and Heddle ("The Medical Faculty") sent a counter memorial to the Lord Advocate opposing women's admission on the grounds that there was evidence from parents that women students would deter many men from enrolling; that mixed or separate classes would overstretch Professorial resources; that women's entry might damage the University's constitution; and that as Medical Professors they objected to having to treat women as members of the student body.

Interestingly Pettigrew also cited Louisa Stevenson's argument that "not 5% of the women who are now enjoying a certain restricted amount of University Education in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen would be able to go to St. Andrews to study." Miss Stevenson's comments had been made in a letter to the Scotsman in April 1883 in which she very effectively dismissed the suggestion of the Editor, Alexander Russell - a supporter of the Edinburgh Medical Women - that St. Andrews become an all women's University. This was an idea first proposed by Aberdeen's Professor Black. It was made primarily to save St. Andrews University from dissolution rather than to aid women. Miss Stevenson, Christina Struthers and the Editor of the Aberdeen Journal felt though that women like the LLA candidates would never be able to afford residential tuition in St. Andrews: an all women's University would thus not

²⁴ S. Hamilton, PhD op.cit. Chapter 1; R.D. Anderson, 'Education...', 1985 op.cit. P257.

²⁵ 'Memorial of the Medical Faculty of the University of St. Andrews to the Lord Advocate regarding certain University Reforms...', 1884 undated in MacIntosh Scrapbook op.cit.; Senate Minutes 19 July 1884.

only benefit just the wealthy but deny all women that equality of admission without segregation which their movement had long sought. It was a proposal seen to marginalise and relegate women "to a place which had failed for men" and to inject the ugly issue of "competition" among the Universities over women's Higher education.²⁶

Once again though, with reference to this proposal, a certain amount of qualification can be placed on St.Andrews' apparent enthusiasm to help women. In January 1882 the Senatus was optimistic that St.Andrews "possessed peculiar advantages for making an experiment in this direction [i.e.admitting women]."²⁷ But by June 1884, in the face of much talk in the local and national press about St.Andrews' suitability for women students, the Senate's position had become hesitant. A deputation to the Lord Advocate evaded the question of whether, if the other Scottish Universities had not the resources to teach women, St.Andrews with its low student numbers would stand alone in opening its doors to women. Interestingly, the deputation again insisted the "admission of women would necessitate separate lectures" for each sex and that women should be admitted to all Scotland's Universities.²⁸ Possibly like Cambridge, St.Andrews feared the alienation of its men students and the inferiorisation of its degrees if it were the only University to admit women.

Nevertheless it can be shown that St.Andrews was not afraid to take the initiative in attracting women students before its rivals, once it was certain the Commissioners would extend powers to admit them to all Scottish Universities. Moreover whilst the necessary Parliamentary Act was delayed until 1889, and the provisional Ordinance until 1892, charges of complacency cannot be so easily directed at St.Andrews as at other Scottish Universities or indeed at some women's educational

²⁶ IBID; Scotsman April 23 1883 (i.e. the same day as St.Andrews' petition to the University Commissioners was printed in this paper)- see P. 53 above; Aberdeen Press & Journal May 2 1883; there also seems to have been mention of an all Women's University in the Spectator In June 1884 - see article reproduced from Spectator in St.Andrews Citizen June 7 1884.

²⁷ IBID., above P. 57n16.

²⁸ St.Andrews Citizen June 28 1884 - it was however Natural History Professor MacIntosh, Pettigrew's ally, who seems to have answered and evaded most of the Lord Advocate's questions on this matter.

groups.²⁹ For as aforementioned the LLA Committee consistently endeavoured to raise the standard of its diploma exams. The scheme began its own Teachers' Register (1884); a 'special value' LLA diploma and bursary were offered for passes in all seven MA subjects (1885) with the recommendation of several subjects for teachers (1886); Knight went on a lecture tour of British towns to advertise the LLA even proposing inter-University Locals and Women's Certificate schemes (1887); and those several efforts to have the LLA recognised as a degree and Teacher's certificate were undertaken.

Then in November 1888 the LLA Committee recommended the use of the LLA fund (then a sum of £1458) to offer a Summer Session for women in St. Andrews between May and June so as to accomodate women teachers. Interestingly this was an idea first mooted in 1886 but which was only acted upon after the University had received the unexpected windfall of £100,000 in 1889 from the Australian Berry Bequest first announced in 1883: it thus became commercially viable for the Senatus to make up any deficit costs for the Summer Session should the women's fees prove insufficient. Although opposed by Pettigrew the Summer school did receive the support of men students via their weekly 'College Echoes' which did though print satirical Professors' excuses for not being able to teach these women, such as "my wife wont let me."³⁰ Preliminary inquiries suggested that the school would take in 30 or so women in the summer (so as to accomodate teachers), and that Latin, English Literature, Education, Mathematics and Moral Philosophy would be the subjects in demand. However only 14 women applied to enrol in the scheme - failing to meet the Senate's minimum requirement of three classes of ten students each. Arguably this in part mitigates St. Andrews' alleged failure in the past 20 years to offer instruction to Women by its Professors on similar lines to the EAUEW, QMC, UCD or ALEA. Little had changed since the struggle of the St. Andrews LEA in the 1870s. Yet without the offer of matriculation and graduation with a recognised qualification, or

²⁹ S. Hamilton PhD op.cit Chapter 1.

³⁰ College Echoes XVI 6 March 1890 P. 129; College Echoes XIX 27 March 1890.

indeed without women's absolutely equal admission to University classes and degrees *with* men after so long a wait, perhaps this unwillingness of women to pay for classes and lodgings was inevitable.

Conclusions

It must surely be conceded that St.Andrews did do more as a matter of policy to forward the Higher Education of women before 1892 than any other *University* in Scotland (except perhaps its affiliate UCD after 1883). Yet at the end of the day no single institution was the cause of women's admission to the Scottish Universities. St.Andrews' efforts in Women's Higher Education were partly motivated by an understandable need to defuse the crisis of the University's continued viability. These efforts were also limited in their rate of 'progress' and their value to women by economic factors, the size and location of St.Andrews,³¹ and the still patriarchal perceptions of woman's socio-economic life-role and the delicate issue of mixed University classes advocated by St.Andrews' Professoriate. Nevertheless, as a leading player in the wider campaign for women's education St.Andrews helped make apparent the demand for and viability of women's Higher Education. From the perspective of 1862 St.Andrews' change in policy and its efforts c.1876 to 1892 - particularly the LLA - can be seen as just one of many catalysts of the fairly rapid if still socialized change in Late-Victorian attitudes to women's education .

However, what St.Andrews did perhaps do for women's education in singular fashion was to nurture an environment to some extent labelled and imbued with the popular reputation of educating women more so than QMC, Glasgow, the EAUEW or even UCD. More importantly the University's Local Exams, its Extension lectures, its Teacher Training efforts, its UCD links and the LLA,undeniably played a prominent part in raising the standard of girls' post-elementary education to a level where women ~~were~~ capable of, and had access to some form of, University learning and examination.

³¹ It is interesting to wonder what would have been the effect if Edinburgh, Glasgow or even Aberdeen University had offered such a titled diploma as the LLA; interestingly Knight did propose inter-University Locals and LLA schemes - See W.Knight, 'Lecture...' 1887 op.cit., P.30.

Again though even before the Commissioners' Ordinance of April 2nd 1892 extending provisionary powers to the Universities to admit women, this impression of St. Andrews as a radical pioneer of Women's education requires qualification. On 17 April 1891 St. Andrews was ahead of its rivals by almost a year in submitting a Draft Ordinance to the Commissioners for Women's admission to the same privileges as men students.³² It seems to have placed no limitation on women's entry to any of its faculties. Significantly women were now admitted to the same classes as men as it was not economically viable to teach them separately. However it did so "provided that no women graduate shall be allowed to vote for the election of a Member of Parliament" a reminder of the tremendous limitations still placed upon the burgeoning women's sphere.³³ Such patriarchal concerns motivated the Senatus' election in April 1892 of a Committee for the Reception and Residence of Women Students. This Committee decided against liason with a joint Committee of local women and Professors' wives, although these women were to play a large part in the reception and supervision of "lady students."³⁴ But the Committee did hire a temporary residence next to the Quadrangle for women students until a Hall of Residence could be built.³⁵

These steps were surely taken to ensure Women's long-anticipated admission took place quickly and quietly. Indeed their arrival was perhaps somewhat diluted by the other major University reforms introduced in 1892-3. There was no mention of the matriculation of 'sweet girl graduates' in Donaldson's Graduation Address of April 1892. Yet as the Lady Correspondent of the Dundee Advertiser observed, some of the men students at that Address were heard to shout "What about the Women?"³⁶

³² 'Draft Ordinance as proposed by the Senatus of the University of St. Andrews on the subject of Teaching and the Graduation of Women', August 17 1891, in Donaldson Papers 34. Already in May 1890, in the light of the LLA and UCD schemes, St. Andrews University Senatus had recommended to the University Commissioners "the desirability of extending [instruction] to female as well as to male students." - General Report of the University Commissioners (Sco) 1890, op.cit., p.289, 21 May 1890.

³³ IBID.

³⁴ Senate Minutes 13 April 1892.

³⁵ Walter Coutts [Janitor of St. Andrews United College 1880s to 1910s], 'How Women Students Won Their Laurels' from the 'People's Journal' Feb 15 1930 reproduced in Kate Kennedy Annual 1983, P.52-5; Senate Minutes 13 April 1892.

³⁶ Dundee Advertiser, April 15 1892.

Chapter Five: 'What About the Women?' - A Survey of Women Student's Integration at St. Andrews University c.1892-1914

"In Edinburgh and Glasgow it appears that the women students have not found their level so readily as with us. In Edinburgh their position and aspirations seem altogether primitive. In Glasgow the question more readily resembles that of Dundee [UCD] representation with us, the women forming a separate college [QMC]."

Motion of St.Andrews Women Student's Debating Society, 21 January 1898.¹

It is difficult to draw a consistent picture of the integration and position of women students at St. Andrews University before the Great War. In 1910 the Women Student's Debating Society [WSDS] unanimously agreed that St. Andrews "accords many favours to women students" in contrast to Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities.² It will be shown that for women, the advantages of attending St. Andrews over any other University far outweighed the disadvantages, a truth which increased into the 20th century. Although further research would be required, for women St.Andrews c.1892-1914 probably had, in certain areas, a more penetrable and less intimidating and less rigidly organised male social, economic and political structure than Edinburgh, Glasgow or Aberdeen, where such bastions were reinforced by party politics, the business classes, a diverse Press and professional institutions like the Colleges of Surgeons or Faculty of advocates.³ St.Andrews University would also still be particularly receptive of an increase in student numbers in the form of women as a logical means of furthering its revival, an aim in which it has been shown women's education had already played a central part. Yet at the same time it will be argued that the presence and behaviour of women students at St. Andrews c.1892-1914 were regularly questioned and criticised by certain male elements and that women students as

¹ College Echoes 21 Jan 1898, P.110.

² IBID XXIII 1910 P.67.

³ This is not forgetting of course the male exclusiveness of the Royal & Ancient Golf club in St.Andrews, although see below P.32.n93. In Edinburgh and Glasgow such 'bastions' would often have shared a common membership.

elsewhere had to make their own efforts and good luck to attain their "privileges" by 1914.⁴

Undoubtedly the small size of St. Andrews allowed women there to make a greater numerical, if still in some important ways limited, academic, social and political impact upon the formal and informal domination of men students than elsewhere. The University's student magazine 'College Echoes' between 1889 and 1914 does seem very quickly to portray women as the accepted 'other half' of the student body; it gives their activities and achievements ample coverage. Although predictably the regular butt of sexist humour and often more heartfelt criticism, women students were treated by the majority of men students and teaching staff with what varied from "brotherly"⁵ or patriarchal affection and respect to merely courteous tolerance; they were not there on sufferance.⁶ This was though, a socialised response which did in several ways limit the acceptable scope in men's eyes of women students' activities. However, at the same time it was precisely the success in integration and the confidence attained by some women students in competing with men in most areas of University work and life which some men students reacted against. For the reaction occurred amidst fears unique to St. Andrews that the University was becoming too popular with women: that although fairly quickly "the novelty of women students has long since passed away, and any little prejudice that did exist has been submerged in a wholesome rivalry of sex, or gone from the precincts of the University to be softened by progressive opinion in the professional or business life of the world...some little apprehension must arise at it becomes more and more evident that the University must become a higher class

⁴ See below P.85 n120.

⁵ Discussion with Miss L.E.M. Walker, 26/10/94, former Warden of University Hall and a tutor in Medieval History at St. Andrews, who is currently working on a History of the Hall to coincide with its centenary in 1996. In response to the rumour that in 1892 the men students threw their trenchers into the harbour in protest at women's admission R. Smart has written: "the tale...has been current with many recent generations of students but there is no evidence for any truth behind it. Male students did not wear mortar boards in 1892, whereas women students appear to have worn them from the start [cutting out sections to accommodate their bunched hair]...An elaboration of the story says that the male students carried out the demonstration after a chapel service. There was however, no University Chapel in 1892 [only after 1904 when there were some complaints that the women should not take off their trenchers in church as their hair distracted the men]. The entry of women to University life seems to have been largely accepted and welcomed by most male students.", Alumnus Chronicle 84, 1993, P.45.

⁶ This comes across from a reading of College Echoes in this period; also in a letter from a women student in 1892-3 signed 'Hypatia' to The Academic Review 1893, P.7: "the men have given us a gallant, if somewhat boisterous reception; but having settled down to honest work, and the novelty of our presence passed away...we have had no cause to complain of undue attention."

women's school, assuming for itself not merely the conduct of the intellectual but even of the social training of its alumnae." ⁷ To explain these fears it is necessary to examine the formal and informal integration of women students at St. Andrews, starting with women student numbers. It follows that Sheila Hamilton's valuable comparative social history and her generalisation that St. Andrews women students were integrated more quickly into classes, funding and exams than women at Edinburgh and Glasgow but not so quickly into the University's recreational life as at Aberdeen and Dundee is, necessarily, over-simplified and requires clarification.⁸

Part One: Formal Integration.

I. *Student Numbers.*

Table 7 demonstrates that whilst the number of men students at semi-rural, isolated St. Andrews University had increased slightly from 183 in 1891 to 215 in 1909, it had dropped to 173 in the last session before the drain of men from all the Universities in the Great War. Any crude increase in St. Andrews student numbers by 1913-4 amounted then only to the presence of 127 women, although their numbers too had dropped from a peak of 168 in 1909. Thus in terms of student fees (which contributed to Professorial salaries), women students were of central fiscal importance to the University in this period.

In contrast the number of men students at Glasgow University (QMC) increased in the same period by 115% (from 1049 to 2254), exhibiting a similar drop c.1909-10: women students there represented 35.4% of the total crude increase in student numbers by 1914. In Edinburgh the number of men students dropped off slightly from 2,600 after 1892 but rose by 1914 to just over 2,700; in Aberdeen men student numbers rose from and fell back to the same level of 700.⁹ Thus it is possible to say that women constituted a larger proportion of the student body in this period at

⁷ *College Echoes* editorial, VII, 1, 23 Oct 1896.

⁸ S. Hamilton *Ph.D. op.cit.* includes several chapters on women's integration; the section on women Student's Suffrage Societies includes case studies of Glasgow and Edinburgh only.

⁹ *IBID* P. 455, 457-9, 464..

St.Andrews than at any other Scottish University not because the Fife University was the most popular and best-suited choice for women but because it was less popular for men than the other three ancient city Universities. Indeed in this context the efforts of rural St. Andrews' University in Women's Higher Education before 1892 may have had no appreciable effect in attracting more women than its apparently less active rivals who were able to rely on the large populations of their city environs.

However, between 1893 and 1909 at Glasgow University - where the largest proportion of all Scotland's women students matriculated in this period - the number of women students increased from 168 to a peak of 695 (by 314%); at St.Andrews, attended by the smallest proportion of all Scotland's women students 1892-1914, women's numbers increased from 36 in 1893 to peak at 157 in 1908 (by 336%).¹⁰ Thus, regardless of men students' preferences, St.Andrews did perhaps attract proportionally more women students than elsewhere. It certainly appears to have attracted a large number of English women; there also seems to have been an appreciable tradition of women students following male and female relatives to St.Andrews.¹¹ Indeed it is possible that the University's success in matriculating women added to the other socio-economic factors which deterred more men from entering St. Andrews, as the men's matriculation figures suggest. For as early as November 1894 College Echoes argued for the need for a separate women's University as a means of ensuring less competition between the sexes for "a place in the class lists."¹² On numerous occasions Echoes ran satirical portraits of the St.Andrews of the future run by women as students, Professors and Principal, with 'domestic' subjects

¹⁰ Relative %s of all Scottish Women Students at each University - see S.Hamilton op.cit P.455. 458.

	1895-6 No. of Women (% of all Scottish Women Students)	1905-6 No. of Women (%) of all Scottish Women Students)
St.Andrews	37 (8.3%)	119 (9.1%)
Edinburgh	160 (36%)	411 (31.5%)
Aberdeen	35 (7.8%)	184 (14.1%)
UCD	45 (10.1%)	88 (6.7%)
Glasgow	167 (37.6%)	503 (38.5%)
<u>Scotland</u>	<u>444 (100%)</u>	<u>1305 (100%)</u>

¹¹ Mary Campbell-Smith was one of eight daughters of a Cupar Minister who graduated from St.Andrews - see Table 8.

¹² College Echoes 1 Nov 1894.

and "petticoat government."¹³ Although in jest and echoed by similar ribbing of women by Aberdeen University's student magazine 'Alma Mater' and UCD's 'The College', these items betrayed the growing anxiety of a number of men who significantly had come to the co-educational St.Andrews University *after* 1892. By 1896 with 56 women students at St.Andrews (25.2% of the student roll) Echoes voiced fears at the "pleasing euthanasia" of becoming an all women's University.¹⁴ In 1897 the men's Union Debating Society (UDS) resolved by 27 votes to 10 that "the admission of women...was prejudicial to the University's interests" after much discussion of rumours that a separate women's University was being mooted by MPs and that this would prove to be a "ladies finishing school"¹⁵; in 1903 the UDS found against a motion to debar women from the University by just one vote.¹⁶

All this culminated in 1908-9 with the appointment of a Committee of Investigation and Report by the Students' Representative Council (SRC) "into the rapidly decreasing ratio between the number of male and female students."¹⁷ In that year the number of women in the University was 157 (45%) and in the Arts Faculty for the first time surpassed the number of men. At the other Scottish Universities women outnumbered men only briefly during the Great War. But that this was so at St.Andrews before 1914 perhaps confirms that the reputation of the LLA in Arts did serve to attract women to St.Andrews.¹⁸ Admittedly the SRC Report's recommendation to limit the number of women entrant students was rejected by the SRC (21 votes to 8), politely ignored by the Senatus, and ridiculed by the Press as the work of a single Divinity student, James Gibson.¹⁹ Similarly the proposal of a Women's University to the Inter-University SRC Conference in 1909 was rejected

¹³ IBID 12 Jan 1893; 25 Oct 1897 P.20; 9 Dec 1904; 9 Nov 1906; Dec 8 1911.

¹⁴ IBID 20 Nov 1896.

