

FEMALE CULTURE IN PHYSICAL TRAINING COLLEGES 1885-1918

By

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Abstract

This dissertation analyses student experience within all five English Physical Training Colleges in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. It provides an understanding of a hitherto homogenised group of women about whom generalisations have been made. Supporting statistical evidence is used wherever possible. This is drawn from archive material from all five colleges and includes questionnaires, oral tapes and relevant documents. The study draws detailed conclusions on whether college was an empowering experience for the students.

A pre-college study shows who the students were, where they came from, and why they came to college. Student college life is developed against a hierarchical community theory. This allows an exploration of relationships between students, staff, and other groups within an environment where females were subject to the power of other females. The uses and effects of 'power over' and 'power to' by females are examined and a comparison made with patriarchal uses of control. Residential life is examined through a more rigorous interpretation of the concept of familism than has been carried out in past studies. This is applied and further defined to see how it accounts for this supposedly typical college environment. Post-college experience of students considers the legacy of physical training college experience on old-student aspirations and opportunity. Career types and marriage rates provide evidence of the effectiveness of the colleges aims of producing professional young women able to contribute actively to society.

This work adds to and contrasts with knowledge of the growth and development of the history of female education in England. Wherever possible the students' physical training college experience is put into its wider social and cultural context. It also provides a detailed study of empowering and disempowering factors affecting groups of young women in all-female environments in Victorian and Edwardian Britain.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to Pemberley Avenue, Pumpkins and Comets

““You begin in a deeply Victorian manner,” I said; “is this to continue?”
“Remember if you please,” said my friend, looking at me over his spectacles, “that I am a Victorian by birth and education, and that the Victorian tree may not unreasonably be expected to bear Victorian fruit. Further, remember that an immense quantity of clever and thoughtful rubbish is now being written about the Victorian age.””

M. R. James. Casting the Runes and Other Ghost Stories. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 244.

The Song of the Oldest Student

Listen to me, Oh! my sisters.
I who now am old and grey haired,
Listen while I tell the story
Of the gathering of the students,
Of the gathering of the maidens;
How I flung my age behind me,
How I once again was active,
How I cast my corset from me,
Donned again my old suspender,
Donned my stockings and my knickers.
Heard a sound of many tea cups,
Saw some well-remembered faces,
And my heart rose high within me,
And the weight of years fell from me.
Once again I felt a student,
Once again I was at college.

Anonymous Student. Anstey Physical Training College Report 1919, p. 10.

Abbreviations

(A), Anstey College Archives

(B), Bedford College Archives

(C), Chelsea College Archives

(D), Dartford College Archives

(L), Liverpool College Archives

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1; The Development of Demand for Middle-Class Physical Training Teachers: An Overview

Introduction

Women had inferior status in nineteenth century society. Controls and restrictions were placed upon them which restricted their ability to participate in sports and leisure activities. To ignore these restrictions was to risk being labelled 'unwomanly'. This tended to make women unhealthy. Despite this, grim warnings were given by medical men on the perils of over-exercise and, 'Even after the turn of the century, in America and Britain many middle-class women remained expensive, unhealthy and immobile showpieces,'¹ Women's groups too, made no specific efforts to liberate the closed access to sports, though, 'while feminists did not organise to fight directly for women's sporting rights, the acquisition of such rights was an important consequence of their activities in other areas. In turn, sporting activities made a substantial contribution to emancipating females from physical and psychological bondages and to altering the image of ideal womanhood.'²

It was not until later in the century that educated young women began to leave the schools and women's colleges in enough numbers not only to participate in, but also teach games playing and exercise techniques to middle-class women. In later-Victorian England 'Perhaps the most energetic force for change was a large body of feminists, especially young middle-class women brought up on a full menu of sports in secondary schools and colleges.'³ Their work in society at large however, was restricted as 'They made no attempt to reach out and "emancipate" sporting women who should have been their natural allies.'⁴

¹ J. Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports* (London, 1994), p. 53. And see also, J. A. Hargreaves, 'Playing Like Gentlemen While Behaving Like Ladies: Contradictory Features of the Formative Years of Women's Sport', *British Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1985, pp. 40-52.

² K. E. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women 1870-1914* (London, 1988), p. 276.

³ J. Park, 'Sport, Dress Reform and the Emancipation of Women in Victorian England: A Reappraisal', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1989, p. 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Sport was mainly the domain of men throughout the nineteenth century and participation was a sign of masculinity, hence, 'A useful means of controlling women was a projection of the view that sport was essentially masculine, requiring physical and psychological attitudes and behaviour unnatural to women and thus it was beyond their proper sphere.'⁵ Some elite games were carried out by upper-class women, including riding, rifle shooting, cycling, and punting. Affluent middle-class women, 'played "gentle" respectable games, exemplified by croquet and its indoor derivatives like "Parlour Croquet," "Carpet Croquet," or "Table Croquet," or quoits or skittles, or unenergetic forms of tennis and badminton.'⁶

At all times 'In her role as sportswoman, as in her role of wife and mother, a woman was expected to behave in an exemplary fashion and to display her feminine traits.'⁷ Femininity bolstered by medical theories, and a conspicuous, idle lifestyle, meant women were keen to be seen as affluent and lady-like. As McCrone states, 'To assure that they projected an image of respectable femininity, the majority of sportswomen accepted the idea of limited sport with special rules and techniques and cumbersome costumes, that may have hindered skilful play, but safeguarded modesty and avoided "unhealthy" strain and so won approval.'⁸ In more active games like cricket and rowing, women were encouraged to be spectators and to applaud. Participation was considered too masculine. Indeed, 'to the muscular Christian gentlemen a woman's only role, in sport was to watch and applaud.'⁹

Competitive sport remained mainly a men only activity for much of the nineteenth century. Even in the early twentieth century 'Most women writing about sport and physical activity . . . were . . . apologetic, assuring readers that physical training "need not convert [a girl] into a mannish woman nor would it render her unattractive

⁵ K. E. McCrone, *Play Up! Play Up! and Play the Game! Sport at the Late-Victorian Girls' Public Schools*, in J. A. Mangan and R. J. Park, *From Fair Sex to Feminism: Sport and the Socialisation of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras* (London, 1987), p. 98.

⁶ J. Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, p. 53.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁸ K. E. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women*, p. 284.

⁹ K. E. McCrone, in: J. A. Mangan, *From Fair Sex to Feminism*, p. 107.

to men,” since this ability to “endure material hardships” improved her chances in this regard, presumably by preparing her for the harsh realities of married life.¹⁰

Sport was used to repress and constrain women throughout the nineteenth century. However, women increasingly gained access to sports and exercise. This changed female attitudes and had a liberating effect. Health was improved and patriarchal ideologies were weakened. In particular it changed the fundamental view of femininity taking place in a sedentary environment, to being able to take place in a more active one.

By the time the first college of physical training was being established women were partaking in sport and exercise in ever increasing numbers, though it was the middle class who were taking the lead. Women were now participating in bicycling, gymnastics, ice skating, golf, cricket, and swimming. In the 1890s more competitive games such as hockey, lacrosse, basketball, and energetic lawn tennis became popular and acceptable. Careers in sport and physical education were becoming viable for women. The more adventurous were keen not just to play, but to become employed in this growing market.

1.2; The Opposition to Female Careers and Participation in Physical Education

Medical Ideas and Women’s Role in Society

Women’s participation in exercise was opposed by the male medical profession which ‘was virtually unanimous in its estimate of women as physically inferior to men.’¹¹ This opposition increased in force during the nineteenth century as medicine became more professional, and practitioners took upon themselves moral guidance, not only on female medical matters but on their place in society as well.¹² Various theories reinforced medical restrictions on exercise. ‘Vitalist’ theories were based on females having a certain amount of vital energy. This limited energy would be wasted on surplus physical activity and have harmful physical and mental effects.¹³ Social Darwinists came to the view that, ‘survival

¹⁰ H. Lenskyj, Out of Bounds, Women, Sport and Sexuality (Toronto, 1986), p. 62.

¹¹ K. E. McCrone, Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, p. 195.

¹² See H. Lenskyj, Out of Bounds, p. 18; ‘As women challenged traditional constraints on education, work and leisure pursuits in the last half of the century, doctors reacted with efforts to establish women’s physical and intellectual inferiority.’

¹³ For the contemporary view see Anonymous, ‘A Candid Friend of Feminism’, British Medical Journal, October, 1910, pp. 1172-1173; ‘The forces of the average girl are squandered in educational efforts and in strenuous games, and in aiming at achieving the same goals as those of a sex which has been specifically differentiated to achieve them.’ The result is, ‘A large number of modern girls are weedy, anaemic,

of the fittest' meant only the fittest of races (mentally, physically and spiritually) would survive. This led to a discussion of the role and functions of motherhood over all others.¹⁴

Therefore Darwinistic ideas provided an acceptable moral role for women as protectors of the purity of the race. Such protection involved self-sacrifice, by conserving energy for child-bearing, which led to great debate over whether secondary and higher education damaged women's health and child-bearing function. This debate continued throughout the period covered by this dissertation.

Medical ideas contained a possible intellectual dimension for women but only as part of making them better wives and mothers. It did allow educators some area of progress in developing this intellectual possibility for women, though against a background of doubt and worry of possible side effects affecting racial purity.¹⁵

spectacled and ineffective neurotics, or large, crude hoydens - excellent "fellows" no doubt, but not women in any of the higher sense of the word.' And, 'psychologically, if not physiologically, sterilised while still young, and who have undergone a premature climacteric or reached middle age while hardly out of their teens.' And, 'While medical critics [doctors] condemned excessive female activity they generally agreed that carefully regulated and supervised exercise was beneficial both for general well-being and for female functional health.'

¹⁴ C. Dyhouse, 'Social Darwinistic Ideas and the Development of Women's Education in England 1880-1920', *History of Education*, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 42; 'It is clear that those who concerned themselves more generally with questions of 'national efficiency' and social progress were frequently drawn into contemporary debate over the status and education of women: many of these writers began to emphasise the crucial importance of motherhood in evolution, generally insisting upon maternity as the highest function of womanhood.' For a contemporary discussion of the ideal of motherhood from a Darwinistic viewpoint see: R. Leslie, 'Woman's Progress in Relation to Eugenics', *Eugenics Review*, Vol. II, April, 1910, pp. 282-298; 'Are the new women with their larger outlook on life and its problems better fitted than the older types to become the mothers of a stronger and more virile race, able to keep England in its present proud position among the nations of the world', p. 283. And, 'Does, for instance, her knowledge of mathematics, or even her efficiency in athletics, make her intrinsically a better potential mother than the natural, bright intelligent girl interested in her frocks and frills, dances and mild flirtations?' p. 284. See also, W. Moore, 'The Higher Education of Women', *The British Medical Journal*, August 14th, 1886, pp. 295-299. This article was given as the president's address at the fifty-fourth annual meeting of the British Medical Association by the senior physician at Sussex County Hospital. It expounds the theory of 'mother-stuff.' Male physical and mental characteristics were formed in the womb; 'Manifestly, it is before his birth mainly, that the man is made.' And, p. 297; 'More or less well authenticated' stories proved for instance, King James the First was a coward, and afraid of sharp edged weapons, because his mother, Mary Queen of Scots saw David Rizzio being murdered. Napoleon had a genius for war strategy, because his pregnant mother shared her soldier husband's campaigning life.' Therefore female experience determined the type of male character produced. By providing a 'mother-stuff' nourished on appropriate feminine behaviour, combined with limited education and exercise, the mother would provide 'wholesome food' for her baby, who would go on to improve the racial stock. Without such behaviour, the great and notable men of the age would never have been born, or grown to be great. P. Thane, *Late-Victorian Women*, in T. R. Gourvish, *Later Victorian Britain 1867-1900* (London, 1990), p. 184.

¹⁵ C. Dyhouse, 'Social Darwinistic Ideas', p. 45; '[Articles appeared in the] *Eugenics Review* in the first decade of the century claiming that the emphasis on games and athletics, as well as intellectual attainment in girls' high schools was likely to do irreparable damage to the growing adolescent girl and through her to the race.' *Eugenics: From: Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. 3, D-E (Oxford, 1961), p. 319. F. Galton, 1893:

Domesticity and Middle-Class Women

As capitalism intensified during the nineteenth century, 'There developed a segregation between home and work [for the middle classes]; the wife stayed at home and the husband went to work. . . . As the businessman made more and more money, it became more and more important that his wife should stay at home.'¹⁶ It became a form of conspicuous consumption that the husband should provide the economic means for his wife to stay at home and be kept in a state of well-provided for inanimation. Though a fundamental desire of the middle class, this nirvana was never reached by the majority of families. It must be remembered that 'The Victorian middle class was a social composite embracing men and women of widely differing conditions and experiences.'¹⁷ As class differences led to different life styles for middle-class women, social attitudes began to focus and define appropriate behaviour for women. The 'cult of true womanhood' arose. These women followed appropriate feminine behaviour, in a domestic environment. Being lady-like involved three fundamental assumptions:

First of all, it was lady-like to be a manager of a household but not to engage in the routine, manual work involved: a 'lady' could afford to employ servants to perform such tasks. Secondly, it was lady-like to engage in unpaid, philanthropic work but never to engage in waged labour . . . Thirdly being lady-like involved not only wearing appropriate apparel, but also a complex ritual of etiquette.¹⁸

It is likely that a fair number of men never earned enough to afford this form of conspicuous consumption. Many middle-class women may well have had to contribute greatly to the complex process of running a Victorian household, especially when servants were not affordable.

Women were more effectively excluded from waged labour. This created separate spheres, defined for females as the domestic or female sphere. The wage barrier provided an effective and constraining limit to this role. Feminine characteristics were labelled and praised, and kept separate from corruptive male influences prevalent in the structure of work. Women gave up whatever freedom they had to become 'angels in the house.' They

'That is of the conditions under which men of a high type will be produced.' And, 'Various topics more or less connected with that of the cultivation of the race.'

¹⁶ I. Collins, 'Hardly Any Women At All', *The Historian*, No. 5, Winter, 1984/85, p. 4.

¹⁷ P. Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control 1830-1885* (London, 1987), p. 90.

¹⁸ J. Purvis, 'Towards A History of Women's Education in Nineteenth Century Britain: A Sociological Analysis', *Westminster Studies in Education*, Vol. 4, 1981, p. 49.

were to become selfless, moral beings, and, as Collins has asserted, ‘were conned, so the feminists imply, into believing that they had special characteristics of graciousness, gentleness and patience which made it their duty, and destiny, and their privilege to provide a pleasing and soothing home for the bored or tired husband!’¹⁹ Ironically they were being told they were morally superior beings, the price being their protection from society. Various restrictions prevented them from living socially useful lives. Therefore, ‘The establishment of the domestic ideology within the dominant bourgeois culture was such that the social construction of the female gender came to be identified, in society at large with domesticity.’²⁰ This domesticity was somewhat incompatible with women participating in physical exercise. As the mid-century approached there seemed no role for physical exercise, and teachers and trainers, to play in this domestic paradigm.

Dress Reform and Sport Participation

Dress and sporting participation are inextricably woven.²¹ Mid-Victorian women tended to wear tightly laced clothing, which accentuated the Victorian ideal of the perfect figure. This was because ‘Modesty in dress, appearance, and deportment, reflected a woman’s acceptance of both her pedestal and her profession.’²² Or, in other words, femininity and motherhood. The aim of fashion was to gain admiration from men and procure a good husband. The corset in particular, restricted movement, and was incompatible with vigorous activity. Roberts summarises that, ‘The clothing of the Victorian woman clearly projected the message of a willingness to conform to the submissive masochistic pattern, but dress also helped mould female behaviour to the role of the “exquisite slave.”’²³ ‘Slaves’ did not run about imitating behaviour long claimed by masculinity. To play sport meant having to remove one’s corset, and to remove one’s corset implied having loose morals. Therefore the corset was a pre-requisite for the respectable middle-class lady. For the sportswoman, ‘The corset was to prove a strong and persistent adversary, for women began to rely upon its shape holding qualities and were

¹⁹ I. Collins, ‘Hardly Any Women’, p. 6.

²⁰ J. Purvis, ‘Towards A History of Women’s Education’, p. 48.

²¹ See Chapter 8 for a discussion on this subject and sources of information.

²² H. Lenskyj, Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality, p. 21.

²³ H. E. Roberts, ‘The Exquisite Slave: The Role of Clothes in the Making of the Victorian Woman’, Signs: Journal of Women in Culture in Society, Vol. 2, Spring, 1977, p. 557.

loathe to dress without it.’²⁴ This item provided an effective physical barrier to exercise, to go alongside society’s mental barriers. Those who did participate in the limited sports available, acquiesced to the feminine and gentle behaviour expected during performance. Participating women, tended to be inherently conservative in nature, and, ‘When games and clothes conflicted, women unhesitatingly abandoned or altered games, not vice-versa.’²⁵ This led to all sorts of irrational, ‘fashionable’ sporting costumes.

As the century progressed, along with other improvements in women’s overall position in society, dress restrictions were relaxed. Concern for women’s health increased, and ‘In the second half of the nineteenth century, feminists and physicians were in agreement that a main cause of female invalidism was fashion, and not, as was generally believed, the natural lot of women as determined by their sickly constitution.’²⁶ This put pressure on fashionable, restrictive, clothing. Fashionable clothes became more loose fitting, increasing women’s ability to play sports. Higher education was beginning to open up to middle-class women and, ‘Both the school mistresses, the students, and teachers at the new Oxbridge women’s colleges adapted a plain and austere style of dress to indicate their seriousness and professionalism.’²⁷

Women participating outside of the colleges were not so protected from the public’s gaze by college walls and playing fields, therefore, ‘special precautions had to be taken so that the dress worn for playing games did not “excite the attention by any eccentricity.”’²⁸ And, ‘Clothing is judged to have been deliberately shapeless and unprovocative, hiding the form and mitigating against any suggestion of eroticism.’²⁹ When the physical training colleges opened, students found themselves wearing gym slips and short skirts designed for sporting mobility. Some of these were based on public school designs and made available to these older girls. Crunden states that:

The form of dress adopted for almost all the work in college, including gymnastics, drill and games, totally rejected the current vogue of tightly laced tunics and long skirts . . . the adoption of such a daring tunic personified the spirit of emancipation of women who

²⁴ M. Pointon, ‘Factors Influencing the Participation of Women and Girls in Physical Education, Physical Recreation and Sport in Great Britain During the Period 1850-1920’, *History of Education Society Bulletin*, Vol. 24, Autumn, 1979, p. 48.

²⁵ J. Park, ‘Sport, Dress Reform and the Emancipation of Women’, p. 21.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁷ H. E. Roberts, ‘The Exquisite Slave’, p. 567.

²⁸ P. C. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England Since 1800* (London, 1979), p. 132.

²⁹ C. M. Parratt, ‘Athletic “Womanhood” Exploring Sources for Female Sport in Victorian and Edwardian England’, *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Summer, 1989, p. 148.

were beginning to break free of some of the more restrictive elements of the Victorian code of behaviour and morality.³⁰

These were restricted to the gymnasium and playing field so as not to provoke a hostile reaction. Thanks to the pioneer headmistresses of the post 1850s, young women were beginning to take sensible attire for granted. Physical education and gymnastics in schools had led to changes in acceptable dress. Dresses had become looser to allow movement, and, 'Even a dilettante interest in these sports required modifications in dress. Skirts were made slightly shorter and less full, sleeves less tight, stays were loosened an inch or two.'³¹ Though dress reform helped female equality, the changes were made mainly for health reasons and for the necessity of increased mobility for women in a changing world. These reforms were slow, and it took most of the century and longer for the majority of middle-class women to benefit. Pointon believes the major breakthrough came with the adoption of the bicycle by women; 'It was the bicycle which "converted" the lady into a biped and supplied her with a momentum which carried her headlong into the next century.'³²

Dress reform meant that by the 1890s looser clothing was available and acceptable for women to wear.³³ An increasing number of women were taking advantage of this trend to participate in sports and careers associated with sport and exercise. Nevertheless 'The implications of women wearing trousers were not to be tolerated in Victorian society. The symbolic association with manhood made the wearing of such garments highly contentious.'³⁴ And, 'It was not until after the Great War that women's legs came out of hiding.'³⁵

³⁰ C. Crunden, 'The Care of the Body in the Late-19th and Early 20th Centuries in England', Bulletin of Physical Education, Vol. 11, 1974-75, p. 20.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 568.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³³ For a contemporary look at late-Victorian views on dress see T. Chapman, 'A Dialogue on Dress', Nineteenth Century, Vol. 36, October, 1894; E. Sandow, 'The Physical Development of Women', Physical Culture, Vol. 3, 1899, p 103. And, issued throughout the late-Victorian period, The Rational Dress Society Gazette. See Chapter 8 for further sources.

³⁴ M. Pointon, 'Factors Influencing the Participation of Women', p. 49.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

1.3; The Development of Female Secondary Education and Physical Exercise

Domesticity was a key determinant of middle-class women's social position in mid-Victorian society. Women's role had become identified with the private sphere of home and family while men had taken over the public sphere of work. Victorian society therefore encouraged separate spheres for men and women. This was an ideal only, as for many it was beyond their financial means. However where possible, 'A lady-like wife and mother was not expected, under any circumstances, to engage in paid work'.³⁶ If this did not occur then it reflected badly on the husband as a provider to his family. By the mid-century this cult of middle-class femininity had reached its peak.

Education reflected these attitudes to women,³⁷ 'Extensive, systematic education was not advocated as an essential aspect of the ideal of the lady-like wife and mother.'³⁸ Femininity and domesticity dominated the form and content of middle-class female education. Traditional schooling for females occurred mainly in the home, taught by family and friends, or in costly private schools run by unqualified ladies. Here the girl was taught accomplishments such as singing, dancing and drawing. The overall aim of this low quality, non-academic education, was to produce 'good ladies' and mothers. Nothing was taught that was helpful to obtaining paid work.

Middle-class income and wealth increased, and by the 1860s it became fashionable to employ a governess³⁹ as a form of conspicuous consumption. These were unmarried, or widowed, middle-class women whose fathers had proved unable to support them. They were typically poorly educated, and offered another poor education for their female charges. This occupation for surplus women was a crowded one and was held in low esteem. Many unsupportable women did not even have this option; they were simply surplus to societies needs. The situation of girls' education was spelled out by the Taunton Commission of 1868, 'want of thoroughness and foundation; want of system; slovenliness

³⁶ J. Purvis, *A History of Women's Education in England* (Milton Keynes 1991), p. 7.

³⁷ For the development and theories of pre-Victorian education see J. McDermid, 'Conservative Feminism and Female Education in the Eighteenth Century', *History of Education*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1989, pp. 309-322.

³⁸ S. Delamont and L. Duffin, *The Nineteenth Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World* (London, 1978), p. 135.

³⁹ For a detailed analysis of the life of the Victorian governess see P. Horn, 'The Victorian Governess', *History of Education*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1989, pp. 333-344.

and showy superficiality; inattention to rudiments; undue time given to accomplishments, and those not taught intelligently or in any scientific manner; want of organisation.’⁴⁰ This was Victorian education for girls at its nadir while reflecting the zenith of separate spheres and femininity.

From then on these values were to come under increasing attack from economic and social factors. Purvis⁴¹ sums up four factors which affected society in general and had the side effect of leading to a slow but steady improvement in education and opportunities for women:

1. The extension of democratic rights and liberty for women as well as men.
2. Industrialisation which led to increasing job opportunities for women.
3. An increasing number of unsupportable, unmarried, middle-class women, with poor education, rising throughout the period 1871-1911.
4. A desire by certain women ‘feminists’ to obtain employment and other rights to bring fulfilment to their otherwise under-utilised lives.

Some of these factors at least led to a proportion of middle-class fathers favouring respectable careers for their daughters, especially in teaching, as ‘Education was seen as the essential key for opening the door to productive and useful lives for middle-class girls.’⁴² From these changes in attitude arose new schools to cater for these needs, ‘Most intended to prepare the daughters of business and professional families for more active and socially useful roles in the public and domestic spheres.’⁴³ Many reforms of education followed; compulsory entrance and attendance requirements (1876-80), free schooling (1891), compulsory attendance for 12 year olds (1899) and 14 year olds (1900), free school places (1907), compulsory education for all (1918). Male governors became school board members; strong-willed female head-mistresses ran the schools. Academic subjects became the norm, and ties were made to the universities. These reforms mainly benefited the middle classes. Traditional teaching still dominated the experiences of the majority of girls for most of this period.⁴⁴ Middle-class girls could expect four years of secondary

⁴⁰ J. Purvis, *A History of Women’s Education*, p. 74.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² F. Hunt, *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women 1850-1950* (Oxford, 1987), p. 4.

⁴³ J. Purvis, *A History of Women’s Education*, p. 76.

⁴⁴ For an account of the development of elementary education and the growth of physical education see R. J. W. Selleck, *The New Education: The English Background 1870-1914* (London, 1968).

education, leaving school at 15 or 16 years of age. A few girls with university aspirations would continue until aged 18 or 19.

Two kinds of schools arose to meet this challenge of giving an improved education to girls. The first was the high school, the most famous contemporary being the North London Collegiate School, established in 1850, and run by Miss Buss. The aim of these schools was to provide a first class education for their girls in 'superior' schools. Fees were kept low in these establishments to encourage a wider social intake. The second type of school was the girls' public boarding school, which aimed to provide a sound intellectual education. Predominant schools of this type included Cheltenham Ladies' College, established in 1854 and run by Miss Beale,⁴⁵ St Leonard's (1878), Roedean (1885), and Wycombe Abbey (1896). These institutions were exclusive, elite schools, for the daughters of gentlemen. They borrowed heavily from the boys' public school curriculum and included afternoon games as an important part of their own curriculum. Their headmistresses⁴⁶ held conservative values believing education was to provide firstly, cultured wives and mothers, and secondly, economically useful women, who could earn a living if marriage and support from a father was unobtainable.

These schools proved that scholarship and lady-like behaviour were compatible for middle-class women. They provided a liberal, rather than conservative education for girls, in which femininity was given an intellectual dimension. These 'good' schools were considered necessary to provide a moral and intellectual training. They would provide girls with a clear notion of duty and service, firstly within the home and secondly outside it. Femininity was not considered compromised and it provided a new and freer definition of lady-like behaviour.

It had now become acceptable that middle-class women could have successful careers under certain circumstances, and 'In essence, the ladies of the middle class and to some extent the upper classes, spent the nineteenth century and much of this one trying to redefine what was lady-like.'⁴⁷ The teachers and headmistresses at these schools provided role models and examples for the girls. These women had enhanced social status,

⁴⁵ For an interesting early biography of Miss Beale written by one who knew her see C. F. Steadman, In the Days of Miss Beale: A Study of Her Work and Influence (London, 1931).