¹⁵ IBID 10 Dec 1897 - the WSDS found in favour of co-education, P.66.

¹⁶ IBID 20 Nov 1903.

¹⁷ SRC Minutes Vol. II, P.432 to 466 - St.Andrews University's copy of this is listed missing - no other copy is extant!.

¹⁸ In the St.Andrews Medical Faculty there were equal numbers of both sexes in 1908-9, with three more women than men in 1909-10. By far the majority of Scotland's women medical graduates attended the separate classes of QMC.

¹⁹ 'An Educational Menace - Women at Scottish Universities' in the Dundee Advertiser March 31 1909; letters ridiculing this scare and regretting the fact that the SRC had not rejected it summarily were printed in the Dundee Advertiser on April 6 1909; also College Echoes 6 Feb. 1909, 19 Feb., 1909, SRC Minutes IBID.

along with UCD SRC President D.J.Forbes' proposal that women receive separate medical education at St. Andrews and UCD.²⁰ Yet if this was just a "phase" as Echoes argued - with the UDS and WSDS in inter-debate dismissing the idea of separate Women's Colleges by 69 votes to 23 in 1910 - it reared its head again before 1914 in tensions over women students' SRC representation and Women's Suffrage, discussed below, and continued fears that too many women would render inferior St.Andrews' degrees.²¹ It may also have recurred right until the present day when women students constitute 53% of St.Andrews' student body.²²

II. *Classes and Teaching Facilities.*

In sum there was never any evidence of a real threat from the University *authorities* to women's continued matriculation at St. Andrews, not least due to the proven economic non-viability of separate tuition for women there. But after c.1905 there was a genuine feeling among some men *students* that the presence of so many women was rendering the University's degrees inferior as the qualifications of a women's finishing school or "Seminary" and diluting the so-called traditional camaraderie and corporate social spirit of the Colleges. These concerns echoed those of Cambridge men students faced with the prospect of affiliation with Girton and Newnham. Yet that this reaction was something which had developed *after* the first few years of women had established themselves at St. Andrews University and indeed as they grew in confidence academically, socially and politically confirms the fact that these tensions were equally the result of the relative lack of attraction late Victorian St. Andrews had for men.

For in 1892-3 women had been admitted to all St. Andrews' faculties except Medicine which although still in a state of disorder was opened to women the following

²⁰ SRC Minutes IBID.

²¹ College Echoes 17 Jan 1913.

²² College Echoes 1907-14 passim; Modern Figures from University Prospectus 1994-5, P.8; J.Steven-Watson [former Principal of St.Andrews], 'Red Gowns and Blue Stockings' address to North-East Fife Citizen's Association felt in 1968 that it would be wise to limit student numbers to 2,500 boys and 1,500 "girls" i.e. to limit really the intake of women to change the 1968 proportions of 50% women and 50% men to nearer the then national average for women students of 28% - St.Andrews Citizen, Feb. 24 1968; My thanks to Miss Jane Liston of the Hay Fleming Reference Library for this reference.

year when the classes of the Edinburgh Schools of Medicine for Women were also recognised by the University for the purposes of graduation.²³ Medicine indeed appears to have posed the only gender problem in terms of classes at St. Andrews with Professor J.B.Pettigrew refusing to teach women Anatomy in 1896. This resulted in the brief appointment of Miss Alice Umpherston (LR, CBC, LRCSE), a graduate of QMC, as a lecturer in Physiology for women until Pettigrew's removal after students complained about his teaching!²⁴ After 1898 there seems to have been no problem in one male lecturer teaching both sexes. The Directors of Dundee Royal Infirmary did briefly exclude women students from clinical instruction.²⁵ Similarly the St. Andrews-UCD dispute over Medical Chairs forced Agnes Blackadder, the first women graduate with an MA in 1895 (after just three years) from St. Andrews, to go to Glasgow for her second degree in Medicine where women in all faculties were taught in the separate classes of QMC until 1935²⁶: in Edinburgh the militant legacy of Jex-Blake meant that women medical students were excluded from the University's Medical Faculty classes and local Infirmarys until 1919. But the Conjoint St. Andrews-UCD Medical School opened in Dundee in 1899 admitting such notable medical women as Elisabeth MacDonald the first women MB ChB(1904 with Distinction) and MD (1907) from St. Andrews who insists women were treated there from the first with due courtesy as equals.²⁷

Meantime the majority of St. Andrews women were Arts students: indeed throughout the period 1892-1914 in total there were more women Arts graduates than men at St. Andrews, again hinting at the reputation of the LLA. As Table 8 suggests, as with the LLA, women's subject choice was determined by their direction into teaching,

²³ Senate Minutes Vol 22 13 April 1892 P.3; University Court Minutes 2 April 1892 and Donaldson Papers Box 8 for Medical School petitions.

²⁴ Senate Minutes 16 Jan 1897; University Court Minutes 10 Feb 1897.

²⁵ D.Southgate, op.cit. P. 125; J.G.S.Blair, op.cit. also noted in 1912 women's complaints about the concentration of women medical students in less important wards in Dundee R.I., P.192.

²⁶ Principal Donaldson remarked upon Miss Blackadder's "exceptional" feat of graduating after just three years study in 'Women Graduates & the Opening of University Hall' in St.Andrews Citizen March 27 1896; for Lang's blame of Pettigrew for the difficulties of women medics see Donaldson Papers Box 43, 'Scheme for the Berry Bequest by P.Scott Lang', 13 Jan 1896.

²⁷ E.Bryson, op.cit., P.109 also Margaret M.Campbell, 'Some Recollections of University & Early Days in Practice 1912-20', 1977 Lindsay Club Typescript in Dundee University Archives MS 15/92/1.

and by their lack of Secondary schooling in certain subjects. However, as discussed above and as Principal Donaldson stressed, more women than might have been expected took Classics, Mathematics and Philosophy beyond Ordinary to Honours MA level.²⁸ The suggestion that women chose subjects which were "too easy" and that they should only take 'Education' after their degree which should not neglect Modern Languages and the commercial Sciences, was made only once and not acted upon.²⁹ Proportionally fewer women than men though took Honours MAs under the new regulations. At the same time the fact that Classics and Mathematics counted for double in the University Foundation Bursary Exams meant that women typically appeared in the Bursary lists outside the Top ten with less valuable awards: in 1893 the 'shameful aberration' of three women taking the top bursaries was explained with pride by Echoes by their having scored very high aggregate marks in Modern Languages and English.³⁰ Moreover, Table 8, the Annual University Hall Reports and Echoes' listings of those St. Andrews women who took up places at St. Georges Training College and posts in English Girls' Schools and Universities, all suggest that women students' subject choice, like the LLA, was in tune with their vocational needs.³¹ Furthermore it should be stressed that a large number of women took first an MA and stayed on to take a second degree of BSc or MB ChB and even post-graduate research. Lindy Moore has demonstrated similar subject choice, bursary results and second degree habit for women at Aberdeen.³² The efforts of second Hall Warden, Frances Melville, to inspire

²⁸ I have omitted any detailed discussion of women student's subject choice in Arts as there were no collated records of these beyond an 'Alphabetical List of Students' [and their subject choices] for 1892-3 to 1898-9, : a study of the women's undergraduate curriculum from the University's Calendars might though illustrate changes in the required professional qualifications for teaching over a wide period.

²⁹ College Echoes 2 April 1901, P.197.

³⁰ University Hall Prospectuses 1909 to 1913 held in University Hall; IBID, 19 Oct, 1893, P.7.

³¹ For example the University Hall Committee heard that in 1904-5 8 women graduated from Hall, one going to an Edinburgh Training College; three to become assistant mistresses in English Girl's Schools; two as researchers at the Victoria County Record Office; one to lecture in a Women's College and one remained as a Carnegie research scholarship in Chemistry as well as the President of the St. Andrews' Women's Union; in 1907-8 11 women were appointed to teaching posts in England - see University Hall Committee Minutes Vols. I and II passim; Echoes also reported the names of those women students who secured places at St. Georges Training College, Edinburgh.

³² L. Moore 'Bajanellas...', op.cit. Ch.4.

women to take up careers in the church by becoming the first woman in Scotland to graduate Bachelor of Divinity from St. Andrews met with no success before 1914.³³

It is fair to say then that women students' academic ability as a whole was never really questioned at St. Andrews. Female stereotypes however - the blue-stocking swot or the giggling leisured dilettante 'bejantina' - were often made fun of. But the figure of the serious-minded woman student with little time for leisure had some basis in reality. Frances Melville, both as Warden and student, warned of the dangers of "the too utilitarian spirit among women students."³⁴ *Echoes* vacillated between viewing the resultant academic competition between the sexes as healthy or unhealthy. Intelligent and successful Scottish women students like Elisabeth MacDonald and Margaret Menzies Campbell significantly criticised both those 'girls' who dressed in any manner other than plain and hence undistracting for men, and wealthy English women in University Hall attending St. Andrews only to finish their education with one or two classes and who, by taking up residence places, "prevented serious [degree] students from working".³⁵

III. Residences, Bursaries, Graduation and Women as Teaching Staff.

However, whilst there were often calls from men for women to cover their attractive hair in lectures and church the latter figure is one which has probably been exaggerated by class differences and other tensions between Hall and town women.³⁶ Significantly the Senate University Hall Committee, Knight, those private individuals endowing University Hall, and the first Warden Louisa Lumsden did push a Girtonian recruitment policy of attracting "a class of students able to pay a larger sum than the average of our present women students" and women students elsewhere in Britain: "students in [teacher] training" presumably taking concurrent University and Training

³³ A University Hall resident for a short time, Miss Gertrude von Petzold (MA Edin.) did go on to become the first women Dissenting Minister at Leicester Unitarian Church - *St. Andrews Citizen* 27 Feb 1904.

³⁴ F. Melville, 'St. Andrews & the University Education of Women in Scotland' in *EIS Congress Handbook*, 1906, P. 144.

³⁵ M.M. Campbell, *op. cit.* P.3' E. Bryson was called for an interview with Warden Miss Lumsden concerning the dispute over the Women's Union discussed in Part II: Informal Integration - she felt "I could smell money values creeping into my Paradise.", *op. cit.* P.108-9.

³⁶ *College Echoes* 21 Oct 1898, P.6 for hair example.

College courses were to be catered for "quite separately" elsewhere and indeed a Hostel for women was established in Dundee in 1916-7.³⁷ However academic pioneers like Lumsden, Melville and the fourth Warden, Mildred Dobson, were unlikely to have tolerated middle-class women using the Hall to acquire the feminine accomplishments of their social class after the long campaign to eradicate narrow female education. Undoubtedly by 1914 it became convention for middle-class daughters like sons to attend University; and St. Andrews did have traditional recruitment links with England and still does. But although Miss Melville did take some action against "non-graduand" women in Hall setting bad examples, a glance at the annual Hall reports c. 1910-14 confirms that the majority of "inmates" did pursue a degree or the LLA to its conclusion, indeed achieving a high success rate in terms of Honours, Medical degrees, scholarships, prizes and teaching posts.³⁸ University Hall was in many ways run like an English Boarding school in a fashion, as Donaldson feared, alien to Scottish co-educational school pupils: arguably indeed, it created a need it could meet rather than met the demands of the majority of its women students.³⁹ But each Hall student's course was closely overseen and tutored to maintain the correct balance of study and leisure to ensure both that women got "that social and moral training which is essential if fitness is to be gained to do useful work in the world" as well as surely the Hall's

³⁷ The Ladies of St. Andrews University & the Extension Scheme of University Hall Minute Book held in Hall, Dec 1908 - The University Hall Committee visited Women's Halls in Edinburgh (£29 18s average), Aberystwyth (£29 8s) and Manchester (£27 6s) with a view to seeing just how much they could charge residents at St. Andrews (£30 18s) - University Hall Committee Minutes 28 Nov 1907 Vol II. Moneys were also gifted to the Hall extension fund on the condition that residents remained of "the same social class as hitherto." Similarly cubicle rooms were not to be installed - "they would lower the general standard of residence and so frighten away the better class of students.." [University Hall Committee Minutes Memo July 1909]; "The class who may be expected chiefly to avail themselves of such University education and residence are those girls who intend to enter either the Teaching or the Medical profession and who often come from the remote manses and school-houses of our country districts.." [Private Circular 'Proposed Hall of Residence for Women Students' in Donaldson Papers 63].

³⁸ 'University Hall Memo' about discipline in Hall held in Donaldson Papers Vol 23; L. Lumsden 'The Story of University Hall', 1910 - this lists residents and their degrees (two-thirds to three quarters appear to have graduated with a degree); 22 of St. Andrews' 24 women medical graduates before 1914 stayed in Hall underlining the greater cost of a medical degree.

³⁹ "Most undoubtedly I should not wish any student to do otherwise than as her Father wished in such a matter [getting in a Hall Tutor to supervise her studies], F. Melville letter to parent 1908 in D:1 Folder, St. Andrews University Archives; Margaret Menzies-Campbell op.cit., relates that "...we [Hall] women were forced to be almost more Victorian than the Victorians ...we never spoke to any man to whom we had not been introduced..." See below n47.

academic credibility.⁴⁰ It is thus more likely that there was a higher drop-out rate amongst women students living unsupervised in 'bunks' in St. Andrews.

From Table 7B it is difficult to quantify the exact graduation rate of women students in this period. Of the 20 women who matriculated in 1892-3 Donaldson was proud that most were genuine students of the pioneer type rather than like many of those at Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow who took say just English Literature because the Professor was handsome.⁴¹ But as Table 7A shows only five of this first 20 graduated within the normal four year period; 13 actually got degrees though one took ten years to do so; 16 continued into a second year in 1893-4 being joined by 20 first year women of whom though only seven appear to have pursued a second year in 1894-5.⁴² Sheila Hamilton has shown how only 25% of women students graduated at Glasgow in the 1890s but this proportion increased to 60-70% after 1901-5 and the introduction of Carnegie Trust Fees and greater Government help for trainee teachers at University.⁴³ A similar pattern may thus tentatively be projected for St. Andrews women.⁴⁴ Certainly throughout the period, whilst women's interest increased in Science, Medicine and Modern Languages as degree subjects and in completed degrees as passports to careers, disproportionally more men than women graduated from St. Andrews before 1914, a pattern repeated at Scotland's other Universities. But perhaps at St. Andrews this trend affected the way women were perceived as a whole by men students and added to the minority's fears of the University becoming a women's 'finishing school'.

⁴⁰ Miss Lumsden's aim was to "secure something of the discipline of an English College, with which as a Girtonian I was familiar, without in the least forfeiting the individual liberty dear to the Scot and...myself personally." [St. Andrews Citizen Feb 25 1911 - an article, 'Hostel for Scottish Students'] Principal Donaldson marked the occasion of the opening of University Hall by remarking that the majority of Scots would favour their independent Scottish spirit and prefer to live in lodgings.

⁴¹ St. Andrews Citizen Dec 24 1892 [to Liberal Association Dinner]; also mentioned in Hypatia *op.cit.*.

⁴² J.M. Anderson, 'The Matriculation Roll of St. Andrews University 1747-1897', 1905.

⁴³ S. Hamilton, Ph.D. op.cit., Chapter 3; it was not possible to quantify how many women students at St. Andrews/UCD in the period 1892-1914 were Queen's trainee teacher students.

⁴⁴ For Table 7 shows that women constituted 34.6% of St. Andrews students 1892-1914 yet they achieved only 28% of degrees awarded at St. Andrews in that period. In Glasgow women constituted 19.3% of all students 1893-1914 but only 15.2% of degrees, relatively the same proportions as at St. Andrews. Even taking the years 1900-14 women at St. Andrews constituted 40% of all students yet only 33.6% of all graduates: in 1908-9 women were 45% of all St. Andrews students but only 40% of graduates.

The fact though that St. Andrews from the first was able to offer proportionally more bursaries per women student than any other Scottish University surely enabled more women to graduate there. For although the majority of women students at St. Andrews, as at Scotland's other Universities, were middle-class, for many women bursaries and later Carnegie fees were the only way some could afford to finish their course.⁴⁵ The University Commissioners had ruled that all open-competition University foundation bursaries endowed before 1864 (and any endowed after 1888 which did not specifically exclude women) should be open to both sexes.⁴⁶ However, at St. Andrews it was only as a result of numerous new bursary endowments by private individuals open to both sexes or solely for women that the ratio of students to bursaries remained roughly 2:1 or better (50 to 60%) for both men and women before 1914. St. Andrews women were indeed lucky in this not only because of the University's small size but in receiving several unexpected windfalls which would not have gone proportionally as far in a city University.

Most notably, in 1883 one William Taylor Thomson willed the University £30,000, half of which was to be spent "in the case of women to assist them in qualifying for the medical profession."⁴⁷ Moreover the Senatus was able to use the LLA fund to regularly forward moneys for women's bursaries and keep in step with the increase in women student numbers. As a result in 1892-3 the University offered ten women-only bursaries (two each at £30, £25, £20, £15, £10) as well as open-competition prizes: 12 of the first 20 women students secured awards.⁴⁸ However in 1895 and 1896 five and six new £20 three year awards respectively were reserved out of the LLA fund for University Hall women but only two for non-Hall women students.⁴⁹ This resulted in protests by Mathematics Professor Scott Lang, the Dean of

⁴⁵ It should be remembered that St. Andrews/UCD had the highest proportion of Carnegie funded students of all the Scottish Universities [St. Andrews Citizen Feb. 27 1904; 69.7% of St. Andrews students on Carnegie funds; 36.9% Edinburgh, 43% Glasgow, 68.4% Aberdeen].

⁴⁶ L. Moore, 'Bajanellas...' op.cit., Chapter 5.

⁴⁷ Meeting of St. Andrews University General Council recorded in St. Andrews Citizen March 28 1896. J.S.G. Blair, op.cit. P.143.

⁴⁸ College Echoes 20 Oct 1892 P.8.

⁴⁹ This was though after Miss Lumsden had complained that only one £30 bursary had been set aside for Hall in 1895 while five LLA bursaries and seven Taylor Thomson bursaries were open to all women - LLA Committee Minutes March 1895, August 21 1895, March 20 1896.

Arts about such preferential treatment for Hall as part of a recruitment drive.⁵⁰ Arguably the University's pioneering in provision for women students after 1892 extended only to those women of a particular social class whose education they could oversee and socialise separately, fulfilling their obligation to respectable middle-class convention.

But Lang also led an unsuccessful campaign to allow the Taylor Thomson bursaries to be awarded as they were for men - that is, to women other than just those willing to sign a declaration that they would take up Medical studies at St. Andrews after a first Arts or Science degree.⁵¹ But before the War there were never enough women to take up the full complement of available Taylor Thomson bursaries. Lang again proposed cutting these medical bursaries from 10 to 20 at £30-40 for three years to 30 to 40 at £20 for two years for any women student: this would have meant "free education" for up to half of St. Andrews women before c. 1900.⁵² However, the legal finality of Thomson's will meant that not only was this not possible but neither could the University allow medical women to use the third year of their bursary to pay for clinical instruction at UCD after their necessary two years tuition at St. Andrews. Despite several legal appeals this last was only achieved in 1927.⁵³ To be fair the University Court did grant women money in lieu of their bursary for use in UCD. Yet these grants stopped between 1909-11 and were only of £15-25 not the full £30-40.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Senate Minutes 15 July 1896; an editorial in College Echoes on 23 Oct 1896 also complained that "the University Hall is a 'complete success'. It could not well be anything else in view of the means employed to attract women to it. The total sum of money assigned this year to the Hall stands in shameful contrast to that voted to the other women students and to students generally. Of the Hall indeed it may justly be said that it does not so much labour to meet a felt want as to create one which it may meet."

⁵¹ Senate Minutes 11 Jan 1896; Donaldson Papers 48 copy of Lang's proposal. Taking an Arts degree before a Medical degree was a pattern several women followed as the minimum age for a women medic was 19. Pettigrew and University Rector Bute (1892-8) were adamant that the bursaries be awarded to women entering medicine directly. They were prepared to create new women's medical bursaries in order to "ingratiate" themselves with Women's Medical Colleges and justify the use of the Berry fund to endow a second anni medici Medical Chair and facilities in St. Andrews before a complete school was erected in UCD. Bute suggested the name St. Katherine's for the women's Hall and also planned to open a Catholic College in the town; St. Katherine's was in the end the name given to the Junior Girls department of St. Leonards.

⁵² P. Scott Lang, 'Scheme for the Berry Bequest, *op.cit.*': this was a reply to Pettigrew's 'The History of the Berry Bequest and the Uses to which it should be Applied' in Donaldson Papers Box 32, Feb 8 1895 in which he recommended the preservation and extension of the St. Andrews school of Medicine in St. Andrews and not Dundee as there were already the Taylor Thomson medical bursaries for women to justify this.

⁵³ University Court Minutes 1892-27 passim.

⁵⁴ Similarly the Senatus seems to have been prepared to excuse women students from exams because of illness, home duties and other problems far more often than they extended such courtesy to men.

Thus whilst St. Andrews undergraduate women were fairly fortunate in funding there were often limitations on such provision. Elisabeth MacDonald was able to advance as a working-class girl through Dundee schools to St. Andrews-UCD with bursaries and Carnegie fees. Yet although she won three MA class prizes in 1896-7 she was denied a £100 1st Class Honours English Literature scholarship because it was endowed between 1864 and 1888.⁵⁵ In 1909 the St. Andrews SRC - including six women members - petitioned the Senatus that "bursaries and scholarships at present open to men where women students are not definitely excluded...be thrown open to women also."⁵⁶ Women appear though to have fared well in those prizes, scholarships and research grants open to them.⁵⁷ However the apparent more frequent mention of women than men as research and demonstration assistants (at £30 a session) in some of the Sciences might suggest that whilst this was a tremendous new opportunity for women - they served as a form of cheap labour for a University whose resources were still stretched.⁵⁸

The position of women as full-time University staff was often similarly problematic. Miss Umpherston as a Physiology lecturer met with some hostility.⁵⁹ More controversially Louisa Lumsden, Miss Neave (the third Warden), and Professor Lang complained about the difficulties of the Warden of University Hall in relation to the Senate's Hall administrative Committee. It was only after a struggle that Miss Lumsden was allowed a vote on the Committee and the right to attend all meetings. She arrived in 1896 to find no-one confident of success in her "hopeless task" with the Hall

⁵⁵ E.Bryson, *op.cit.*; also Walter Coutts [United College Janitor c. 1890-1910], 'How Women Students Won Their Laurels' in the People's Journal Feb 15 1930. Interestingly though in the summer of 1892 the first summer session of classes were run in which women were allowed to enter (thus some few months ahead of women at the other Universities) and one girl won the Botany class prize.

⁵⁶ Senate Minutes 21 July 1911 - lists SRC resolutions; this motion does not appear to have been acted upon.

⁵⁷ For a complete survey of women student achievements in class prizes, medals, scholarships etc. see article from the Glasgow Herald, 'A Decade of Women Students at St. Andrews' reproduced in St. Andrews Citizen April 19 1902 which records the women student's considerable success despite many predicting "the utter collapse of the scheme [women's admission] within a few years at most..."

⁵⁸ Donaldson Papers Box 10 contains a list of University needs forwarded to the Carnegie Trust: it included £5,000 for Library extensions, £3,000 for Medical lecture rooms: £10,853 was requested from Carnegie altogether in this petition: see also J.Peddie *op.cit.*.

⁵⁹ She was appointed with a male counterpart and it was only by six votes to five that the Senate did not limit her to teaching women only. Pettigrew offered to teach mixed classes again if he got a £200 p.a. male assistant. But the Senate insisted Pettigrew consult the £130 p.a. Miss Umpherston on any such appointment and that the male assistant be at her service too.

after the failure of temporary women's residences in 1892-3 and 1895-6.⁶⁰ Miss Lumsden retired humiliated and disappointed after "five stormy years of jealousy, discontent and opposition" not only about the way she tried to run the Hall but as a result of the University's failure to keep her informed about policy and finance.⁶¹

Nevertheless Miss Lumsden - the University trusting to her pioneering success with St.Leonards - established much to be proud of. But her successor, Frances Melville had her salary (paid out of the LLA fund) cut from £150 to £120 and no vote on a Hall Committee which could "dispose of her presence" at any meeting.⁶² Similarly the University was perhaps understandably - at a time when it badly required new library and teaching facilities - hesitant with non-LLA funding for the Hall. It was erected using £1,500 of LLA fund, £2,000 from the London Pfeiffer bequest, and £2,939 of private donations (many from Dundee and Fife women despite Donaldson's lament that there were no wealthy women benefactors of women's education at St. Andrews).⁶³ A Hall extension was begun in 1908 after Miss Melville visited women's Halls in Aberystwyth, Manchester (Victoria College) and Cambridge revealing the viability of a larger Hall which could be leased out by the University to private organisations in the vacation. The University eventually added £3,500 to the £1,500 of LLA money and £1,000 of private donations raised by Lady Donaldson and Knight; the extension opened in 1912 now housing up to a third (50 to 60) of all St. Andrews women.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ St.Andrews Citizen Feb 25 1911 - Miss Lumsden felt that the pre-1896 attempts at a women's Hall had "certainly not been a success."

⁶¹ See letters of complaint to University in Hall Committee Minutes, *passim*, in which Miss Lumsden also insisted that if the Hall closed she should receive back the furniture and Encyclopaedia she had donated and the money she had bestowed for a bursary for St.Leonards girls attending St.Andrews University living in Hall. See also L.Lumsden 'Yellow Leaves' *op.cit.*.

⁶² University Hall Committee Minutes 16 July 1900, 13 July 1909.

⁶³ B.Herbertson, 'The Pfeiffer Bequest for University Women - A Centenary Review', CUP 1993 - Emily Jane Pfeiffer died in 1890 leaving over £55,000 to women's education which helped pay for five University Colleges for women (Bedford, Girton, Newnham, Somerville, London Medical), five Halls for women (London, Edinburgh, Aberystwyth, Cardiff, St.Andrews), two Secondary schools for girls and two Teacher Training Colleges for women.; J.Donaldson, 'University Addresses', *op.cit.*, P.272. In the summer session Hall ran at a deficit with a low attendance, whilst in winter sessions after c.1900 it overflowed and had to hire extra houses which also ran at a deficit. This was despite the fact that Hall rooms were deliberately priced higher than those at any other Scottish Hall of residence at £31 in 1908; in contrast lodgings in average cost 16/- a week, the low cost of living at St.Andrews being an attraction for many. Pettigrew's widow donated £500 to the University Hall extension fund.

⁶⁴ R.Smart, *op.cit.*, P.26.

In contrast, in Edinburgh and Glasgow, women's residences were funded and run by the EAUEW and QMC respectively, not the Universities. In Aberdeen the University's attempt to start a women's Hall failed, most women preferring the independence and economy of lodgings.⁶⁵ In St. Andrews the majority of women preferred "bunks" too before 1914. However the untiring efforts of the women's education pioneers who served as Hall Wardens - paying for much of the furnishings themselves and taking an unbroken interest in the residents' studies, health, surroundings, recreation and moderate feminist conscious - ensured that the Hall was indeed a success in attracting the middling social class of women it targeted. By the 1930s Hall places were more affordable and most women and increasingly so men were in University residences.



Louisa Sumner, Principal St. Leonard's Girls School 1877-80, Warden of University Hall 1896-1900; Hon LL.D. St. A. 1911.



Francess Melville, MA Edin 1895, BD St A 1907, Warden of University Hall 1900-9; Mistress QMC 1909-35.

⁶⁵ L. Moore IBID, Chapter 4.

Part Two: Informal Integration.

I. Societies, Sports, the Women's Student Union and Corporate Life.

As Louisa Lumsden stressed the LLA could never provide women with the full education in life of a residential University course.⁶⁶ Yet in entering into and enriching the corporate life of the University women students at St. Andrews - as with their formal integration - appear to have experienced a mixture of more success in some areas than women elsewhere, some problems unique to St. Andrews and a measure of good fortune. It should be stressed that the University - with more pressing demands on its resources - took a limited part in funding or running social or recreational facilities for men students at this time. It is difficult moreover to gauge if St. Andrews' role in women's education had done anything to make its own men students more receptive of women students as their social, cultural and political, as well as their academic, equals. However, it is significant that women's societies - apart from the WSDS - did not really take off until after c. 1900. Even at a small University like St. Andrews - in a town populated by more women than men - the fewer number of home-based students than in Scotland's city Colleges did not necessarily make it any easier to integrate women as a body into a student community fragmented into year, subject, ethnic, age and class groupings. Arguably, the women students did not need to achieve a 'critical mass' of numbers before they changed the way men students behaved: in the same way the first year of women students had quite quickly established women's academic ability.⁶⁷ Yet it could be argued that the women students did need not only the safety and energy of a comparably large number of women, as well as a focus for their activities in a Women's Union, before they could recreate and help expand upon the

⁶⁶ L.Lumsden, *The University Education of Women at St.Andrews* in *Viva Tabella: The St.Andrews University Quincentenary Volume*, 1911.

⁶⁷ W.Coutts, *op.cit.* stresses the pioneer type of women among the first twenty in 1892-3; the UDS referred to these women as the more "famous women students." For a discussion and illustration of the 'critical mass' theory of women's representation see B.Harrison, *Women in a Men's House: the Women MPs 1919-45* in *Historical Journal* 29, 3, 1986.

men student's social life in any comprehensive way. It could thus be said that this only occurred after c.1900.

As Sheila Hamilton and Lindy Moore have shown, the first generation of women students, whilst pioneers in establishing women's' academic acceptance, seemed largely content to remain "separate but equal" in their recreation and passively inactive in their student politics.⁶⁸ Until the First World War women mostly duplicated men student's societies and seemingly sought respectability and safety in the segregated company of their own sex. Indeed in St. Andrews it was often men who called most for an end to such separation as segregated seating and etiquette which frowned on free discussion between the sexes.⁶⁹ However, despite a slow start it will be shown that by 1914 St. Andrews women had taken an active role in the development of a corporate life which allowed scope for both segregated and mixed-gender recreation more so than at the city Universities.

Admittedly there would always be a core of more confident, out-going women heading the organisation and membership of women's societies and representing women on the SRC. A sizeable number of women remained outside the societies too engrossed in work or perhaps too shy to participate in women's societies, the student magazine and the Women's Union.⁷⁰ However in response to such criticism it must be stressed that men's societies and sports had only really begun to extend beyond Debating, Literary, irregular Magazine and Dramatic Societies (in which Professors' female relatives starred) in the 1870s and 1880s; these were dominated by a similar core of male activists. The men's Union was only opened in 1887 ironically with funding

⁶⁸ S.Hamilton, *Ph.D. op.cit.*, Chapter 2; L.Moore, '*Bajanellas...*', *op.cit.*, Chapter 6, 7, 8.

⁶⁹ *College Echoes* 16 Nov 1906.

⁷⁰ In the same fashion one never hears from those women at St.Andrews who perhaps did not enjoy or cope with the work or lifestyle, who were not confident enough to speak in say, the Debating Society, or who experienced gender discrimination. The career of Mildred Dobson, the fourth Warden of University Hall is along with the annual profile of the President of the Women's Union in *College Echoes* in this period, a good example of the academic and corporate confidence women students could reach: Miss Dobson, from London (the daughter of the Poet Laureate) graduated MA St.A in 1900, BSc in Botany St.A 1905; she was Captain of the women's Hockey XI as well as in the women's golf and tennis teams, the WCU and WSDS; in 1904-6 she was a Botany Demonstrator, in 1906-7 a Research student; in 1908 a Carnegie scholar; she returned to serve as Hall Warden in 1911 until 1936 after a short spell teaching - J.A.MacDonald, '*Plant Science & Scientists in St.Andrews*', St.A 1984; *College Echoes* LV, 16, 1912.

raised by bazaars run by women in 1887 and 1895⁷¹; first year men students too were often berated for their neglect of corporate life before 1914. Indeed on occasion after c.1902 the women were complemented for the comparative vitality of their debating, Christian Union and sports teams.⁷²

As at the other Scottish Universities the first women's society was the WSDS, formed in 1894 along with a Women's Reading Room in the Hebdomodar's office gifted as a women's waiting room by Donaldson.⁷³ Before c. 1900 women students came into structured contact with men at: lectures or chapel (where the women always sat separately); at two or three annual dances where women were strictly chaperoned by Professors' wives or the Warden of University Hall ⁷⁴; and in the SRC and Rectorial elections. Women's presence in the University Choir and Orchestra from 1892 was at first criticised as detracting from its traditional tones.⁷⁵ They also met men students in the non-leisure University Missionary and Total Abstinence societies. At this time then it could be argued that women students did not constitute an identifiable community. In some senses this was reflected in their treatment by men students with a variegating mixture of pride and chivalry - being serenaded by torch light at Rectorial elections or toasted at Liberal Association dinners ⁷⁶ - or of humorous tolerance, curiosity or moderate distaste "under the conviction of male superiority".⁷⁷ Women students' work, behaviour and appearance were constantly scrutinised, with criticism of their giggling in the library, their distracting hair, lack of interest in College Echoes and feminine influence over men anxious to impress them or accompany them along the beach or golf

⁷¹ St. Andrews University Student's Union Bazaar Programme August 22-24 1895, programme; £160 of the proceeds raised by this bazaar was set aside for a Women's student's Union but was forgotten about until 1902.

⁷² College Echoes 2 Nov. 1906, P.33.

⁷³ Women Student's Reading Room Minutes 1894-9; Women Student's Union Minutes Vol. II. 1912-7 - n.b. Vol. I. 1898-1912 missing.

⁷⁴ Christina Just (MA St. Andrews 1911), 'Fifty Years Back' in Alumnus Chronicle 43, 1955; also Eleanor Osman MA 1912-7, 'Recollections of University Hall', Typescript held in University Hall - she reports that Classics Professor Lindsay did not like women.

⁷⁵ College Echoes 22 Feb. 1894.

⁷⁶ College Echoes 1 Dec. 1892, P.53; W.Coutts, op.cit.

⁷⁷ A quote used by Lindy Moore to describe the situation in Aberdeen, op.cit., P.111.

links! ⁷⁸ In 1894 the proposed admission of "our more famous lady students" to the UDS was rejected by 50 votes to 18 amid much noisy disapproval.⁷⁹

After 1896 however perhaps the lack of facilities for women, and the class tensions resultant from the opening of University Hall and its recruitment policy, amounted to a greater obstacle than did the attitude of men in preventing women students developing a more corporate and integrated identity. These tensions intersected in 1898 when a quite bitter dispute broke out over the use of College Gate, a building hired to serve as a meeting and dining place for Hall women but which Louisa Lumsden proposed should serve as a 'Women's Union' for all to ease relations between 'Hall', 'Town' and 'travelling' women.⁸⁰ Undoubtedly the "revolt of the [unattached] Town] women" against this suggestion was exaggerated by the coverage of the Dundee Advertiser. Yet College Echoes underlined the strong independent spirit of the town women in sending letters of protest and a deputation to Miss Lumsden with the help of the Hall women and resolving at a mass meeting of women students - one of the apparently regular meetings women students held - to petition the SRC for help in funding a Women's Union run independently by a women's student committee as the men ran their Union and not by the Warden with strict rules similar to those applied in Hall.⁸¹ In 1899 less public tensions arose when Miss Lumsden apparently sought to control the WSDS, briefly resulting in separate Hall and non-Hall debating societies. There were also calls from successive Wardens, Professors and Lady Donaldson's Ladies Committee for a list of inspected and licensed Women students lodgings to put

⁷⁸ College Echoes 22 Dec. 1892 and 2 Feb. 1893.

⁷⁹ College Echoes 22 Feb. 1894 and 15 Feb 1894; there were however, letters of complaint about biased Echoes reporting in favour of women about this debate.

⁸⁰ Groupings used by E.Bryson, *op.cit.*

⁸¹ Dundee Advertiser Oct 31 1898, Nov 1 1898, Nov 4 1898, Nov 5 1898, Nov 21 1898, Nov 25 1898; College Echoes, Vol X 1898-9, P.13 to 29; E.Bryson, *op.cit.*, P. 168-9. The 'Union' was hired with money donated by chemistry Professor Purdie to the Hall. The town students objected both to the "high-handed, tactless" proposals that they pay a quite high membership and 9d a meal dinner fee while Hall women - whose fees would though fund the rest of the Union's expenses - were ex-officio members, and that Miss Lumsden be the "sole judge" in managing the thus falsely-named Women's Union, extending the well-intentioned "parental tutelage" she had over Hall students' society memberships and visitors or excursions after 7 p.m. to town women. The town women held out when Miss Lumsden refused to see them and asserting "her" Hall girls had no right to bargain with her over the Union, and when Donaldson closed the women's waiting room. Rule 17 of the Hall rules stipulated that no resident was to join any club or society in the University or Town without the Warden's permission; residents needed permission to be out after 7p.m. and were not allowed guests after 6p.m. - Rules and Regulations of Hall, copy in Donaldson Papers Box 13. See College Echoes 28 Oct 1898 to 25 Nov 1898.

an end to instances of men and women who were not brother and sister occupying the same building.⁸²

A compromise was quickly reached over College Gate, the women students as a whole were allowed to elect a Union managing Committee but they seem to have been unable to finance it. In 1902 Professor McIntosh complained when the women were given instead a room next to his Natural History classroom; he suggested a "temporary wooden structure" for St. Andrews' 115 women at a time when the University had other building and funding priorities. Thus despite having proportionally the largest number of women students in Scotland St. Andrews arguably still catered poorly for women ten years after their first matriculation.⁸³ The University used the money raised from the LLA and private donations to provide only for its own property, University Hall, ensuring its viability and the desired structured and "reticent" environment for its residents. Right on the edge of town, the Hall had single study-bedrooms, tutorial rooms, Arts and Science and Senior libraries, reticent Girtonian grounds with private gardens, bike sheds and tennis courts; for Hall women the town could have "not much significance".⁸⁴

In Edinburgh by contrast, whilst the University authorities were similarly lapse or fiscally unable to accommodate women students outside classes other than in empty classrooms, it was the EAUEW that provided a series of rented residences for women and in 1897, Masson Hall, which served as a popular Women's Union, the EAUEW paying all membership fees.⁸⁵ In Glasgow a similar situation existed within QMC, although as with women's medical education in Edinburgh the fact that Glasgow women remained separate from the men's classes did hinder their integration into a mixed-gender corporate life. In Dundee however, men and women students had joined to hold a bazaar in 1895 which funded a 'mixed Union'. In reality this building had

⁸² Senate Minutes 11 Jan 1896. The suggestion was made that sisters could look after their brothers' domestic needs if they were both students at the same University; this came in response to the discovery of 10 cases where men and women were in the same lodging house but not related..