⁴⁶ For a general view of these women, their ideals and how they worked together see M. Price and G. Nonita, Reluctant Revolutionaries: A Century of Headmistresses 1874-1974 (London, 1974).

⁴⁷ S. Delamont, The Nineteenth Century Woman, p. 135.

professional occupations, and authority within the community. Their own financially constrained backgrounds provided hope for others interested in fulfilling careers in teaching. Therefore, 'These teachers' status concerns were rooted partly in their own experience. In most cases it was straightened family circumstances which initially prompted them to turn to teaching.'⁴⁸ Many of the students at physical training colleges came from these schools and would have been influenced by the individual ethos they found there during their most formative years.

Biographers of this group of pioneer headmistresses and the generations that followed them in Victorian Britain believe that they can be summarised as conservative in nature and example, e.g.,

'Most remained committed to Victorian values concerning family and womanliness and to the view that men and women had different missions.'⁴⁹

'Beale argued that precisely because women were destined "to rule the home" they should share the intellectual culture of men, women educated along the same lines as men would, she contended, have "more power to make the home what it should be."⁵⁰

'Ottley, (Worcester High School) too at first opposed awarding prizes for achievement, preferring rather to reward students for diligence.'⁵¹

'Ottley and Beale persisted in regarding the moral in which students undertook their work as more important than the quality of their achievements.'⁵²

'She [L. M. Faithful, Cheltenham Ladies' College] never challenged women's secondary role in public and private life.'⁵³

According to these teachers women's home duties came first. Ottley counselled that "home is the first place for fulfilment of our vocation to be saints." Soulsby (Oxford High School) deplored over-busy women who were too occupied with public affairs to tend to their families.'⁵⁴

⁴⁸ J. S. Pederson, 'Some Victorian Headmistresses: A Conservative Tradition of Social Reform', *Victorian Studies*, Summer, 1981, p. 470.

⁴⁹ K. E. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women*, p. 61.

⁵⁰ J. S. Pederson, 'Some Victorian Headmistresses', p. 468.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 469.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ K. E. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women*, p. 85.

⁵⁴ J. S. Pederson, 'Some Victorian Headmistresses', p. 484.

The aim of these women appears to have been to improve women's education so that they would become better mothers and ladies. They would be intellectual, confident, 'angels in the house.' The schools they ran were, by nature, elitist. Whilst accepting middle-class cultural values as the norm, these women were prepared to enhance these values by altering and compromising the ways of achieving them. In general they 'remained committed to Victorian values concerning family and womanliness and to the view that men and women had different missions.'⁵⁵ But, they also offered an example of the 'new woman' even though they might not have wanted their pupils to actually copy their work. They had an inner certainty that they were justified in their pioneering work and this gave them an assertiveness which was accepted by society despite its apparent unfemininity. Their energy and character made them feared and admired by their young charges and many must have wanted to try and imitate them in some way in later life. These individualistic women not only encouraged academic excellence, they also introduced games and physical exercise to their girls.⁵⁶

The rise of physical education in girls' schools played an important part in not only changing the nature of education but also in altering women's position in society.⁵⁷ Prior to the establishment and growth of these schools, Victorian middle-class women were considered frail and unable to partake in physical activity and hence paid work.⁵⁸ There were three separate systems of physical education during the nineteenth century: boys' public schools had an established history of sports and games which held great importance in their curriculum;⁵⁹ elementary schools had military drill which was usually taken by an army soldier; the third system to arise was the development of the girls secondary sector of

⁵⁵ K. E. McCrone, Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, p. 61.

⁵⁶ For an international history of physical education and how ideas came to England see F. E. Leonard, A Guide to the History of Physical Education (London, 1947).

⁵⁷ See also, K. E. McCrone in J. A. Mangan, From Fair Sex to Feminism, pp. 97-129. A re-write of her article, 'Play Up! Play Up! and Play the Game! Sport at the Late-Victorian Girls' Public School', Journal of British Studies, Vol. 23, No. 2, Spring, 1984, pp. 106-134. And, M. Pointon, 'Factors Influencing the Participation of Women and Girls in Physical Education, Physical Recreation and Sport in Great Britain During the Period 1850-1920', History of Education Society Bulletin, Vol. 24, Autumn, 1979, pp. 46-57.

⁵⁸ This dissertation is concerned with middle-class educational experience, However, J. Purvis, A History of Women's Education also considers the working-class female experience. See also, K. Flett, 'Sex or Class: The Education of Working-Class Women, 1800-1870', History of Education, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1989, pp. 145-162.

⁵⁹ The secondary school headmistresses were aware of this and many were to include sports and games in their curriculum. Though they substituted more acceptable feminine pursuits for overtly masculine activities.

schooling towards the middle and end of the century. This latter development incorporated Swedish gymnastics and games, and became the basis of a physical education profession.

The principals, as befitted their conservative natures, were tentative at first, and kept restrictions on the types of games and performances. At the North London Collegiate School, Miss Buss considered the health of her girls as an important part of the curriculum. At first she restricted exercise to gentle callisthenics, though further developments occurred as time went by. In 1866 musical gym was being used to counteract the mental strains of exam work. In 1871 it was realised that a gymnasium was needed, though it was not until 1880 that a new, partly equipped gymnasium appeared complete with gymnastics teacher. At Cheltenham Ladies' College, Miss Beale 'regarded competition by girls in any form as productive of too great a desire for success and incompatible with their unique emotional and intellectual needs and future family responsibilities.'⁶⁰ She banned hockey in case it harmed the girls or encouraged rough behaviour, and remained suspicious of all types of games which she thought, 'equated with masculinity and a loss of feminine gentleness and dignity of manner.'⁶¹

Despite misgivings Miss Beale gradually relaxed restrictions on games play. She also introduced her girls to swimming lessons at the public baths as early as 1872. She became fully committed to the concept of exercise for girls, but only if the overall concept of the 'lady-like' woman was protected. In 1885 a games club was formed and games during the dinner time period were established and popular. Yet it was not until 1891 that Miss Beale was prepared to rent land for a playing field. By the end of the 1890s hockey, netball and tennis were common place. The school had 26 tennis courts at this time, as well as its Swedish gymnasium. Throughout her leadership, Miss Beale remained suspicious of actual competition, despite her belief that health was an important part of a days work. Even the school day was arranged so that strain of mental and physical activity was avoided after meals. Competition against other schools remained firmly banned.

Other schools also took up the importance of games and exercise. Given the negative societal judgements on women and exercise this was a radical innovation. Some headmistresses thought games had moral as well as therapeutic purposes for their girls. Miss Dove at Wycombe Abbey thought, 'We do not desire girls to be brainless athletes any

⁶⁰ K. E. McCrone in J. A. Mangan, *From Fair Sex to Feminism*, p. 108.

more than we wish that they should be delicate or stunted blue-stockings, and either of these exaggerated types is made doubly deplorable if, as sometimes happens, there is a deficiency of moral power.⁶² Dove thought that games offered the development of qualities which boys had access to from a variety of sources. Powers such as organisation, even temper, courage and determination, speed of thought and action, self-reliance and, most importantly, the values of corporate life.⁶³ Only the games field gave access to a role which could develop these qualities. This view is a long way from the sickly 'angel in the house' view prevalent earlier in the century; in fact it was quite avant-garde.

This acceptance of the importance of games is seen at Roedean, 'The headmistress of Roedean [Miss Lawrence] was convinced that the moral value of games which was accepted as a truism in boys' schools must have similar respect in girls' schools.'⁶⁴ At Roedean physical education was an integrated part of the school ethos, where, 'The aim of the school will be to give a thorough education-physical, intellectual, and moral.'⁶⁵ This was justified as it prevented mental overwork by the pupils. Two or three hours a day were set aside for exercise and games, a considerable commitment.

St Leonard's school was also committed to the games ethos; 'From the beginning St Leonard's combined many features taken directly from boys' public schools, including a house system, a prefect system, and organised outdoor games. Soon other schools on similar lines were founded in England and so something of the public school cult of games found its way into girls' schools.'⁶⁶ Girls were competing in shield matches by summer 1888, and by summer 1895 they played cricket, tennis, and bathed. In winter rounders, hockey, and lacrosse were popular. These schools produced young women with the experiences which made them able to apply for places at the physical training colleges opening at the end of the century. They also provided career opportunities for the teacher products of the physical training colleges.

The headmistresses are remembered as paradoxical people. They were pioneers who helped evolve female education. Once having taken the major innovation of introducing games and exercise to the girls, they adopted conservative, defensive, attitudes.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² K. E. McCrone, Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, p. 195.

⁶³ Taken from, J. Purvis, A History of Women's Education, p. 74.

⁶⁴ P. C. Macintosh, Physical Education in England, p. 131

⁶⁵ K. E. McCrone, Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, p. 105.

They introduced a slow expansion of game types for their pupils to participate in and imposed appropriate behaviour during participation.

Not all headmistresses were of the same persuasion; 'The headmistress of the Lady Eleanor Holles School, then at Hackney (Julia Maria Ruddle) is supposed to have begged the governors not to build a gymnasium because such exercise was unladylike.'⁶⁷ The Laurels (Wroxhall Abbey) had an instructor who even in the early twentieth century was an old fashioned former Boer-War veteran who encouraged the girls to sing war songs while they trained. He was preferred to the highly professional female physical educators who were becoming plentiful

Like the boys' public schools, although the staff introduced games into the curriculum, it was the pupils themselves who organised day-to-day playing. At St Leonard's, games mistresses could only join in games if invited by the team captains. This meant that much early play lacked organisation and direction; 'The girls of the Royal School in the 1880s got no further than buying a football and blowing it up.'⁶⁸ At Blackheath High School in the 1880s, 'There were no rules, except a vague one about offside. Goals were generally scored from a confused melee, in which the ball was pushed over the line by sheer weight of numbers . . . I do not know when I have enjoyed any game more.'⁶⁹

This chaos is a long way from the ordered, lady-like behaviour seen as the norm in the development of physical education. When attempts were made to bring discipline to the games, pupils were indignant; 'The upper sixth at Worcester rebelled against being pulled up in their rushing to and fro. They indicated that they had never played the game like that, and if they were going to be ordered about so much the game might as well be called a lesson.'⁷⁰ The standard of play is remembered at Brighton and Hove High School by a lamenting team captain in 1886; 'A few of the smaller members of the club have a great tendency to hop over the ball, instead of kicking it; whilst others are terribly afraid of it and think only of getting out of the way of the kicks: others make gallant rushes at the

⁶⁶ P. C. Macintosh, *Physical Education in England*, p. 131.

⁶⁷ G. Avery, *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls' Independent Schools* (London, 1991), p. 269.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

ball, but on second thoughts, think they had better leave it to their opponents.’⁷¹ After 1900 school sports became more regulated. A steady and increasing number of trained gymnasts and games teachers were reaching the schools from the physical training colleges. These highly trained specialists were giving systematic and professional guidance to pupils. By 1918 colours, rituals, and even prayers, were carried out in support of teams. Some traditionalists bemoaned the grim and earnest nature of the games. Competition had duly arrived in games playing.

Summary

Middle-class women had begun the century with inferior status and limited access to sport. The incompatibility of lady-like behaviour with sport and games playing was a barrier which was gradually eroded as the century progressed. Medical ideas at first restricted but could not contain rising female access to sport and physical education. The development of female secondary education and physical education as part of the curriculum provided widespread experience of games playing amongst middle-class girls. Towards the end of the nineteenth century there was a growing demand for professionally trained games teachers. To meet this demand pioneer principals set up successful thriving physical training colleges.

1.4; Meeting the Demand: The Establishment of the All-Female, Physical Training Colleges

Madame Bergman-Österberg and her Physical Training College for Girls

Miss Bergman had come to England from Sweden and had begun work as superintendent of physical education for the London School Board. By 1885 she had trained one thousand teachers and introduced Swedish gymnastics into three hundred of the Board’s schools. This was a difficult post as a contemporary Swedish reporter noted, ‘The early work in London . . . represent a number of strenuous years work in not altogether pleasant hygienic conditions with facilities as often below as above the street.’⁷² Miss

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 272.

⁷² University of Greenwich, Dartford Archives, (D), D. Widebeck, ‘Mrs Martina Bergman-Österberg’, Foreningen, Arsskrift, 1915-16.

Bergman's role was to train teachers in Swedish gymnastics and to prepare them for a certificate of proficiency. Her aim was to replace drill sergeants and dancing mistresses who carried out a very basic form of physical exercise in mainly working-class schools. Miss Bergman may have found her isolated role difficult to cope with as at one time she 'was granted leave because of severe illness.'⁷³ No details are given as to the length of leave or the nature of her illness; Webb postulates that a breakdown in health was due to 'overwork.'⁷⁴ Shortly afterwards, 'She quite recklessly and against all financial advice took a house in Hampstead, No. 1 Broadhurst Gardens, and with four students founded a training college for teachers.'⁷⁵ Miss Bergman married in 1886 and became known as Madame Bergman-Österberg.⁷⁶

For a short time she had a foot in both camps working for the London School Board and her small college. The cracks continued to show however, as the employers became concerned that London School Board staff were being employed in her college. Soon after, the complexity of her new syllabus was criticised and altered, and then criticism occurred over the sale of her book to Board teachers. On the 30th of November 1887, Madame Bergman-Österberg handed in her resignation letter and left the London School Board and its working environment for good.

The reason given at the time for her leaving was, 'She now wanted to spread her ideas of woman's normal physical training over a different stratum of English society.'⁷⁷ Other reasons for the switch could have been, that the stress of dealing with the many problems of mass education may have eventually overwhelmed her, or perhaps it was her deteriorating relationship with the Board of Governors. Her own Swedish origins and experiences may have suggested a change in emphasis on the subject of who was to be trained. Perhaps the challenge of starting a new enterprise, and building up a reputation

⁷³ I. M. Webb, 'Women's Physical Education in Great Britain 1800-1965', M. Ed., University of Leicester, 1967, p. 74.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ (D), Kingsfield Book of Remembrance.

⁷⁶ In references dated after her marriage, her correct title of 'Madame Bergman-Österberg' (or abbreviations of this title, students referred to her as 'Madame') will be used. References before this date will be to 'Miss Bergman.' Madame is unusual amongst the college principals in that she was married. Her husband was Dr. Edvin Per Wilhelm Österberg. He was a successful teacher, and later a headmaster in Sweden. He would not settle in Britain, believing that teachers in Sweden were held in higher esteem. He became tutor in Swedish to the crown princess of that country and was a respected educationalist with a number of publications. They were therefore together only in holiday time, or when on conferences together.

⁷⁷ (D), The Woman's Herald, Vol. IV, No. 38, June 20th, 1891.

under her own control, appealed to her. This new venture was from the beginning based on the participation of the daughters of the middle class. Madame had much to say about her switch from training teachers of the masses to training those of the middle classes. In her 1905 paper on physical education she commented on the general concern for the state of the working classes; ‘At the moment the physical condition of our race causes a certain amount of national anxiety and occupies, to a great extent, public attention.’⁷⁸ She then goes into detail; ‘Amongst the great working masses in town and country alike . . . underdevelopment or improper-development . . . As it would seem that we cannot alter all this false condition under which people are forced by circumstances, to exist we must seek for some means of counteracting the resultant evils.’⁷⁹ Her solution? ‘The simplest means would seem to lie in physical education.’⁸⁰ After her experiences working for the London School Board Madame seems to have abandoned directly trying to achieve the above aim, though as the statement was made 20 years later it seems that she had not given up entirely on working-class salvation through physical education. Her solution to their problem was by training a specific kind of educator; ‘The educator must be herself educated and by nature specially endowed for her work.’⁸¹ To be educated meant having matriculated in secondary school exams. As most working-class children left school straight after the elementary stage, Madame favoured girls from the middle classes. Her second aim was, ‘that the work must be properly valued and the dignity of the profession recognised.’⁸² To achieve this standing, Madame needed her students to have recognised status, work, and positions, in the now established High schools and public schools. Progress in establishing a respected profession could not occur amongst the poverty of the board schools. The ‘dignity’ was to come from training limited numbers of chosen students. Students who were well educated and from ‘good homes,’ and with high standards in manners, and appearance. The more affluent classes were able to provide young women of this calibre.

In 1896 the *Educational Review* had commented, ‘A little serious consideration of the matter would convince them that a woman who is to hold the responsible position of health mistress in a school must possess more than average intelligence, an aptitude for the

⁷⁸ (D), A Chat With Madame Bergman-Österberg: Principal of Hampstead Physical Training College, February 24th 1897.

⁷⁹ (D), Madame Österberg, *Physical Education* 1905, 1905, p. 1.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

study of natural sciences - besides the zeal and devotion which are the *sine-qua-non* of all successful teachers.’⁸³ It seems that ‘intelligence’ could best be measured by examinations, from secondary education. These were available only to the more affluent classes. It seems clear that physical training teachers had to be from a chosen middle-class elite. As Madame stated in 1905, ‘For our educators we want the flower of the race.’⁸⁴

Madame was never quite satisfied that she had reached the excellence she sought for her students; ‘We rejoice today in an army, small as yet but growing, of women teachers who, though not yet as good as I hope to make them, are still an improvement on the old order.’⁸⁵ This old order were those before her middle-class army of educators. This was when, ‘The most serious difficulty was the lack of competent teachers, for although the recruit showed goodwill and enthusiasm there is no doubt that these frequently ran ahead of their abilities.’⁸⁶

Madame lamented on the problems of her success; ‘I have got a fatal reputation in this country for being able “to make a woman of any girl.” Now this is what I cannot do. I cannot make bricks without straw, or rather, not the kind of bricks I should like to make for England . . . Give me therefore the best of your womanhood, and - I tell you this for a truth - it will not be too good for my profession.’⁸⁷ This clear statement made four years before her death shows that Madame had concluded that the working class were not trainable to achieve her ideals; the ‘best of your womanhood’ had to come from the respectable classes, the employed middle classes. It does seem that Hargreaves’s statement that, ‘Madame Österberg believed that working-class women were essentially inferior’⁸⁸ is true. Fletcher

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ (D), ‘The Physical Education of Girls’, *Education Review*, Vol. 5, No. 5, March, 1892.

⁸⁴ (D), Madame Österberg, *Physical Education 1905*, p. 5. Madame sometimes made statements which could be called Social Darwinist in nature. She became a well respected figure in Victorian and Edwardian society, despite the disapproval towards girls taking physical education. R. Leslie, ‘Woman’s Progress in Relation to Eugenics’, p 287, offers an explanation of this paradox when criticising education for women; ‘It has not indeed yet been scientifically proved that prolonged study in and special direction actually condones to a better all-round development of a woman’s brain than does the ordinary round of domestic and social duties. The emotional centres may in the former case be practically starved and a lopsided development often occurs. *These remarks do not of course apply to exceptional women, who, like all exceptions must be a law unto herself* [My italics].’ Therefore exceptional women, like Madame Österberg, were exempt from society’s general disapproval, and had much greater freedom to express themselves.

⁸⁵ (D), Mme Bergman-Österberg, *Writings by Madame Bergman-Österberg 1887-1911: Physical Training as a Profession*, pp. 189-190.

⁸⁶ I. M. Webb, ‘Women’s Physical Education in Britain’, p. 24.

⁸⁷ (D), Mme Bergman-Österberg, *Writings by Madame Bergman-Österberg*, p. 196.

⁸⁸ J. Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, p. 78.

states more positively, ‘Madame Österberg like any other in her day who were eager to improve the race, felt bound to pin her hopes on the prosperous classes.’⁸⁹

Though described as ‘the morning star of reformation’,⁹⁰ how much choice in the matter did Madame have? There were many middle-class educational institutions at secondary level in existence in 1885. These institutions were providing a ready made demand for a higher education college like Madame’s, and also provided a ready market for middle-class, physical education teachers. Therefore the parameters of her college venture were already fixed, i.e. serving the needs of the middle class. Hargreaves states, ‘Her success was possible only because there was a manifest demand for specialist teaching and therapeutic work and her physical education paradigm was perfectly suited to the needs of girls’ schools and health clinics’.⁹¹

Madame had first hand experience of education for the masses, with all its associated problems. How much her ill health had to do with her final break with the Board schools is also unknown. Whether over-work affected her disenchantment or despair, in improving the conditions of the masses with available resources is unknown. Once she had opened her college it became an economic venture, and she had to charge high fees. These fees provided her with an acceptable profit, and prohibited the less affluent from applying to train.

In 1891 Madame compared the social classes and society’s ambiguous attitudes. She fully accepted her work was for the higher classes and complained that, ‘Here in England you think what is good for the poor cannot be good for the rich?’⁹² Her college work was therefore disadvantaged by the success of her work with the London School Board. As Madame, herself stated:

My work has received many flattering marks of approval. But the system had become identified with the education of the poor: that was the difficulty! Because if it was a good education for the poor, it could not possibly be the same for the rich! . . . However this argument did not impede me for long. I built this college and gymnasium in 1885, and since then I have been working steadily to improve the physical development of women in the upper and middle classes.⁹³

⁸⁹ S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 23.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁹¹ J. Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, p. 83.

⁹² (D), Mme Bergman-Österberg, *Physical Exercises*, by Mme Bergman-Österberg, 1891.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

Therefore it is clearly the needs of the middle classes which Madame's college was to serve.

Madame moved from Hampstead to Dartford in 1895.⁹⁴ It was not until two years later, and twelve years after Madame began her own college, that her former student Rhoda Anstey began teaching students. She opened the college which was to bear her name in 1899. The year before, Fraulein Dorette Wilke⁹⁵ opened Chelsea College of Physical Education. Irene Marsh opened the Liverpool college which was to bear her name in 1900. The colleges were complete when another Österberg student, Margaret Stansfeld, opened Bedford Physical Training College in 1903.

Summary

The demand for professional physical training college teachers was eventually met by five pioneer principals. They established institutions designed to supply schools with well trained, respectable middle class young ladies. These women would go out into society to train girls in physical education. The colleges teacher output led to the establishment of a new respectable profession for women. This allowed women access to a career and independent financial remuneration. It also widened the horizons of girls and women who gained the opportunity to be trained and participate in various forms of sporting activity.

⁹⁴ The college at Dartford was officially known as The Österberg Physical Training College. It will be referred to mainly as 'Dartford', its common unofficial name, in this dissertation.

⁹⁵ Fraulein Wilke (of German origin) became a naturalised British subject in 1914, and changed her name by deed pole to Wilkie. She then instructed her students to call her 'Domina' by which she is generally remembered.

Chapter 2: The Literature Review, Originality And Methodology Of The Dissertation

2.1; Literature on Physical Training Colleges in Victorian and Edwardian Britain

College Histories

There are a number of physical training college histories.¹ Jonathan May a former lecturer at Dartford College produced the first modern, major history of a physical training college principal. It is no accident that the book is called Madame Bergman-Österberg: Pioneer of Physical Education and Games for Girls and Women,² for it is about the principal, rather than the college as a whole. It is a milestone work, and admirably succeeds in tracing Österberg's career from her childhood in Sweden to her death in 1915, as a well respected member of the higher education world.

Reverend Pomfret's 1985 centenary book, entitled Dartford College, 1895-1985,³ was developed from an MSc thesis. Its aims were to, 'record the history of the first college specialising in the training of women teachers'⁴ and, 'as a general theory of Dartford College so that others might possibly take up more specialised aspects and research them in future years.'⁵ As a pamphlet tracing the memorable events of college life it does provide an introduction. However, Madame Österberg is dead by the end of chapter one. This is a very general history indeed.

Colin Crunden's, A History of Anstey College 1897-1972⁶ was written as part of the seventy fifth anniversary celebration of the college's creation. It is reader friendly, not delving too far into the theoretical background. It succeeds as a highly readable account of the institution's historical story, despite the rather premium typescript. As an illuminating history of Miss Anstey and general college life it does achieve its aim.

Sheila Fletcher, Senior Lecturer in History at Hertfordshire College of Higher Education, was invited by the Bedford Old Students' Association to write a book based on

¹ Additionally, four of the five principals (Österberg, Stansfeld, Anstey and Wilke) have their lives and contributions briefly assessed by those who knew and worked with them in Nine Pioneers in Physical Education: Commemorating the 65th Anniversary of the Physical Education Association (Southend, 1964).

² J. May, Madame Bergman-Österberg: Pioneer of Physical Education and Games for Girls and Women (London, 1969).

³ A. Pomfret, Dartford College 1885-1985 (Dartford, 1985).

⁴ Ibid., p. ii.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College of Physical Education 1897-1972 (Sutton Coldfield, 1974).

their archives. She called it, Women First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education 1880-1980.⁷ The fact that it is a history of Bedford college is well subsumed by its other contextual theme, the general history of the development of physical training from Madame to the present day. Unlike the other college books, it tries to keep to this more general perspective. It examines the female tradition in physical education, and the contributions of the remarkable women who founded the specialist colleges of physical training. The book gives a very good overall history of the development of the profession. It succeeds in putting the pioneers' achievements in proper context and traces the development of the profession well.

Richard Smart, Head of History at De Montfort University Bedford, wrote, On Others' Shoulders: An Illustrated History of the Polhill and Lansdowne Colleges, now De Montfort University Bedford.⁸ The book was written to celebrate the Bedford College of Higher Education's (which incorporates Bedford Physical Training College) amalgamation with De Montfort University. It tells the story of the two original teacher training colleges, Polhill and Bedford. Smart acknowledges his debt to Fletcher for allowing him to use her material in the chapters on Bedford. The work is another celebration of great women and the development of educational achievements.

The other colleges are less well publicised. In the 1930s old student and former member of staff, M. H. Royle wrote, Liverpool Physical Training College: The Story of the Founder, Irene Mabel Marsh. The book gives Royle's view of the college and principal as student and staff member. It is factual and contains information given by other old students and staff.⁹ Chelsea has its history recorded in Webb's 1977 doctoral dissertation, The History of Chelsea College of Physical Education: With Special Reference to Curriculum Development.¹⁰ Webb's study includes a traditional chronological, historical, investigation combined with a separate study of curriculum development at Chelsea.

⁷ S. Fletcher, Women First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education 1880-1980, 1984.

⁸ R. Smart, On Others' Shoulders: An Illustrated History of the Polhill and Lansdowne Colleges, now De Montfort University Bedford (Bedford, 1994).

⁹ M. H. Royle, Liverpool Physical Training College: The Story of the Founder, Irene Mabel Marsh (London, undated).