⁸³ Statement by Professor McIntosh about the Natural History Classrooms, 25 July 1902, in Donaldson Papers Vol.21; after the women's union was established a wooden passage way was built between the men's Union and the women's Union to allow the women to visit their own bathrooms during Balls.

⁸⁴ Jane Christie, op.cit., P.168.

⁸⁵ W.Boog-Watson, 'The Story of the Women Student's Union', Edinburgh University Review 1968.

segregated entrances, corridors and rooms for men and women, but there were mixed UCD Debating and other Societies and mixed SRC representation. Only in Aberdeen was the facility situation as bad as in St. Andrews. However, the absence in Aberdeen of class differences similar to those between St. Andrews' 'Hall' and 'Town' women, meant that working and middle class women there formed women's societies more quickly. They did though fail to take up the offer of sharing the Aberdeen men's Union after 1892.⁸⁶ Therefore where extra-mural teaching for women had been in place before 1892 - as in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee - women enjoyed better recreational facilities before say 1900. Where no extra-mural classes for women had succeeded for women before 1892 - as at St. Andrews and Aberdeen - women's recreational facilities were poor and improvised.

However, in 1902 considerable good fortune again helped women at St. Andrews. Mrs. Andrew Carnegie, wife of the University's Dunfermline-born steel billionaire Rector, donated £2,000 for the refurbishment of 79, North Street as a Women's Union.⁸⁷ Again the women students had grave difficulty financing Union running costs via chantants, tea parties and concerts. In 1904 the Carnegies donated a £10,000 fund to be administered by the University Court to finance new Men's and Women's Sports fields and pavilions as well as the Women's Union which would be run by a Board of Professors, elected women students and the Hall Warden.⁸⁸ Although at its peak before 1914 it had only 70 or so members, this Union and the Women's Sports Pavilion served not only to ease tensions between Town and Hall but arguably further catalysed the rapid increase and diversity in Women students activities and their integration into the University's wider, developing corporate life.⁸⁹

In 1897 Elizabeth Steele-Hutton (MA 1892 to 1903) founded the Town Students Association (TSA), an energetic women's society which over the next half century held regular discussions, non-alcoholic Gaudeamuses, dramatic tableaux open

⁸⁶ S. Hamilton *Ph.D. op.cit.*, Chapter 2; L. Moore, 'Bajanellas...', *op.cit.*, Chapter 6, 7, 8.

⁸⁷ 'Three Busy Weeks - Dr. Carnegie at Perth, Edinburgh...St. Andrews etc...', *Dunfermline* 1902 P.116-7; *College Echoes* 4 Dec 1903; *St. Andrews Citizen* 24 Oct 1902; *Dundee Advertiser* 28 Jan 1904.

⁸⁸ *University Court Minutes* 28 Oct. 1905 P.93.

⁸⁹ F. Melville, *op.cit.*, P.143 - "at St. Andrews the privileges of the women students in respect of athletics and physical culture are unique in Scotland, and indeed in Britain."

to the public and even fancy-dress Balls almost as if in defiance of the reticent Hall ethos of Knight and Lumsden.⁹⁰ However, in 1905 and 1908 the TSA temporarily dissolved itself. It was frequently revived but with the election of a Women's Interest Committee after 1909 involving elected officials from the Women's Union, the Women's Athletic Union, and senior Hall and Town women it was clear women students now identified and organised more as a collective whole. An annual tea party for bejant (first year) women was held in the Women's Union while the bejant men had a smoking party before the Bejant Ball; in 1911 a Women's Celebratory Committee helped organise an At-Home for Mrs Carnegie and other ladies, and took part in processions and dramatic tableaux with men students, as part of the University's Quincentenary. Women students also appeared to have held a number of 'Mass meetings' to vote on matters of student organisation.

Arguably, Miss Lumsden's successors were more approachable and student-like in their own recreational interests⁹¹; notably Hall Balls and concerts open to men students, attempted only once before 1900, became very popular after 1902.⁹² The Women's Athletic Union grew to include women's golf, tennis and highly successful Hockey teams after 1901, all of which College Echoes took great pride in reporting. Mixed-gender Hockey matches against St. Andrews divinity students and mixed golf fourballs became popular.⁹³ In 1901 the Women's Christian Union was formed as part of a network of such societies in all Britain's Universities. The WCU undeniably seems to have had a more regular attendance and fuller itinerary of debates and guest speakers

⁹⁰ Ann Waterson (a first year in 1897), 'The Town Students Association', Alumnus Chronicle 37, 1952; the TSA's activities were even described as "wild orgies" by College Echoes 9 Dec 1904.

⁹¹ Miss Frances Melville (1873-1962): MA 1st Philosophy, Edinburgh; lecturer in Psychology Cheltenham Ladies College; 1900 Warden University Hall St. Andrews where she was also a regular speaker to the WSDS and the WCU; the first woman to graduate BD in Scotland in 1910 St. Andrews but disappointed that she did not appear to inspire other women to pursue careers in the church; Mistress QMC, Glasgow 1909-1935; second in Glasgow University's Parliamentary elections in 1937 - 'Life & Work' New Series 16, April 1931 P.142-3 and Dictionary of Scottish Church History eds. Cameron/Lachman/Wright/Meek, 1993, P.557-8. For a biography of Miss Lumsden see A. Clark in Kate Kennedy Annual 1983 P.56-60.

⁹² E. Osman, op.cit., reports the rumour that Miss Neave, the third Warden [whose appointment some objected to as she had not got an academic background] was dismissed by Donaldson for allowing the men students too frequent access to the Hall.

⁹³ St. Andrews being of course the home of Golf this proved both a sport which eroded gender barriers - with a large Townswomen's Golf Club and even competitions between the male and female champions - yet also (in the form of Royal & Ancient) reinforced these divisions.

on a wide range of civic and philanthropic topics than did the Men's society.⁹⁴ In 1905 a women's physical instructress was appointed and very popular swimming, dancing, and gymnastic classes and public displays were organised with up to 80 women enrolled meeting twice a week each session⁹⁵; men students also received the instructress's dancing classes. Mixed-gender societies, based on University classes were also formed: a Philosophical Society, a Science Society, a Classical Society, and most notably a Societé Française (in which women filled most of the offices).⁹⁶

However, this increase in mixed-gender and women's-only social activity must surely be related to wider socio-economic change in the position of late-Victorian and Edwardian women and the efforts of men and women students who only knew co-educational University classes, rather than directly the result of any pioneering by St. Andrews University before or after 1892. Indeed in some instances this greater social liberty occurred almost in spite of the Victorian "parental tutelage" of University Hall.⁹⁷ There was in no sense a Universal women's experience of emancipation as a result of both urbanisation, municipalisation and industrialisation, and of course the efforts of various women's movements before the upheaval of the Great War. Yet the position of middle-class women especially benefited from a variegating shift - though not a total relaxation - in attitudes to the socio-economics of marriage, family and the law, education, social work and careers, local government and recreation.⁹⁸ These tremendous changes can be seen reflected in the activities of townswomen in St. Andrews reported in the St. Andrews Citizen.

⁹⁴ The WCU even had a Mission in Bombay run by a St. Andrews women graduate, the sister of the fourth Warden Mildred Dobson.

⁹⁵ University Court Minutes 10 Oct 1905 P.88 - Miss Le Couteur was to be paid £150 p.a.; she was replaced in 1911 by Miss Janice Hodge who served into the 1930s - see College Echoes 1905 on passim.

⁹⁶ College Echoes 1900-14 passim.

⁹⁷ J.Christie, op.cit., P.20.

⁹⁸ See E.Gordon, 'Women's Spheres', op.cit.; R.Marshall, op.cit.; L.Leneman, 'Into the Foreground: A History of Scottish Women in Photographs', NMS 1993; M.Vicinus ed., 'The Widening Sphere - Changing Roles of Victorian Women', Indiana 1977. However Willa Muir, wife of Edwin Muir, relates how the University in the 1930s was inhibited by almost Victorian social etiquette [W.Muir, 'Belonging', Hogarth 1968]; these social constraints as well as the 'utilitarian spirit' of hard-working St. Andrews women students are portrayed in the novel 'A Girl Bejant' set in St. Andrews by a former student Isabel Keith Campbell, 1898 - DON PR4409.C25G5. See also P.Thorne, 'Late Victorian Women' in T.R.Gounish/O.Doy eds. 'Later Victorian Britain 1867-1900', Macmillan 1988.

II. *The Student's Representative Council and Student Politics.*

But these social developments still of course had their limitations. After 1898 two women from those elected to the SRC were appointed to the Editing Committee of six of the weekly College Echoes, although their main jobs seem to have been to report the proceedings of women's societies which before 1898 were "communicated" to the Editors, and to encourage more women to contribute pieces to the Magazine. In 1903-5 Elizabeth Steele-Hutton became the only women convenor of an SRC committee before the War when she was twice appointed Chief Editor. By 1912 women editors were allowed to prepare an annual women's issue on their own.⁹⁹ By 1914 these women editors could still complain of the petty jealousies between women in different academic years and subjects, between Scots and English, Hall women and Town women, or rich and poor, and the fact that many women remained non-members of the Women's Union, societies and sports teams. But they could also attest to facilities at St. Andrews for women unrivalled at Scotland's other Universities, and a similarly unmatched level of input by women to student affairs.¹⁰⁰

In 1894-5 a woman was elected to the SRC for the first time. Although some men received this as a "stupid freak" result two, three or four women were thereafter elected annually along with 16 to 18 men, either as representatives for each academic year or to represent the WSDS alongside the University's other society representatives.¹⁰¹ However, in 1904 the SRC constitution was changed: no society representatives other than the Men's and Women's Union Presidents were automatically appointed, and the rest of the Council members were chosen by general poll with one man elected for every 25 *students* yet only one woman for every 25 *women students*. As a result five, six or seven women were elected annually up to 1913-4 along with 11, 12 or 13 men: UCD's SRC - which met with the St. Andrews SRC - enjoyed similar representation.¹⁰² In Aberdeen two women were elected to the

⁹⁹ College Echoes Feb. 15 1912.

¹⁰⁰ IBID; F.Melville op.cit.

¹⁰¹ College Echoes 8 Dec. 1894, P.60.

¹⁰² SRC Minutes 22 Nov. 1904.

SRC in 1897 but were so poorly treated that no woman ran for election again until 1906-7.¹⁰³ In Edinburgh and Glasgow by contrast, separate Women's Committees were organised to input to their male-run SRC.¹⁰⁴ It is difficult to gauge which form - direct involvement as SRC members or the positive discrimination of a Women's Committee - helped or marginalised women's representation the most.¹⁰⁵ In St. Andrews' SRC the only motions proposed by women before 1914 appear to have been about academic dress, Modern Languages and constitutional changes c.1908-9 to give women the same electoral representation on the SRC as men; the latter matter does not though appear to have been pressed by women. Admittedly those women on the St. Andrews SRC remained that core of confident women from the societies. However, although two women did sit annually on each of the SRC's Editing, Student Interest, College Services and Sermons Committees, no woman served as SRC President, Vice-President, Treasurer or Secretary before 1914, a trend which seems to have continued during the War despite the majority of students being women.¹⁰⁶ Four women represented St. Andrews at the SRC Inter-University Conference on Modern Languages in Glasgow in 1911. Prior to this only one St. Andrews woman had served in such a capacity whilst the other Universities had been sending one or two women annually to these annual formal SRC Conferences since 1904: in 1909 a Mass Meeting of women students had resolved in support of women's representation at these Inter-University Conferences.¹⁰⁷

It was also around 1908 that women students' growing presence, confidence and, arguably, their moderate feminist identity raised political tensions with the men students. Some women students had already shown their independence by challenging

¹⁰³ L.Moore, 'Bajanellas...', *op.cit.*, P.91-2.

¹⁰⁴ S.Hamilton, *Ph.D. op.cit.*, Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁵ In St.Andrews' SRC women representatives were at least present and able to counter proposals to limit the number of women students at first hand rather than having such a motion handed down to them on a separate Women's Committee. In 1908 one woman on the SRC did suggest having one representative for every 15 students regardless of their gender but this was rejected.

¹⁰⁶ Elisabeth Bryson was the first woman Vice-President of the UCD Student's Union.

¹⁰⁷ University Court Minutes 13 Feb. 1904: St.Andrews sent 1 woman and 1 man to the Inter SRC Conference; Aberdeen 3 and 1; Edinburgh 4 and 3; Glasgow 3 and 2. College Echoes 10 Dec 1909 P.224 - by 55 votes to 3 and with the demand that some remarks against women's representation from the last conference be struck from the record.

Miss Lumsden over College Gate. This should not be over stressed: in 1900 Miss Lumsden retired with a vote of thanks from the Town women.¹⁰⁸ It is possible though that on occasion Hall-Town tensions or a lack of feminist conscious amongst women students split the women's SRC vote or saw it cast on the merits of the candidate rather than their gender: in what College Echoes often described as the "Battle of the Sexes" the men students are reported usually to have elected men representatives.¹⁰⁹ There were several complaints about women students "poor notion of standing by one another."¹¹⁰ In 1912 the Women's issue of College Echoes called on women to fight "the crushing weight of male prejudice" in the world in general which sought to limit women to a separate sphere of "colourless mediocrity"; and the feeling that "the average women student is terrified to give free play to her thoughts and actions lest she become the subject of unflattering discrimination in the men's Union".¹¹¹ There was perhaps more gender discrimination at work beneath the veneer of good relations portrayed in College Echoes and students' memoirs. Women certainly were not admitted to the University Liberal and Conservative associations except as Gallery observers at the annual Liberal Dinner after 1905; similarly by 1913-4 they were still not allowed to participate in the annual Parliamentary Debate.¹¹²

However, once more a core group of women were prepared to challenge these conventions and participate in the expression of social forces over which the University had no real control. In 1910 a group of women students insisted on attending the Proclamation Procession of Edward VI despite Donaldson's indication they should not.¹¹³ Admittedly women students did not participate in Rectorial torch light processions in which the men students dressed in drag, increasingly so as

¹⁰⁸ In 1911 she received an Honorary LLD degree from the University, which she says made "full amends" for the hurt caused over her running of University Hall - L.Lumsden, *op.cit./Table 7B*; when she received her Honorary degree she stayed in St.Andrews with Mrs.Millicent Fawcett Garrett and her sister Elisabeth! - 'Yellow Leaves', p.176.

¹⁰⁹ College Echoes 5 Nov 1897; 10 Nov 1905; 2 Nov 1906.

¹¹⁰ Dundee Advertiser Jan 24 1899: the men booed at the mention of women students, the women clapped feebly as Mrs Millicent Garrett Fawcett [Elisabeth Garrett's sister] received her Honorary LLD degree.

¹¹¹ College Echoes 16 Feb., 1912.

¹¹² IBID, 16 Jan 1905.

¹¹³ Senate Minutes 13 July 1910 -transcript of letter from Women Student's Union explaining their disobedience.

suffragettes.¹¹⁴ After 1901 mixed-gender Fabian Societies were formed in both St. Andrews and UCD. In 1906 the WSDS held its first inter-debate with the UDS although on a neutral abstract topic.¹¹⁵ Nonetheless in such activity it must be stressed women students were encouraged to develop and exercise a reserved and dignified feminism by the pioneering Wardens of University Hall. Louisa Lumsden regularly returned to Hall Graduate Society annual dinners to speak on such matters as women's citizenship, local government, the non-militant suffrage campaign (which she worked for throughout the country), and the Women's Higher Education Movement - giving St. Andrews women a sense of the role of women pioneers and of St. Andrews University and the LLA. Frances Melville too often addressed the WSDS on women's work, the National Union of Women Workers and the suffrage. In 1906-9 Miss Melville - along with Elsie Inglis, Frances Simson, Millicent Fawcett (Elisabeth Garrett's sister and the first woman to receive an Honorary LLD from St. Andrews in 1897) - took Edinburgh and St. Andrews University as far as the House of Lords in their attempt to secure the right to vote for the MP for these Universities as graduates of Edinburgh. At this time Melville was still studying for her Bachelor of Divinity degree at St. Andrews in order to encourage women to enter careers in the Church at St. Andrews; she was Warden of University Hall and thus supposedly "neutral politically and religiously". The University records for the time are curiously silent on the Graduates' Suffrage Appeal and Miss Melville's role.¹¹⁶

Perhaps as a result of the Wardens' influence a Women Student's Suffrage Society (WSSS) and Suffrage Library was formed in October 1907, up to a year before such societies appeared in the other Scottish Universities, and held regular meetings

¹¹⁴ Louisa Lumsden, Elisabeth Garrett, and Mary Baxter are all to this day characters in the Kate Kennedy Procession in which male students dress in drag and tour the town; after 1918 Principal Irvine was anxious that women should not take part in this and to this day a woman has only played Kate once, in 1972.

¹¹⁵ The first inter WSDS-UDS debate was on 'Humility as a Virtue is Over-rated' after a debate of women's suffrage was cancelled - College Echoes 17 Feb.. 1906; when the suffrage was debated the men speakers failed to turn up.

¹¹⁶ The Women Graduates Suffrage Appeal is missing from the University Archives (s JN875.P2); some of the cases legal decisions are stuck into the Senate Minutes of 1908-9; biography of Miss Melville College Echoes 15 Jan 1904. See L. Lumsden, 'A Good Cause...' *op. cit.*, p. 255-6.

over the next seven years.¹¹⁷ Yet in 1907 the first WSSS meeting was disrupted by men students.¹¹⁸ Undoubtedly this disruptive male element was in the minority in the Colleges: in 1909 the UDS and WSDS in inter-debate found in favour of women's suffrage by 37 votes with over half the student population of 341 voting. But this same minority felt confident enough to disrupt the first Town Hall public Suffrage Meeting in 1908. The history of St. Andrews Suffrage Movement is potentially a rich one. By 1911 there were 7,851 women (61%) in St. Andrews and 5,019 men (39%).¹¹⁹ However it seems as if the majority of St. Andrews townswomen were anti-suffrage: by 1914 three anti-suffrage societies - one each for middle-class, working-class and young (including matriculated) women - had been organised by one Lady Griselda Cheape.¹²⁰ However, a Women's non-militant Suffrage Society was equally active in town. In St. Andrews in 1913 a members-only non-militant Suffrage Summer School was organised by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and was held in University Hall in May.¹²¹ The school's speakers also spoke in the Town Hall and included Louisa Lumsden, Millicent Fawcett and Elsie Inglis. In the same summer the WSPU burnt down Leuchars station, threatened to attack St. Andrews golf links, and partly burnt the University's Gatty Marine Laboratory alienating many by this attack on the valuable work of Professor Macintosh who - along with chemist and future

¹¹⁷ This contrasts with the position in 1895 [College Echoes 31 Jan 1895] when the WSDS found against women's suffrage by 12 to 4, but the UDS supported it. by 9 to 6 in IBID 20 Feb 1896. The WSSS was also addressed by Teresa Billington-Grieg shortly after she left the militant WSPU in 1907.