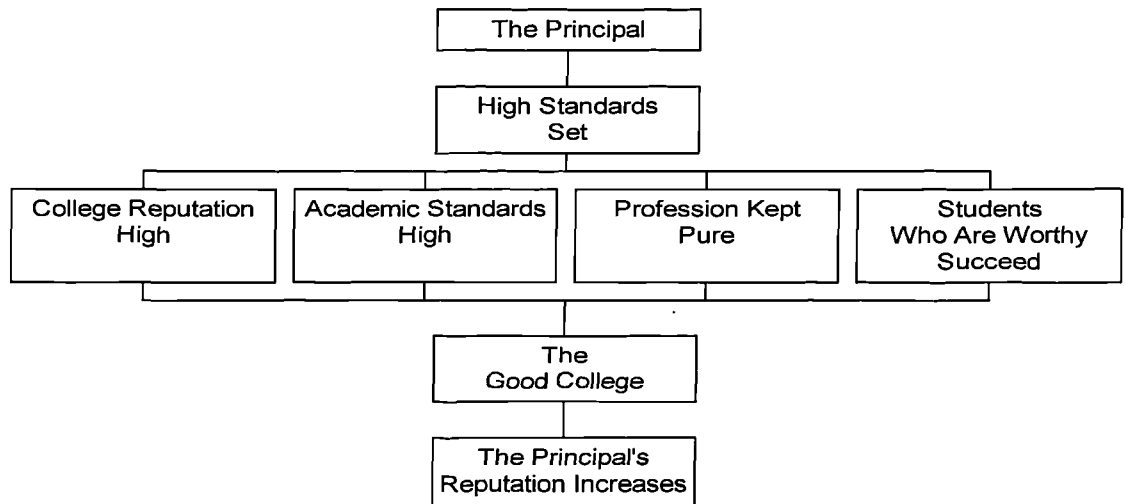
¹⁰ I. Webb, 'The History of Chelsea College of Physical Education: With Special Reference to Curriculum Development, 1898-1973', PhD, University of Leicester, 1977.

There are a number of topics and subjects which are common to all the publications, and are given similar amounts of importance in each work. The following is a discussion of the main themes which run through these books.

Principal-Centred Analysis

All the books have the major theme that the principal is fundamentally the most important person within the college. All the publications provide a biography of their particular 'great woman.' Those around them, the students and staff, are seen as subservient and passive. These two groups are often dealt with generally and not as individuals. The diagram (2a) below shows how this type of principal-dominated analysis works. The principal is seen as the originator of all things, in this case the setter of high standards within the college. This action results in certain phenomena taking place. The college reputation is kept high as standards ensure a quality student product. The teaching profession is kept pure as any member's professionalism is guaranteed, as all who succeed have been deemed worthy by the principal. These phenomena form part of a 'can do no wrong' result. In this type of analysis good things are nearly always produced, which add to the image of the 'good college' and therefore the reputation of the principal increases. This is because the principal is fundamentally seen as 'being' the college. The principal is always the beneficiary of the resulting process. Students are seen as part of this process. They respond to the principal's actions. They are not seen as initiators themselves, or individuals who can exist outside these principal-centred processes.

Diagram 2a: An Example of Principal-Centred Analysis



The books therefore concentrate on the leaders of the colleges who provide the force which changes the lives and characters of the students. The principal also focuses and directs the skills of her staff. The staff and students are passive and need this force to achieve, both as individuals and as a community.

The importance of principal-centred analysis is reinforced by the next theme, which is the celebration of the principal's character. This in turn is important for studying the college as, 'The particular identity which each [college] was to take became inextricably tied to the ideals and character of their founder or principal.'¹¹ And, 'In order to understand the college as an institution it is necessary to understand the character of the principal and the ideals by which she lived.'¹²

'Homage to the Chief'

Another major theme which is indulged by principal-centred analysis is that of showing homage to the chief or principal. The principals of Victorian and Edwardian Britain were held in awe when they were alive. Loyalty to the principal has bound together old students of past and long past. Though the principals are dead, their office and the values which it represents are seen to continue through the old student associations. These associations provide the main readership for the books. It is no surprise then, that those

¹¹ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College, p. 31.

who write the books reflect the important role model of the principal and the values held so highly by the readership.

The training college histories therefore have in common that they praise at every opportunity the principal's character and achievements. This often involves the use of personal adjectives and contemporary quotes; Crunden for instance quickly builds up Miss Anstey's character and achievements over a few pages. He describes her:

'character and total conviction'.¹³

'her deep seated belief in humanity'.¹⁴

'Her health and eager kindness encouraged a spirit of harmony around her'.¹⁵

'She brought creative ideals and a Mother-in-Israel quality'.¹⁶

'Very individual personal philosophy'.¹⁷

'She had confidence in her gift, and spoke occasionally of "virtue having gone out of her."' ¹⁸

'Miss Anstey's extraordinary character'.¹⁹

Webb also quickly develops the personality of Fraulein Wilke at Chelsea, in a chapter devoted to her:

'She was at home in her flat to any old student who cared to visit. She was there to chat, to discuss, advise, sympathise, scold or console. Dorette Wilke was the soul of generosity professionally.'²⁰

'Dorette's desire to increase her knowledge and her enquiring and penetrating mind'.²¹

'In 1900 an interviewer wrote, "Fraulein hardly realises, no doubt, what an important factor in the success of her new college her own cheering personality will be. . . yet the woman at the head of it, who unlike most enthusiasts, has retained her sense of humour and is

¹² Ibid., p. 32.

¹³ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 8

²⁰ I. Webb, 'The History of Chelsea College', pp. 45-46.

²¹ Ibid., p. 47.

feminine to the tips of her firm strong fingers, will really stand as the final argument, to our mind in its favour.”²²

‘selfless service to the community’.²³

‘Dorette has “done more to help and encourage their efforts than anyone in the profession.”²⁴

‘Miss Wilke was a brilliant leader of gymnastics. Her vitality and genius for teaching would have made anyone a gymnast’.²⁵

Fletcher describes characteristics of Miss Stansfeld:

‘almost idolised their principal’.²⁶

‘She was also a mother-figure’.²⁷

‘Her’s was the reserved, if not daunting manner’.²⁸

‘just but beneficent ruler, commanding obedience to impersonal laws’.²⁹

‘exceptional moral stature.’³⁰

‘She had a wonderful inward light’.³¹

‘She wasn’t religious, but to me, she was the most religious person that I’ve ever met.’³²

‘She was a *good* woman.’³³

‘The strength and vitality in her face made everything else quite secondary.’³⁴

Fletcher neatly sums up the importance of Stansfeld, ‘It would be difficult to overstate the college’s dependence on her over forty years.’³⁵

Royle in her chapter on Miss Marsh’s youth observes:

‘a complete lack of self-consciousness.’³⁶

²² Ibid., p. 51.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 52.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 52-53.

²⁶ S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 56.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 57.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 58.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., p. 59.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 56.

‘that frank and forthright attitude to life which was so unusual in girls of her day.’³⁷

‘Irene was soon the star of the class’.³⁸

‘her infectious enthusiasm’.³⁹

‘outstanding at athletics and swimming’.⁴⁰

We are quickly introduced to the moral fibre of Madame, in May’s Preface:

Many will remember her bright little figure, her sparkling eyes, and her face beaming with sunshine and joy and yet full of indomitable will power and command. No-one could shirk when under that searching gaze. Even the weakest would make valiant efforts to travel the length of the bar or down the rib stalls and accomplish what had seemed impossible before. It seemed that life and strength radiated from her the moment she set foot in the room.⁴¹

The books quickly develop the principals’ characters to leave us in no doubt that we are dealing with uniquely gifted women both in person and as professionals. The authors give ‘homage to the chiefs’ and show how they created their own unique institutions, largely by their own efforts. Their books are written devotions to these women and reveal how they shaped and moulded the lives of their students for the better. Not only is the work principal-centred but the life force of the community is seen as coming from the principal. The college leader is unique and the only really important person in the college. Crunden’s book is an illuminating history of Miss Anstey and general college life, ‘It also serves as an exemplar for those characteristics [Miss Anstey’s] of professional integrity, high standards and motivation which must be preserved within education in a period of rapidly changing institutional structure.’⁴² The books are united in their admiration and respect for the college principal and the fundamental role these people played within the institutions they developed.

³⁶ M. H. Royle, Liverpool Physical Training College, p. 18.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ J. May, Madame Bergman-Österberg, p. ix.

The Student Experience

The students remain in the shadows cast by their illustrious leaders but they contribute to the story of the college and the principal in the form of reminiscences. Quotes from the students are given in varying extents in each history. The tone of these former students is usually enthusiastic. The people who are asked to contribute are hardly the ones who left college as failures or in a huff. They have recognisable characteristics; they are successful, have retained contact with the college through the ages, and are most willing to contribute in hailing the achievements of their gone but still glorious chiefs. Quotes are used to provide substance to their leaders' attitudes and success. They provide a background homage to the unique women who led them.

Character Building

Student experience is rarely quoted as negative. Even when it is, it usually takes the form of showing how discipline, or even cruelty, was really a form of character building and stood the students in good stead in future life. May feeds us snippets of information about the students in his book; 'Later M. B. O. would rejoice when a student reaped benefit from the ability to stand up for herself inculcated during her college course.'⁴³ Madame's work is seen as a success because she is producing students with character, her character. This is a positive result of a negative action. May continues, 'Here lies the reason for the rather rigorous regulations of the times.'⁴⁴ Therefore part of Madame's work is to build up her students' characters and to do this she may need to be 'cruel to be kind'. However this negative environment produced a positive outcome, 'Despite all this and the heavy demand upon them, the students generally agreed that no two happier years could be spent than at their Hampstead college.'⁴⁵

Fletcher also studied the difficult life the students might face, 'Students grew accustomed to sustained fatigue. . . What most, though, found hardest to endure without flinching was the severe, if not ruthless criticism, to which they were subject incessantly. . . Some did not wait to see if it would [change] and some as we know, were turned out by

⁴² C. Crunden, *A History of Anstey College*, p. 62.

⁴³ J. May, *Madame Bergman-Österberg*, p. 93.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Miss Stansfeld.⁴⁶ Therefore the theme is that college could be harsh,⁴⁷ but this was part of the character building experience and in the end it did the students good. The building up of character was an important function of the college experience. Crunden declares, 'An institution like Anstey does not simply transmit values, it selects and reinforces them, and great importance was always attached to the development of personal qualities which could be identified with character.'⁴⁸

High Standards

The principals were women of extremely high standards and expected their students to strive for similar distinction. The books devote time to describing how these standards were achieved. May states, 'With a substantial increase in applicants Madame was able to be very selective and maintain high standards . . . within a month or a term she was able to decide if a student was not suitable. She left at the earliest opportunity.'⁴⁹ The books stress the images of discipline, high achievement, decisiveness, success, and quality, which were imposed on the students by the demanding principals. The students benefited from the principals who initiated actions which set off a chain of phenomena which have beneficial effects for the students who stayed the course. The students are seen as reacting positively to the high standards set and are inspired to achieve. They become lesser copies of their chiefs.

The College Purpose

The most obvious part of the college purpose was to produce professionally trained women; Crunden suggests, 'The aims of the college are . . . to send out women, trained in

⁴⁶ S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 61.

⁴⁷ The colleges principals, as in many things, diverged on the extent of their commitment to any purpose or ideal. At Anstey, Crunden records, 'College life in general would seem to have an air of easy formality about it.' Though later he does state, 'The training given was uncompromising.' And on Miss Anstey's character, 'Miss Anstey was a humanist, and from the records available to us we find she was possessed of a much more compassionate nature than Madame Österberg who presented a rather harsh and unyielding front to the world.' This is a rather unusual passage as it is extremely rare for any of the college books to provide a comparison between two or more principals from differing colleges.

⁴⁸ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College, p. 33.

⁴⁹ J. May, Madame Bergman-Österberg, p. 43.

mind and character as well as in body, to spread a knowledge of physiology and the laws of health; to work in schools for the advancement of physical education.’⁵⁰

But the college did more than teach skills. Crunden believes that, ‘Suitably trained and bolstered up with a formidable professional training, Anstey took their *social ethic* [my italics] into the schools.’⁵¹ The college values were not to be restricted solely to teaching physical education, they included a spiritual dimension as well, ‘The college training was designed to make students well aware of the service they had to perform to their own sex and to society.’⁵² College values were to be permeated beyond the classroom into society. This would increase the importance of college work which was limited only by the dimensions of society itself. Fraulein Wilke neatly sums up the qualities she wanted to give her students ‘a body as hard as steel . . . A mind as clear as crystal . . . A heart as warm as sunshine.’⁵³

Familism

The college community is often described as a family. The principal is the head of the family, the staff are her relatives, and the students are the children. At Bedford, ‘To students in those days the college staff “seemed like younger relations of hers” and some she had indeed called to Lansdowne Road much as a matriarch might summon her children to the family hearth as need arose.’⁵⁴ This powerful ethos of family life is seen as surviving long after the period under study despite the various expansions of these colleges and world wars. Fletcher offers a comparison of principal motherhood; ‘She was also a mother-figure - not at all in the style of Miss Anstey, who brought in children off the street to dance and sing in her “pixie class” and even adopted some of her own, but in the way of tending the student family.’⁵⁵ Webb quotes that Fraulein Wilke in the year before her death, ‘has been constantly in the mind of her children.’⁵⁶ As time went by the student family grew larger and stronger as the old student associations organised and linked themselves to their college and principal.

⁵⁰ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College, p. 14.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁵³ I. Webb, ‘The History of Chelsea’, p. 68.

⁵⁴ S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 69.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁵⁶ I. Webb, ‘The History of Chelsea’, p. 112.

Conclusion

Overall the student experience is seen as passive and controlled by the powerful and dominating individuals in charge. These individuals knew what was best for the students. By insisting on high standards they provided a character building environment. The college produced a professional teacher output which went on to do service for girls in physical education. They were imbued with the values of their commanding principals. Though themes do exist and generalisations are possible, Crunden reminds us, 'As with our great public schools of the nineteenth century, they [the physical training colleges] were by no means carbon images of one another; even if expressing similar virtues.'⁵⁷ This theme of 'difference' will be examined in detail by this dissertation.

2.2; Other Research Work Relevant to the Study of Female Culture in Physical Training Colleges

Other research of interest to this dissertation can be split into work emphasising a principal-centred viewpoint or a student-centred viewpoint.

Principal-Centred Studies⁵⁸

McCrone's gender-based book, Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women,⁵⁹ contains a chapter (pp. 104-122) devoted to, 'The Rise of the Physical Training Mistress'. It is a principal-centred approach tracing the establishment of the physical training profession through the pioneer work of Madame Österberg and her college. The main approach is to describe Madame's unique character, followed by her aims and ideas. The other colleges and their respective principals characteristics are briefly and separately mentioned. McCrone sees the college institution as a device for female emancipation. She

⁵⁷ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College, p. 6.

⁵⁸ For other Principal-centred works on other forms of educational institutions, see, R. McWilliams-Tullberg, A Men's University Though of a Mixed Type: Women at Cambridge (Cambridge, 1975). J. B. Thomas, 'University College Bristol: Pioneering Teacher training for Women', History of Education, pp. 55-70, 1988. and J. B. Thomas, 'Birmingham University and Teacher Day Training College To Department of Education', History of Education, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1992, pp. 307-321. C. Heward, 'Men and Women and the Rise of Professional Society: The Intriguing History of Teacher Educators', History of Education, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1993, pp. 11-32. R. McWilliams-Tullberg, 'Women and Degrees at Cambridge University 1862-1897', In M. Vicinus, A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women 1850-1920 (London, 1985), pp. 117-146.

links sport and exercise at these institutions with the general campaign for female higher education, and women's rights. The relevant work lacks any real theory to back up her explanations, but the chapter serves as a useful introduction to the dynamic characters of the principals.

Hargreaves's,⁶⁰ Sporting Females (pages 69-87) gives a general introduction to the development of Madame Österberg's work and the establishment of her physical training college for middle-class girls. The 'Legend' of Madame is introduced through a description of her character and professional aims. A section considers her feminist attitudes and their limitations. The aims of the physical training college are examined, as is the resulting growth of a new profession for women. The section provides a useful introduction to Madame and her impact on Victorian and Edwardian theory and practice of physical education.

Hargreaves's article, "Playing Like Gentlemen While Behaving Like Ladies",⁶¹ partly explores the concept of familism and middle-class family life. It includes consideration of the idea that the physical training colleges copied the structure and ideology of the ideal Victorian home. A brief examination of the hierarchical structure of this familistic set up is given. The principal took on the role of both father and mother. Staff were older siblings. Students took on family authority relations with each other. In particular, senior students became 'college mothers' and juniors became 'college daughters'. The integral role of this form of familism within college living and thinking is stressed. This premise of the role of familism will be considered and taken forward in great detail during this dissertation.

⁵⁹ K. E. McCrone, Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women 1870-1914 (London, 1988).

⁶⁰ J. Hargreaves, Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports (London, 1994).

⁶¹ J. A. Hargreaves, 'Playing like Gentlemen While Behaving Like Ladies' Contradictory Features of the Formative Years of Women's Sport', British Journal of Sports History, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1985, pp. 40-52.

Student-Centred Studies⁶²

Edwards has produced four articles on staff and student culture.⁶³ Her subject institutions are mainly teacher training colleges, but the ideas and concepts she uses are of relevance to physical training colleges. Her work will be referred to and compared with, throughout this dissertation. Her first student-centred article, 'Educational Institutions or Extended Families',⁶⁴ deals with student experience, and familism, within female teacher training colleges. It also looks at the principal's role. In particular, it develops the problems of constructing this new role of woman principal, with its public authoritative side and opposing, private feminine side. Many interesting ideas are generated: mother-daughter relationships, differing social backgrounds, traditions, ritual, old students' loyalties, socialisation, and social control. It provides a good example of how gender-analysis can give new insights into what was going on in college and most importantly why.

Edwards's next article, 'The Culture of Fertility in Women's Teacher Training Colleges',⁶⁵ has the key theme that the experience of being a student in a community, which was both educational and residential, enriched their personal development, and was a far better option than staying at home. Edwards's perspective is feminist throughout. As she states, 'The training college culture with its combination of individual enrichment and collective stagnation is important to our understanding of the history of feminism during this period'.⁶⁶

⁶² For other student-centred works on other forms of educational institutions, see, J. S. Gibert, 'Women Students and Student Life at England's Civic Universities Before the First World War', History of Education, Vol. 23, No. 4, 1994, pp. 405-422. J. S. Gibert, 'Women at the English Civic Universities: 1880-1920,' PhD, University of North Carolina, 1988. S. Hamilton, 'Women and the Scottish Universities Circa 1869-1939: A Social History', PhD, University of Edinburgh, 1987. C. Dyhouse, No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870-1939 (London, 1995).

⁶³ Two of Edwards's works have led her away from student experience to a more principal-centred analysis, though, unlike many others, there is no 'homage to the chief' here. Her analysis of gender and power problems facing these 'new role women', and the effect this had on their relationships in a pre-lesbian culture, is incisive and objective. The articles are, E. Edwards, 'Alice Havergal Skillicorn, Principal of Homerton College, 1935-1960', Women's History Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1992, pp. 109-129. And, E. Edwards, 'Homoerotic Friendship and College Principals, 1880-1960', Women's History Review, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1995.

⁶⁴ E. Edwards, 'Educational Institutions or Extended Families? The Reconstruction of Gender in Women's Colleges in the Late-Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', Gender and Education, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1990, pp. 17-35.

⁶⁵ E. Edwards, 'The Culture of Femininity in Women's Teacher Training Colleges 1900-1950', History of Education, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1993, p. 277-288.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 288.

The above works provide material for development and comparison throughout this dissertation.

2.3; The Contribution of this Dissertation

The biographies mentioned earlier, show that much previous research has been principal-centred and descriptive. My work will take a new perspective looking at the student experience. Within the area of women's studies ideas based on the repetition of pervasive views of patriarchy, dominate much historical work on relationships between women and men. By looking at the relations between the physical training college community of women, I shall cover different ground, generating new concepts and ideas. This work will not neglect, or be in isolation from areas continuous, or beyond, the boundaries of this subject. In particular it will involve analysing a number of key themes.

Feminism

My unique study considers the experiences of females under the power of other 'super females'. This occurs within the isolation of the physical training college world. It will provide a comparison with the many studies dealing with male patriarchal power over women. How females react and cope with females of a higher rank, in an exclusive environment, will be revealed. The work will add to and contrast with, the continuing scholarly interest in the growth and development of institutions of higher education at the turn of the century. This thesis is concept driven and will test, and analyse the appropriateness of current feminist ideas such as familism, patriarchal influence and most important of all the effects of empowerment and disempowerment on the students. This dissertation will therefore contribute to sociological, historical, and feminist understanding.

Empowerment

The primary purpose of the physical training college institution⁶⁷ was to produce young, highly trained professional women able to take up careers in physical training. Though specifically for this purpose as far as the students were concerned, the institution

⁶⁷ The physical college institution had other functions; it provided an income for its owner the principal, it provided status and fulfilment to its owner and staff, and it was an investment in property.

was also part of a general trend in opening up society's opportunities for women. The key concept involved in this process was empowerment. Therefore a fundamental aim of my work is to explore whether the macro-college experience was an empowering or disempowering one, and on a micro-level, which aspects of college life were empowering or disempowering.

The Importance of Power

The use of power is very important. 'Power over' is a much studied area where power is used predominantly by men over other men and by men over women. This dissertation considers the unresearched question of whether a similar effect occurred between women over other women in the physical training colleges. If 'power over' is predominant in the colleges then this will have important effects on the students. Where men have had power over women this has been seen as a form of 'internalised oppression'; will this effect be seen in Victorian and Edwardian Physical Training colleges? 'Power over' is generally frowned upon, as it can be described as the availability of one person or group to get another person or group to do something against their will.⁶⁸ Physical training college principals are seen as powerful figures who in the extant literature always get their own way. An analysis of this type of power needs to be compared with more generative forms of power. 'Power over' increases the principal's power at the expense of those who have to obey. 'Power to do' stimulates activity in others, and actually increases the ability of students to resist and challenge 'power over', both at and after college. This type of power encourages those who were outside the decision making process to come into it. Students would therefore gain control over their lives at college in at least some areas. Post-college it would bring them economic power, access to markets and incomes and allow participation in economic decision making. On a group level 'power to do' allows the community to achieve what it is capable of, in this case achieving qualifications and a career. This 'power to do' does not necessarily diminish the power of others. An analysis of the sort of power being used and whether it was successful is needed to see how the students' perceptions were being affected.

The Importance of Empowerment

Empowerment therefore operates on the student in two ways. Self or individual empowerment develops a sense of self and individual confidence and capacity. Collective empowerment is where individuals work together to achieve a more extensive impact than each could have had alone. This can occur in colleges with individual students becoming empowered and affecting the student body as a whole. It can be examined through examples of student co-operation and student competition. Concentration on the students as individuals is only half the key to a study of empowerment. How they identified and met their needs as communities, as part of an organisation and as an institution and how they saw themselves in relation to society is just as important. For any group experience to be cohesive and supporting it would need to have some members to be empowered. Physical training college students must have had a sense of their own abilities and worth as they had overcome severe obstacles to enter college. But was this spark of proto-empowerment encouraged or discouraged at college?

'Power over' can provide some degree of development for a student when that power is benign. For self-empowerment the student needs to leave college with an insight into how to take action. To study this process involves finding out whether students understood their situation in college and society. Did they already have a critical consciousness, or did this develop at college, or later, or at all? Did college provide a social environment where they were capable of action? In this paradigm the principal would take on the role of a helper and facilitator, rather than a wise, dictatorial, leader. To search for forms of empowerment, interrelationships between staff and students, principal and students, and seniors and juniors must be examined.

A Measurement of Empowerment

When considering whether students were empowered or not it would help if some qualitative measurement of empowerment were available even as a guide. Based on the

⁶⁸ For a more detailed discussion see: J. Rowlands, 'Empowerment Examined', Development in Practice, Vol. 5, No. 2, May, 1995, pp. 101-102.

work of Conger,⁶⁹ the following factors offer a guide to help determine whether or not students were empowered:

<u>Disempowering Factors (-ve)</u>	<u>Empowering Factors (+ve)</u>
Poor communications	Good communications
Limited network forming systems	Good network forming systems
Strict dress code	Relaxed dress code
Competition between students	Co-operation between students
Lack of role clarity	Clarity of role
Unrealistic goals	Realistic goals
Lack of appropriate resources	Appropriate resources available
Highly established work routines	Flexible work routines
Too many rules and guidelines	Limited rules and guidelines
Limited contact with staff	Easy contact with staff
No rewards	Obtainable rewards
No emotional support available	Emotional support available
Disrespect shown to others	Respect shown to others
Gender norms upheld	Divergence from gender norms
Students lack confidence	Students confident
Students unmotivated	Students motivated

These factors can have high, medium or low effects on the student community.

Where negative environmental factors outweigh positive factors, the environment will tend to be a disempowering one and vice-versa.⁷⁰ Diagram 2b⁷¹ shows how a measure of empowerment can be fashioned when factors affecting the community and the type of power used in the community are considered together. When 'power to' is combined with positive environmental factors then empowerment is seen to be high. When 'power over' is combined with negative environmental factors then disempowerment of the students occurs. There are of course a whole range of combinations which can give low, medium or

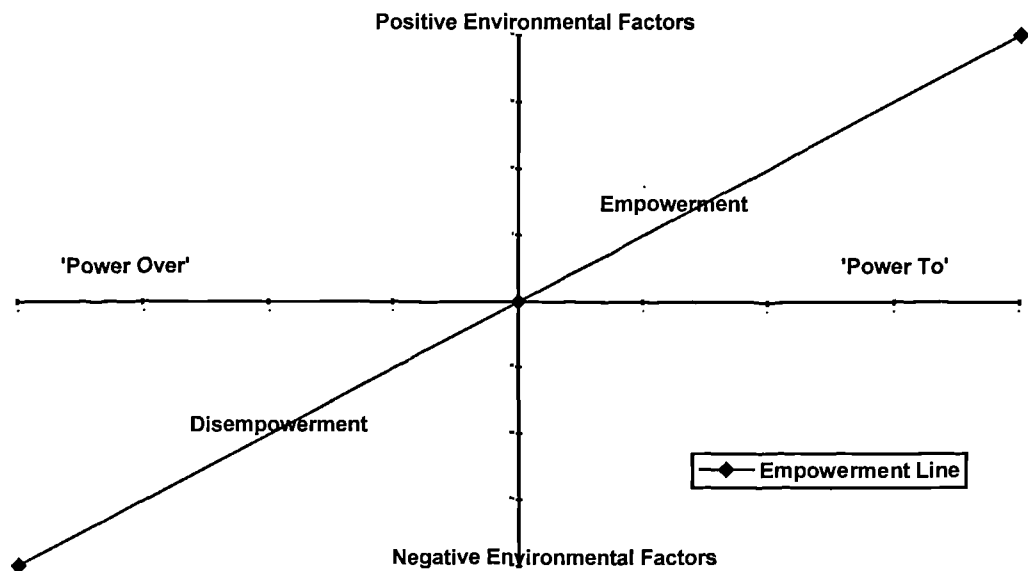
⁶⁹ The following idea is adapted from: J. A. Conger, 'Leadership: The Art of Empowering Others', Academy of Management Executives, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1989, pp. 17-24.

⁷⁰ See Appendix 10 for an analysis of such factors in the physical training colleges.

⁷¹ Derived from A. Barr, 'Empowering Communities - Beyond Fashionable Rhetoric? Some Reflections on Scottish Experience', Community Development Journal, April, 1995, p. 123.

high amounts of empowerment or disempowerment within the community. By examining these environmental factors and the kinds of power used within the community I hope to gain an insight into whether the community was an empowered one and, if so, to what degree.

Diagram 2b: A Qualitative Measurement of Empowerment



These factors show extremes of disempowerment and empowerment. There are of course many college examples of gradations in-between. Nevertheless an idea of which factors were empowering and which were not should be ascertainable.⁷²

The Dangers of Disempowerment and Over-Empowerment

Disempowering factors are conducive to creating powerlessness, encouraging dependency and submission. This type of environment is conducive to principal-centred analysis, where the principal and staff are initiators, and students part of the process. Student behaviour is controlled by rules over which they have no say and little free will. The result of this environment is that students believe that they have little control, their lives and careers are at the mercy of the whims of the principal. Failure to achieve the

required standard results in the student attributing their powerlessness to internal factors such as incompetence rather than the principal's temperament. Where empowering factors hold sway students will be effective and independent people. This type of environment is best suited to a student-centred analysis. Students are not passive parts of the process but have free will and can initiate. The students have control over their lives and future careers, the principal is more of a guide and facilitator in this environment. Which actual factors hold sway can be ascertained from student experience, giving an idea of whether college life was overall empowering or disempowering and which factors of college life were empowering or disempowering.

Overall the success of an institution needs to be defined by the people of concern, in this case the students; only they really know if the college served their needs, whether it empowered them and whether this empowerment proved strong and useful enough in future years. What equated to empowerment in Victorian and Edwardian students must be looked at closely. Empowerment for them is vastly different from empowerment for a modern day student or an Edwardian coal miner.

Sometimes empowerment can be bad for the individual if it develops too far into arrogance and overconfidence. Was this over-empowerment evident in college and post-college student behaviour? This must be compared with true empowerment. Did the old students, if empowered, continue this process by returning power, knowledge and skills to those they went on to teach? Teachers cannot empower unless they themselves are empowered.

Studying Changes in Empowerment

To provide a comparison and measure of changes in student empowerment, a study of the students' pre-college experience and background is undertaken. This will allow the state of mind and experiences of the new student to be compared with that of the qualified old student. The college process did not end on the day the student left college. Its values and any empowering or disempowering effects continued to influence the old student's future career and thoughts. College's empowering effects were tested by post-college experience and influenced employment and marriage rates. These factors are examined in

⁷² See Appendix 10 for a further development of this concept with specific regard to physical training

part three of the dissertation. The use of the concept of empowerment allows me to re-examine and interrogate texts and experiences in a new way. With empowerment it is important to remember that ultimately the institution can only create the conditions for people to become empowered. It is up to the people, the students, to empower themselves; the institution or staff cannot ultimately do this for them. This is why a student-centred analysis is so important for work on student empowerment. Each chapter, though subject based, will address different aspects of the empowering/disempowering process.

Student-Centred Analysis

Previous histories have concentrated on the biographies of ‘great women’. These women have been perceived as different from the main body of women, and are often considered better or superior than the rest. This approach has tended to marginalise ‘the rest’ who do not fit into this ‘super-woman’ framework. This is of little help when analysing and understanding the lives and experiences of the vast majority of women. These ordinary women make up over 99% of women’s history and it is their hidden lives which provide the necessary information to understand the common history of women. In this study I am taking the even more unusual step of basing it on the perspective of the students, those who have been kept within the great shadows cast by their illustrious leaders. Previous work has made them appear as appendages, adding with their comments to the reputation of their teachers. In this work they will play centre-stage. The students exist as people in their own right, who together formed the college culture that was so unique: an all-female culture in Victorian and Edwardian Britain.

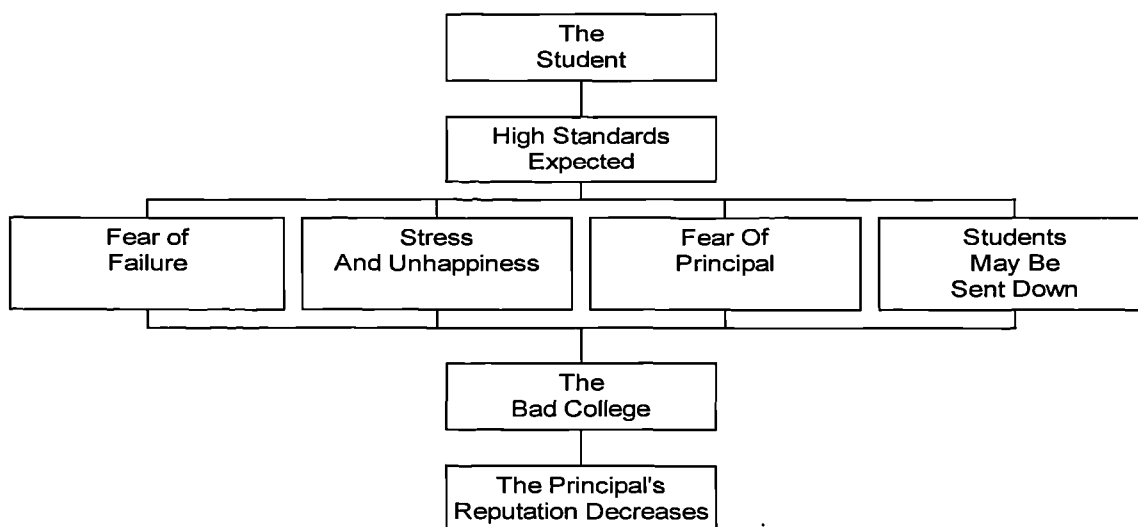
I intend to use student-centred analysis so that the students can be studied as both initiators and beneficiaries of their own actions. This involves a certain bias in that I am considering the views and experiences of one group within the college society. However, this group comprises the overwhelming majority of that community and yet has been effectively ignored by most researchers. Principals are seen as powerful people who initiate things and control people. Those who are controlled are seen as smaller images of the principal, and are therefore not very interesting, because they are imitations of the real thing. This type of research is flawed, because, as I will show, the students had varying

colleges.

amounts of power and freedom of action. Many had their own views on college experience, and to varying extents into the daily processes of college life. Their contribution to college life and community has not been heard until now. My analysis shows them enduring, resisting, contributing, and changing the social conditions of college life. Therefore a student-centred analysis evens up previous bias towards higher education principals. This bias has been based on false premises of the importance of power, its distribution, and effects.

An alternative reaction by students to the example of principal-centred analysis in diagram 2a, is now offered. High standards set by the principal can now be seen from the students' viewpoint. In attempting to meet high standards which most students might not be able to achieve, the individual experiences negative phenomena: fear, stress, unhappiness, and possible total failure, and removal from college. This process gives us an image of the 'bad college' kept hidden in principal-centred research. Here the principal is not seen in such a positive light.

Diagram 2c: An Example of Student-Centred Analysis



Student-centred research does not have to be pessimistic in nature, indeed some students who achieved the high standards would benefit from self-esteem and confidence. This could be supported by team captaincies, honours, and a resulting adoration of their

leader. Student-centred analysis shows that student experience was mixed. This leads onto the next important theme.

The Heterogeneous Student: The Student as an Individual

Students themselves had differing experiences; some had better times than others, some felt more empowered than others. Principal-centred analysis sees students as homogenous. All students experience actions and processes in the same way. All are equal in all things. Student-centred analysis allows individuality amongst students to be accounted for. This dissertation will examine, for the first time, what student experience really was like at physical training colleges. Relationships between the various hierarchical groups principal, staff, seniors, and juniors, are examined. The effects of success, social class, character, favouritism, friendships, etc., affected each student individually. These variables shaped each student's capacity to influence their own lives, within the rules and regulations of college society. Proving the student body is of a heterogeneous nature is a key aim of this study.

The Student as Part of the Group

By looking at such a community it gives scope to explore the interaction between particular women, and the range of possibilities and experiences available to them. It is this broader picture which provides information on how women viewed their lives, and how they experienced group social situations. This inevitably leads to the importance of detailed reconstructions in the analysis of this world of women. Such an investigation will attempt to show what was exceptional (and what was typical) about their individual and collective experience. The result will place these women in the wider social and cultural context. This process will spotlight and make visible the group and the individual in history. Unlike other works this is not a study of a single college or a college-by-college analysis. I adopt an integrated approach. Experiences from the five physical training institutions are combined and contrasted.

The Students: Who? Where? Why?

The dissertation investigates who were the students? Where did they come from? And why did they come to college? This part of the study looks at the characteristics of the students, which led to their applying and being accepted to physical training colleges. The social class of the students is examined as is educational background. The importance of these factors are examined in more detail than has been usual in other works on higher education.

Social and psychological reasons for students wanting to come to college are considered. Available opportunities, sporting background, parental attitudes, school influences, and most important of all, the character of the students themselves, are evaluated. The aim is to throw light on the type of person, and experiences needed, to undertake the difficult, and at that time highly unusual experience of learning to be a physical training teacher.

Each college had its own culture and characteristics. How students chose which college to apply for is considered. A unique aspect of my research is the light shed on candidate type, by recollections of the college interview. Attitudes and perspectives of both interviewer and interviewee come to light. The importance of social class, ability to pay fees, schooling, qualifications, intelligence, and physique, appear in the many accounts recollecting this procedure.

Community Experience

Residence was a key part of the college cultural experience. Meals took on key cultural roles in socialisation and control. Bedrooms gave space for students to express their individuality, in arrangement of personal possessions. Room mates could become life-long friends. In these rooms a sub-culture based on female equality, existed within the general hierarchical structure of the college. The concept of familism is examined in detail within this supposedly typical environment.

Post-College Experience

The college experience affected the students throughout their lives. The section dealing with post-college experience analyses student loyalty. This was made most visible through the old students' association, but also through unofficial friendships and social

networks, which existed for the rest of some student's lives. Analysis of careers provide statistical evidence of the effects college had on career aspirations and opportunity. This is combined with an analysis of whether aspirations gained at college affected marriage rates. Therefore conclusions can be made about what college culture really did for the students in the long run. This study will give comparison and therefore greater depth to other seminal works such as Hamilton (1987), Edwards (1990 and 1993) and Gibert (1994).⁷³

Summary

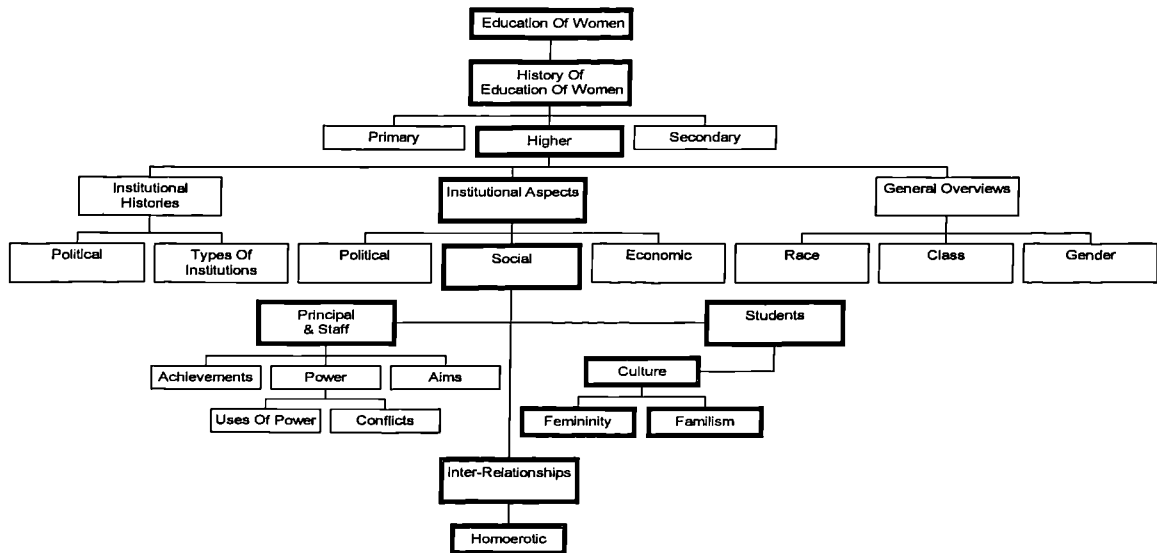
The aim of this history is to provide new meanings to experiences largely forgotten. It delves deeply into student experience, until now given passing mention in homages about exceptional principals. It will provide new understanding of a hitherto generalised, yet heterogeneous, group of women. These women will now be seen as players in their own right. I will question the concepts and thoughts of conventional history which have generalised their individual experiences. To facilitate this I will encourage wherever possible this group of women to speak for themselves. They will tell their own story, with their own recollections, warts and all.

My cultural study divides the student experience into three important parts, pre-present, and post-college experiences. Each part or theme is composed of chapters analysing key areas of student culture. Each part is not separate from the whole. Common questions, and conceptual frameworks connect each chapter to the hypotheses of the dissertation as a whole.

Diagram 2d gives a summary of the published research subjects in the area of history of women and education. It shows subjects such as primary and secondary education, political, and economic aspects etc., which are not of direct relevance to my work. They are included to show the position of my research within existing work on the history of women and education. The path through the literature which has led me to my own topic of the 'Female Culture in Physical Training Colleges 1885-1918', is shown by the darker outlines of relevant subject boxes on the diagram.

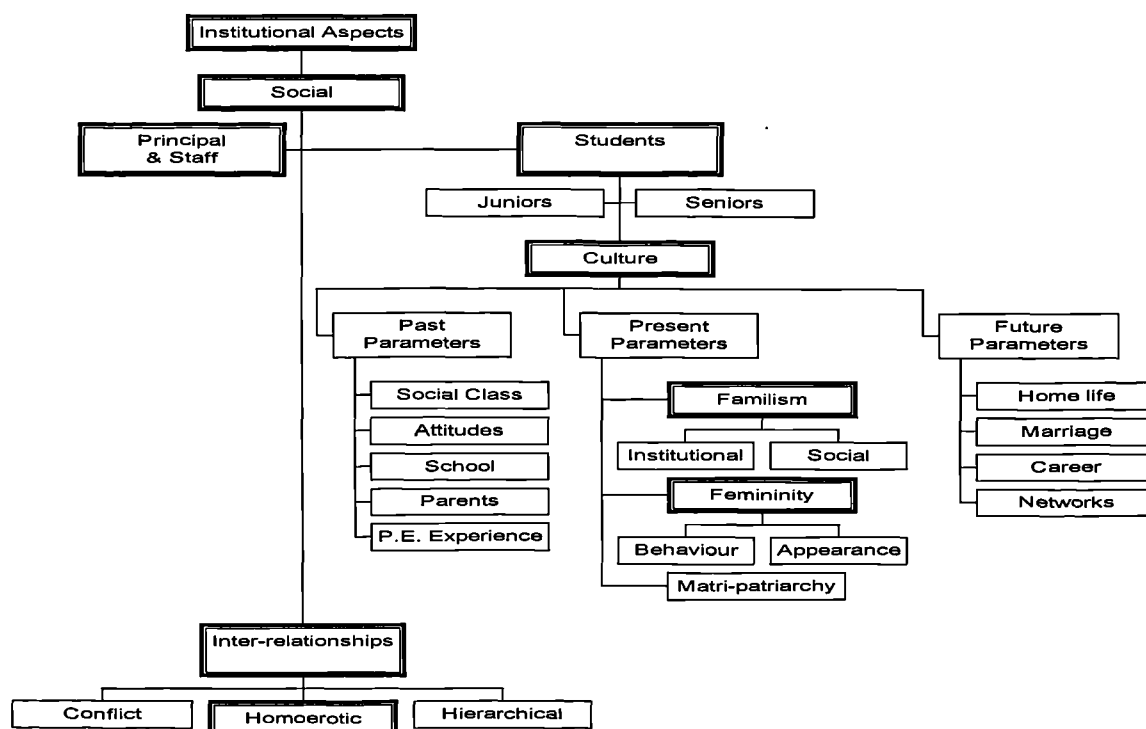
⁷³ S. Hamilton, 'Women and the Scottish Universities Circa 1869-1939: A Social History'; E. Edwards, 'Educational Institutions or Extended Families?: The Reconstruction of gender in Women's Colleges in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries'; E. Edwards, 'The Culture of Femininity in Women's Teacher Training Colleges 1900-1950'; J. S. Gibert, 'Women Students and Student Life at England's Civic Universities Before the First World War'.

Diagram 2d A Profile of Published Research Areas in the History of Women and Education



The following diagram (2e) shows how I intend to analyse existing research subjects and explore new subject areas. This work will add to existing themes and push back the boundaries of current research. Darker outlined subject boxes show existing subject areas which I will study and reinterpret. Lighter box outlines show new subject areas which I will explore in the context of physical education college experience.

Diagram 2e: A Profile of New Areas of Research Covered by This Dissertation



As stated earlier, research into college cultures has shown a principal-centred bias. Little coverage has occurred in the area of the students' contribution to the college culture. As can be seen from the diagram above, it is my intention to open up the student-centred experience. I intend to reveal new knowledge, new subject areas, and original analyses, of this hitherto largely unexplored area.

2.4; The Sources

Source: Books and Journals

Some contemporary books and articles relate to the colleges in question. Of the principals, only Madame Österberg features as a major subject in contemporary periodicals. During the nineteenth century she appeared in newspaper articles in *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Globe*, *The School Master*, *The Chronicle*, *The Westminster Gazette*, *Daily News*, *Women's Herald*, *The Lancet*, *The Ladies Pictorial*, *Forward*, *Women's Penny Paper*, *Maidstone and Kent County Standard*, *Hampstead and Highgate Express*, *The Weekly Illustrated Isle of Wight Guardian*, and the *St Leonard's School Gazette*.

Contemporary articles on Madame and her college work appear in *The Sidcot Quarterly*, *Hearth and Home*, *Baby: The Mothers' Magazine*, *Winters Magazine*, *The Gentlewoman*, *The Hospital Nursing Supplement*, *The Educational Review*, *Answers*, *The Teachers Encyclopaedia*, and *the Girls Realm*. Though centred on Madame, some of these writers were keen to describe the appearance of the students and the work they did. The emphasis on the students' participation in college is usually supportive, stressing the idealistic nature of their work and how polite, helpful, and hard working they were. At the other extreme is the secretive and private Margaret Stansfeld, who seems to have effectively discouraged reporters and researchers. There is very little material contained in contemporary periodicals, even in the local area, relating to her or the college.

Source: Archives

The archives of the physical training colleges vary in size, content and organisation. Their locations are as follows:

Anstey College archives, University of Central England

Bedford College archives, De Montfort University Bedford

Chelsea College archives, University of Brighton

Dartford College archives, University of Greenwich

Liverpool College archives, John Moores University

Dartford, as befits the senior college, contains the largest archive, housed in two rooms in the Kingsmead campus library. The collection is well catalogued by the old student archivist. There is a fair amount of material covering the college's early period 1885-1918. This material is especially valuable as, from 1885-1897, Dartford was the only physical training college in existence. Bedford has a medium-sized archive situated in a room at its Lansdowne campus. Records date back to 1903 and is the only one catalogued on computer. Of the smaller archives, Chelsea's is held in cabinets at the Wylden campus library, Eastbourne; Anstey's small archive is to be housed in a room at the University of Central England; Liverpool's records are held at the Irene Marsh Campus, John Moores University.

To some extent the information obtained from the archives may overlap. The college magazines exist for all the five colleges and contain student experiences, poems,

stories etc. In other areas only one archive may have a resource, such as Bedford's priceless collection of oral tape interviews. Dartford's archive contains the only significant information on pre-college, school experience, of students, 1903-1914. Together the archives contain a rich social history of student experience at Victorian and Edwardian physical training colleges.

Source: Documents

There is an endless classification of what has survived; all types of administration records, pension books, insurance certificates, cash books, building plans, syllabuses, principals articles, contemporary journals, newspaper cuttings, prospectuses, scrap books, photograph albums, etc. Of primary interest are student documents: reminiscences, contemporary comments, letters, college magazines, and games club records. Administration documents contain, among other things, admissions to college, 'sent-down' students, student physical details, and job references.

A number of special sources are worth an individual mention.

Source: Oral Tapes

Sheila Fletcher for her book Women First, made a series of taped interviews in 1980 with old students of Bedford College. These contain interviews with a number of students present at college during 1903-1918 and are the only archived, oral material available for this period. Bedford College remained largely unchanged in its attitudes and procedures well into the twentieth century. Later student experiences held on tape are still useful for the period under discussion.

Source: Questionnaires

Bedford College archive contains an open ended questionnaire compiled by Miss Burgon and Sheila Fletcher in 1978. They had many respondents, including those present at college 1903-1918. The questionnaire was produced to find out information on topics

including, 'teaching at schools...training received at college...and general reminiscences of college life.'⁷⁴

Source: Personal Letters

The Dartford archives has a collection of student letters, many of which were written prior to 1918. They are a rich source to find out about the personal feelings of students at college and they also contain a lot of valuable information on family background and relationships. Some of the letters were written by family or friends to the student and these contain insights into how the student was perceived by others at the time.

2.5; The Methodology

Methodology: Documents

The documentary evidence provided a wide range of material, which when processed provided a chronological sequence of college events. They also allowed a framework to be produced, which gave an understanding of how they revealed college culture. The documents were also cross-referenced with other sources, both from the college in question, and the other colleges in the study. The processing of the documents involved evaluating why the document exists, who wrote it, and why. The reliability of the document was important to assess, as was which sources are uninformed, biased, or unscrupulous. The interpretation of reliable documents can give a comprehensive picture of their cultural and social context which, in turn, enables the determination of the meaning of each document.

Methodology: Oral Tapes

The tapes had to be transcribed and divided into topics for easy examination and cross-reference of the material. The problems of dealing with a survey completed twenty years ago, is that any faults in the interviewing process are inherent, and these had to be taken into account. The interview was conducted informally, making results difficult to aggregate, but not impossible. A pre-interpretation study took into account why the

⁷⁴ Taken from Bedford Archives Catalogue, Reference 194.

respondents were chosen, whether they were a representative sample, and how reliable as respondents were they.

Methodology: Questionnaires

A study of whether any ambiguities, imprecision or assumptions were made in the original questionnaire process was carried out. The results are aggregated wherever possible to provide for statistical analysis.

Methodology: Personal Letters

Reading between the lines is sometimes important as students may not always have been truthful to recipients when writing about experiences and feelings; this will be commented on where appropriate. Paragraphs of letters can be divided into subject headings so that topics can be compared and contrasted easily.

Methodology: The use of Statistics

Statistical information was inferred from the oral information, and questionnaire. Various documentary evidence allowed statistical interpretation of student numbers, careers, location, marriage, birth, death, admissions, father's occupation, age, religion, schools, etc. Wherever useful, statistical techniques were utilised to produce information relevant to the interpretation of college culture. Information was summarised in the form of diagrams, graphs, tables, percentages and averages. These were used to support concepts and themes, and provide generalisations where applicable. Key factors were examined and implications inferred from the data.

Methodology: The Use of Concepts

Wherever relevant, concepts will be produced to explain phenomena. These will include current ideas of familism and empowerment. I will be taking these concepts, developing them and introducing my own, to account for the detailed phenomena and results of my work.

Chapter 3: The Pre-College Experiences Of Students

This chapter investigates who the physical training college student were prior to their entry to college and how they actually gained that entry.

3.1; Introduction

The first section begins by considering what the reasons were for students wanting to train at college. This involves a study of what other choices were available after school. What the students' experiences of sport participation were; how much parental and school teacher support they received; and perhaps most importantly the character of the individual students.

These factors give an explanation of why the prospective students wished to apply and train at physical training colleges. This is then taken a step further by considering factors determining which college they chose to apply to. A particular study of the limited data available is made to define the student class background. Social class will be found to be important in gaining access to college. Pre-college experiences and backgrounds define who the applicants to physical training colleges were. Detailed micro-analyses of contemporary records support the above investigation. Statistical interpretations of the students' educational backgrounds are made. This allows the question, 'was there a typical educational route into physical training colleges?' to be answered.

The interview procedure itself is then analysed to find out how it worked. Factors determining which candidates were selected for interview are examined. Which candidates had successful interviews are studied through the use of case studies. What constituted having a correct student background in both social class and education is considered, as well as the most important factors of all, the students own character, and desire to be trained as a physical educator.

3.2; What Were the Reasons Which Made Students Want to Train at Physical Training Colleges 1885-1918?

‘There are about twenty students training, most of us with the ultimate object of teaching. Differing from one another in many respects, on one point we are all agreed, we love our work and are thoroughly in earnest over it.’ Vida Sturge, Hampstead Physical Training College, Sidcot Quarterly, 1891, p. 164.

Other Choices Available

Anna Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) had discussed her career prospects with her cousin Mary Tait (vice-principal, of Hampstead College) who had previously put Pagan off Newnham College and Oxford University and had instead interested her in Swedish gymnastics taught at Hampstead.¹ Pagan was considering her options for physical education training even in the second month of her course. She discussed with her sister the possibility of taking the M.A. at Edinburgh University, possibly because, as her sister Isabella put it, ‘The M.A. is the only degree open to women’² at least near where they lived. University was an option for qualified women at the time of Pagan’s training.³ However Madame’s college, given the restrictions on professions available to women after university graduation, must have provided a challenging career option for those who were interested in sport. Crunden states, ‘Suitable openings for well educated girls at the turn of the century were few, though increasing, and it was not always thought proper for daughters of the middle classes to go out to work. However, times were changing, and the inclusive two-year college training, with its strong medical overtones, promised the opportunity to enter a newly emerging professional field.’⁴ The vocational nature of Madame’s course and growing demand for physical trainers must have proved especially attractive to career-minded, sporting women, against the more nebulous futures open to graduates.⁵

¹ (D) A. Pagan, ‘Description of Life at College 1892-1894’, Answers, April 24th, 1897, p. 37.

² (D) Letters, Isabella to Anna Pagan, 22. 11. 1892.

³ Oxbridge colleges available were: Girton (1869), Newnham (1871), Lady Margaret Hall (1879), Somerville (1879), St Hugh’s (1886), and opening next year (1893) St Hilda’s. Civic Universities also offered courses and degrees for women.