¹¹⁸ St. Andrews Citizen, Dec 21 1907 described this as a 'Student Riot' as did the Dundee Advertiser 18 Dec. 1907; Janitor Walter Coutts defended the male student's Christmas spirit and dismissed their damage to University property - Dundee Advertiser IBID and People's Journal op.cit., in which he says the Hall women tried to play a hoax on the University after the Gatty Marine Laboratory had been attacked by suffragettes by calling the fire-brigade out to Hall.

¹¹⁹ Census of Scotland 1911.

¹²⁰ These were the St. Andrews Anti-Suffrage Society, the Women Workers' Anti-Suffrage Society and the 'Beehive' respectively - see St. Andrews Citizen 1908 to 1914 *passim*: a Miss Low, an MA of St. Andrews, spoke on the Beehive's platform on Sept. 27 1913 [St. Andrews Citizen]. In the same year a public debate between the two camps found 167 anti-suffrage and 148 pro-suffrage.: Mrs. Pankhurst and the WSPU were regular visitors to St. Andrews although they were more concerned about campaigning against PM Asquith in his Fife Burgh's seat (St. Andrews had its own MP) or at Dundee and Aberdeen by-elections: WSSSs were founded in these cities also; for a biography of Lady Cheape see L. Leneman, 'A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland', AUP 1991, P. 255-7.

¹²¹ The University insisted that the Suffrage School be open only to those members of the NUWSS resident in the Hall during the summer and that the Hall thus was not to be used to give political speeches with the purpose of appealing to non-residents of the Hall charged an entry fee - correspondence about this in the University Court Minutes 1913 *passim* and University Hall Folder D:1.

Principal, James Irvine - was a member of the anti-suffrage lobby.¹²² Also in 1913 the non-party St. Andrews WSSS offered to help the town Suffrage Society in its meetings but withdrew this offer when the town objected to the WSSS President's membership of the WSPU.¹²³ The only militant activity among the WSSS members appears to have been shouting interruptions at UDS Parliamentary debates before being removed from the room, yet the society did have a policy of admitting women and men from any suffrage organisation.¹²⁴ Thus whilst the majority of St. Andrews women students - as the memoirs of Elizabeth MacDonald, Elisabeth Osman and Margaret Christie insist - may have had no active interest in the suffrage movement, they must certainly have been aware of the issues and the active role of some women students.¹²⁵ In 1913 a plebiscite was held canvassing all Scotland's women students on the suffrage issue: 61% were in favour of the vote for women, 18% opposed and 20% indifferent.¹²⁶

Conclusions.

Clearly then, by 1913-4 if they had a will to, St. Andrews women students could participate in experiencing and expressing women's freedoms and progressive movements in higher education, careers, organised sports, culture, residential or independent living, debate and politics perhaps to the greatest degree possible by women at that time.¹²⁷ As the WSDS resolved in 1910 "the position of women in this University is relatively high and that she has more rights than are generally considered consistent with her privileges so called."¹²⁸ St. Andrews University did take the

¹²² St. Andrews Citizen 26 Feb. 1911; Cuttings and letters relating to these events in D:1 Folder and McIntosh Album 6 [St. Andrews MS3102/6]; L. Leneman, *op.cit.* P.152. Ironically the University Court Minutes include the hasty change to its records of 'suffragette ist' in referring to the hirers of University Hall; the Court was criticised in the Times [July 5 1913] for leasing the Hall to such a political body as the NUWSS; Professor Knight would probably also have disapproved.

¹²³ College Echoes 1 Nov 1912 to 1 Dec 1913. The Bankhurst's Women's Social & Political Union was of course militant.

¹²⁴ St. Andrews Citizen 22 Feb. 1908

¹²⁵ E. Osman *op.cit.* P. 2; E. Bryson, *op.cit.* P. 117.

¹²⁶ College Echoes 17 Jan 1913, P.183.

¹²⁷ This was notably despite the opinion of men like Knight and McIntosh about the impropriety of women participating in politics and the ministry - see above Chapter 3 P.22. Knight wrote to the Times in March 1912 in opposition to Women's Suffrage - reproduced in St. Andrews Citizen March.

¹²⁸ College Echoes 9 Nov 1910, P.67.

unmatched risk of establishing its own very successful women's Hall. However, these wider privileges were not necessarily attained as a result of the impetus and reputation of St. Andrews efforts in women's higher education before 1892. Similar social and political activities involving women students were established in Scotland's other Universities; St. Andrews though was undeniably a favourable place to integrate women students due to its size, environment and luck.

COLLEGE ECHOES EXTRACTS I.

31 Oct. 1895

WOMEN STUDENTS' DEBATING SOCIETY.—The first meeting of the Women Students' Debating Society was held on Saturday last, in the Moral Philosophy Class-Room—Miss Lees in the chair. There was a large attendance of women students and the wives of the professors to hear the Opening Address by Miss Louisa Innes Lumsden, on "The Present State of Women's Education in Various Countries."

Miss Lumsden began by saying that her reason for wishing to get in touch with the women students of St Andrews University was that she might make her influence felt in the national life through those of them who intended to become teachers in the schools of Scotland. These schools were in need of reform, and this to some extent could be seen by a comparison of the state of women's education in foreign countries. Miss Lumsden then proceeded to give a survey of the state of women's educational facilities in Holland, Germany, America, and England. In Holland the educational reform was in advance of popular opinion; the Universities were open to women, and girls, with the sanction of the different town councils, might be admitted into the boys' gymnasia. In Germany this was not the case. The Emperor had to give his sanction before any woman entered a University, and the number of those who did so was infinitesimal. The schools in Germany were under State control, and no woman could formerly be headmistress of a State school. Now four gymnasia for girls had been started, one under State control. In America everything was rather "new," and most of the so-called Universities were mere higher-grade schools, whose degrees were consequently worthless. Men were at the head of all these with the exception of "Wellesley." In England there were two Universities or examining bodies which conferred degrees on men and women alike, and there was also Girton, Newnham, and the Oxford residential colleges exclusively for women. The English high-schools for girls were much better than anything we have in Scotland. In Scotland reform had begun at the top; the Universities had been thrown open, and St Andrews had given a particularly generous welcome to its women students. But the schools were bad, and they ought to be managed by women, and not men; the place to be filled was square, and men, by their very nature, round; women had the particular shape that filled the hole. Miss Lumsden concluded by warning all future teachers against the deadening effect of State control which was experienced in Germany.

Miss Smith, in an able speech, proposed the vote of thanks. The Society felt grateful to Mrs Rodger, who, in seconding this vote of thanks, so charmingly expressed the feelings of the audience. Miss Murray also spoke in support of the vote, and the thanks of the Society being conveyed to Miss Lumsden, the meeting terminated.—*Communicated.*

9 Dec. 1904

TOWN STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION.—The annual supper of the Town Students' Association was held in the Dining Hall of the Men's Union, on Saturday, 3rd December. About eighty were present, including three former presidents of the Society. An excellent and varied programme was carried through by several members. Misses Mitchell, Elder, and Lawson sang of love, Spain, and sleep respectively, while two humorous duets, rendered by Miss Rogers and Miss McLean, were received with great enthusiasm. Miss Ormiston, a bejant, recited, and we must congratulate her both on the choice of her recitation and the manner in which it was delivered. The speakers, as usual, formed an important part of the programme. Every speaker seemed to have realised most forcibly that "Brevity is the soul of wit," and so the company listened to speeches both humorous and appropriate, yet never too long. The King, University, and Professoriate were lauded beyond all recognition, one speaker becoming quite eloquent over the paternal interest shown by professors in the welfare of the students, while the bejant who proposed the health of the Society seemed firmly convinced that the T.S.A. supper and dance is the event of the academic year. And we don't disagree with her!

16 Jan. 1905

Echoes from the Liberal Dinner.

Candidates for the remaining vacancies in the next Liberal Cabinet had better apply to one of our Professors.

The Chairman was almost persuaded to believe that the chief qualification for an office in the Government was to attend the dinner of St Andrews University Liberal Association.

The gallery door opened; a murmur ran round the tables—"The Ladies."

We cannot believe the President of the Association was responsible for this innovation. It never even occurred him.

Wanted—the definition of a Croupier? Professor Bosanquet characterised his speech as a "penny-in-the-slot." It was a golden penny.

"Our Guests" seems to be a comprehensive and suggestive toast. It called forth remarks on Chicago, pork factories and monster conflagrations, St Andrews and east winds, Heaven and Hell.

Our special punster (who has just returned from another dinner) informs us that a *poet* of the evening provided the *jest* of the evening. He is unable to say what kind of *poet* or *inside* *confide* may be.

One ex-President spoke of the *spirit* of Hellenic cities. [He is T.T.—Ed.] Another, in proposing "Our Guests," gave more attention to the ladies than he should have done. However, that is a little way of his.

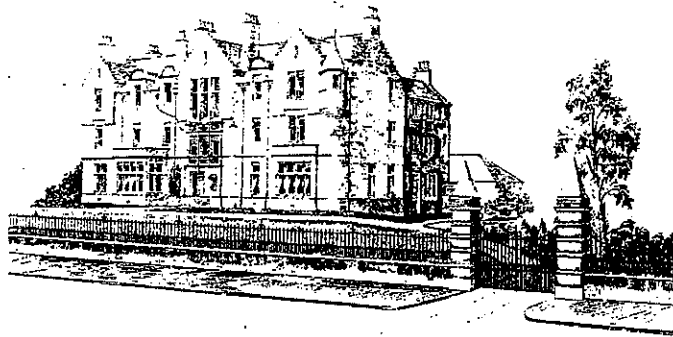
The programme which followed the conclusion of the toast-list. Some sang and most of the others shrieked.

An ex-President carried home a large wine-list as a memento of, —not of the wine!

16 Jan. 1902

WOMEN STUDENTS' DEBATING SOCIETY.—A lively debate, at which Miss Murray presided, took place on the 19th at University Hall. There was a good attendance, and the number of speakers was large—the subject of discussion being one of general interest, viz., "The comparative advantages and disadvantages of Co-Education in Schools and Colleges." Miss M'Gregor and Miss Katharine Smith, the openers of the debate, read good papers, and were seconded by Miss Ormiston and Miss Craigie respectively. Miss M'Gregor held that, since in life men and women cannot escape each other, it is well that they should start with a mutual knowledge as thorough as possible. Nature does not separate her children. Neither, replied Miss Smith, does nature arrange for the present artificial system of education. Proceeding to sentimental grounds, Miss Smith defended a somewhat weak cause nobly. Evidently, in her opinion, man's ideal of woman cannot endure through his intimate knowledge of her. Let woman, therefore, cling to her pedestal as long as she can, even if she know it to be built on sand. Miss I. Thomson wished to occupy no such elevation. The old ideal she thought a fiction, neither worth holding nor having. Women now stand to men in a different attitude, working alongside of them. It is in this capacity that they must now impose, and it is for this part in life that they must be fitted. Most speakers were agreed that mixed education was desirable in Universities but not necessarily so in schools, owing to the unequal development—physical and mental—of the average boy and girl. Miss Gregson, Miss Steele, Miss Mellor, and Miss Hamilton supported Miss M'Gregor on various grounds. Miss Fleming spoke on the opposite side. Miss Roe expressed herself generally dissatisfied with the present state of conventions regarding women. Miss von Petzold's physiological facts are not quite so accurate as Plato's but this was forgotten in her enthusiastic vision of the future ideal state. The vote was carried for mixed education, 25 to 4.—*Communicated.*

Advert for University Hall



UNIVERSITY HALL (FOR WOMEN STUDENTS)
ST ANDREWS, SCOTLAND

BURSARIES AT UNIVERSITY HALL, ST. ANDREWS.

TO BE COMPETED FOR AT THE PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION, SEPTEMBER 25TH-OCTOBER 2ND, 1896

- I. Two Berry Bursaries of the value of £40 each, tenable (or three years, at University Hall, or elsewhere. (These Bursaries are open to men, as well as to women-students.)
- II. Six Bursaries of £20 each (derived from the L.L.A. Fund), tenable for three years at University Hall only.
- III. Two Bursaries of £20 each (derived from the L.L.A. Fund), tenable for three years, at University Hall, or elsewhere.
- IV. One Bursary of £20 for two years, tenable at University Hall only, contributed by certain members of the Professoriate.
- V. Twelve Bursaries from the Taylour Thomson Bequest, varying in amount from £15 to £30, tenable for two years, for women who intend to follow the medical profession.
- VI. Eight Bursaries from the Taylour Thomson Bequest, varying in amount from £15 to £30, tenable for one year, for women who intend to follow the medical profession.

A certain number of smaller Bursaries will be awarded to promising students leaving school, or to women desirous of entering on a course of instruction at the University, and who are to reside in University Hall. For information as to details, apply to the Warden.

O.15, 342.

S. R. C.

On the evening of Wednesday, 25th Nov., a Council Meeting was held. Mr Harley, president, in the chair.

CORRESPONDENCE.—A letter was read from Principal Sir James Donaldson thanking the Council for its kind appreciation of Lady Donaldson's work.

The dates offered by the S. R. C. of Aberdeen University for the Inter-University Conference—viz., 22nd and 23rd January, 1909—were accepted.

REPORT.—Mr Anderson then read the report of the Zoology Complaint Committee, and on the recommendation of that Committee it was decided (1) to send a copy of the report to the Senate; (2) that the Senate be asked to investigate the unjust treatment Mr Meek has received; (3) that the Senate be asked to issue a precise indication of the importance and value of Orals in 1909 Examinations.

MOTIONS.—A. Mr Gibson then moved:—That the S. R. C. petition the authorities to limit the number of female matriculated students at St Andrews University." Mr Hamilton moved the previous question, which was carried by 21 votes to 8.

B. Mr Jones moved:—That section 4a of the S. R. C. constitution read as follows:—(a) By General Poll one man and one woman for every 30 students on the electoral roll." Amendments were then proposed as follows:—

(a) By Mr Dickie:—That there be one woman for every 30 women, and one man for every 30 men students on the electoral roll."

(b) By Miss Ferguson:—That there be one candidate for every 15 students on the electoral roll."

Mr Mackie moved the previous question, which was carried by a large majority against the motion and each of the amendments in turn.

C. The motion in the name of Mr Gibson:—That reports of S. R. C. meetings be sent to daily papers"—was carried, and the matter was left to the discretion of the Secretary.

OTHER BUSINESS.—The report of the Songbook Committee was called for, but Mr Hamilton stated that he had nothing to report. Mr Harley then moved that a Committee be appointed to assist the editors of the new edition of the Scottish Students' Songbook, and to procure, if possible, the publication of a new edition of the "Scarlet Gown." This was agreed to, and the following were appointed:—Misses Anderson and MacDonald; Messrs V. F. Murray, C. M. Robertson, W. H. Hamilton (convenor).

Mr Gibson pointed out that reports of Dundee Committee meetings were not sent to *Echoes* as stated in section 4, chapter iii. of the S. R. C. constitution. The Secretary was instructed to draw the attention of the Secretary of the Dundee Committee to this fact.

—Communicated.

28 Nov. 1898

DEAR SIR,—Kindly allow me space to bring to light a matter which, in the interests of women students generally, demands immediate consideration and prompt and decided action. A dwelling-house in the vicinity of the College, known as College Gate, has been opened this week under an unwarranted appellation of Union for Women Students. The Warden of University Hall is director, and "unattached" students (a provincial and insignificant women students who do not board at the Hall) are invited, payment of a nominal subscription, to become "inmates." Hall girls (members of the *ex æquo*) are respectfully bidden to protest against this unbecoming imposition, this burlesque of a Union. It may be called University Hall Union, but the Women's Union is not it. The tactless, unfeeling, high-handed tone of those who manage the affairs of University Hall has long been a source of annoyance to "unattached" students. Persistent attempts have been made to give to University Hall an undue prominence and significance. College Gate is the proverbial last straw.

What is the truth about College Gate? It was rented last session in order to provide extra accommodation for hall students. But a brilliant afterthought suggested itself. Why not make it a Union? The "unattached" students would get value for their money, and could not possibly be expected to grumble. The town's students at a mass meeting gladly took up the idea of a Union. This is not the first occasion on which a Women's Union has been thought of. There is at present £200 to the credit of the women students, gifted as a nucleus of a Union fund. But the "unattached" students wanted a real Union, a Union belonging to the students, a Union whose members were on an equal footing, a Union with no visible connection with any private body, and, most important of all, a Union governed by a committee of women students.

A mass meeting of all women students was held last week. They were unanimously in favour of a Union. The Hall girls saw the justice of the grounds of the "unattached" students, and a committee of Hall and town's students was appointed to convey to Miss Lundsen the finding of the mass meeting. What was the result? Miss Lundsen refused to see the Committee, ignored the wishes and suggestions of a mass meeting of women students, only such a meeting should have the right to say whether they are to maintain the opening of College Gate or not, and whether they approve of the *modus operandi*.

What is our grievance? Briefly, it is this. We want a Union which women students can feel they have a personal right to, a Union which belongs to the students, a Union which is not under the control and management of an outsider. We want to manage our own Union. We wish a Union with no "honorary members," exempted from payment, a Union managed and financed by a Committee of women students.

I offer a suggestion. Let the charitable intentions of those who pull wires at University Hall go a step further and give the women students ten years' lease of College Gate. They will make it a Union, a real Union, where let College Gate be kept for its original purpose. There should be no division of women students into Hall and "unattached" students. Within the College walls they are all women students, and nothing more or less. I have another suggestion. Let the women students unite and organize a Union, similar to that which raised funds for the men's Union. We have done already. We can surely make this £1500. Then we can pull down the dilapidated nightmare of a self-styled Union, and raise a real women's Union, a Union which shall be not in name but in very truth.

I am, &c.,

NOT AN UNATTACHED STUDENT

ST ANDREWS, 25th October, 1898.

20 Nov. 1903 UNITED.

THE UNION DEBATING SOCIETY.—There was a large attendance at the Society's meeting on Friday last. Mr T. D. Kennedy occupied the chair. The debate for the evening was:—That, in the opinion of this House, Women Students ought to be debarred from this University." Mr Paterson, speaking extempore, led off for the affirmative. He deplored the existence of a surplus female population, and suggested several drastic remedies. He described his ideal woman as a dependent, home-keeping creature, and held that university life unfitted her for home duties. Granting that a university training was necessary for women, he recommended the establishment of a walled college for women in the Shetland islands. Mr Scouler, in opening for the negative, described himself as an infant opposing a venerable sage. In a good paper, he took a very sane and reasonable view of the question. It was selfish and ungallant, he thought, to debar women from means of livelihood and the pursuit of higher learning. The influence of women on the social life of the University had been highly beneficial. Relieved entertainments and conversations had been substituted for Bacchanalian bouts. Mr Green seconded Mr Paterson, and objected to women being made men. Mr Johnstone seconded Mr Scouler, and strenuously championed the cause of the women students. He deemed them essential to the social life of the University. Mr D. Mackenzie considered women a damper on social life. He was of the opinion that study spoiled beauty. Mr Ferguson thought that intellect was above sex, and drew attention to the bearing on Tennyson's Princess on the subject. He also made the remarkable statement that more men marry than women. Mr Husband was eager to speak, and held that a university education fostered a spirit of moral determination in women, and fitted her to be the fit companion of intellectual man. The discussion continued to be keenly conducted, and Messrs A. H. Forbes, Scott, P. H. Nicoll, C. Lundie, A. J. H. Gibson, Baldwin, and Lawrence took part. The vote was taken amid some excitement, and resulted in favour of the women students by a majority of one.

UNIVERSITY HALL GRADUATES' ASSOCIATION.—The annual dinner of this Association was held in University Hall on Friday, 14th January, when no fewer than fourteen members of the Association were the guests of the Warden. On Saturday, 15th January, the annual business meeting took place, and at 4.45 p.m. Miss Melville, the president of the Association, delivered a most interesting address on the Women's International Congress at Berlin, 1904. On the evening of the same day a reception was held at University Hall by the President and members of the Association.

4 Dec. 1903

THE WOMEN STUDENTS' UNION. The question of a Students' Union for University College is scarcely settled when we are invited to consider a similar problem in St Andrews. Last autumn the women students were jubilant over

Mrs Carnegie's munificent gift of a house for this purpose, a house so conveniently situated near the University College as to be extremely suitable for its destined use. In addition to buying the house, Mrs Carnegie has paid most liberally for the necessary alterations, and it is expected that the Union will be habitable after Christmas, or—sometime. Occasionally one may see a courageous knot of women ignoring through bricks and boulders and wood shavings to inspect progress. They disappear into its depths, and return with an inglorious trail of sawdust round their skirts, looking very wise, and announcing that "it's getting on." The Union, indeed, is at present a disorderly sort of Promised Land, which senior women have longed for and journeyed towards, but which they scarcely hope to enter themselves. But even for women students generally there may be disappointment in store. Mrs Carnegie has done a great deal for them, but something more must be secured before they can take possession of their Union. What use is a house without an income on which to keep it up? and how do the women students propose to pay tax, coal, gas, caretaker's wages, and general repairs?

The question has certainly occurred to some, but we do not think it is generally realised, that members' subscriptions alone cannot be relied upon to cover the annual expenditure, and that it will be rather a serious matter if, after the last workman has walked out of the Union, the women students have still to wander through a quadrangular wilderness for lack of an endowment. Efforts are being made to interest friends of the University in the matter, and the response has been of an encouraging nature. Women graduates, who have left St Andrews, have sent subscriptions out of their hard-earned salaries; and it has just been decided to organise an entertainment, to be given next January, in aid of the fund, and to attract public notice to the necessity for increasing it. The ladies connected with the University who consented to do this have been most ready in their response to the request of the students who asked their help in the matter. But they need to be well backed up, and we trust their call for assistance and assistants will meet a ready response.

Women Students' Suffrage Society.—This Society met on Thursday, 26th. Miss Edie in the chair, when Miss Melville gave a comprehensive address on the subject of Women's Suffrage. Dealing first with the historical aspect of the question, Miss Melville pointed out that, in demanding a vote, women were merely demanding the revival of a thing which had fallen into abeyance through many causes, perhaps not least through the gradual "excusing" of women from appearing at local and central assemblies. But while acknowledging the academic and antiquarian interest of this historical aspect, and while allowing that the mere justice of woman's plea appealed to many, Miss Melville wisely laid most stress on the urgent need for women's suffrage. Just as Labour interests can only be safeguarded by labour representation, so the safeguarding of all interests specially affecting woman's sphere—the home—depends upon her having a voice in the legislation of her country. Most of the arguments brought against the question arise from a confusion of the "customary" with the "natural" distinction. Miss Melville made an earnest appeal to all women to take a living interest in this really important question, and to sink differences and other points in a whole-hearted endeavour to reach the point common to all women. The Society once again thanks to Miss Melville for her brilliant and illuminating address.

10 Nov. 1903

The inter-debate between the Union Debating Society and the Women's Debating Societies was held in the Hibernian Classroom on Friday, 11th inst., at 8 p.m. Mr H. O. Allan in the chair.

Mr J. P. Thomson, who was called upon to move that in the opinion of this House, a separate University should be established in Scotland for women students, thought that controversial topics alone could be urged by his opponents. Mr Andrews had now become the darling ground for students' women. The speaker quoted statistics to prove his case. He held that "segregation from home and hostel" was detrimental to both men and women. Let unmixed universities be the crowning stone of our unmixed educational institutions.

Miss W. Anderson, in moving the counter-motion, pointed out that no harm seemed to come from the fact that there were more women than men in the world. Why was Mr Thomson afraid of the university being swamped? An unmixed college would be either a bear garden or a ladies' seminary. The role of life was mixed competition. The only reason for separation would be if the women interfered with men's work or enjoyment, which she believed was not the case. Mutual criticism was advantageous to both sexes.

Miss Proctor, who seconded the motion, held that in a mixed university there was little or no opportunity for women's research. For medicals of both sexes the *status quo* was absurd.

Mr W. Douglas, the seconder of the counter-motion, said that women had exercised an immense influence over the men, aesthetically, socially, morally, and intellectually. Nowadays ties took the place of cravats, culture of pedantry, industry of laziness, and intellectuality of bookishness. All these changes were due to the system of mixed education—a system which had made Scotch education what it is. Separation would be a retrograde step. Mr Douglas quoted from the Dictionary of Ethics and Religion to prove that the mutual influence of women and men was indispensable in education.

Mr J. F. McLeod, for the motion, thought that the fact that openings would be made for women would be a sufficient excuse in itself to make the separation.

Mr F. T. Mackenzie thought that the present system was apt to overdevelop the gentleness of man's character, as distinguished by Plato from his fierceness. Our students were degenerate partly because of the presence of women.

For the negative, Miss Rosenheim thought that we might as well separate brothers and sisters as men and women students. To effect a separation would be to alter the course of nature and to thwart its purposes.

Mr James Wilson said that the spirit of *bonne camaraderie* had died out, not through the influence of women, but through the character of men themselves.

Miss D. Clarke pointed out that the standard of education in American unmixed universities was lower than here.

There also spoke for the motion Miss Gordon, and for the negative Misses Troup and Joyner, and Messrs W. M. Hogg, Sandelson, and J. M. Craig.

The motion was defeated by 69 votes to 23.

26 Nov. 1908

THE BATTLE OF THE SEXES.

SIR,—Every student who attended the Year Elections to the S.R.C. last Friday cannot but admit that the majority of these simply deteriorated into a contest between the sexes, numbers alone carrying the day. Now this is quite natural considering that the capabilities of each candidate are practically only known to the members of his or her own sex. The ideal is of course to vote irrespective of sex and for the man or woman who has proved him or herself more worthy of election. Owing to circumstances, insurmountable for the present at least, this is impossible, and if the women students are to be represented at all for the years, facts must be faced. The men came to these contests in the approved electioneering spirit:—"Do your best to get in the man you support, but be sure it is a man that does get in." The ideals to which many women still cling are simply a sign of ignorance regarding public affairs. We have got to realise that numbers alone will matter, carry, and that the opponent must be fought on his own ground. Before the men of these elections, therefore, the women students as a body in need of representation, should not face facts and view this sex-contest as a reality, or stay away from these elections altogether. Yours, etc.

ONE WHO WAS NOT A CANDIDATE

Chapter Six: Conclusion.

It has been shown that St.Andrews University was a key contributor to the Women's Higher Education Movement in Britain as well as in Scotland, and to the campaign for women's admission to University instruction and degrees. However, as might perhaps be expected, the liberalism of Knight, Donaldson and others was still limited in its progressive pace and nature by well-meaning Victorian patriarchal conventions: these limitations were most apparent in the assumption of the Senatus right up until 1891-2 that women should receive separate instruction from men after their admission to St.Andrews. Thus the University's own claim that it was a leading pioneer of women's higher education, whilst understandably enthusiastic, should be treated with some reservation.

For after 1876 the LLA was inevitably designed to enrol women in teaching, the only profession really open to women until Medicine after 1892. The LLA's educational and official market value were in some important senses questionable. But the wide range of subjects it offered women and the convenience of its correspondence nature meant that it achieved a popularity and fame, and possibly a significant *unofficial* market value in growing women's educational networks. In this the LLA was matched by no other women's certificate run either by a University or an extra-mural women's association. Certainly though, the history of the LLA before 1892 - its status outside the normal University system and its lack of official recognition - reflected the general position of women in society at that time. But together with St.Andrews University' Locals exams scheme and its educational links with University College, Dundee, the LLA played a major part in quite quickly raising public awareness of women's abilities and the reasonableness of their demand for admission to the Universities. These schemes also raised the academic standard and widened the curriculum of girls' Secondary schooling in many localities beyond St.Andrews' own immediate hinterland.

Significantly however, St.Andrews had not begun these schemes until 1876 at a time of grave crisis for the University. In the past century - as women have attained and expanded their own social, economic, political and legal identity - there have been several examples of organisations understandably willing to recruit women in order to get as much support as possible in their first few years of existence or during a crisis of survival. The policy of new political parties like the Scottish National Party after 1928, or of 'new' unskilled or general Trade Unionism after the 1890s illustrate this point well¹; more closer to home it has been shown how men like the University's Rector Lord Bute or Anatomy Professor Pettigrew were willing to recruit women to forward their own educational concerns yet obstructed women at other times.² Furthermore, when the University did make efforts to forward women's University education it did so arguably still within the confines of contemporary gender conventions, promoting a diploma which would help women become teachers, insisting they would have to be taught separately when they were admitted to classes and graduation, and forging the socialising environment of University Hall after 1896. In the same fashion political parties and Trade Unions appealed to women as wives and mothers, and to women doctors to treat women and children. In all these spheres of life arguably, it was left to women to employ their own strategies to make much more of what was offered to them.

In this context St.Andrews' efforts for women's higher education were a sound commercial response which sought to cater for a very real demand among women. The financial return of the St.Andrews' education schemes should not be overestimated in explaining its recovery after c.1884: income from the LLA was saved and then injected into provision for women students after 1892. But the LLA

¹ 'Women in the Scottish National Party' a seminar paper delivered to the St.Andrews Scottish Studies Institute by Dr. Catriona Burness on 16/01/1995 and C.Burness, 'The Long, Slow March' - Scottish Women MPs 1918-45' in E.Gordon/E.Breiotenbach ed. 'Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945' and 'Drunk Women don't Look at Thistles: Women and the SNP 1934-94' in Scotlands Vol.1, 2, 1994.; the Green Party is another example of this trend; see also the Finnish Christian Federation and Finnish self-determination (against Russian control) lobby's appeal to women in the late 19th century - R.Franzen, 'Rivals or Allies? Gender Interaction in the Finnish Student Christian Federation 1897-1914' in Journal of Scandinavian Studies 19, 2, 1994. For women in Trade Unionism see for example E.Gordon, 'Women in the Labour Movement in Scotland 1850-1914', Clarendon 1991; A.Tuckett, 'The Scottish Trade Union Congress' Mainstream 1986.

² See above Chapter 5, P. 72 n50; and same point Chapter 3, P. 27 n.22.

did in the 1880s play an important part in revitalising the University's image and justifying its continued existence. Between 1892 and 1914 moreover the income from women student's fees represented by far the greater proportion of the increase in income from student course fees overall as the number of men students at St. Andrews increased only slightly and then stagnated. That Knight and the University though were more importantly genuinely concerned in some way to help educate women and ultimately admit them to Universities is arguably attested to by their pursuit of first, the LLA's recognition as a degree or teaching qualification, and second, women's residential University education based ideally on the ethos of University Hall in a small coastal town in which it had already proved non-viable to hold classes for women.

St. Andrews in this qualified sense did do more as a provider and campaigner for women's higher education than any other long-established University in Scotland and perhaps Britain. But it did not do more in teaching women than "any other institution" ³ like the EAUEW or some of the new town English and Welsh Colleges or UCD - which admitted women from the first and "never knew what it was not to have women in lectures" ⁴ - or even London University, which granted women full degrees without residential instruction.

Moreover, it did not follow that St. Andrews would act as a special pioneer in the integration of women students and staff into its academic and social community after 1892. The University did promote though the successful recruitment, accommodation, funding, education and recreation of that particular social class of women which fell under its control in University Hall. But to a considerable degree women students at St. Andrews - as at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee and elsewhere - were left to establish themselves academically and socially, taking the then still remarkable and unconventional step after 1892 of entering a man's domain. In this women at St. Andrews benefited from the smaller size of classes and the men's

³ St. Andrews University Handbook 1895, P.13 - See Ch. 1, P.6.

⁴ E. Bryson, 'Look Back in Wonder' op.cit... P. 179.

student body but they were somewhat fortunate in the windfalls of the Taylor Thomson bursaries and the Carnegie's' Women's Union, Sports pavilion and funds. It was after the latter gift especially that women began to solve their own tensions and to settle into a network of societies, SRC organisation and sports teams. Women students and staff at St.Andrews never completely eradicated the impression that they were newcomers in a male domain in a wider man's world, not equal to male superiority. But they did perhaps develop a collective confidence and feminist awareness of women's movements perhaps more publicly stated within their own small University and town than by women in Scotland's city Universities.⁵

Whilst aware of these reservations then, the history of St.Andrews University's contribution to Women's Higher Education both before and after 1892 is not always a case of "monitoring bleakness." ⁶ It is hoped that a further study of women as students and staff at St.Andrews can be undertaken: this could examine further the inter-relation of women's segregation or integration and achievements with the comparative size, location and perhaps less intimidating male social, economic and political control of the town and University in the unique period of World War One and up to the present day when women constitute 56% of the student body.⁷

⁵ For interesting parallels of women's integration into a large man's domain see B.Harrison, 'Women in a Men's House: the Women MPs 1919-45' in *Historical Journal* 29, 3, 1986.

⁶ Sally Brown, 'Research on Gender in Education: Monitoring Bleakness or Instigating Change?' in *Scottish Affairs* 5 Autumn 1992.

⁷ For example the question might be asked why St.Andrews has not yet developed a tradition of women forming a similarly large proportion of its teaching staff despite appointing the first women Professor in Scotland in Dr. Margaret Fairlie (MbCHb StA 1915), Professor of Gynaecology and Midwifery at St.Andrews 1950-56, d.1963 [See *Alumnus Chronicle* 1963 P.2]. Further variables such as class and ethnicity could also be investigated in relation to gender. Sheila Hamilton's Ph.D. contained a fascinating chapter on women students' Oral History hinted at in her 'Interviewing the Middle-Classes - Women Graduates of the Scottish Universities c.1910-35 in Oral History y 1982. The Great War period was clearly an important time for women at St.Andrews as they constituted over 50 % of the student body - see Jane B.T.Christie, 'Student Days' in *Scots Magazine* Oct/Nov 1973.

TABLES

Table 2: LLA Statistics 1877-1914.

Table 3A: Sample LLA Exam Results c.1877-1914 - passes (p) and fails (f) at Pass level.

Table 3B: Sample LLA Exam Results c.1877-1914 - passes (p) and fails (f) at Honours level.

Table 3C: Average pass/fail rates at Pass and Honours levels of LLA 1885-1914 sample.

Table 4: Sample LLA Exam Results by A(80%), B(60 to 80%) and C(50 to 60 %, representing a Pass award when achieved at Honours level).

Table 5: Relative numbers and proportions of Scots and English LLA candidates.

Table 6: Top 12 Locals Certificates held by LLA candidates 1886-1896.

Main LLA Exam Centres.

Table 7A: Matriculation figures for St.Andrews University 1892-1914.

Table 7B: Graduation figures for St.Andrews University 1893-1914.

Table 8: The First Twenty-One - St.Andrews Women students 1892-3.

Table 2: LLA Statistics 1877-1914.

Year (A)	Total No. Of Candidates (B)	1st Time Candidates (C)	Passes in 1 or more subjects (D)	No. not passing in or more subject (E)	Fail Rate: (E) as % of (B)	No. Of LLAs (as % of C))
1877		8	8	0	0	3
1878	32	23	27	5	15.6	3
1879	72	49	57	15	20.8	14
1880	92	64	80	12	13	29
1881	175	118	148	27	15.4	35
1882	255	155	216	39	15.3	63
1883	440	300	384	56	12.7	76
1884	363	106	319	44	12.1	81
1885	374	148	333	41	10.96	108
1886	391	197	331	60	15.3	77
1887	597	332	477	120	20.1	83
1888	553	174	446	107	19.3	127
1889	536	194	444	92	17.2	116
1890	607	244	492	115	18.9	99
1891	636	246	522	114	17.9	98
1892	697	271	447	142	20.3	101
1893	775	276	577	198	25.5	110
1894	926	386	713	213	23	118
1895	917	318	689	228	24.9	92
1896	925	271	683	242	26.2	109
1897	951	305	732	219	23	111
1898	950	285	746	204	21.5	147
1899	959	319	737	222	23.1	127
1900	980	319	750	230	23.5	136
1901	962	294	762	200	26.8	138
1902	929	282	685	244	26.3	130
1903	902	231	667	235	26.1	115
1904	960	306	674	286	27.9	101
1905	975	310	692	283	29	106
1906Jan.	320	6	229	91	28.4	54
May *	989	321	785	204	20.6	89
1907	1042	323	877	165	15.8	102
1908	1069	328	893	176	16.5	110
1909	1090	342	921	169	15.8	112
1910	1086	326	854	232	21.4	135
1911	1036	294	795	241	23.3	112
1912	978	271	711	267	27.3	125
1913	923	241	703	220	23.8	116
1914	872	211	660	212	24.3	116
Sub-Totals	27,346	9,194	21,376	5,970	23.2%av.	3,724
(1877-1914)						
1914-31	8,671	2,247	6,306	2,365	26.3%av.	1,393
TOTAL	36,117	11,441	27,682	8,335	23.1%av.	5,117

* Two sets of exams provided to beat cut-off date of June 1906 when the English Education Department stopped placing women holding the LLA and other qualifications on Appendix B of its Teacher's Register entitling teachers to a higher starting salary; revived in 1908 as Schedule B with starting pay of £100 p.a. for men and £90 p.a. for women.

Source: adapted from R.Smart, 'Literate Ladies - A Fifty Year Experiment', *Alumnus Chronicle* 19 1958.

Table 3A: Sample LLA Exam Results c.1877-1914 - passes (p) and fails (f) at Pass level.