⁴ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College of Physical Education, p. 4.

⁵ See Chapter 8 for occupations of Oxbridge and civic university graduates.

Spafford (Bedford, 1908) nearly went to Oxford University to take literature but was, 'always glad' she chose Physical Education.⁶ Meakin (Chelsea, 1912) had wanted to go into medical work but had to choose the next best thing as although 'I wanted to become a doctor . . . it was difficult to get entrance to the medical profession.'⁷ This choice may well have been due to the difficulties for women gaining acceptance to such a career, as well as having to obtain the high qualifications needed.⁸

Sporting Background

Pagan had shown her sporting interest and prowess by learning to scull at Henley in 1891, the year before her entry to college. Given the societal disapproval of women involving themselves in sporting activities, this showed a full commitment to sport and exercise. Spafford (Bedford, 1908) had been 'top of school, captain of everything.'⁹ It seems her love of sport, and achievement as a player decided her future. She had 'enjoyed physical education from the age of 9 when . . . a boarder at Bedford High School.'¹⁰ Scott (Bedford, 1905) like Spafford, had always been keen on games but did make the mistake of thinking 'that my training would be a round of gymnastics and games with very little theory. I was soon disillusioned!'¹¹ However many of her fellow students had limited sporting experience;¹² at Anstey, 'In the early days many of the girls came to college without having had any previous experience of the games at all.'¹³ Wicksteed (Bedford, 1905) contrastingly states, she, 'had never played games at school and never learned dancing, though I did rather famous myself at gym! For which I had envisaged a passion at the age of nine, when I attended classes at Madame Österberg's gymnasium in Hampstead.'¹⁴ Her established success in one aspect of physical education, plus no doubt the experience of Madame's gymnastic lessons, led her to take up the training.

⁶ De Montfort University Bedford, Bedford Archives (B), Oral Tapes, Spafford, 1908.

⁷ I. M. Webb, 'The History of Chelsea College of Physical Education: With special Reference to Curriculum Development 1898-1973', PhD. University of Leicester, 1977, p. 100.

⁸ See Chapter 1 for discussion of available roles for women in Victorian and Edwardian Britain.

⁹ (B) Oral Tapes, Spafford, 1908.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ (B) Questionnaires, Scott, 1905. Part of a series of responses to questionnaires by Dr. S. Fletcher (Women First), and Mrs E. M. Burgon.

¹² See Appendix 2 for statistical data on student school participation in sport.

¹³ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College, p. 22.

¹⁴ (B) Questionnaires, Wicksteed, 1905.

The love of sport as a motivation to become students at the college continued throughout the period. Colwill (Bedford, 1913) came, 'because I enjoyed all forms of physical activity while at school (Clapham High School GPDST)'.¹⁵ She qualifies her statement by saying 'and felt that I should like to pass this on'.¹⁶ Colwill wanted to train not just because she loved sport, but to teach sport as well. Harding (Chelsea, 1906) bears out Colwill's thoughtful statement and believed 'The individual wanted to train to help girls to enjoy physical activities properly'.¹⁷ Davies (Anstey, 1911) remembered 'most of the girls really were filled with the highest ideals to do some good to the community.'¹⁸ Webb adds in reference to Chelsea College that 'The enjoyment of personal participation, however, has nearly always preceded the desire to teach others.'¹⁹ The desire to contribute to society may therefore have played an important part in the choice of physical training by students.

Parental Support

The attitudes of one or both parents could be a very important factor in helping or hindering application to college. At Chelsea, 'The vast majority of students, over 90%, had and needed parental support in their venture, both financial and professional. This made parental opinion on their daughter becoming a student in physical training and going on to do it as a career very important.'²⁰ Harding (Chelsea, 1906) said that, 'My father was anxious that all his five daughters should have a recognised training which would enable them to earn a living.'²¹ Economics played a large part in parental attitude. With five daughters and a finite income Harding's father could not enjoy the luxury of wanting to have his daughters stay at home while waiting to be married. The professional training must have seemed a wise investment for the future (especially for daughters who did not marry). Training for a profession may have provided, 'a safety net for single women, preventing the downward social mobility that was often the lot of those girls who were

¹⁵ (B) Questionnaires, Colwill, 1913.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ I. M. Webb, 'The History of Chelsea College', p. 101.

¹⁸ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College, p. 4. Crunden uses the married name of student, Sumsion, nee' Davies).

¹⁹ I. M. Webb, 'The History of Chelsea College', p. 101.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 102.

²¹ Ibid.

fatherless or whose fathers were unable to support them.’²² Davies (Anstey, 1911) felt that, ‘the more progressive parents, her father and people like Miss Anstey, felt that girls ought to be independent, have a life of their own and not depend on marriage as a means of support.’²³ Spafford, (Bedford, 1908) had no such encouragement: her father told her, ‘Stay at home like your sister and get married.’²⁴ Meakin (Chelsea, 1912) claims ‘It was only because my aunt . . . was a woman of advanced views on the education of girls that I was allowed to train.’²⁵ Webb states that 26 out of 32 candidates considered they had family support, while only two families actually disapproved of their decision to train.²⁶

School Influence

Other key figures could influence potential candidates in making up their minds whether to go to college. Fountain (Chelsea, 1908) was encouraged by her school teachers to gain higher qualifications. She thought, ‘that the school staff would have liked me to go on to a university course but they recognised that physical education was a new profession.’²⁷ Meakin (Chelsea, 1912) also remembers school as a place of encouragement for her to take physical training: ‘My Head Mistress at Queenswood Methodist School, then at Clapham Park, London, was fortunately very advanced in her views on the training of girls, and the staff were also keen!’²⁸ Rigby (Bedford, 1916) had the good fortune of being at the school of former Bedford student Phyllis Spafford now established as a teacher and maintained that ‘I was always keen on games and as we had Miss Spafford for our gym mistress I think she must have encouraged me.’²⁹ Though parents would have the last say in whether a student would be financed for training at a physical training college, school support greatly helped in encouraging and guiding a student in her career choice. Webb’s work shows 22 out of 32 successful candidates had school staff who supported their

²² J. B. Thomas, ‘University College, Bristol: Pioneering Teacher Training for Women,’ History of Education, 1988, Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 60. The comparison between the experiences of contemporary university student teachers and physical education college students may well be worth study.

²³ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College, p. 4.

²⁴ (B) Oral Tapes, Spafford, 1908.

²⁵ I. M. Webb, ‘A History of Chelsea College’, pp. 102-103.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Appendix 1. Results from a questionnaire covering Chelsea students at college during 1898-1929.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ (B) Questionnaires, Rigby, 1916.

application.³⁰ As time went on college-trained physical educators came to the schools and encouraged students there to apply to their old colleges. This introduced a series of networks where school and districts sent their pupils to the college, the college sent trained staff back to them, who further encouraged pupils to train at their colleges.³¹

Character of the Students

Throughout the Victorian and Edwardian period physical training for women was still in the pioneering stage. Anyone considering undergoing training must have been aware of the unusual demands and strength of character needed to work at the margins of society's tolerances of what was considered suitable work for middle-class ladies. Davies (Anstey, 1911), 'recalls that when she went to Anstey as a young student in 1911, most girls of her class and generation were happy to stay at home living a social life and waiting for marriage, it was quite unusual for them to take up a training.'³²

Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) received a letter from her sister Isabella, which recalls the spirit of the uniqueness and newness of her work: 'You have no idea what a boon your Hampstead life is as a topic of conversation! People are generally interested in this very modern movement "splendid thing" never heard of it before! When can I hear more?'³³ To many people of this period, and even much later, physical training for women was totally new and extraordinary. It does seem however that most students came from families and had friends who were enlightened enough to cope with the daring and unusualness associated with taking up the training. Certainly the character of the student had to be adaptable and entuned to the spirit of the venture.

Spafford (Bedford, 1908) had the problem of a disapproving father wanting her to get married rather than work. She waited until her father was in Switzerland before telling

³⁰ I. M. Webb, 'A History of Chelsea College', Appendix 1.

³¹ Irene Marsh gives a detailed account of the type of girl she wanted her old students to send her in the Association of Past Students Magazine, 1926, pp. 3-4; 'I hope you will often come back and will live again in college by sending your own pupils to be students here. I always love to have my own girls' girls . . . And they are generally the best too! They have had a good start, and come with a friendly feeling which I love. Send me some more. you know the kind of girl I want, she who will make the right type of teacher; the girl you have found you can rely on: who is keen on her work and her play, but who likes to be told when she is wrong, and does not get cross when she does not come out on top.' See also S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 36, quoted later in this chapter.

³² C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College, p. 4.

³³ (D) Letters, Isabella to A. Pagan, 22. 11. 1892.

him of her plans. She got a rather curt reply, 'Do what you like.'³⁴ She then had to pay her own fees (quite an undertaking) during her first term, until she had proved her commitment, but got her own way in the end. Payne (Bedford, 1905) was in the first set of the newly opened Bedford College and perhaps captures the atmosphere of the times when she said, 'There was the spice of pioneering which gave the whole thing a particular importance to us.'³⁵ In later years the rawness of the venture may have mellowed slightly; ten years after Payne, Colwill (Bedford, 1913) states that going to college was 'perfectly acceptable.'³⁶ Coming from a Quaker background may have helped some apply; an 1891 Hampstead day student, Leeman-Rowe, remembers, 'As in all pioneer work there were many Quakers.'³⁷ Indeed Anna Pagan was a Quaker.

Webb sums up the reasons for Chelsea students taking up physical education:

From the earliest days the majority of students entering a career in physical training have done so because of interest and ability in doing gymnastics, playing games or dancing. The attraction of an unusual career, opportunity to prevent ill health in others or to assist in the curing of remedial defects, a second choice to the medical profession, or a university course have persuaded others to take up the teaching of physical training as a profession.³⁸

3.3; Which College to Choose?

Once the decision to pursue training had been taken, came the choosing of the particular college to apply to. Prior to 1898 there was only Hampstead-Dartford College but by 1903 there were five English colleges available. The choice of college was influenced by a number of factors including parents' views, fees charged and school attendance.

Parental Choice

Colwill (Bedford, 1913) states that, 'It was my father's wish that I should be trained at Bedford because, after extensive enquiries he decided it was the best of the four colleges

³⁴ (B) Oral Tapes, Spafford.

³⁵ (B) Questionnaire, Payne, 1903.

³⁶ Questionnaires, Colwill, 1913.

³⁷ (D) Letters, E. Leeman-Rowe, 1952.

³⁸ I. M. Webb, 'A History of Chelsea College', P. 100.

(Anstey, Bedford, Dartford and Chelsea).³⁹ Spafford (Bedford, 1908) relied on her aunt who convinced her mother that Bedford was 'good.'⁴⁰ Davies (Anstey, 1911) chose Anstey because, 'Miss Anstey had a great admiration for her father, particularly in his support for woman's suffrage.'⁴¹ Given the dependence on parents for payment of fees and living expenses, plus the subordinate position of the daughter in the Victorian and Edwardian family, it is no surprise that parents and family had a say in which college to choose. Indeed parents were probably in a better position than their Daughter to ascertain information from and about the colleges.

Fees

It was possible, either through knowing the principal in person, or being able to convince the principal of being a talented student, to obtain a reduction of fees at college. This certainly went on at Anstey. Davies (Anstey, 1911) benefited because her father, being 'a poor parson she was taken on at reduced fees.'⁴² Similarly O'Dwyer (Anstey, 1909) was, 'taken in at a reduced rate and allowed to repay the balance out of her salary once she started teaching.'⁴³ At Liverpool, 'There were many students who received financial help from her [Miss Marsh] towards her fees, if she considered they had potential, but not the means to train.'⁴⁴

School

Being influenced by school staff became more important as time went on. Meakin (Chelsea, 1912) had a teacher who was 'one of the very early physical training mistresses'⁴⁵ and who encouraged her to go to Chelsea. Webb states 'One third selected the course because staff at their own schools had trained at Chelsea'.⁴⁶ Fletcher adds 'Already one can see, setting this alongside list of schools from which students are drawn,

³⁹ (B) Questionnaires, Colwill, 1913.

⁴⁰ (B) Oral Tapes, Spafford, 1908.

⁴¹ C. Crunden, A History of Chelsea College, p. 9.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ J. S. Parker, A. P. S. Magazine, p. 16.

⁴⁵ I. M. Webb, 'The History of Chelsea College', p. 103.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p 101.

the circular movement which was to characterise the world of women's physical education. Dartford students are appointed to Roedean; Roedean pupils are sent to Dartford.⁴⁷

Miscellaneous

A few comments suggest that there may have been a whole series of factors involved in coming to a decision on which college to choose. As early as 1906 an entrant based her choice of college on reading the prospectus of the college.⁴⁸ This shows that colleges were advertising their services and that such information could sway a prospective candidate's decision to apply. In 1909 one student selected the three year course at Chelsea in preference to the two year courses available at the other colleges.⁴⁹ Webb shows that 'Over 50% of the early students selected Chelsea because they already lived in London or had friends or relatives with whom they could stay and were therefore day students and expenses to parents were less than if they had lived in lodgings.'⁵⁰

Conclusion

Madame Österberg's college opened up opportunities for women at a time when there was still much resistance to women working, especially those trying to gain access to male professions. Madame created an entirely new female profession. Her success was possible because the demand for female physical trainers, and auxiliary forms of employment, existed and was growing. This rewarding and well paid career for women attracted candidates from middle-class families. Eventually the training became increasingly legitimised as an area of accepted activity for middle-class female professionals. By 1918 economic reasons may have become the most important reason for training, Davies (Anstey, 1911) states, 'I noticed when I came back on the staff in 1918, and on examining prospective students, their answer to the question as to why they wished to take up the work was that they thought it was a paying profession.'⁵¹ This female professional elite increased in numbers and influence as time went by and more and more women decided to do the 'Splendid Thing' and train to become physical educators.

⁴⁷ S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 36.

⁴⁸ I. M. Webb, 'The History of Chelsea College', p. 101

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* There is no mention of the reverse, where candidates chose the two year courses as they were quicker to complete and therefore cost less, though this must have had an effect.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Appendix 1.

3.4; What was the Social Class of Madame's Students?⁵²

Early Examples

It has been so far assumed that physical training college students were middle class in background. The following section provides evidence of the precise nature of their class background.

Amongst Madame's first students was Margaret Stansfeld.⁵³ Stansfeld (Hampstead, 1886) was aged 25 when she began her training. She was born in Islington the third child of James and Mary. Her father was a master baker, he died when Margaret was young leaving her mother to bring up the family. Young Margaret is remembered as serious, disciplined, and unselfish. She was also an avid reader, evidence perhaps of a good elementary education. The family were certainly not affluent and must have struggled financially. Margaret and her elder sister Janet copied those daughters of the financially insecure middle class by going out to work. They began as pupil-teachers at a local Board school in Bloomsbury. Margaret expressed career aspirations by simultaneously attending evening classes in physical care at Birbeck College. In 1885 Margaret gave up her school work to study at Madame's newly opened Hampstead college. She left the next year as one of the first qualified gymnastic teachers.

Margaret and her family may have suffered a big decline in income after her father's death. Fortunately she had received an education which allowed her to go out to

⁵¹ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College, p. 4.

⁵² Social class is a subject in its own right. Definitions give varying information on what it is and also state that it changes through time.

I have kept in mind the following definitions for this dissertation:

a. Class: 'A form of social stratification in which allocation to, membership of, and relationship between classes are governed by economic considerations.' From: The Macmillan Student Encyclopaedia of Sociology (London, 1983), p. 45.

b. Social Class: 'A stratum of society composed of groups of families of equal standing . . . All persons of the same level of prestige and esteem, who consider themselves to be social equals, form a relatively distinct social class.' From: Dictionary of Sociology (2nd. ed. 1973), p. 278.

c. Middle Class: 'In this century the term middle class has come to refer to white-collar professionals, such as doctors, accountants, lawyers, academics and so on, to people in relatively routine and less skilled jobs.' From: The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth Century Social Thought (London, 1995), p. 381.

d. Professional class: 'The emergence of a substantial and powerful professional group - class perhaps is not quite the right word - within the British middle class was a phenomenon which gathered considerable pace in the later Victorian period.' From: T. R. Gourvish and A. O'Day, Problems in Focus: Later Victorian Britain 1867-1900, p. 13.

⁵³ For a brief summary of the background of Miss Stansfeld (and Madame, Miss Anstey and Fraulein Wilke) see: Physical Education Association, Nine Pioneers in Physical Education, pp. 9-12.

work and develop her experiences of teaching and exercise. This led her to take up a secure professional career guaranteeing her social status. Her motivation was perhaps driven by financial insecurity. Her individual character helped her succeed in one of the few areas of employment for middle-class women. She was able to enter Madame's college, even though she was at the very lowest end of the social scale acceptable to Madame.

Rhoda Anstey (Hampstead, 1886) was described as 'a wholesome, natural country woman, who might be likened to the county of Devon'.⁵⁴ She seems to have come from a more financially secure background than Margaret. Her sister at least had a 'spacious house, lovely garden, delightful surrounding countryside.'⁵⁵

Anna Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) went from Edinburgh to Hampstead College in 1892. Her letters written in the first few months of her course, give an insight into her social background. Pagan's family had friends who were working partners of an old established firm in Sydney. She frequented the theatre. She attended the Edinburgh University Student Varsity Ball as a guest. She described her family as, 'Old Tories.'⁵⁶ Pagan tried to interest her mother in buying a luxury item, a phonograph, to transcribe their conversations. She seemed to have lived a cultured lifestyle travelling across the country to visit friends. This lifestyle was compatible with an affluent middle or even upper-class social standing. This was certainly a more prosperous standard than Margaret Stansfeld was used to. Unfortunately her father's profession is unknown, though his work took him from Edinburgh to London. It may not have been considered financially necessary for Pagan to go out to work. Though as Pagan's sister, Isabella, explained to Madame in a letter, it was her mother's view that 'A woman should have some profession.'⁵⁷ Madame, who made many comments on student backgrounds, wrote to Anna's mother praising her background. Isabella writes to Pagan saying that Madame had said 'Your manners showed that you came from a superior home (!!! who was a lady-like missie then)!'⁵⁸ This news helped make up for Pagan's previous experiences, when she wrote, 'Because we had sent in our washing on slips of paper instead of in a book. She [Madame] made out that we had

⁵⁴ C. Crunden, *A History of Anstey College of Physical Education*, p. 7.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁶ (D) A. Pagan, 'Description of Life at College 1892-94', *Answers*, April 24th, 1897, p. 45.

⁵⁷ (D) Letters, Isabella to Anna Pagan, 22. 11. 1892.

⁵⁸ (D) Letters, A. Pagan to Unknown, 18. 11. 1892.

committed all the deadly sins except murder. I didn't mind what she said to me but the disgusting way she insinuated about my home training made me want to fly at her throat but---'.⁵⁹ And, a few weeks later:

Molly unfortunately spilt milk on the staff table cloth and while we were wiping it up Madame came in and stood stock still for a minute or two collecting herself for a grand storm of cutting satire and polite remarks about the sorts of homes people who spilt milk on newly dyed table cloth (that is her favourite mode of torture).⁶⁰

Madame's preoccupation with criticising the class background of students suggest she saw their social backgrounds as an area of insecurity, that she could use to control, and mould them with. It does suggest that her students were not upper-class, as her remarks would look foolish against the unassailable financial and social standing of such girls. Pagan's experiences suggest family background was a preoccupation with Madame. She may have played on the insecurities of the daughters who came from families who had not established their financial security, and therefore had to send their daughters out to work.

A few weeks later in November 1892, Pagan was complaining about having to read an address on 'Why should a gym teacher be very lady-like and graceful in her general manner, walk and conversation.'⁶¹ She underlined 'lady-like,' and 'walk,' as areas which she considered particularly irritating. Madame however seemed to consider these attributes of serious importance. The important general conclusion can be drawn that the Dartford students of this early period appear to be from a relatively affluent class.

Occupation of Fathers

The occupation of the student's father is a critical test of social class and financial standing. A survey of fathers' occupations for Dartford students 1915 to 1916 reveals important information on social background:⁶²

7 Doctors, 3 Farmers, 2 Solicitors, 2 Clergymen, Professor of Music,
Manufacturer, Captain, Flower Mills, Chemist, Wholesale Provision
Merchant (now Colonel of Transport, France), Marine Insurance Broker, Proprietor

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² (D) 'Files On Students Who Began Training in 1915 and 1916'.

of Laundry, Major in Territorials, Cutler, Wool Merchant, Cashier in Collieries, Draper, Chartered Accountant, Medical Officer of Health, Advisory Engineer to High Commission, South Africa, Card Manufacturer, Chief Engineer, Pharmacist, Advertiser for Theatres, Merchant, Baptist Minister, Royal Observatory Astronomer, Gentleman Outfitter, Manager of Coal Firm, Surveyor, Tradesman Draper and Grocer, Pottery Factory Manager, School Master in Central America (now in army), Professor in South African College, Lawyer, Reader in Indian Law at Cambridge, Architect and Surveyor.

Of the 47 fathers' occupations listed, every one can be placed within the definition of middle-class.⁶³ Indeed most if not all are occupations from the professional classes. This information seems conclusively to locate Dartford students during this period as from the professional classes. Working-class and upper-class girls seem to be totally absent.

Social Class: A Summary

This survey of student social background has been problematic in that the evidence has been patchy. Student records are mainly concerned with college and post-college information not pre-college experiences. There have been similar problems in investigations in other higher education establishments notably by Howarth who claims, 'Locating women university students in the class structure has been so elusive.'⁶⁴ Similarly Edwards surmises that 'class origins of girls going to teacher training colleges between the wars remains unclear.'⁶⁵ In Gibert's study it is concluded that, 'Civic universities were less likely than Oxbridge or London to draw students from the upper or professional classes,

⁶³ See E. A. Wrigley, Nineteenth-Century Society: Essays in the use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data (Cambridge, 1972). He considers the premise that occupation determines social class and looks at how survey techniques have improved through the century. The 1921 survey on occupations and social class lists seventeen of the occupations of student fathers. These are all placed in designated class II which is intermediate between middle-class and working class. This is because those engaged in trade are considered class II. Army officers, clergy, solicitors and farmers are not covered in the survey.

⁶⁴ J. Howarth and M. Curthoys, 'The Political Economy of Woman's Higher Education in Late-Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Britain', Historical Research, June, 1987, p. 220.

⁶⁵ E. Edwards, 'The Culture of Femininity in Women's Teacher Training Colleges 1900-50', History of Education, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1993, p. 278.

and correspondingly more likely to attract women whose backgrounds were in less prosperous and prestigious social groups.’⁶⁶

The students at Dartford College were almost exclusively from middle-class, professional backgrounds. These recruits were bound together by similar experiences of education, family occupations, affluence and a desire for a similar professional vocation. They had identifiably similar experiences of life. These factors contributed to fixing and identifying the students as a cohesive social group which bound them together at college and later as a profession. These women were to become part of a middle-class profession.

Conclusion

What light has therefore been shed on the background and character of the pre-college girl? There are some characteristics common to all the students. Each girl had accepted the challenge of being a physical training college student. They took on that challenge against a background of disapproval from a patriarchal society. This society was gradually relenting, and opening up specific and limited opportunities to certain groups of women. Not only did these students want to train, they were opportunistic enough, and brave enough, to take advantage of the situation.

This opportunity was limited to those of the middle-classes. The working-class could not afford the fees. The upper-class females were still not inclined to work for a living. Middle-class affluence allowed the college fees to be affordable. It also provided a common set of values which would provide a stable culture and community within college. Parental support was a key aspect. Not only did students need middle-class parents who could afford the fees, they also needed the willingness of those parents to pay the fees. These factors provided a background homogeneity and stability to the student body.

⁶⁶ J. S. Gibert, ‘Women Students and Student Life at England’s Civic Universities before the First World War’, History of Education, Vol. 23, No. 4, 1994, p. 407.

3.5; The College Interview: A Study of Victorian and Edwardian Candidate Experience

Introduction

Having analysed information on who the physical training college students were, and what qualities they had to offer, the next stage is to study how the candidates attempted to gain entry to the college. This is an important but neglected area in the study of women and education. It was to be the first contact between the principal and the candidate. The process was selective and formidable. This study reveals previously neglected factors involved in a successful interview. It shows by examples what characteristics the candidates had, and what the principal was looking for in terms of the ideal student. The section begins with a macro-analysis of the interview, seen from the candidate's viewpoint. Student experience examined in the last chapter is seen in action, alongside key determinants such as class, physical appearance, and the ability to communicate, which played a large part in success or failure. A follow-up micro-analysis involves six case studies taken from the Dartford college archives (see Appendix 4.) Individual applications are examined from the viewpoints of candidates, principal, parents, and teachers. How they interacted together to reach a conclusion to each candidate's application is a fascinating glimpse at a totally neglected Edwardian cultural experience.

Interviews have always been used as a form of candidate assessment for professional occupations and in particular for acceptance to educational institutions. The experience for Victorian and Edwardian girls wishing acceptance to a physical training college gives us an insight into the character of the student and her family background and also the degree of formality between principal and prospective student. Many candidates would fail these interviews; others were never sure how they passed theirs. The requirements of the pioneer principals of physical training colleges were not always obvious and sometimes ambiguous.

An Early Example of an Interview

The first report of a Victorian interview by Madame Bergman-Österberg was with candidate Anna Pagan (Dartford, 1894) who states, 'Oddly enough my interview took

place on a char-a-banc'⁶⁷ which was travelling to Edinburgh in 1892. Pagan was riding with her cousin May Osborne. They were visiting Pagan's aunt Anna, whose daughter Mary Tait was Madame's vice-principal. Madame and her husband were sitting on the back seat. Pagan shyly told Madame that she wanted to go to Madame's college. 'But you are vairy yoong surely'⁶⁸ replied Madame. Pagan said she was seventeen in September, whereupon, 'Madame beamed on me [Pagan] and said that she sometimes took girls of that age and kept them for three years and that she would give me as a room mate, a girl from the north who was some months younger'⁶⁹ (Pagan proved a successful student and was allowed to leave college with Madame's recommendation after two years.) Pagan does not mention any formal interview at a later date and seems to consider this experience to have been what got her the place at college. The exchange shows a number of points: Pagan as a prospective candidate is in a privileged position; she has the vice-principal as a cousin, she is also socially involved with the vice-principal's sister, riding to visit her mother, Pagan's aunt. In addition she has Madame and her husband, riding apparently as friends of the family with her. Though hopefully having properly considered a future in physical training beforehand, she boldly makes her statement of intent, over her shoulder to the formidable Swedish lady. Whether her cousin May, or the vice-principal, knew of her desire, or whether it was spur of the moment brought on by Madame's presence is unknown. After an initial comment on Pagan's youth, Madame is apparently won over and suggests the possibility of an extended course of three years. Pagan herself recognises the unusual location in the char-a-banc, indicating that such places were not typical for interviews. Madame's behaviour indicates her unique position as arbiter of who enters her college. Her decision is final. If she favours a candidate's application, she alone decides if it will be successful. Where and when she makes her decision is up to her. At the time Madame's college was unchallenged in that 'The college was styled as the only training college, other than the Royal Institute in Stockholm, which offered a full-time specialist course in the theory and practice of physical education.'⁷⁰ The interview scenario suggests Pagan's social connections and standing were middle-class in origin and is part of 'what

⁶⁷ (D) A. Pagan, 'Description of Life at College 1892-94', Answers, April 24th, 1897, p. 37.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ J. May, Madame Bergman-Österberg, p. 35.

was then to become essentially a middle-class entry to the women's specialist colleges,⁷¹ a pattern set by Madame Österberg.

The Importance of Social Class in the Interview Procedure

The importance of social class for successful applicants was reinforced by two prerequisites: qualifications and the ability to pay fees. Crunden comments, 'Most girls who joined Miss Anstey did so at 18 or 19⁷² after attending one of the fee-paying secondary schools. These were members of the girls' schools which were members of the Girls' Day Schools Trust, though quite a number of them had received tuition from a private tutor or governess.'⁷³

At Chelsea College the standard of admission to the Day Course was detailed, in 1913 as, 'matriculation of London or other recognised university or Oxford or Cambridge Senior Local or Higher Local Examination or Oxford or Cambridge Joint Board Higher Certificate, or College of Preceptors (1st class) or King's Scholarship Examination (1st or 2nd class) or L. L. A. St Andrews or Intermediate Leaving Certificate, Edinburgh.'⁷⁴ All had reached a required standard of education which was deemed necessary for access to the college and as a foundation for their future training to be built upon. These forms of education were of course available only to more affluent girls.

Another important factor discussed before or during the interview was fees. These were expensive and a useful way of making sure only those from suitably affluent social classes were accepted. The physical training world was to be essentially for those who could afford it, and economics played an important part in regulating those who gained access. Miss Anstey's clinic-assistant failed this important test: 'Miss Anstey had earlier written to the girl's parents suggesting that their daughter who had joined her at the age of

⁷¹ C. Crunden, *A History of Anstey College*, p. 3.

⁷² A third requirement, the age limit, was a flexible barrier within reason. C. Crunden, *A History of Anstey College*, p. 4; 'Students were normally admitted to college between the ages of 18 and 28. If they wished they could enter at the age of 17 but they had to follow a three-year training, the first year being a preparatory course.' Liverpool Gymnastic Training College Prospectus 1908, p. 3; The college 'train[ed] ladies of between 17 and 27.'

⁷³ (D) 'Student Registers 1900-1914'. Most students during this period had experience of high school education, very few had governess or home tuition only.

⁷⁴ I. M. Webb, 'The History of Chelsea College of Physical Education: with Special Reference to Curriculum Development 1898-1973, PhD., University of Leicester, 1977, p. 91.

17 should go to M. B. O. but the fees were too high.’⁷⁵ Later Miss Anstey took her and two others as her own first students in 1897. It does suggest that Miss Anstey set lower fees. Crunden states that, ‘These were set initially at £100 per annum for a resident student following the two year course.’⁷⁶ Day students (non-residential) would pay less. Some girls were also taken in as non-professional students. These students were not going to the college for professional training. They attended for the increased health and physical development which college life produced. This three-tier system which operated at Anstey College suggests egalitarian access. Though we must remember the student numbers were very restricted at all colleges until the end of the Edwardian period. Miss Anstey started off with only three students in 1895 and had seven in the first official set in 1899.⁷⁷ These were described as ‘a keen and friendly group, who proved remarkably level in their ability and attainment, although one of them was rumoured to be that risky creature “Madame’s reject!”’⁷⁸ It seems that one who failed Madame’s strict standards might still be acceptable for Miss Anstey’s fledgling college, especially if she could afford the fees. This was probably no reflection on the student, who could still be very good but not deemed good enough for the few places available at Hampstead and later at Dartford. In fact most of those rejected through this period could have been of a very good standard. Crunden, suggests that ‘From the outset, one of the remarkable things about the establishment of the women’s specialist colleges was the superior type of girl they were able to attract.’⁷⁹ Certainly the principals were able to take their pick of a very good crop, though Madame in her early days complained that ‘Parents, I feel, need to be dispossessed of the idea that girls with feeble intellects - those, in fact who are unfit for other callings - can take up the work of physical training . . . they must possess not less but more than average intelligence. I need women with brains and character. None other will do.’⁸⁰ Given that there were few places available in college it seems that Madame was indeed able to achieve this calibre.

⁷⁵ C. Crunden, *A History of Anstey College*, p. 3.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷⁷ (D) ‘Students Registers 1900-1914’. Student numbers at Dartford were 1901: 25, 1902: 37, 1903: 40, 1904: 45, 1905: 54. and at Bedford 1903: 13, 1904: 22, 1905: 24.

⁷⁸ (D) F. A. Crump, ‘E. Adair Impey: Letters of Remembrance’ (undated), p. 20.

⁷⁹ C. Crunden, *A History of Anstey College*, p. 13.

⁸⁰ J. May, *Madame Bergman-Österberg*, p. 76.

Students' Mental and Physical Character

Qualifications, fees and restricted numbers ensured only a select minority would reach interview. What did the candidates need to possess to be successful there? The candidates needed certain characteristic attributes that would have to come through at interview; a weak voice, nervousness, or physical handicap would fail to impress Madame.⁸¹ At Chelsea College, Domina Wilke required 'intelligence, refinement, observation, a cheerful disposition, combined with enthusiasm, good health, a well formed figure, and a good general education.'⁸² Candidates at Anstey 'had to demonstrate that they were healthy, refined, intelligent and well educated.'⁸³ Health and physique were very important and girls would be asked to show off posture and curvature. Adair Impey (Dartford, 1897) nearly failed the Dartford interview, on physical appearance, but managed to scrape through the interview due to the importance of being able to afford the fees. She recalled that 'My father took me down to apply in person and to our horror M. B. O. refused to take me because I was too short. In vain I pointed out that I was as tall as Madame herself and a quarter of an inch taller than Queen Victoria. Finally after questioning my father closely as to whether he could pay full fees for me for two years, she agreed to take me if I could matriculate.'⁸⁴ Clearly fees, qualifications, and physical appearance, were key factors at this interview. In this case being able to offer two out of three was enough to negotiate successful entry to the college.

Parental Influence

Candidates were usually interviewed with mother and/or father present. Colwill (Bedford, 1915) who later became a member of staff, remembers her interview in 1913. She arrived dressed in blouse and suit, with her father who was a woollen merchant. They were taken into the drawing room where 'The minute me and my father got into the drawing room, he was a man of very great charm, he and Miss Stansfeld began chattering on about all sorts of things, nothing to do with Poor Freda who was sitting on the end of

⁸¹ See Appendix 4. Dartford principals comments include: decisiveness, aura, confidence, out-going personality, good voice, initiative, and the ability to get on with others.

⁸² I. M. Webb, 'The History of Chelsea College', p. 91.

⁸³ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College, p. 4.

⁸⁴ (D) F. A. Crump, 'E. Adair Impey, Letters of Remembrance', undated, p. 20.

the chair feeling sicker and sicker wondering if I was going to be accepted.’⁸⁵ Sturge (Dartford, 1893) came with her mother from Worcestershire and ‘was interviewed by M. B. O. Actually it was an unpleasing remembrance. I doubt if she addressed me directly. She was clearly displeased that inside college fees were for us at that time prohibitive.’⁸⁶ Stevenson (Dartford, 1914) decided she would rather face Madame alone and ‘begged my mother to let me see her alone and after a friendly chat she said “I will take you, like the hats from the shops on approval!” I was amazed but it dawned on me that I was accepted as a student.’⁸⁷ MacNee (Dartford, 1911) took her sister with her which proved useful: ‘Madame interviewed me in London and I don’t mind admitting I was scared but I was lucky my eldest sister a doctor⁸⁸ came with me and these were the days when women doctors were rather a rarity and Madame was most interested in all the details of a doctors training in Edinburgh. So I was at my ease and was accepted to Dartford.’⁸⁹ Post-World-War-One experiences by Bedford candidates may not have changed much from experiences of typical Edwardian candidates at the college. Colwill’s feelings are echoed by Graham (Bedford, 1929) who found herself ‘quivering with mother’.⁹⁰ Todd (Bedford, 1923) remembers both her and her mother being frightened despite her mother being ‘a crack shot with crocodiles’⁹¹ Gamble (Bedford, 1938) backed her car into a tree when trying to reverse through the college entrance.⁹² Farr (Bedford, 1918) was ‘terribly shy and frightened’⁹³ at the interview. This was despite travelling from Scotland to England for the first time and on her own. She recalled that ‘I came down to Sandy off the main line. Nobody told me how to get across. The only way I could think of was getting a cab, an ordinary cabbie with a horse and I came here and arrived here late at night and I had the most ghastly hat on. I remember I’d never worn hats.’⁹⁴ There is no doubt that in the

⁸⁵ (B) Oral Tapes, Colwill (Mrs Holroyd), 1913. Part of a sequence of taped interviews of old students by S. Fletcher, made in the early 1980’s. The student’s unmarried name and date of entry to college are used.

⁸⁶ (D) Letters, W. N. Stevenson, to J. May, 6. 6. 1965.

⁸⁷ Ibid. Stevenson had been seen by Madame while playing lacrosse for her school against Dartford College. She had been introduced to Madame who invited her too interview at the Charing Cross Hotel.

⁸⁸ For an illuminating discussion of the problems women faced entering the male-dominated medical profession at the time see C. Dyhouse, ‘Women Students and the London Medical Schools, 1914-1939: The Anatomy of a Masculine Culture’, *Gender and History*, Vol. 10, No. 1, April, 1998, pp. 110-132.

⁸⁹ (D) Letters, C. MacNee, to J. May, 9th of June, 1965

⁹⁰ (B) Oral Tapes, Graham, 1929.

⁹¹ (B) Oral Tapes, Todd, 1923.

⁹² (B) Oral Tapes, Gamble, 1938.

⁹³ (B) Oral Tapes, Farr, 1918.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

preceding years before these experiences, interviews at Bedford would have been just as harrowing for the candidates and their parents.⁹⁵

The Effect of the Principal

Interview nerves are not just a modern phenomenon.⁹⁶ At interview the college principals would display their dominating personalities and institutional power. At Hampstead and Dartford in the late-nineteenth century, Madame would make statements on appearance such as ‘Your neck is too short, never wear a ruffle; I like your face (to a parent in front of a candidate), but she has treated her body shamefully.’⁹⁷ Indeed students often felt it was their parents who were being interviewed not them as indeed it might have been.

At Bedford, with Miss Stansfeld, ‘Her remarks took a form which Edwardian schoolgirls must have been used to and children as late as the 1940’s still had to tolerate: personal comment, which whatever the intention behind it, had the effect of cutting-down to size.’⁹⁸ Stratford (Bedford, 1925) remembers Miss Stansfeld saying ‘Speak properly now you sound as if you have a plum in you throat, follow your mother’s example she’s got a lovely voice.’ More positive questions would be ‘Why do you want to come?’⁹⁹ and ‘Do you like children?’¹⁰⁰ Todd (Bedford, 1923) was asked about her school, what she was interested in and why physical education?¹⁰¹ It would seem plausible that typical questions of this sort were asked in the same direct manner in Edwardian times. A number of later candidates suggest the questions were not searching.¹⁰² This whole part of the interview seems to be of background usefulness to the principals involved.

⁹⁵ Parents played an important role in the application procedure by writing letters supporting their daughters application. See Appendix 4.

⁹⁶ I believe this is justifiable, as post-Edwardian candidates seem to have similar feelings and experiences as Edwardian ones. Miss Stansfeld was renowned for setting the same high standards throughout her career and it is entirely within her personality that she would continue to select candidates based on the same interview criteria.

⁹⁷ J. May, *Madame Bergman-Österberg*, p. 92.

⁹⁸ S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 59.

⁹⁹ (B) Oral tapes, Stratford, 1925.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ (B) Oral Tapes, Todd, 1923.

¹⁰² (B) Oral Tapes; Boyd, 1922, Graham, 1929, Gamble, 1938, Rorke, 1938.

Physical Appearance

The actual look of a student could be important at interview.¹⁰³ Rankin (Dartford, 1903) had to undergo a strength test because ‘[I was a] little red haired person from Edinburgh who, at interview, was thought by Madame Österberg to be of doubtful physique for the arduous training.’ She was required to punch a machine rather like a Victorian seaside ‘try your strength’ apparatus and when ‘The indicator shot up with a bang . . . Madame was persuaded.’¹⁰⁴ There were few tests, though candidates were expected to assume certain positions showing posture and curvature. Graham (Bedford, 1929) had to take off her shoes showing her flat feet.¹⁰⁵ Todd (Bedford, 1923) had to stand up and be looked at. Miss Stansfeld made comments, held and moved her.¹⁰⁶ Swallow (Bedford, 1932) was told to ‘Sit upright in the chair! Stand up child.’¹⁰⁷ Donaldson (Bedford, 1930) was told after examination that she was ‘too fat and should get some weight off.’¹⁰⁸ Stratford (Bedford, 1925) noted that students were not supposed to wear glasses at college, something Miss Stansfeld had not told her at the interview.¹⁰⁹ Despite what the candidates endured and the strong emotions generated, the successful candidates, ‘Whatever they may have felt at the time, no one looking back, admits to resentment.’¹¹⁰

3.6; The Importance of Pre-College Education in Gaining Entry to College

Types of Educational Institution Experienced by Dartford Students

Was the kind of educational background experienced by students important in gaining entry to college? The average Dartford student in the first decade of the twentieth century had identifiable characteristics.¹¹¹ The ‘typical’ student had spent between 6.4 to 9.5 years in education (see Appendix 1, Table 1.) Most had spent between six and 12

¹⁰³ See Appendix 4 for actual references to physical appearance made during interviews. Positive factors were; bright and pleasant, good looking, nice expression, pleasant face, good shoulders, straight posture, good complexion.

¹⁰⁴ (D) Dartford Physical Training College Magazine, 1989, p. 31.

¹⁰⁵ (B) Oral Tapes, Graham, 1929.

¹⁰⁶ (B) Oral Tapes, Todd, 1923.

¹⁰⁷ (B) Oral Tapes, Swallow, 1932.

¹⁰⁸ (B) Oral Tapes, Donaldson, 1930.

¹⁰⁹ (B) Oral Tapes, Stratford, 1925.

¹¹⁰ S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 59.

¹¹¹ For an in-depth study of student qualifications see Appendix 3.

years in pre-college education. Some students however had as low as two years of recorded education, and others 14 and even 15 years of formal education.

One in four had been taught by a governess (see Appendix 1, Table 3.) Very few of these were entirely governess trained, though it was still possible to gain entry to college with an entirely informal education. Four students achieved this, three in 1912. The Victorian governess has been described as ‘poorly paid, poorly qualified . . . It was not through advances in the profession of governess but through improvements in the education offered at girls’ schools that progress was made in raising female academic standards’.¹¹² Nevertheless having had a governess does not seem to have harmed the chances of these Dartford students in gaining entrance to a prestigious college and profession.

Secondary schools formed the majority of students’ educational experience (see Appendix 1, Tables 4-7 and 9-10.) No one institution seemed to gain dominance over the period investigated. Private schools run by individuals for private gain seem to have been as acceptable as State schools. The latter were scrutinised by publicly recognised authorities. They traditionally prepared girls for academic achievements and university. A small number of students had experience of being educated abroad (Appendix 1, Table 8.)

Certain revealing conclusions can be drawn from this study. Madame appears to have favoured no one institution in particular. Her students had much education in terms of years, but came from a wide range of educational institutions (Appendix 1, Table 9.) This made each set’s educational experience of a *different composition* (Appendix 1, Table 10.) The conclusion can therefore be drawn that Madame did not consider educational institutions to be of major importance when selecting her students.

The School Environment

The students who came from these schools to Dartford College had been educated in the best and most advanced educational institutions available to women at that time. Within these schools they would have come to accept an expanded social role for women as the norm: a role far beyond what their mothers would have experienced.¹¹³ Intellectual

¹¹² P. Horn, ‘The Victorian Governess’, *History of Education*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1989, p. 342.

¹¹³ See Appendix 2: The School Environment Experienced by Dartford Students, for a detailed study of available data.

education was accepted here as compatible with femininity. The success for the individual was measured by moral, and character development, and the more quantitative measure of exam successes. A wide range of subjects was offered to the girls, making available a good general education to all.

They were taught by role-model women. These mistresses were in positions of authority, and were respected professionals. They were independent and self-reliant. On the playing fields games mistresses would perform with energy, force, and leadership. The schools, like their male public school counterparts, advocated sport as promoting health¹¹⁴ and character.¹¹⁵ They invested in gymnasias and playing surfaces and made games compulsory for all girls. A wide range of sports was available, especially hockey, tennis, and cricket (Appendix 2, Table 3.) The girls would have quickly grown used to the active, vigorous, exercise. Competition was encouraged alongside teamwork. Some girls would excel in this area, and it would be from them that Madame and other principals would select their students.

Those selected would be excellent games players, taught by highly trained graduates of the colleges.¹¹⁶ They had been in an intellectual environment which encouraged thought, and exam success. They had experienced community with others selected from a similar social class. This class was composed of parents who could afford to educate their daughters privately and thought paying to educate their daughters was worthwhile. The school community would have prepared the pupils for college culture, by getting them used to being with others, and in many cases boarding with other girls. The professionalism of the college staff, and the associated discipline, would have been accepted as the norm by such students, when arriving in a similar environment at college. These schools formed the backbone of supply to the physical training colleges. They

¹¹⁴ Girls' School Year Book 1911 (London, 1911), p. 527; 'It has frequently been found that girls are more apt than their brothers to take their lessons too seriously, to worry and overwork where there is no need to do so, and, by over-application to their studies, to ruin not only their health, but the capacity for good work. For this evil games are the best antidote . . . the mind is necessarily diverted from school work and lessons in a way which merely mechanical exercise may not succeeded in doing.'

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 'The moral value of games can hardly be overestimated, especially those that, are played in teams, where esprit de corps', obedience to captain's orders, pluck and unselfishness are as necessary to the making of good players as actual proficiency.'

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 528; 'Professional coaches are rarely employed (except for cricket); and the high standard of play in the schools is due to the mistresses and the girls themselves and is a matter for sincere congratulations.'

produced young women of character, intellect, and sporting ability.¹¹⁷ From these young women Madame would select those worthy to train at her college.

Academic Qualifications

A large proportion of Dartford students in the first decade of the century had either no qualifications at all, or had non-academic, music, and drawing qualifications.¹¹⁸ Those with examination passes had qualifications in; Senior Level, Oxford and Cambridge Examinations, University Matriculation, Higher examinations, or the lesser junior, and Leaving Certificates (Appendix 3, graphs 1-9.) This evidence suggests that Madame was not choosing her students based on their academic ability, as shown by examination passes. It also shows that the examination background of Dartford students was variable, though skewed towards those with few or no qualifications. The Girls' School Yearbook for 1911 states that 'Students are not admitted [to physical training colleges] unless they . . . can produce evidence of having received a good general education.'¹¹⁹ The results suggest that examination background may not have been an important factor in determining entry to Dartford college or as a determining factor in what constituted a 'good education.'

General Conclusions

It would seem that there were certain points in common to each Edwardian interview for physical training colleges. The actual interview was usually at the college and with parents present in most cases. The principal, though dominating the scene, appeared benevolent, while making critical points on weight, elocution, posture, etc. This was said in a no-nonsense manner. Questions were usually straight forward and probably foreseeable by the candidate. There was no obvious attempt to terrify the parents or candidates; they were usually apprehensive to start with, so formidable were the principals perceived to be. The principal did try to establish a rapport and evidence suggests that small talk was used to relax the candidates and their families.

¹¹⁷ They were the opposite of certain private schools which used to teach pupils polite accomplishments, increase their marital chances, and produce helpless, badly educated females, as commented on by K. E. McCrone, in J. A. Mangan, From Fair Sex, p. 101.

¹¹⁸ For a detailed study of available data see Appendix 3: Academic Qualifications of Dartford Students 1901-1913.

What Were the Main Factors Involved in being a Successful Candidate?

The dice had already been thrown for qualifications and fees. School was important. Goodrich (Bedford, 1922) 'never doubted those from Cheltenham would not be accepted.'¹²⁰ In earlier days with more restricted vacancies a school with a good reputation would have helped but not guaranteed success on its own. Beyond these factors the student experience began to differ. Students came from varying educational backgrounds. They had spent varying amounts of time in education. This seems to have made very little difference to their chances of acceptance to college. Those who went to public schools had access to the best education available to girls at the time. They played a wide range of sports. They had good facilities. They were taught by games mistresses with college diplomas. The best achieved examination passes. All studied a wide range of subjects. They left school appreciative of the expanding role of women in social and economic terms. Even so, many students obtained entry to college after being part or even entirely taught by governesses, or in minor private schools. Many who obtained entry had not been successful in examinations, and they were the norm. Finally the students came from across Britain and parts of the world to Dartford College to make their future. The young college students on their first day at college may have been dressed in identical uniforms but they had multifaceted characters and experiences with which to take on the rigours of college. Relatives or friends may have had an advantage in obtaining a place, as the family background would have been a guarantee of the candidate's character. The questions asked at the interview, though basic, might also have offered the candidate the chance to show key character requirements. Their answers would give the principal the opportunity to assess the candidate's suitability for fitting into the college environment, rather than solely to assess their knowledge.

Physical appearance and health were very important factors and it does seem that the interview was important in deciding which physical specimens were near perfect enough to join the ranks. However Madame contradicts the importance of 'appearance' by stating, 'It is not so much strong or clever girls I want to train, it is girls who are willing and eager; who when there is some extra work to do will gladly lend a hand, and always

¹¹⁹ *Girls School Year Book, 1911*, p. 383.

¹²⁰ (B) *Oral Tapes, Goodrich, 1922*.

look for the hardest task or most disagreeable duty.’¹²¹ How this could be ascertained is unclear but school references, which remained secret from the candidates, might have played a silent and important part in the selection procedure. Farr (Bedford, 1918) states ‘I don’t know why Miss Stansfeld took me because I had a terrible accent. I think I’d got a very good report - a very good write up at the school.’¹²² Graham (Bedford, 1929) remembered that Miss Stansfeld read out bits of her reference.¹²³ The students themselves believed that a handsome father could secure entry. Colwill (Bedford, 1915) states ‘Miss Stansfeld always used to say “I wish I could train the fathers of my students they are always so much nicer than their offspring.”’¹²⁴ Lewis (Bedford, 1930) thought ‘There was no difficulty in getting in if one had a handsome, tall, father.’¹²⁵ Rorke (Bedford, 1928) found the interview easy and had a ‘father who was handsome’¹²⁶ with her. Swallow (Bedford, 1930) had the double advantage of a sister who had already been at the college and a ‘dad who was nice looking.’¹²⁷

Miss Anstey was a keen astrologer and this gave some candidates an unfair advantage. Crunden states, ‘Miss Enid O’Dwyer [Anstey, 1911] remembers it being said that if a prospective candidate to the college was born under Sagittarius, then her prospects of entry were enhanced . . . There is probably a good deal of fact in this story for Miss Anstey considered Sagittarius to be the physical training sign because it stood for love of sport, love of activity and of outdoor life.’¹²⁸

The Victorian-Edwardian principals of the colleges had sole responsibility for interviewing the candidates and selected those to be successful from their own criteria. As previously stated, background factors such as qualifications and fees ensured candidates of a suitable social class would be selected. From there, those selected for interview had to show excellent physical health and appearance. Character requirements were more difficult to define and involved the ability to show intelligence, refinements, positive disposition, willingness, eagerness, etc., etc., backed up by an excellent school reference.

¹²¹ J. May, Madame Bergman-Österberg, p. 52.

¹²² (B) Oral Tapes, Farr, 1918.

¹²³ (B) Oral Tapes, Graham, 1929.

¹²⁴ (B) Oral Tapes, Colwill, 1913.

¹²⁵ (B) Oral Tapes, Lewis, 1930.

¹²⁶ (B) Oral Tapes, Rorke, 1928.

¹²⁷ (B) Oral Tapes, Swallow, 1930.

¹²⁸ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College, p. 7.

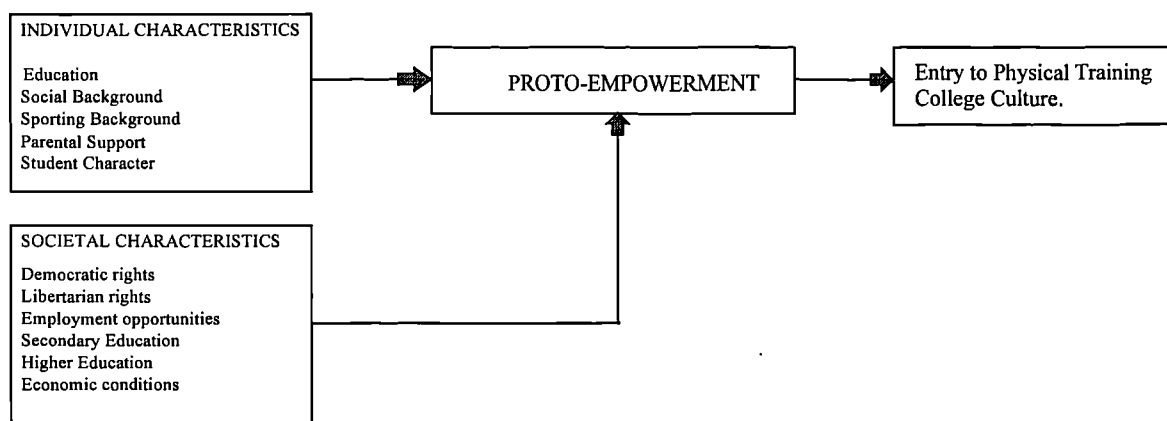
The principals believed these characteristics would allow the student to settle in and survive the exceptional demands expected of them. At Hampstead and Dartford, ‘The maintenance of standards of what was generally regarded as the most remarkable educational establishment in the world naturally depended on the calibre of its students.’¹²⁹

In 1898 Madame was rejecting about 50%¹³⁰ of all applicants for entry. Even after a successful interview the students were far from secure and could be ‘sent down’ from college. At nineteenth century Hampstead and Dartford, ‘The parents who applied for their daughters had to sign a paper stating that Madame had the right to send home students who did not meet up to the full requirements.’¹³¹ By 1930 however the boot was on the other foot, Donaldson (Bedford, 1930) had been offered a place at Anstey after being seen performing at a display. She was interviewed at Dartford but decided to ‘Choose’ Bedford, where she was accepted straight away.¹³²

Those who passed the interview and survived to complete the whole course were indeed the pick of the crop. They went on to establish the reputations of the early colleges and the pioneer principals who had accepted them.