	1885		1890		1895		1900		1905		1910		1914	
	p	f	p	f	p	f	p	f	p	f	p	f	p	f
Latin	9	0	6	9	14	10	12	4	16	4	8	4	5	1
Greek	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
Mathematics	5	5	6	4	4	4	15	13	10	16	16	13	23	10
Comp. Phil.	35	0	27	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Moral Phil.	4	0	3	1	1	1	4	2	18	3	13	24	15	9
Natural Phil.	1	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	2	1	54	3
Logic/ Met.	8	1	17	4	13	11	28	21	32	27	40	67	48	33
English Lit.	38	0	119	12	103	91	124	63	98	27	148	41	112	33
Education	58	0	77	6	108	8	119	2	92	15	130	31	82	14
French	71	7	79	26	135	91	122	51	122	59	93	69	87	35
German	30	8	39	6	65	11	51	16	35	11	13	2	8	2
Italian	1	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	1	"	"	"	"
History	35	9	41	5	99	23	27	1	56	17	81	30	80	16
Political Eco.	30	1	10	1	8	4	48	14	24	15	15	13	23	13
Political Sci.	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2	4	1	4	5	2	4
Geography	-	-	44	1	122	19	96	21	70	12	50	13	53	8
Geology	12	0	13	3	16	10	49	22	16	11	10	6	62	42
Chemistry	5	0	6	1	15	13	13	17	11	11	13	8	4	2
Botany	19	0	23	1	33	15	51	19	26	34	49	21	38	16
Zoology	2	2	3	0	6	2	5	0	0	1	1	0	"	-
Astronomy	-	-	3	6	24	15	11	4	10	9	4	3	5	2
Physiology	31	2	54	5	100	18	108	26	74	44	77	99	38	16
Church Hist.	1	2	16	2	7	2	9	0	6	0	"	"	"	-
Comp. Relig.	-	-	3	0	3	0	54	13	48	18	58	14	48	13
Theology	-	-	1	0	3	0	0	1	1	0	"	"	"	-
Biblical Hist.	-	-	0	1	0	0	8	6	10	3	19	4	11	2
Biblic. Theo.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0	2	1
Hebrew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"	"	"	-
Fine Art *	-	-	1	0	7	3	11	0	5	3	7	0	3	0
Aesthetics *	-	-	1	0	2	0	11	2	8	2	"	"	"	-
Hygiene	-	-	-	-	1	0	4	0	7	0	"	"	"	-
Educ. Psych.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	"	"	2	4
TOTALS	400	38	596	102	901	362	994	325	804	351	863	468	804	273

Sources: St Andrews LLA Calendars 1877-1914 or Education News for pass figures; LLA Committee Minutes for fail figures

[* merged after 1904]

Table 3B: Sample LLA Exam Results c.1877-1914 - passes (p) and fails (f) at Honours level.

	1885		1890		1895		1900		1905		1910		1914	
	p	f	p	f	p	f	p	f	p	f	p	f	p	f
Latin	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0
Greek	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Mathematics	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	2	0	2	0	1	2
Comp. Phil.	0	3	1	0	1	0	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Moral Phil.	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	1	1	2	0	0
Natural Phil.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Logic/ Met.	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1
English Lit.	72	32	28	26	21	58	22	29	26	16	49	30	27	18
Education	14	24	61	11	23	17	22	20	38	4	41	10	47	32
French	20	19	34	5	19	28	47	2	50	10	41	2	27	0
German	21	11	29	6	47	7	44	10	21	2	9	5	11	1
Italian	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
History	12	7	23	13	24	2	27	4	26	3	50	10	60	5
Political Eco.	0	2	1	1	5	7	15	7	5	1	3	7	3	1
Political Sci.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Geography	-	-	13	0	7	1	9	16	15	1	18	3	25	4
Geology	3	0	5	15	0	10	3	7	1	4	1	3	0	2
Chemistry	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Botany	5	7	9	1	5	2	2	1	3	6	5	0	3	4
Zoology	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Astronomy	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Physiology	13	0	2	4	3	1	6	5	1	1	0	1	3	4
Church Hist.	0	0	6	2	16	0	3	2	0	1	-	-	-	-
Comp. Relig.	-	-	0	0	3	1	5	3	18	10	5	4	7	4
Theology	-	-	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	-	-	-	-
Biblical Hist.	-	-	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	12	1	7	1
Biblic. Theo.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0
Hebrew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fine Art *	-	-	1	0	2	0	1	0	3	0	3	1	6	0
Aesthetics *	-	-	0	2	2	2	0	0	5	0	-	-	-	-
Hygiene	-	-	-	-	0	0	1	0	2	0	-	-	-	-
Educ. Psych.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
TOTALS	162	114	219	88	185	142	219	121	223	63	240	80	226	70

Sources: St Andrews LLA Calendars 1877-1914 or Education News for pass figures; LLA Committee Minutes for fail figures.

[* merged aster 1904]

Table 3C: Average pass/fail rates at Pass and Honours levels of LLA 1885-1914 sample.

	1885		1890		1895		1900		1905		1910		1914	
	p	f	p	f	p	f	p	f	p	f	p	f	p	f
Pass	91.3	8.7	85.4	14.6	71.3	28.7	75.4	24.6	69.6	30.4	64.8	35.2	74.7	25.3
Honours	58.7	41.3	71.3	28.7	56.6	44.4	64.4	36.6	78	22	75	25	76.4	24.6

Table 4: Sample LIA Exam Results by A(80%+), B(60 to 80%) and C(50 to 60%, representing a Pass award when achieved at Honours level).

Source: LIA Calendars 1887-1931.

	1890			1895			1900		
	PASS			PASS			PASS		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Latin	0	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	1
Greek	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Mathematics	2	2	1	0	2	1	1	9	3
Comp Phil.	5	15	4	0	0	0	0	2	0
Moral Phil.	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Natural Phil.	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Logic & Met.	2	6	9	0	4	7	0	1	2
English Lit.	14	23	24	7	16	43	0	44	29
Education	2	29	7	3	47	16	0	5	14
French	14	39	23	17	17	42	0	38	66
German	4	17	7	14	10	20	2	9	16
Italian	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
History	5	11	11	10	14	25	0	16	8
Political Eco.	0	4	6	0	1	4	2	2	19
Political Sci.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Geography	1	30	4	1	12	40	0	3	5
Geology	3	5	2	1	4	8	0	5	29
Chemistry	1	3	0	0	3	5	0	23	17
Botany	0	6	6	0	2	13	1	5	7
Zoology	0	0	2	0	11	4	6	21	23
Astronomy	1	0	2	0	0	10	0	1	4
Physiology	17	18	8	2	11	55	3	4	2
Church Hist.	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	16	65
Comp. Relig.	1	2	0	0	3	1	1	5	26
Theology	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	24	0
Biblical Hist.	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	4
Fine Art	0	1	0	0	1	5	0	1	0
Aesthetics	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	4	2
Hygiene	-	-	-	0	0	1	1	7	7
TOTALS	73	220	122	57	140	183	42	301	355

Table 5: Relative numbers and proportions of Scots-based and English-based LLA candidates (Source: LLA Committee Minutes)

Year	No. of Scots-based Candidates passing in 1 or more subject	No. of English-based candidates passing in 1 or more subject	No. of candidates based elsewhere	Total No. of candidates passing in 1 or more subject
1885	204 (61.3%)	118 (35.4%)	11	333
1887	253 (53.0%)	210 (44.0%)	14	477
1892	277 (50.8%)	240 (44.0%)	28	545
1893	257 (44.5%)	295 (51.1%)	25	577
1894	288 (40.0%)	394 (54.9%)	36	718
1895	300 (43.5%)	363 (52.7%)	26	689
1902	224 (24.2%)	655 (70.7%)	47	929
1905	112 (16.0%)	554 (80.2%)	24	690
1910	73 (8.5%)	746 (87.4%)	35	854

Table 6: Top 12 Locals Certificates (necessary for entry to the LLA after 1883) held by LLA candidates 1886-1896 (Source W.Knight 'A History...')

1. Government Teachers Certificate	2,395 (30.5%)
2. Edinburgh University Local Exams	847 (10.8%)
3. St. Andrews University Local Exams	755 (9.6%)
4. College of Preceptors	747 (9.5%)
5. Queen's Teaching Scholarship	547 (7.0%)
6. Cambridge University Local Exams	535 (6.8%)
7. Aberdeen University Local Exams	526 (6.7%)
8. Glasgow University Local Exams	494 (6.3%)
9. South Kensington Local Exams	404 (5.1%)
10. Cambridge University's Teachers' Certificate	278 (3.5%)
11. Oxford University Local Exams	248 (3.1%)
12. Trinity College London Local Exams	76 (1.0%)

Main LLA Exam Centres (10 years or more):- Aberdeen, Bedford, Belfast, Berlin, Birmingham, Blackburn, Brighton, Bristol, Brussels, Cambridge, Cape Town, Cardiff, Cheltenham, Constantinople, Croydon, Devonport, Dunfermline, Durban, Edinburgh, Elgin, Exeter, Fort William, Freiburg im Breisgau, Glasgow (2 centres 1897-1914), Guernsey, Hull, Inverness, Kilmarnock, Kirkwall, Lausanne, Leeds, Lerwick, Liverpool, London (3 centres 1879-1931), Londonderry, Loughborough, Malta, Manchester, Middlesbrough, Namur, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Newcastle Natal, Norwich, Nottingham, Oban, Oxford, Paris, Penrith, Pietermaritzburg, Plymouth, Port Elisabeth, St. Andrews, Salisbury, Scarborough, Sheffield, Simla, Southampton, Stornoway, Stranraer, Swansea, Thurso, West Hartlepool, Wolfenbuttel, Workington.

For a full list of the some 328 LLA centres in Britain, Europe, North America and the British Empire 1876-1931 see R.N.Smart, 'Literate Ladies: A Fifty Year Experiment' in Alumnus Chronicle 59 21 1958, P.29-31.

Table 7A: Matriculation figures 1892-1914

Session	Arts		Medicine		Divinity		Science		Totals ^{a, b}	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1892-3	134	19	3	1	27	0	19	0	183	30
1893-4	129	36	0	0	32	0	17	1	178	37
1894-5	125	26	3	2	29	0	18	1	176	29
1895-6	136	36	2	2	24	0	12	1	186	38
1896-7 *	[124]	[52]	[5]	[3]	22	0	[15]	[1]	166	56
1897-8 *	[127]	[59]	[10]	[4]	16	0	[19]	[1]	172	64
1898-9 *	[129]	[68]	[15]	[5]	14	0	[22]	[1]	180	74
1899-1900	127	81	20	6	20	0	24	1	176	88
1900-1	134	87	17	4	29	0	24	0	179	91
1901-2	138	90	14	4	16	0	33	4	181	95
1902-3	154	106	11	8	17	0	33	8	191	115
1903-4	137	91	16	9	18	1	25	7	181	106
1904-5	134	88	19	6	22	1	29	8	183	102
1905-6	141	111	14	3	30	1	30	6	198	119
1906-7	138	109	9	7	20	1	30	7	184	122
1907-8	145	126	10	3	21	0	33	9	194	134
1908-9	128	144	9	9	22	0	40	9	184	162
1909-10	141	141	10	12	17	0	41	10	190	155
1910-11	126	151	15	9	20	0	43	8	183	161
1911-12	124	238	12	28	20	0	11	56	170	144
1912-3	106	113	11	10	21	0	40	15	164	134
1913-4	109	106	16	8	23	0	34	17	173	127
Totals	2,886	2,078	238	143	480	4	592	171	3,910	2,167
Totals as %s	58.1%	41.9%	62.5%	37.5%	99.2%	0.8%	77.6%	22.4%	64.3%	35.7%

* The figures in brackets have been estimated as the University Calendars for these years do not include breakdowns of figures for men and women students.

** Totals figures have been adjusted to account for those students who matriculated in more than one faculty. Source: S. Hamilton Ph.D. *St. Andrews University: University Hall Folder D:1*.

Students' Representative Council: St Andrews Committee, 1910-11



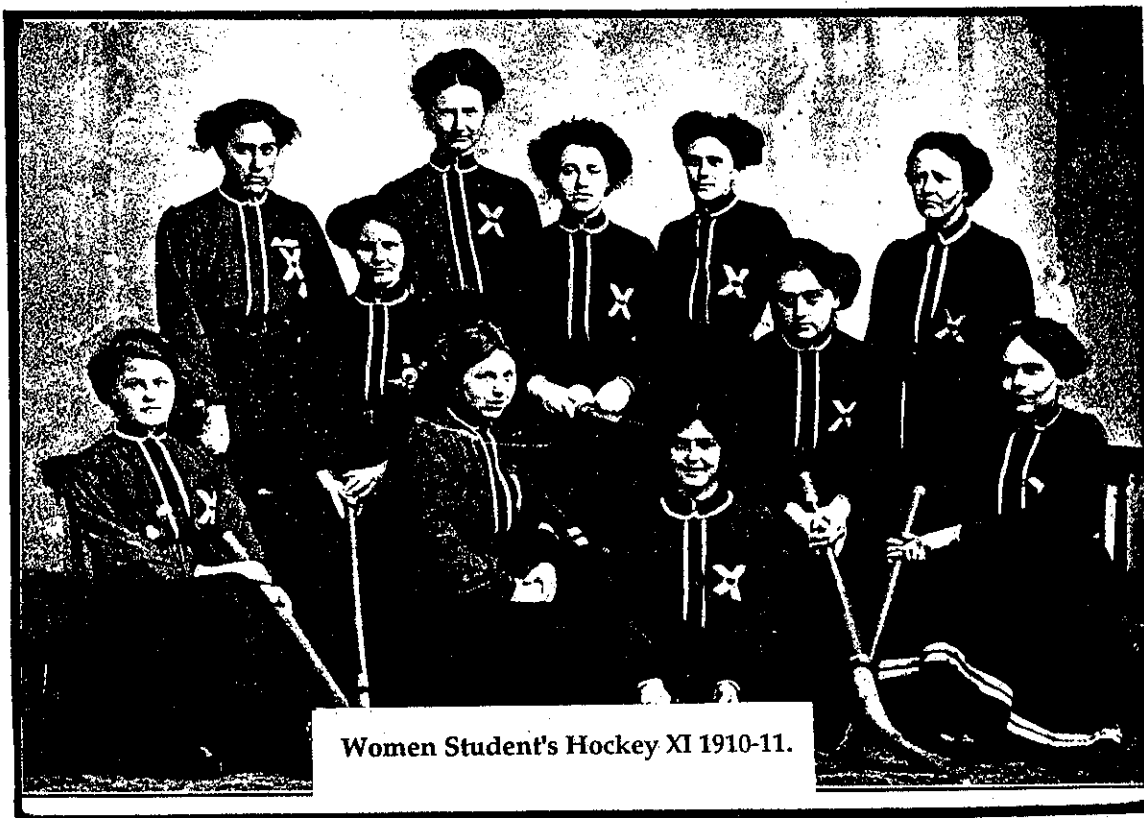
A. Wilson, M.A. L. A. Sutherland D. Scott, M.A. C. M. Robertson, M.A.
 R. F. Thomson, M.A. J. W. Jarvis A. W. Fyfe
 W. Anderson C. H. Brown W. M. Hour, M.A. C. S. Garrett, B.Sc. W. G. R. Findlay G. W. Yule J. S. W. Boyle
 M. G. Cowper B. M. Paterson, B.Sc. M. E. Joyner, M.A. M. H. Aitkenhead W. M. Anderson R. Cross, B.Sc. S. Seabrook
 Wm. Douglas, M.A. (Joint Ed. College Echoes) R. G. Millar (Secy.) R. J. S. Dickey (Pres.) James Baxter, M.A. (Treas. and Joint Ed. College Echoes) Wm. Small (Pres. Men's Union)

Table 7B: Graduation figures 1893-1914.

Session	<u>Arts</u>		<u>Medicine</u>		<u>Divinity</u>		<u>Science</u>		<u>Totals</u>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1893-4	22	0	1	0	9	0	4	0	63	0
1894-5	13	1	10	0	27	0	7	0	69	1
1895-6	14	4	10	0	14	0	6	0	55	4
1896-7	23	5	10	0	7	0	3	0	56	5
1897-8	17	4	0	0	4	0	9	0	47	4
1898-9	22	6	0	0	4	0	3	0	46	6
1899-1900	26	13	1	0	4	0	8	0	51	14
1900-1	15	9	0	0	2	0	5	0	32	11
1901-2	24	13	1	0	2	0	5	0	43	13
1902-3	24	26	4	0	2	0	4	1	63	27
1903-4	30	26	6	0	3	0	4	1	50	27
1904-5	41	38	1	3	1	0	9	3	66	44
1905-6	31	25	9	1	5	0	9	1	86	30
1906-7	23	31	6	6	10	1	3	3	53	40
1907-8	30	21	11	1	3	0	9	2	61	25
1908-9	27	46	9	3	5	0	7	3	60	53
1909-10	28	49	5	2	3	0	8	4	53	55
1910-11	64	65	9	1	2	0	15	1	97	68
1911-12	25	46	12	2	4	0	16	3	203*	53
1912-3	27	25	10	3	4	0	6	2	64	30
1913-4	13	21	15	2	7	0	12	4	60	27
Totals	549	474	140	24	122	1	152	28	1378	537
Totals as %s	53%	47%	85.4%	14.6%	99.2%	0.8%	84.4%	15.6%	72%	28%

Source - S.Hamilton Ph.D: St.Andrews University : University Hall Folder D:1.

* This total, and all the other Total degree figures in brackets in this column, include a small number of Higher D.Litt degrees and Honorary DD and LLD degrees: the first women Hon LLD was awarded in 1899 to Mrs Millicent Garrett-Fawcett, sister of Elisabeth Garrett and a prominent Suffrage campaigner who attended the Suffrage Summer school held in University Hall in 1913; two more Hon LLDs were awarded to Agnes Smith-Lewis and Margaret Dunlop-Gibson in 1901; three more in 1906 to Agnes Irwin of the National Union of Women Workers, Elizabeth Haldane and Helen Bosanquet, granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin; and two more in 1911 as part of the University's Quincentary celebrations to Mrs. Sidgwick of Newnham fame and Miss Louisa Lumsden, the first Warden of University Hall - in 1911 98 special Hon LLDs were awarded to men to celebrate this anniversary. In 1992 as part of the women's centenary all 100 Hon LLDs were awarded to women.



Women Student's Hockey XI 1910-11.

Table 11: The First Twenty-Six - degree subject choices and careers of St Andrews women students matriculating in 1892. Source: Research by Mrs R. W. Searcy. Who Was Who 1941-50. Notes: O = Doctor Career; OH = Ordinary Career; H = Honorary Career; F = Fellow; e.g. J.O.D.F. = 1st Junior, Ordinary; has subject parameters.

	LATIN	GREEK	MATHS	ENG.	EDUC.	FRE.	N. PHIL.	LOGIC	M. PHIL.	CHEM.	HIST.	ANAT.	PRAC. N. PHIL.	PRAC. CHEM.	PRAC. ANAT.	Age in 1892; place of birth; Biographical details.
Mary Burnett	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	32. d of St Andrews family physician - found Greek hard
Mary Burnett	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	17. MA 1896; d of Arbroath Abolitionist; m. Rear Admiral Stenhouse; died 1957
Mary Burnett	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	16. MA 1895; d of West Ferry Architect; MD Glasgow - distinguished Medical career; m. Dr. Thomas Saville (distinguished Medico); died 1964.
Mary Burnett	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	17. MA 1st Hon Classics 1898; Edinburgh; m. George Menzies MA St Andrews 1899. Died 1956.
Katherine Chambers	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	18. MA 1896; d of Perth Academy Rector; Edgaston High Sch. Teacher. m. civil servant in India service; died 1952.
Mary Christie	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	17. MA 1896; d of Arbroath Mercantile Clerk; Nelson High Sch. Teacher; Wycombe High Sch. Headmistress; died 1917.
Anabella Davidson	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	20. MA 1897; d of Peterhead Minister; died 1943.
Emily Fischer	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	28. d of St Andrews Professor Fischer.
Janet Giffman	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	London.
Elizabeth Steele-Hutton	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	25. Liverpool; MA 1903 (1); London Sch. Of Economics graduate; editor 'Clare Market Review'; died 1917.
Margaret Lees	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	17. Dundee; MA 3rd Hon Philos.; m. Frenchman; died 1935
Annie Lloyd-Evans	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	18. MA 1897; d of Warwickshire newspaper editor ²
Helen Lumsden	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	18. MA 1896; d of Haddington Schoolmaster; m. Aberdeen Doctor; died 1950.
Mary Matheson	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	20. d of Dundee Shipmaster.
Jessie Nelson	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	19. L.A. (1); d of Dumfries Coach Proprietor; m. Life Minister 1898; died 1912
Helen Russel	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	16. d of Scotsman editor Alexander Russel (who married one of Edinburgh Uni. Medical women 1869-1873) ³
Bertha Skeat	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	30. PhD Cambridge/Zurich Unis; Lecturer in History of Education Cambridge Training College; English Mistress at St Leonards an various Girl's schools.
Mary Campbell-Smith	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	19. MA 1st Hon Mental Phil. & 3rd Hon Maths/Nat. Phil.; d of Cupar Sheriff Justice; Heidelberg University; died 1955.
Roberta Smith	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	St Andrews; MD; serving at British Hospital, Jerusalem.
Margaret Watson	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	OH	19. MA 1898; d of Glasgow Cotton Manufacturer; Assistant Mistress Blackburn

¹ House Surgeon to Maternity Hosp. Glasgow (1899); Belgrave Hosp. For Children; MD Glasgow 1901; FRCP Ireland; Dermatologist Surrey County Hospital; Physician London Skin Hosp.; South London Hosp. For Women; Vice-President Electro-Therapeutics of Royal Medical Society; MO Liverpool Workhouse; Scottish Women's Hospital France 1914-8; various publications. See Who Was Who 1961-70, p. 1005.