3.7; The Route to Empowerment: The Role of Proto-Empowerment in Gaining Entry to College

Diagram 3a: How Student Characteristics and Society’s Characteristics Combine to give Proto-empowerment, an Important Factor in Gaining Entry to College



¹²⁹ J. May, *Madame Bergman-Österberg*, p. 76.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹³¹ (D) A. L. Nasmark, ‘Swedish Pioneer in England, English Translation’, *Tidskrift I Gymnastik*, 1971.

¹³² (B) Oral Tapes, Donaldson, 1930.

The individual characteristics of students and their backgrounds (and in particular the students' characters) combined with increasingly supportive general societal factors¹³³ which allowed young middle-class women to gain a limited form of self-determination and empowerment, (here called proto-empowerment.) This gave some of them opportunity to gain access to physical education college membership. Principals examined and tested the students proto-empowerment to see if they would make suitable students. This in turn gave a further opportunity for the student to gain true empowerment by successfully passing the college course.¹³⁴ As time went by these characteristics became more available to a wider range of pre-college girl, which led to more suitable candidates for college membership and larger colleges.

3.8; Conclusion

Young women usually chose physical training colleges for the vocational opportunities offered to them on successful completion of the college course. Those who had achieved sporting success were especially likely to want to continue their sporting studies through higher education. Parental and school support influenced and bolstered the candidates wish to apply. The most important factor of all was the character of the candidate herself. Each applicant needed to show the mental desire to want to take up this pioneering work for women.

The choice of college was determined by factors which differentiated the colleges in the minds of the candidates. Parental views, school influence, fees, respect for a particular principal, and geographic location, allowed candidates to choose which colleges they preferred to apply for.

For successful entry to a college there were certain essential requirements. Coming from a middle-class, professional background was an important factor. Such parents could afford the college fees and were willing to support their daughters at college. They had already paid to have their children educated to an acceptable secondary standard. These factors were important to get the candidate to interview. At interview, only those who

¹³³ See Chapter 1.

were able to convince the principal that they could possibly reach the high standards required would be offered a place at college.

¹³⁴ Note that proto-empowerment did not guarantee future empowerment. Some girls would still enter the family sphere, others would fail entry to colleges and have to seek other alternatives including going into the home or getting married early. Others achieved entry to college but still did not complete the course.

Chapter 4: The Hierarchical Pyramid: The Inter-Relationships Between Principal, Staff, And Students

4.1; Introduction

The colleges were rare examples of institutions run by women for the benefit of women. They were female focused, orientated and centred. They existed to train and educate young women to obtain qualifications and experience to take up physical training as a career. This allowed the women to obtain income which in turn provided economic and social freedom at a time when it was usual for middle-class women to stay at home.

The college structure was based upon a hierarchical pyramid (see Appendix 8 for more details) of power and control. The principals were at the top of the college pyramids and were the founts of all power within the college hierarchies.¹ The staff were below them in status. They carried out the principals orders. Next came the Senior students, who having successfully completed their first year at college had earned privileges and acted as guides and role-models to the junior students who formed the base of the pyramid.

The hierarchical pyramidal structure of control was typical of the male-dominated institutions of the time. There was little equality within the colleges. The principals were dominating characters. Some students, as we shall see, found the colleges oppressive, Others were unable to meet the high standards and were sent down or left of their own accord.

For those who were able to meet the standards there was the opportunity to obtain empowerment through obtaining the college diploma which allowed access to professional occupations. The term matri-patriarchy (see Appendix 8 for more a closer examination of this term) is used in this dissertation to describe the way of life within the physical training colleges. They were run on similar lines to male colleges but for female ideals and goals. Students endured short-term subordination to achieve long-term goals. Authoritative women used and adapted patriarchal methods to give women economic and social power, despite being part of a society which disapproved of women having such power.

¹ As will be seen later, each principal varied in the degree of hierarchy they installed their own college. Bedford and Dartford Colleges were the most disciplined and hierarchical environments.

Therefore the college hierarchical pyramid existed within a sphere of matri-patriarchal influence. This was in turn enclosed by Victorian and Edwardian patriarchal society (see Appendix 8 for a closer examination of this term). These spheres of female interpretation of control and way of life existed due to the pioneering spirit and leadership qualities of the college principals. An examination of the relationships between the groups forming the hierarchical pyramid now follows.

4.2; Student Resistance to Madame Bergman-Österberg's Authority During the Nineteenth Century

Introduction

The educational institutions at both secondary and higher level during the Victorian and Edwardian periods were 'almost completely controlled by commanding headmistresses who shared similar aspirations and legendary reputations.'² This was almost certainly because 'this answered to a pronounced authoritarian streak in these pioneering headmistresses.'³

The physical training college principals were the owners of their private sector colleges and accountable to no one but themselves in the daily running of their institutions. All of the pioneer principals were authoritarian to varying degrees. Miss Stansfeld was perhaps the most dictatorial and this was reflected in college life at Bedford. From the students viewpoint 'What most though, found hardest to endure without flinching was the severe, if not ruthless criticism to which they were subjected incessantly. In the eyes of their various tutors they could never do well. They were never praised'⁴ and 'The moral undertow of petty discipline was seldom far below the surface.'⁵ Miss Marsh was less hierarchical in nature though she was still strict. Parker did not 'remember seeing her lose her temper. She was sometimes irritable and as stubborn as a mule! Discipline was exacting, regulations rigorous . . . in fact college was an extension of boarding school. . .

² K. E. McCrone, Sport and Physical Emancipation of the English Woman, p. 61.

³ J. S. Pederson, 'Some Victorian Headmistresses: A Conservative Tradition of Social Reform', Victorian Studies, Summer, 1981, p. 480. Miss Stansfeld was probably even more authoritarian than Madame; (B), Oral Tapes, Stratford, (Bedford, 1925) described her as a 'Spartan autocrat like mother.'

⁴ S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 61.

⁵ Ibid., p. 65. Fletcher's Chapter 4 contains a number of student anecdotes on discipline at Bedford.

we had both respect and affection for her.’⁶ Power and control at Hampstead and Dartford Colleges are now examined in detail.

Social Control

‘You will hear many stories of the later Madame: of her sharp criticisms, her exactingness, her laws, her tyranny even: all true in a sense.’⁷

Madame Bergman-Österberg has been described as ‘a natural dictator and uncompromising perfectionist.’⁸ She displayed the characteristics of the typical role model head mistress of the time. Madame was constrained; like all Victorian women leaders she had to present to patriarchal society an acceptable and successful form of leadership of her institution. This success ‘depended above all else on their ability to wield a *masculine authority* [my italics] over the communities they served.’⁹ This statement does not take into account the specific female way of engineering this success and the particular differences between female-run colleges like Madame’s and other male-run colleges. I shall therefore relate to this authority as being not masculine but matri-patriarchal, where ‘power over’¹⁰ is used by a female leader. This interpretation allows a study of the female

See Appendix 6 for a list of typical rules and regulations at physical training colleges and other educational institutions for girls and women at the time. See Appendix 7 for an interpretation of their use within these colleges.

⁶ (L), J. Parker, *Association of Past Students Magazine* 1975, p. 16. Parker also comments on her later experience as a member of staff and on Miss Marsh’s attitude to her staff, pp. 16-17; ‘College was her life, and she expected the same dedication from her staff. I can remember coming down the stairs with a colleague, dressed to go out, and meeting Miss Marsh in the hall. “Where are you going”, she asked, “To the pictures” we replied. “To the pictures in term-time?” “Yes!” we whispered. Rather frightened but determined to make a stand, we went on our way! I can remember the film to this day - Dorothy and Lillian Gish in “The Orphans of the Storm.” How we wept! We returned to Barkhill, with a pre-arranged signal for another member of staff to open the side door and let us in. You will gather from this, that to Miss Marsh, *we were still students* [my italics].’

⁷ (D), Madame Österberg - Her Ideals and Methods, By Two Old Students, *Madame Bergman-Österberg Magazine*, 1931, p. 6.

⁸ K. E. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women*, p. 108.

⁹ E. Edwards, ‘Alice Havergal Skillicorn, Principal of Homerton College, 1935-1960,’ *Women’s History Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1992, p. 117.

¹⁰ J. Rowlands, ‘Empowerment Examined’, *Development in Practice*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1995, p. 101, discusses the concept of ‘power over,’ in particular; ‘availability of one person or group to get another person or group to do something against their will . . . “Zero-sum” the more power one person has, the less the other has.’ And, p. 101-102; ‘Conventionally, power is defined in relation to obedience, or “power over”; since some people are seen to have control or influence over others. A gender analysis shows that “power over” is wielded predominately by men over other men, by men over women And by dominant social, political,

use of this masculine form of power (as opposed to the more common and analysed male use of such power). This allows for particular differences in the results of matri-patriarchal authority to be seen and an examination of the resulting form of femininity it attempted to produce.¹¹ As Vertinsky comments: 'Some remarkable pioneering women on both sides of the Atlantic fashioned a *unique conception of womanhood* [my italics] to deal with issues of female physicality, autonomy and authority.'¹²

The aim of Madame and the other college principals was to produce a professional physical educator. To do this they had to mould their differing intake into a recognisable output. The use of their authority to regulate and control this moulding process was very important. Therefore the inter-relationship between staff and students, and the use of power within those relationships was a very important part of the college community's operation. Madame founded her first college at Hampstead in 1885 and moved to Dartford in 1895. During this period she was head of her college family and as powerful as any Victorian father was in shaping or restricting the lives of his daughters. Madame, though a woman of liberal instincts and aims, imposed a rigorous often harsh conservatism on her students.¹³ Like any leader of a family she had to protect the reputation and therefore the femininity of her students. This took the form of strict control and surveillance of the students' lives.¹⁴ Any who fell too short in living up to her desire to produce the perfect lady professional, risked almost certain removal from the college.

economic, or cultural groups over those who are marginalised. It is thus an instrument of domination, whose use can be seen in people's personal lives, their own close relationships, their communities and beyond.'

¹¹ Therefore 'power over' used by women may give different results from 'power over' used by men.

¹² P. A. Vertinsky, 'Gender Relations, Women's History and Sport History: A Decade of Changing Enquiry 1983-1993', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Spring, 1994, p. 15.

¹³ K. E. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women*, p. 278; 'The heads of the physical training colleges certainly did not completely reject traditional assumptions about gender roles, but they strongly supported the extension of women's educational, employment and political rights.' S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 58, is more forthright; 'It has been said of this new race of women that, on the whole, they presented their pupils with conservative images of women's work and lives.'

¹⁴ All college leaders were under this same constraint. At civic universities; 'Women's college authorities attributed their strict surveillance and control of student lives to the fear of bad publicity. Emily Davies, founder and first head of Girton College, Cambridge, explained that by secluding her female students she hoped to stop a whole system of propaganda' against women's' education', in J. S. Gibert, 'Women's, Students and Student Life at England's Civic Universities Before the First World War', *History of Education*, Vol. 23, No. 4, 1994, p. 411.

Forms of Social Control

Various weapons were used by Madame in her attempts to mould the students to her own image of what society expected they should be. These weapons were employed from the start. Madame displayed her matri-patriarchal power immediately: as one student recalls 'There were about 35 of us at Dartford Station that evening and we were conveyed in horse-drawn brakes to the open front door of the college and there, standing in a stream of bright light was Madame, in her black brocade coat and skirt and her hat trimmed with sweeping ostrich feathers, a circle of Seniors around her.¹⁵ The first image of this student's principal provokes a deliberate image of power, within a dramatic setting. The hierarchical pyramid of college is visually portrayed in this experience. Madame's position at the top of the hierarchical pyramid is highlighted by the light. Another hierarchical group, the Seniors, wait to take command of the new arrivals.

'Madame Österberg was . . . a tyrant, famous for the sharpness of her tongue and her intolerance of other peoples' views. The classic story is of her *first meeting* [my italics] with her new students, when she is alleged to have said 'ze [sic] clever girls go to the university, ze pretty girls get married - and you come here!'¹⁶ From the first day the students' shortcomings were ruthlessly exposed by Madame. Hopkins (Dartford, 1908) remembers 'our first morning when we were all lined up in our tights and jerseys, for our tunics were still to be made, and Madame came down the line looking at each girl in turn and criticising in what seemed to be at the time a very cruel way, causing several girls to break down completely.'¹⁷ This show of hierarchical 'power over' had a great effect on students and inspired fear. Madame started as she meant to go on displaying immediately hierarchical matri-patriarchal power. Even towards the end of her principalship,¹⁸ Oliphant

¹⁵ (D), M. B. O. Magazine, 1965, p. 21.

¹⁶ University of Brighton, Chelsea Archives (C), Felicity Crump Daughter of E Adair Impey (Dartford, 1898), Letters to Barbara. p. 19. (D), V. Sturge (Dartford, 1893), Letter To J. May, 22nd of May, 1965; 'On our first day as newcomers we were arranged in a row, backs to the wall. I the smallest at the end. Then Madame in turn asked each girl what her physical defects - disfigurements were etc., to be met with embarrassed silence. I not in the least with humility, decided I would not take the very caustic comments of Madame about girls "not knowing their own defects." When she got to me I had a pretty correct list ready. I was given an undeserved commendation.' As we shall see resistance was not entirely useless at Madame's college.

¹⁷ Quoted in, J. May, Madame Bergman-Österberg, p. 92.

¹⁸ Madame died in 1915.

(Dartford, 1913) comments that ‘Madame was the complete autocrat and I was afraid of her. She gave no lectures, just talks on the bad things we had done.’¹⁹

Cruelty was used as a powerful tool in sorting out the weak who would be removed from college and those who were strong enough to survive but nevertheless needed refining towards Madame’s image of the perfect professional lady.²⁰

Appearance was a popular line of attack. One girl was addressed thus: ‘Miss- you are so ugly I cannot bear to look at you or think of you standing in front of a class; “if you cannot change your expression soon you will have to go” (she went!).’²¹ Another unfortunate was told: ““Miss- why do you wear your hair like a pump handle? Disappear and we will wait while you make yourself more beautiful.” The college waited, in dutiful silence, while the unhappy student departed and returned with her hair redressed to Madame’s comment, “Ah well now it is like the pump water not the handle!””²² The students’ family background provided a favourite area of behavioural control usually with an audience present for maximum effect. Pagan comments that ‘Madam had what I considered a rather continental way of trying to hurt when correcting the students, and

¹⁹ (D), M. B. O. Magazine, 1985, p. 28. A. M. B. Oliphant, (Dartford, 1913.) (B), Oral Tapes, Colwill (Bedford, 1915) defends Miss Stansfeld’s autocracy; ‘Today it seems cruel to a sensitive girl but it was Miss Stansfeld’s way of getting to the bottom of things. She went through everything. She did not have the quality of finesse. She went through not round.’

²⁰ School educated students would have been no strangers to cruelty and the fear it inspired from head teachers and principals. G. Avery, (Ed), *The Private Schooling of Girls*, p. 215, quotes contemporary pupils at the Royal School 1898 to 1910. The head teacher was ‘known, respected, *feared* [my italics] and loved by generations of Ascot girls.’ And, at Bedford High School; ‘Miss Belcher would not have been so loved if she had not also been feared.’ And, p. 217; Miss Marcia Matthews, St Mary’s Calne ‘terrified many by her outbursts of temper and her withering sarcasm, and the clerk to the governors recalled that she had been rescued from libel actions more than once.’ E. Bailey, (Ed) *Lady Margaret Hall: A Short History* (Oxford, 1923), p. 94., Students were reassured; ‘The Fresher entering college for the first time is certain to be a little alarmed. She may quake slightly under the Principals eye, and her knees may knock together as she enters her tutors room, but if she is wise she will reserve her shyness for a more appropriate occasion. It is not the principal or the tutors who are really alarming. The principal is accessible and human. She is not a figure-head, shrouded in the mist of scholarship or senility.’ This form of control could become institutionalised see G. Avery, p. 216; ‘[Ada Benson, Oxford High School] Nearly every morning after roll call and brief prayers she delivered an oration, and as the eloquent denunciations swept on, the smallest offence became a crime, which the punishment never fitted; or when there was no need to denounce only to exhort and uplift; she wielded the words of St. Paul, “Whatsoever things are pure, etc.,” until they too became a bludgeon full of menace. It was hard to forgive her when we saw members of staff, and the whole staff had our devotion, leave her office in tears. I think we regarded her much as we should a runaway horse, a thunderstorm, or “an act of God” as something for which no one was responsible and which did not really touch our lives.’

²¹ (D), Madame Österberg - Her Ideals and Methods, By Two Old Students, M. B. O. Magazine, 1931.

²² Ibid.

preferred to do it before an audience. A favourite taunt was “It shows what sort of home you come from.”²³

The Aims of Social Control

It is clear that Madame was using criticism and cruelty as a form of social control, ruthlessly pruning and remoulding student manners, looks, habits and idiosyncrasies to conform to the ideal product. Madame had lofty ideals and was intolerant of anything but the best. This intolerance guaranteed her college a high quality product²⁴ and an appropriate reputation for herself and her college. This reputation had to be acceptable to the values of patriarchal society. To achieve this excellence, personal student needs had to be subordinate to the needs of college. Of those who passed the rigorous college interviews, many would still be labelled by their ‘chiefs’ as failures, too far from the accepted norm and unfit therefore to continue at college.²⁵

The Student Experience of Social Control

Given that the young hopefuls found themselves in the family of this dictatorial perfectionist it is somewhat surprising that the students are remembered as obedient, thankful and unquestioningly loyal to Madame and the regime they endured. One anonymous student is quoted as asserting that ‘It was a happy life on the whole always remembering a stern disciplinary eye upon them with occasional storms brewing.’²⁶ Some

²³ (D), A. Pagan, ‘Description of life at College 1892-94’, *Answers*, April 24th, 1897, p. 37.

²⁴ This idea of a college ‘product’ is echoed at Merchant Taylor’s School; ‘It was clear that Miss Fordham believed that only by controlling all areas of the girls’ lives could she achieve her ideal Merchant Taylor’s *product* [my italics]’, quoted in J. Walford, *Private Schooling for Girls: Past and Present* (London, 1993), p. 217.

²⁵ (D), F. Crump Letter to Barbara. p. 28. The hierarchical displays of power by Madame were not so prevalent by Fraulein at Chelsea, at least as judged by her staff. Impey served under both Madame and Fraulein and gives a comparison; ‘Dorrette Wilke was a great personality but quite the opposite of Madame Österberg in temperament; she was friendly and charming, open minded and treated those above her and the most humble students alike. Mother says of her she constantly consulted with her staff, encouraged them to develop their own ideas and never took credit for what her staff had done.’ Impey herself comments, ‘It was true her appalling outspokenness was sometimes a shock to the newcomer; “Sophie never let me see that vulgar red hat at college again.” “Miss R. your coat and skirt is abominably cut, you must find a better tailor” etc. etc. But there was no string of cruelty.’ (C), Chelsea College of Physical Education Magazine, Golden Jubilee, December, 1949, p. 19. At Liverpool; ‘I don’t ever remember seeing her [Miss Marsh] lose her temper. She was sometimes irritable and could be as stubborn as a mule! . . . We accepted criticism because of the knowledge that it was made in our interest’, John Moores University, Liverpool College Archives, (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine, 1975, p. 16.

²⁶ (D), M. B. O. Magazine, 1965, p. 21.

students called Madame a “‘Little Napoleon’”²⁷ and a force of a somewhat awesome kind seemed to emanate from her, she was admired and greatly respected and even then, young as we were, we discerned the kindest of hearts despite her alarming and scathing corrections.’²⁸ This double-sided effect on students who mention fear and cruelty in the same breath as much more positive characteristics is typical of many student reminiscences. An old student remembers, ‘Madame’s unique and many-sided personality. Dominating and disciplinarian she certainly was and often devastating in her criticism. Yet no one will deny her affection for her students, her personal kindness, her generosity, and her sympathy, particularly to any one in trouble.’²⁹ History is silent on those who did not stay the course and fell by the wayside; their views might be as harsh on Madame as she was on them.

Anna Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) remembered that ‘I suffered terribly from home sickness. I cried in bed nearly every night partly from Madam’s sharp tongue.’³⁰ Some students never recovered from such a start and left college. These students had failed Madame’s first test; not a test of knowledge or games skill, but a test of character.³¹

Pagan remembers how she would tremble at Madame’s displeasure, ‘One afternoon I heard the dread call from her study door, ‘Anna Pagan Kom Here’ I went downstairs trembling and stood at her desk. She told me it was very disgusting of me to pin up my laundry in a petticoat instead of using a bag. So it was I daresay, but I grudged the weekly 17d they charged for washing and tearing the bag.’³² This same girl was again on Madame’s wrong side when she was found sitting on another student’s lap. She remembers that:

²⁷ By ‘Napoleon’, the students could have well meant; dictatorial, bossy, giving orders etc. V. Sturge, (Dartford, 1891) ‘Madame was a little Napoleon, greatly respected, and by some of us loved.’ See also (D), A. L. Nasmak, Swedish Pioneer in England, English translation, *Tidskrift I Gymnastik*, 1971; ‘The students called Madame “Napoleon” well behind her back, and though there may well have been a certain amount of affection in such a nickname but the subject named, reflects negatively on Madame who knew the art of giving orders so well that even in the 1890’s it caught the general attention.’ Madame it appears was above average for a ‘dictatorial,’ female, educational leader.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 19-20. This is backed up by (D), Letters, K. Marshall, (Dartford, 1893); ‘There are many amusing stories of clashes with her authority - mostly because she did not understand the British girl. Madame although so small of stature had an alarming presence, the staff and students stood in awe of her.’

²⁹(D), M. B. O. Magazine, 1965 p. 21.

³⁰ (D), A. Pagan ‘Description of Life at Dartford College 1892-1894’, *Answers*, April 24th, 1897, p. 37-38.

³¹ Character, or the students level of ‘proto-empowerment’, see Chapter 3.

³² (D) A. Pagan p, ‘Description of Life at Dartford College 1892-1894’, *Answers*, April 24th, 1897, p. 38.

One very hot evening I found my great friend Frances Perkins reclining in an armchair in the study. We were all feeling very limp, and I had nowhere else to sit. We were amusing the others with our backchat when to my horror Madam came into the room. My horror was nothing to hers, and she ticked us both off severely. 'Swermerei'³³ was not for HER girls.'³⁴

Pagan wept when told by Madame of the dullness and self-consciousness of the English and how conceited, awkward, sulky and selfish she was. Pagan thought this criticism originated because, 'I knew Madam disapproved of me for not buying all the Anatomy books and going to the College of Surgeons to study specimen [sic] in bottles as some did. . . (later) the girls crowded round me and said "how unfair of her."³⁵ Pagan suffered further 'Because of my manner of descending and ascending the stairs. I make such a noise that Madame always hears and remonstrates afresh in her would be jocular but really freezing manner.'³⁶

These anecdotes give some insight into the power struggles, however unequal, between principal and students. Madame certainly used fear and cruelty to impose her will and values on students. This attack on their individuality was part of a determined two year campaign to smooth out the personalities and achieve the ideal student product she envisaged.

Student Resistance to Social Control

Some students voluntarily left college, others had to go. Those who remained had the character to cope with the demands of the college but they were not a homogenous and subservient group. Pagan, though homesick, trembling, experiencing horror and at times in tears did not willingly conform. The hanging up of the petticoat was more than careless, in an environment where Madame and her staff regularly checked on students and thought nothing of entering rooms whenever it suited them.³⁷ It seems that Pagan was willing to put economic gain from not paying laundry fees before the possibility or probability of being caught and suffering Madame's wrath. Sitting on another girl's knee despite Madame's dislike of 'special friendships' shows an ability to relax and socialise within

³³ German: to worship, adore, or have a crush on.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 39.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 39-40.

³⁶ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Madge, 25. 10. 1892.

college despite the threat of disapproval from Madame. Pagan, despite her 'horror' when caught, was still willing to take the risk rather than maintain a more acceptable but less sociable and comfortable position by the simple act of remaining standing. By not buying the appropriate anatomy books or going to hospital to look at the specimens, Pagan again has not followed Madame's expectations. This implies some element of freedom of choice and judgement was open to students even in the area of college work. Some students were keener or more conformist and bought the books and went to the hospital and no doubt earned Madame's approval. Pagan did not conform and was aware that this risked disapproval from Madame. such disapproval was apparently acceptable compared with the inconvenience of buying books and looking at uninteresting specimens.

Given that Madame had dictatorial powers and an array of weapons at her disposal to encourage conformity, it does seem that some personal choice and resistance to the regime was allowable, especially if a student was considered satisfactory in her studies. There was an area of friction and sparring where students could diverge from the norm and where feelings of 'terror' or 'horror' were subservient to the benefits of divergence. This implies that the hierarchical pyramid at Dartford was more flexible than it seemed. Pagan's comments about the support and sympathy she got from other students is also informative and suggests the students had their own code of fairness which differed from their leaders.

At times there was even the hint of general rebellion. The senior students became restive over the level of discipline; Hopkins (Dartford, 1908) remembered that 'They called a meeting and decided to send a deputation and protest and make it clear that we did not want to be treated as school girls at a boarding-school.'³⁸ This remarkable uprising of a common desire for more relaxed conditions shows the ability of the students to put up a united front towards Madame's authority. They did this in an attempt to alter what they saw as an intolerable unequal distribution of power, back towards their favour. This would occur in the form of concessions by Madame in what she expected of student behaviour. To challenge the power distribution in the college could only be done by the seniors who had proved their academic and personal worth by surviving the first year. They had more

³⁷ Pagan, in *Answers*, p. 43, recalls how 'Madam came into my room when I was doing my hair after an unusually lively gym class, and began putting up a picture.'