² Assistant Mistress Blackburn Girls Sch.; Head, Church of Ireland Training College, Dublin; President of Irish T. C. Assoc. And other such bodies; died 1928. (See Who Was Who 1929-40, p. 421)

³ St Leonards School pupil; journalist; on Comm. Of Women's International Organizations; in WSPU twice arrested for militant activities Director Time & Tide publishing, London; died 1949. Who Was Who 1941-50, p. 29. (Once gaoled by Mary Campbell-Smith's Father for militant suffrage activities in Cupar - St Andrews Citizen.

N.B.: none of these women did Natural History, Botany, Zoology, Geology or Geography; therefore these subjects have not been included so as to save space. One woman, Jessie Burnett of Edinburgh, matriculated but did not take any classes.

Bibliography

St.Andrews University Muniments

- Senate Minutes Vol 18 to 27, 1862 to 1914.
 University Court Minutes 1861 to 1914.
 St.Andrews University Calendars 1870 to 1914.
 St.Andrews University LLA Calendars 1876-7 to 1914 (including Locals Exams 1876 to 1892).
 Donaldson Papers: Box - 6 (Cuttings), 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15; Volumes 21, 23,25, 32, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67.
 Donaldson Catalogue.
 St.Andrews Catalogue: McIntosh Scrapbook 1838-95 [LF1111.M2E95].
 McIntosh Album [St.Andrews MS 3102/6].
 Biography of Professor William Knight, 1905 [LF1109.K6].
 W.Knight, 'Early Chapters in the History of the University of St.Andrews and Dundee'
 1902 Dundee [LF1111.A1K6].
 Scheme for local lecture classes in Fife/Perth, 1879 etc. [LC5260.S2]
 Correspondence relating to the Union of St.Andrews and UCD [LF1000.B6E82].
 Association for the Better Endowment & Extension of the University of St.Andrews -
 Statement & Resolutions 1877 [LF1102.A8].
 History of: I. The LLA II. University Hall [LF1107.L2LF].
 W.C.McIntosh on St.Andrews Medical School including letters by Pettigrew
 [LF1113.M2M4].
 SRC Handbook 1895 [LF1117.M2].
 News Cuttings on University Life [LF1117.N4E79].
 SRC Sub-Committee 'Investigation into the Rapidly Decreasing Ratio Between the
 number of male and female Students' [LF1117.867CZA - missing!].
 Mildred Dobson, 'The Student's St.Andrews' undated [LF1118.D7].
 'Viva Tabella - Memorial Volume of St.Andrews University's Quincentenary' 1911
 including Louisa Lumsden, 'The University Education of
 Women at St.Andrews' [LF1118.Q5V6].
 J.Donaldson, 'Teacher Training Summer School' 1910 [LF1119.A3D6E88].
 Carnegie Rectorial Addresses 1902 [LF1119.R4C2F02], 1905 [LF1119.R4O5FO2].
 L.Lumsden, 'The Story of University Hall', 1910 [LF1119.U6].
 Alphabetical Lists of Students for Sessions 1892-3 to 1898-9 [LF1114.L5].
 W.Knight, 'A History of the LLA Examination & Diploma for Women and of the University Hall for Women
 Students at the University of St.Andrews', Blackwood 1896.
 , 'The Higher Education of Women with Special Reference to the St.Andrews University Title &
 Diploma - being a Lecture Delivered in the University Colleges of Leeds, Liverpool, Bristol etc.',
 Blackwood 1887.
 , 'Principal Shairp and Friends', London 1888.
 LLA Committee Minutes 1878-1931[7 Volumes - also 10 volumes of correspondence and 5 volumes of
 candidate registers].
 Materials Relating to the University Education of Women [UY3778 - 2 Boxes of Senate Statements to University
 Commissioners, Prospectuses etc.].
 Students Representative Council Minutes 1885 to 1914.
 University Hall Committee Minutes 1892 to 1914.
 Women's Reading Room Minutes 1894-9.
 Women Student's Union Minute Book II 1912-7 [Vol.I 1899-1912 Missing].
 University Hall Collection:- D:1 Folder [held in University Library - including Suffrage material]
 [UY37781]
 Book of Admissions to Hall [including degree details].
 The Ladies of St.Andrews & the Extension Scheme of University Hall Minute Book.
 Totals of men and women students at St.Andrews and UCD 1892 to 1904.
 'A Typical Timetable of Women Students at St.Andrews'
 Hall Prospectuses 1896-1910.
 Miss Eleanor Osman (MA Hons. St.A 1st in Classics) - 'Recollections of University
 Hall 1912-7' - Typescript.

Miss L.E.M. Walker, Typescript article 'Louisa Lumsden', 1978.
Numerous Photographs.

'The Quincentenary of St Andrews University - Programme of Events', Aberdeen University Press 1912.
Catriona Struthers, 'The Admission of Women to the Scottish Universities', Aberdeen 1883 in Tractes Don. X46.
James D. Forbes, Letter Book VII 1862.
Mrs. Campbell, 'The Rise of the Higher Education of Women Movement in Glasgow', in The Ninth Jubilee of Glasgow University 1909.
St. Andrews University Student's Union Bazaar 1895 - Programme [LF1118].
Women Graduates Suffrage Appeal [In s JN875.P2]. - missing.

Newspapers, Periodicals, Miscellaneous Items [Contemporary & Secondary - St. Andrews University unless stated].

Alumnus Chronicle 1927-1994 - various articles.
College Echoes 1889-1914.
The St. Andrews Gazette & Fifeshire News 1869-71.
The St. Andrews Citizen 1871-1914 [Hay Fleming Reference Library - also an article from 1968].
Education News 1878-1916 [National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh].
Aberdeen Press & Journal - various Key Dates [Aberdeen University's Special Collection & Archives].
The Scotsman - various key dates.
The Ladies Edinburgh Magazine I to V 1875 to 1880 [NLS].
The Aberdeen High School Magazine 1, 1, 1885 [Annie Black, 'The LLA Degree', AUSCA].
The St. Andrews Directory 1898 [Hay Fleming].
The Contemporary Review Vol XLI 1882 [NLS].
The Academic Review, Jan - Dec 1893 [NLS].
English Women's Journal 1862 [NLS].
Educational Institute of Scotland Congress Handbook Jan. 1906 [Frances Melville 'St. Andrews & the University Education of Women' P.137-48, NLS].

University Commissioners Material

Reports of the Royal Commissioners of the Universities of Scotland - Evidence & Appendix Vol ii HMSO 1876.
General Report of the Commissioners of the Universities (Scotland) Act 1889. HMSO 1900 - Evidence.
Memorial 'showing the reasons for the existence of the University and praying that Clause * Section 4, providing for the possible dissolution of the University and Colleges may be cancelled' - to University Commissioners - 20 April 1883 SRO MS ED 26/7.

Dundee University Archives: Women's Primary Source List [I did not consult most of this material but felt its inclusion useful as a guide to possible research material to compare against St. Andrews]

MS 15/92 - Margaret Menzies Campbell - 'Recollections of University Life and Early Medical Practice 1912-20'
MS 15/139 - LLA Certificates - Miss Susan Ewan (Eng/Fre/Hist/Ger/Logic/Met/Education).
A/257- Students' Bazaar 1883-4.
A/263-8 - Faculty of Medicine Minutes 1898-1905.
A/289 - Mary A Baxter 1884 - Obituary.
A/324 - Carnegie Donations to St. As and Dundee.
A/325 - Secretarial Files (Sfs) on Women (SFsW) 1889-1919.
A/326 - SFsW 1884-1918 inc. Mary Baxter, Bursaries, Women's Hostel and Books.
A/327 - SFsW 1906.
A/329 - SFsW 1909-11 inc. W's access to Labs.
A/338 - SFsW 1908 Medical Educ. Debate
A/339 - SFsW 1908 & 1918 inc. W's application for Librarians' post, rules for W's diplomas in theology (Abshop of Canterbury 1905).
A/340 - W's Hostel 1917.

A/350 - SFsW 1948-50 - List of W Medical Students, Dundee 1897 to 1946 -inc. Questionnaires.
 A/356 to 369 - Students' Union Minute Book 1886 to 1968 (also A/385(1911-1923))
 A/385 - Student' Union Rep. Council 1900-47.
 A/438 to 91 - 1897 to 1947 Uni. College & St.As Medical Schools Lists.
 A/659 - 1904 Miscellaneous Correspondence.
 A/665 - Law Students' Registers 1897-1947.
 A/680 - SRC 'College' Magazine - articles and photos on/by women.
 A/683 - 'The Wheeze' Magazine - " " " "
 A/715 - 1887 to 1968 Class Marks for Uni/Queens' Colleges Dundee.
 Recs. C/2/18/1(10) Student Statistics 1898-1948.
 Recs C/3 (20) - John Stegall, 'The New Woman' 1894.
 THB/1 - Dundee Royal Infirmary 1899-1974 Minutes etc.
 THB/2 - Gerard Cottage Hospital 1899-1948 Minutes etc.
 THB/3 Royal Victoria Hosp. 1899-1953 Minutes etc.
 THB/4,6,7,10,12,13 - Hospital references to W's Education.

Secondary Texts and Articles

- W.Alexander, 'Early Women Medical Graduates' in E.Gordon/E.Breitenbach eds. 'The World is Ill-divided', EUP 1992.
 J.M.Anderson, 'The Matriculation Roll of the Uni. of St.Andrews 1747-1897', ed.1905- LF1112.M2A7.
 , 'Handbook to the City and University of St.Andrews (Uni. Librarian)', UP 1911.
 R.D.Anderson, 'Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland', Oxford 1983.
 , 'Secondary Schools and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth Century', in Past & Present 109 1985.
 , 'The Student Community at Aberdeen 1860-1939' AUP 1988.
 K.Bailey, 'A History of Trinity College, Dublin 1892-1945' DUP 1947.
 J.Blair, 'History of Medicine in the University of St.Andrews', SAP 1987.
 C.Blake, 'The Charge of the Parasols: Women's Entry to the Medical Profession', Women's Press 1990.
 M.C.Bradbrook, 'That Infidel Place' A Short History of Girton College 1869-1969', Chatto-Widnia 1969.
 S.Brown, 'Research on Gender in Education: Monitoring Bleakness or Instigating Change?', in Scottish Affairs, 5, Autumn 1992.
 C.Burness, 'The Long Slow March: Scottish Women MPs 1918-45', in E.Gordon/E.Breitenbach eds 'Out of Bounds', BUP 1991.
 , 'Drunk Women don't Look at Thistles - Women & the SNP 1934-94' in Scotland 1, 2, 1994.
 R.G.Cant, 'A Short History of the University of St.Andrews', St.Andrews 1992.
 H.Corr, 'An Exploration into Scottish Education' in W.H.Fraser/R.J.Morris eds. 'People & Society in Scotland Vol.II 1832-1914', John Donald 1990.
 , 'The Schoolgirl's Curriculum & the Ideology of the Home 1870-1914' in Glasgow Women's Studies Group ed. 'Uncharted Lives', Pressgang 1982.
 , 'The Sexual Division of Labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession' in W.Humes/D.Paterson ed 'Scottish Culture & Scottish Education 1800-1900', John Donald 1983.
 M.Cruickshank, 'A History of Teacher Training in Scotland', University of London 1970.
 A.Digby/P.Searby, 'Children, School and Society in 19th C England' Macmillan 1981.
 A.Digby, 'Victorian Values & Women in Public and Private', in T.C.Smout ed. 'Victorian Values', OUP 1992.
 Sir James Donaldson, 'University Addresses 1886 to 1910', St.As 1911.
 R.Fanzen, 'Rivals or Allies? Gender Interaction in the Finnish Student Christian Federation 1897-1914' in Journal of Scandinavian History 19,2, 1994.
 A.Gardner, 'A Short History of Newnham College, Cambridge' Bristol 1921.
 Louisa Garrett-Anderson, 'Elisabeth Garrett-Anderson 1836-1917' Faber & Faber 1939.
 E.Gordon, 'Women's Spheres', in 'People & Society in Scotland 1832-1914', John Donald 1990.
 E.Gordon, 'Women & the Labour Movement in Scotland 1850-1914', Clarendon 1991.
 M.Hamilton ed. 'St.Leonards School 1877-1977', Private 1977.
 S.Hamilton, 'Interviewing the Middle Class - Women Graduates of the Scottish Universities c.1910-1935' in Oral History 1982.
 B.Harrison, 'Women in a Men's House: the Women MPs 1919-45' in Historical Journal 29, 3, 1986.
 B.Herbertson, 'The Pfeiffer Bequest for University Women - A Centenary Review', CUP 1993.

- P.Horn, 'The Victorian & Edwardian Schoolchild', AS 1989.
 W.Knight, 'Rectorial Addresses 1863-93', Blackwood 1894.
 'Lady Margaret Hall: A Short History', OUP 1923.
 L.Leneman, 'A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland', AUP 1991.
 , 'Into the Foreground - A Century of Scottish Women in Photographs', NMS 1993.
 Life & Work April 1931 16, 'Scotland's Pioneer Woman B.D.'
 J.A.MacDonald, 'Plant Science & Scientists in St.Andrews - up to the 20th Century', St.Andrews 1984.
 J.Manton, 'Elisabeth Garrett-Anderson', Methuen 1965.
 R.Marshall, 'Virgins and Viragoes - A History of Women in Scotland 1080-1980', - Collins 1983.
 R.McWilliams-Tullberg, 'Women at Cambridge - A Men's University, though of a mixed type' London 1975.
 , 'Women & Degrees at Cambridge University 1862-97' in M.Vicinus ed. 'The Widening Sphere - Changing Roles of Victorian Women', Indiana 1977.
 A.J.Mill, 'The First Ornamental Rector Of St.Andrews University', SHR 1964.
 L.Moore, 'Bajanelias and Semilinas: Aberdeen University and the Education of Women 1860-1920', AUP 1991.
 , 'The Scottish Universities and Women Students 1862-92'
 in J.Carter/D.Withrington ed. 'The Scottish Universities: Distinction & Diversity' John Donald 1991.
 , 'Aberdeen & the Higher Education of Women', Aberdeen University Review 163 1980.
 , 'Invisible Scholars: Girls Learning Latin and Mathematics in the Elementary Public Schools of Scotland before 1872' in The History of Education 1983, 13, 2.
 , 'Educating for the Women's Sphere: Domestic Training versus Intellectual Discipline' in E.Gordon/E.Breitenbach eds. 'Out of Bounds...', EUP 1992.
 M.Packe, 'The Life of John Stuart Mill', London 1954.
 F.Paterson & J.Fewell, 'Girls in their Prime- Scottish Education Revisited', SAP 1990.
 J.R.Peddie, 'The Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland 1901-51', Edinburgh 1951.
 J.Purvis 'A History of Women's Education in England 1800-1914', OUP 1991.
 J.Scotland, 'The History of Scottish Education' Vols. I & II, University of London 1969.
 M.Shaefe, 'University Education in Dundee 1881-1981', University of Dundee 1982.
 N.Shepley, 'Women of an Independent Mind - St.Georges School, Edinburgh, & the Campaign for Women's Education 1888-1988', Inc. 1988.
 D.Southgate, 'University Education in Dundee' EUP 1982.
 R.N.Smart, 'Literate Ladies - A Fifty Year Experiment' in Alumnus Chronicle 19 1958.
 Annette Smith, 'A Not So Monstrous Regiment: Women's Centenary', Alumnus Chronicle 1992.
 G.Stewart, 'The St.Andrews Union Debating Society 1794-1990', D.C.T. 1990.
 'St.Leonards 1877-1927' edited volume including extracts and essays by Louisa Lumsden and others.
 P.Thane, 'Late Victorian Women' in T.R.Gourvish ed. 'Later Victorian Britain 1867-1900', MacMillan 1988.
 J.Thompson, 'The Madras College 1833-1983' FERC 1983.
 'Three Busy Days - Dr.Carnegie at Perth, Edinburgh, Stirling, St.Andrews, Dundee...', Dunfermline 1902.
 A.Tuckett, 'The Scottish Trades Union Congress: The First 80 Years 1897-1977', Mainstream 1986.
 W.N.B.Watson, 'The First Eight Ladies', Uni. Of Edinburgh Journal 23 1967-8.
 W.N.B.Watson, 'The Story of the Women Student's Union', Uni. Of Edinburgh Journal 1968.

Theses

- S.Hamilton, 'Women and the Scottish Universities c. 1860-1939 - a Social History', unpublished University of Edinburgh Ph.D. 1987.
 A.Lowson, 'Principal Sir James Donaldson & Political Patronage in Victorian Scotland' Unpublished Ph.D. St.Andrews University 1988.
 E.Patrick, 'Women and Post-Elementary Education in Scotland 1872-1918', St.Andrews Dissertation 1992?

Reference

- C.Bamford, 'Gender and Education in Scotland: A Review of Research', Edinburgh 1988.
 S.Cameron et.al. Eds., 'Dictionary of Scottish History and Theology', Edinburgh 1993.
 J.Craigie, 'A Bibliography of Scottish Education' 2 Vols. 1970/74.
 Who Was Who Vols I to VI (1897-1970), A.C.Black.
 'Women in Scotland - an Annotated Bibliography' OU 1988.

Memoirs

- E.Bryson, (née Macdonald), 'Look Back in Wonder', Dundee 1966.
 L.Lumsden, 'Yellow Leaves: Memoirs of a long life', Blackwood 1933.
 J.Christie, 'Student Days' in Scots Magazine Oct/Nov 1973.
 W.Coults, 'How Women Students Won Their Laurels' in The People's Journal 15 Feb 1930 in Kate Kennedy Annual 19
 W.Muir, 'Belonging', Hogarth 1968.
 C.Just, 'Fifty Years Back' in Alumnus Chronicle 43, 1955.