³⁸ J. May, *Madame Bergman-Österberg*, p. 94. Quoting M. Hopkins, (Dartford, 1908.)

security and status than the juniors who had very little power. The juniors had not proved their worth to Madame and hence were unsure whether they would be allowed to stay the course. Also amongst the students' own hierarchy the juniors were treated as subservient to the seniors; therefore only the seniors could try their strength against Madame. It would be interesting to know what the grievances were and whether the seniors were acting selfishly for their own interests or for students in the college as a whole. Certainly conditions must have been bad for some time, as many of the students were from boarding schools and should have been used to harsh, disciplined environments. It was courageous of them to act this way, for at the back of their minds must have been the thought that Madame was quite capable of removing the ring leaders from college if she desired confrontation. Madame in response however showed admirable flexibility in her matri-patriarchal leadership. She agreed to meet the students but not till the Sunday and then gave 'a wonderful talk and pointed out to us that we would never have discipline in our classes if we had not submitted to strict discipline in our own training, and that she was not going to alter a single rule that she had made.'³⁹ The students were won over after being convinced of the caring nature behind the actions of Madame and one at least, Hopkins, 'blessed Madame for that ruling and realised many times how right she had been.'⁴⁰

An amusing example of a clash between Madame's values and a student's pre-college family values was recalled by Pagan's experience with Madame and Mr Poore, a Liberal M. P. from Scotland whom Madame admired. Madame was showing him Pagan's room and said conversationally "They are all Liberals in Scotland aren't they Miss Pagan." "Far from it" I replied smiling, "We at least are old Tories and often struggle to parse [sic] the sentences in Gladstone's Midlothian speeches." Mr Poore laughed heartily but Madame was much discomfited.⁴¹ It appears that Pagan, proud and confident of her political upbringing, was not going to deny her beliefs to please Madame and her liberal friends. This was against the cost of her actions risking Madame's short term and even long term displeasure for the embarrassment caused.

This particular power struggle involving family versus college values, reveals that while Madame may have had success in making students conform to her ideals on

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ (D), A. Pagan, 'Description of Life at College 1892-94', pp. 45-46.

behaviour within the college, she had less success in changing ingrained pre-college family-based beliefs which students were committed to before they reached college. Certainly Pagan valued her family's political beliefs more than pretending to be sympathetic to Madame's liberal leanings and currying her favour by giving a good impression to Madame in front of Mr Poore.

Student resistance did not have to be verbal in nature, eye contact was an accepted weapon of resistance, coupled with a suitable facial expression by those who lacked Pagan's disarming control of language. Pagan remembers her friend Frances who had problems with the principal who, 'had always been rather down on her as Frances could look her in the eye, and frequently did so over her inquisitions.'⁴² Frances is someone who was in a position where a greatly more powerful character had 'power over' her and had on occasion shown disapproval to Frances over deviation from the expected norm. Frances lacks the power to speak clearly in defence of her actions so defends herself and counter-attacks with the next available weapon which is acceptable to both Madame and herself, in this case eye contact and facial disapproval of her ordeal. Madame uses language to ascertain whether there has been a deviation from the expected norm, how important this deviation is, and to stress that this deviation is unacceptable. In return Frances uses her limited power to express hurt and disapproval at the way she is being treated by her more powerful adversary. Madame comes away having satisfactorily reinforced her own norms on a student who has transgressed these requirements. The student has indicated that Madame has the power to make her conform to her rules. She has also indicated that she disagrees to some extent with the value of achieving that norm and with the fairness of Madame's behaviour in this dispute. Madame while having reached a satisfactory solution to the student's deviance is aware of the passive resistance offered. The matri-patriarchal power structure is back in equilibrium. Pagan interprets Madame's long term attitude to Frances as taking this resistance into account when dealing with Frances, hence she 'was always down on her.' Indeed Madame might well come down more heavily and quickly on students who deviated from the required norm, though there is evidence that Madame respected those who could stand up to her.⁴³

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Madame's actions can be interpreted as being in favour of students who showed signs of empowerment in their personalities, as in J. May, *Madame Bergman-Österberg*, p. 93; 'M. B. O. would rejoice when a

It does appear that students had weapons to employ against Madame and were prepared to use them at certain times. These weapons were no doubt more acceptable when facing minor deviances from the expected norm and backed up with other effective forms of defence such as having achieved a good standard of work. This latter defence helped keep distant the fear of Madame's ultimate weapon, dismissal from college.

Gross Indiscipline

Where severe deviations from the norm occurred, however accidental, Madame was prepared to use this ultimate weapon, a weapon against which the students had no answer. Madame heard that one of her students had claimed to be a hypnotist. Her response was to line up the college body, "I hear" she said in her engaging foreign accent "that one of my students can hyp-no-tize. Well Madame can hypnotize too, she will hyp-no-tize that student out of college."⁴⁴ The student went immediately.

This student's behaviour, however innocent, had gone into the area of possibly bringing the college's reputation into disrepute. This was a major violation from the expected norm of the ideal student. As achieving this norm and the protection of the reputation of the college had priority over the individual student, the student, and her future career had to go. This action had the dual function of preserving the college's good name and served as a warning to other students that too much divergence from the ideal norm could lead to ruin. It is to be surmised that this show of raw 'Power over' by Madame shifted the balance of power at least temporarily even further in her favour. 'Power over' encouraged increased student conformity and acceptance of Madame's rules and expectations.

An example of extreme rebellion to college norms and the hierarchical structure was exhibited by an unstable student who showed signs of pyromania. Some of the college curtains had been set on fire one night and a note had been found saying that 'all other curtains should be set on fire during the night and that the person in question could not help

student reaped benefit from the ability to stand up for herself inculcated during her college course.' And in A. L. Nasmak, 'Swedish Pioneer in England'; 'Madame was delighted when her students showed courage, presence of mind and a go-ahead spirit.'

⁴⁴ J. May, Madame Bergman-Österberg, p. 93. Quoting from W. Whitby (Dartford, 1902) in her book Pilgrim Soul (London, 1961).

it.⁴⁵ Madame ordered all night vigils and a hunt to find the rebel. Eventually, after two more letters, copies were found in a suspected student's room and the girl dismissed. There is no mention of whether the police or doctors were called in. It is logical to assume Madame would have wanted the matter hushed up. Certainly the matter never reached the newspapers. This strange rebellion was limited to the college environs. If the student had been determined to burn the college down and the fire brigade had been called with journalists in pursuit, then the social damage could have seriously damaged the college's reputation. Acts of extreme rebellion must have been rare. Any possible rebels would have been spotted early on and asked to leave college regardless of their academic performance. Bayley (Dartford 1913) did not suffer this extreme penalty despite nearly injuring Madame's husband, Dr. Österberg. She states, 'It was a dark and stormy night, and one of the ropes keeping up the net at the pitch had been torn out of the ground. I went out to see if I could put it in again, but on finding it difficult to get it back into the same place, I dug it into the ground on the other side of the path. Next morning Madame came into breakfast, and asked "Who tried to kill my Edwin⁴⁶ [husband] last night? Do you not know that he cycles around the pitch every night before going to bed, and last night he got caught up with a rope and fell to the ground!" I confessed, explained and apologised - and I hope was forgiven. Fortunately the poor soul wasn't too badly hurt. I must say of Madame that she had a heart of gold, hidden behind a rather frightening exterior, sometimes.'⁴⁷ Clearly Madame was able to draw a distinction between events which were accidents and did no harm to the college, if not to her husband. Birnie (Dartford, 1913) was in greater trouble as recalled by her daughter:

During her first term, my mother was under threat of expulsion from the college. The reason was that she had written home to South Africa, saying that she was working hard and as a result was always hungry. Madame Österberg took this to mean that the students didn't get enough to eat and decided to expel mother. Fortunately after a great deal of correspondence with my mother's family in South Africa, the matter was cleared up, and Madame agreed that she could stay on trial!

⁴⁵ (D), J. Alma, 'Memories from Kingsfield, England 1898-1909.'

⁴⁶ Madame was unusual amongst the pioneer college principals in that she was married. Her husband Edwin Per Wilhelm Österberg. He was a school teacher of some renown and in 1905 was appointed Teacher in Swedish to Crown Prince Margareta., H. R. H. the Duchess of Skane. Madame and her husband were separated during term time, meeting up only in the holidays.

⁴⁷ (D) M. B. O. Magazine, 1985, p. 27. Quoting Bayley, 1913.

Birnie had made the mistake of bringing the college into external disrepute which Madame would not tolerate. It seems that Madame was accessing the students' private letters as a form of surveillance. The ambiguous nature of the comments and appropriate reassurance from those involved that the college's reputation had not been impugned eventually swayed Madame into giving Birnie another chance, rather than wholehearted forgiveness. Birnie redeemed herself by completing the course.⁴⁸

Conclusion

Many students looking back at their experiences in college remember the discipline, fear and cruelty associated with 'power over' but place it in the context of it having done them good.

With experience, old students came to believe that Madame had taught them 'the time-proven principle that the person who will command discipline must also, in her own training, subject herself to discipline.'⁴⁹ This discipline, with its aspects of fear and cruelty, had helped them in later life. However, May's statement that 'Her students were always confident that even her most chilling criticisms were made in their own interests'⁵⁰ does seem rather generous.⁵¹

The students who completed their course at Madame's college in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had proved themselves in three ways. Firstly, that they were good

⁴⁸ (D), T. Birnie (Dartford, 1913) to J. May. In Bedford a similar size of misdemeanour was dealt with by Miss Stansfeld as recalled by (B), Questionnaires Scott, (Bedford, 1907), 'We were rather young in our ways and at times up to mischief. I remember Miss Stansfeld receiving a bill for a hay stack that we had demolished by sliding from the top; she came to give us a physiology lecture and put the bill down in front of me. "Thank you" I said, "We will pay for it" (I believe I was quite penniless at the time.) Miss Stansfeld said, "Certainly not, your punishment is to see me pay it!"'

⁴⁹ A. L. Nasmak, 'Swedish Pioneer in England.'

⁵⁰ J. May, Madame Bergman-Österberg, p49.

⁵¹ May is echoed by J. Nasmak, 'Swedish Pioneers', 'Madame was critical. It says much of her personality that the students always felt that her criticisms were administered in order to help them.'

J. Walford, The Private Schooling of Girls, p. 217; 'Their pupils' attitudes to these autocrats, at least by the time they were old girls writing in the official school history, was usually adulatory, and one forms the impression that many girls (up to the 1960's at any rate) expected to be dominated, and revered dominating women.' This phenomena is repeated in 'Commemoration of M. B. O. Founder of B. O. P. T. C. 1885-193', by Anna Broman (Dartford, 1902); 'She may have been over dominant in her personality and in her manner, but there are few who, when looking back to College days with riper judgement, do not realise that the results were worth it.' A contrasting view is given in M. J. Tuke, History of Bedford College for Women 1849-1937 (Oxford, 1937), p. 287; 'Some of the younger or less receptive among them thought of the ladies who ruled the college as unsympathetic old women who did nothing for them except from time to time to censure them about trifles.' At Bedford Physical Training College, Oral Tapes, Goodrich

at games, academic work, and teaching. Secondly, they had become acceptable 'character norms' whom Madame felt was able to go into the outside world and become mothers, or teachers, and do credit to the values and beliefs that she believed would raise the reputation of herself and her college.⁵² This norm can be represented as a stereotype of a hardworking, morally upstanding, feminine, professional lady, who would be acceptable to mainstream Victorian society.⁵³

Thirdly, the students had proved that they had the character (proto-empowerment) to stand up to the regime and its high expectations.⁵⁴ As no one could possibly reach the ideals of the expected norm and some students at least put personal satisfactions first, there was character deviation from this norm.⁵⁵ Deviation led to uneven power struggles with Madame, dependent upon how much individual students differed from the norm. Those who deviated too much were removed from college; others who deviated in acceptably minor ways found themselves in friction with Madame. She would use a variety of techniques and weapons of 'power over' to discourage deviation. Some students responded as they could, trembling and tears were a common defensive measure, but some students fought back with weapons such as eye contact, facial expression, conversation, and mild unconformist behaviour.

Those wounded in the uneven power struggles with their principal could gain emotional bandaging from fellow students, who would offer support and sympathy. Just occasionally the student body would rise up as one, when feeling they were losing out too much in the distribution of power within the college. In the example looked at, and indeed on many other occasions, Madame explained her position as one of, 'the means justifying the ends', and it seems that many students, especially in later years, accepted this and

(Bedford, 1925) thought the environment, 'terribly strict, no freedom like a nunnery. Some of the set hated it. I was meekly used to it.'

⁵² (D), Letters, Rilligan (Dartford,) to J. May 11. 7. 1965, recalls; 'Madam loved beauty and was occasionally over impressed by it. But first and foremost she loved an original mind. The students who could stand up for themselves with dignity and poise was the ones she really valued.'

⁵³ In contrast J. S. Pederson, 'Some Victorian Headmistresses', p. 487, describes the general stereotype presented by women in educational authority at this period; 'These reforming teachers might praise the virtues of the submissive, "womanly" woman, but the model they themselves presented to their pupils was that of an independent, self-reliant individual. . . Autocratic rather than meek and mild, these women enjoyed the exercise of power.' The Physical Training College principals and their exercise of 'power over' certainly fits within this general image.

⁵⁴ (D), M. B. O. Her Ideals and Methods by 2 Old Students, M. B. O. Magazine, 1931, p. 5; 'She was a splendid fighter and she enjoyed backing a good fighter.'

considered the standards set had really helped them. This moulding process ‘was such that no student could live under her influence and remain unaltered. It is to be wondered therefore that the Dartford ideal and tradition went out with every student as her guiding principle.’⁵⁶ Those who passed all three of Madame’s criteria may well have left college as ‘responsible teachers, future mothers and citizens’⁵⁷ but they all differed in some way from the ideal norm that Madame so painstakingly and at times ruthlessly moulded them towards.

4.3; Life in the Relegation Zone: A Study of Student Experiences of Being ‘Sent Down’ at Dartford and Bedford Physical Training Colleges

‘So lofty was her [Madame Österberg] ideal that many students fell by the way and none finished their course save those whom she considered would be a credit to her, the college and themselves.’⁵⁸

Introduction

In this section an examination is made of the experiences of junior students who had difficulty meeting the high standards expected of them. Some were ‘sent down’ others managed to survive to complete the course, some even went on to become members of staff at the colleges. An examination of this ruthless process highlights the heterogeneous nature of the student intake. Some were under greater pressure than others to prove they were worthy to complete the college course. They had to prove they were good students not bad. Nowhere else perhaps was the principal’s application of ‘power over’ used with such ruthlessness.⁵⁹

Having passed their interviews the successful students had earned the right to begin training at the college in question. But success could be short lived. Upon entering college high expectations were immediately demanded of them. The principal’s aim was to ensure the highest standards for her college. The higher this standard was the greater the

⁵⁵ O. Hufton, ‘Understanding’, p. 42; ‘As individuals they were by no means without the capacity to influence and shape their own lives, within the boundaries of that world.’

⁵⁶ (D), Madame Bergman-Österberg, Her Ideals and Methods, 2 Old Students, M. B. O. Magazine, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ (D), Madame Österberg: Her Ideals and Methods, By Two Old Students, M. B. O. Magazine, 1931.

reputation of the college and therefore of the principal. This process would enhance the standard of young women wishing to enter the college. After selecting the cream of candidates at interview, further selection during the first term would produce an elite stock of trained teachers as the college's output.⁶⁰

The Probationary Period

The selection procedure was ruthless and quick. It was important for the principal to prune early. This would ensure that expected excellence became the norm as quickly as possible. As each college grew in numbers they became increasingly selective. At Dartford, students were asked to leave after a month or a term. As May states, 'If a student was not suitable she left at the earliest opportunity.'⁶¹ Madame Österberg would quite often remove up to a third of her original intake during this period, and 'To facilitate this procedure parents signed an agreement permitting Madame to keep or send away as she pleased.'⁶² It was part of her established reputation that 'Madame Österberg can tell in the first term - often in the first month - whether a student is fitted to become a teacher.'⁶³

In the early twentieth century at Chelsea College, students were taken on for a period of probation. The college prospectus declares that, 'Each candidate enters the college for one term on trial to test her suitability for this profession and at the end of this period the headmistress will decide as to the advisability of her continuance on the course. A student may be asked at any time to withdraw, if her progress or conduct is not considered to be satisfactory.'⁶⁴ At Liverpool college 'If the student does not care for, or the work does not agree with her, or she is considered unsuited for it, then training may be discontinued.'⁶⁵ These safeguards allowed the principals to control their student stock and

⁵⁹ This hierarchical process is mentioned mainly by Dartford and Bedford students suggesting that it was at these colleges that the process was used so ruthlessly.

⁶⁰ Those students with experience of girls schools would have been used to high standards and domineering leaders, e.g. G. Avery, *The Best Type of Girl*, p. 220; 'Tough and resilient themselves, the old style headmistresses tolerated no weaknesses in others.'

⁶¹ J. May, *Madame Bergman-Österberg*, p. 43.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁶³ S. M. Bradley, 'The Swedish System', *The Sidcot Quarterly*, 1, March 1892, p. 145.

⁶⁴ (C), Chelsea Physical Training College Prospectus: Session 1914-1915, p. 7. And, p. 8; 'In any cases of grave or continued breach of discipline the principal is empowered to suspend or expel any student from college and loss of their diploma.'

⁶⁵ (L), Liverpool Gymnastic Training College Prospectus 1908, p. 5.

indeed they may have deliberately taken in more students than they needed so as to have more time to consider who would really go on to train to become qualified school teachers at their colleges.

Reasons for Being 'Sent Down'

There were many reasons for being asked to leave college.⁶⁶ At Dartford, 'A poor voice, abnormal nervousness or physical deformity may prove unconquerable.'⁶⁷ This inability to meet up to the physical demands must have been a more common reason for removal. High demands were placed on the student from the start and any inability would quickly come to light. Theory work was another key test. Farr (Bedford, 1918) remembers how some students were 'frightened of Miss Stansfeld in lectures,'⁶⁸ Farr would answer when others were too petrified to. Showing fear would not have been conducive to a successful stay at college. Some students simply left of their own accord and it may be that not all jumped before they were pushed. Some students just did not want to accept the harsh regime and lifestyle while trying to reach impossibly high standards. Farr's room mate was a girl from Liverpool who 'was miserable from start to finish and left of her own accord at half term.'⁶⁹

Even at a much later period strict standards were applied. At Bedford, girls who showed any kind of weakness, such as 'ditheryness',⁷⁰ that irritated staff would be persecuted and actually driven out. Some students left for reasons unknown to the remainder. Goodrich (Bedford, 1925) remembered a 'St Paul's person, she was a colourless person but quite good, there was some sort of hullabaloo and she left we never knew why.'⁷¹ Other students did something wrong and were sent away. At Bedford and Dartford one in three might be gone by Christmas. Todd (Bedford, 1923) shared 'with a very nice girl. Her father was a general, but she found the work too hard and was gone

⁶⁶ (D), Files on Students 'Sent Down' 1918-1925. A study of 23 students who were sent down during this period shows that 15 had substandard theory and/or practical work, three left on doctor's advice, one for poor behaviour and lack of application, and one for gross Indiscipline; This case centred around a student who went to a tea dance at the Ritz. Having failed to return to college on time and being involved in a car crash on the way back, she fabricated an excuse, was found out, and dismissed immediately.

⁶⁷ S. M. Bradley, 'The Swedish System', p. 145.

⁶⁸ (B), Oral Tapes, Farr, (Bedford, 1918.)

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ (B), Oral Tapes, Lewis, 1930. Lewis remembers how one girl was persecuted by staff, increasing her nervousness until she willingly left.

after two terms.⁷² Surviving so long into the year and then leaving was unusual suggesting this student had the ability but not the desire to complete the course at Bedford. Usually after the first term the main culling was over and students only had to worry about removal for gross breach of discipline. At Dartford as shown above, one student was summarily dismissed for telling students that she could hypnotise them.⁷³ At Chelsea the 1915 prospectus stated 'In case of grave or continued breach of discipline the principal is empowered to suspend or expel any student from the college. In the case of such suspension or dismissal no fees will be returned.'⁷⁴ It would be probable that this type of dismissal would be relatively rare for the type of girls the college was able to recruit.

The Effect on the Students

The ever present threat of removal during the first term (and perhaps for the first year) must have led to no real feeling of permanence by junior students in the colleges. A letter from Isabella, the sister of Hampstead student Anna Pagan (Hampstead, 1894), reassured Anna that 'Last night we had a nice little note receipting your fees, reporting very well of you . . . and [of you] being very light and strong . . . promising the certificate in two years. I am ever so glad that your worry and uncertainty ended in such a highly satisfactory way.'⁷⁵ Even students who went on to achieve great success in later life at their college did not feel safe. In 1908 Phyllis Spafford (who later was asked by Miss Stansfeld to become Principal of Bedford College) believed she was in danger of removal. She had been 'top of school, captain of everything . . . I nearly ran away, I was on a term's probation.'⁷⁶ Her mother became concerned and went to Miss Stansfeld and said 'Phyllis tells me she may have to go she's only just come!'⁷⁷ Miss Stansfeld is alleged to have replied equally as bluntly that 'She's all right.'⁷⁸ Spafford believes she was safe then and out of trouble, though she continued to be unhappy at college.

⁷¹ (B), Oral Tapes, Graham, 1929.

⁷² (B), Oral Tapes, Todd, 1923.

⁷³ J. May, *Madame Bergman-Österberg*, p. 93. Detailed earlier in this chapter along with Bayley (Dartford, 1913) and Dr. Österberg's cycling accident.

⁷⁴ (C), Chelsea Physical Training College Prospectus 1914-1915, p. 8.

⁷⁵ (D), Student correspondence, Anna Pagan, 1892.

⁷⁶ (B), Oral Tapes, Spafford, 1908.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Graham (Bedford, 1929), reminiscing about her time at college, gives us some insight into the general fear of removal that pervaded the first term at Bedford college. The atmosphere at Bedford had a ‘terrible feeling, if you were not good enough you were out by Christmas. Over evening cocoa, coffee, we talked about people we thought wouldn’t survive. It was an extraordinary atmosphere.’⁷⁹ In Graham’s year, eleven out of fifty three students were gone by the end of the first term. Some of the students hated this type of atmosphere and the fear not only of removal, but the cruelty of staff and the rigid expectations. Others were more used to such demands from home or boarding school experience which made them more resilient.

Ways of Avoiding Being ‘Sent Down’

There were certain ways of keeping out of the relegation zone. Colwill (Bedford, 1913) offers some clues. Character was needed as ‘you had to be enormously strong, physically and mentally and not mind rebuff. You were taught by severe criticism and if you couldn’t take it life could be hell.’⁸⁰ So resilience had to be found in addition to good theory, practical skills, physical excellence, all against a background of home sickness and fear of unsympathetic staff. Colwill remembered how ‘humbled students broke down at times’,⁸¹ but much of this would bring their ‘weakness’ to the attention of staff and push them towards removal.

Residential public school girls had practice of similar conditions at the schools they had attended and this may have helped them at Bedford. Others had developed a defensive meekness and plodding attitude that allowed them to endure and keep their heads above water until the relative safety of Christmas. Another survival strategy benefited generally weak students who were exceptionally good at one sport, like hockey. This could gain the favour of a member of staff and ‘Once they took you under their wing you were o. k.’⁸²

Being able to turn and fight back when your back was to the wall could work as a last resort. Stratford (Bedford, 1925) had seen up to twenty percent of her year ‘sent down’ before her, when just before the Christmas holiday she was summoned by Miss Stansfeld and told, ‘Miss Stratford you need not come back after Christmas. I have a rule that I do

⁷⁹ (B), Oral Tapes, Graham, 1929.

⁸⁰ (B), Oral Tapes, Colwill, 1913.

⁸¹ Ibid.

not take any one with spectacles.’⁸³ Faced with the finality of her leader’s statement and its unusual justification Stratford replied, ‘Thank you’ and walked out. Her response to her apparent relegation was quite unique, she ignored it and turned up as normal at the college after Christmas. Nothing was said for a while, then she met Miss Stansfeld in the corridor, who said “‘All right I see you’re here.” “Yes” replied Stratford “because I know I can teach [and] we have not had a chance to prove ourselves yet.” “Well, we will see what happens.””⁸⁴ said Miss Stansfeld. Stratford, by showing commendable guts and character when all else was lost, earned a reprieve and went on to complete the course successfully. She was convinced that Miss Stansfeld ‘said things to see what you were made of.’⁸⁵

The ‘Sending Down’ Process

Being summoned to the principal’s room was dreaded by first term students. A nineteenth-century article on Madame Österberg comments on the bluntness of the procedure: ‘If through any cause a girl is not suited to become a teacher, Madame Österberg tells her so frankly at once and she leaves, no charge [fees] being made for the instruction received. This is always apparent in the first three months; often after a few weeks.’⁸⁶ This article deals with removal as a positive aspect of the college’s operation, suggesting Madame’s ‘no nonsense’ approach is part of her commitment to providing an elite stock of teachers. Madame comes out of this as carrying out a necessary function fairly and indeed generously as she does not charge those who have failed her expectations. This manner is echoed in the Sidcot Quarterly which noted ‘in such a case the girl leaves and is charged no fee for the instruction she has received.’⁸⁷ There may even have been a final reprieve for Dartford students who were considered not quite irredeemable for ‘In some cases she remains to undergo a special course of training, with special reference to her weakness.’⁸⁸

⁸² (B), Oral Tapes, Seymour, 1938.

⁸³ (B), Oral Tapes, Stratford, 1925.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ (D), A Chat With Madame Bergman-Österberg: Principal of Hampstead Physical Training College, February 24th 189?

⁸⁷ S. M. Bradley, ‘The Swedish System’, p. 145.

⁸⁸ Ibid. For case studies of borderline students see Appendix 4.

Student Case Studies

A case study of events surrounding Dartford student, Lilla Butler, comes to light in letters written during her first term in autumn 1916.⁸⁹ Her mother sent a letter to the then Dartford principal, Miss Meade, dated 18th of November, 1916. It stated:

As the term passes away you will understand how very anxious she [Lilla] will be to be finally accepted as a student for the full time course. I know that I have not the slightest right to try to influence your decision in any way. I have hesitated a great deal before writing to you but I finally decided to do so although I shall certainly not tell Lilla that I have written.⁹⁰

Mrs Butler continues her letter by informing the principal of how and where her minister husband died of ill health when Lilla was four years old. She stresses how important it is that Lilla takes up a healthy profession and how she would prefer her daughter at Dartford than any where else. Lilla's letters from Dartford are described as, 'bright happy letters [which] have been such a joy to me'⁹¹ and that, 'It will be possible for me to meet the expense of the training without too big a strain on my finances.'⁹² The whole tone of the letter suggests it is written as a support to bolster her daughter's position in the college. However, her success at school and her mothers praises were at variance with her performance during her first term at Dartford. A return of post letter to Mrs Butler dated 21st of November, 1916, bluntly pointed out her perilous position:

We have not as yet come to any decision as to which students will be able to continue the course . . . I think your daughter has been doing a little better lately. She was not specially satisfactory at the beginning of the term. She, I fear, is not sufficiently impressed with the serious importance of her work at this college. She hardly puts the necessary energy into what she does . . . However I still hope that your daughter may improve sufficiently to show us that it is worth our while to keep her.⁹³

This case study shows some key points. The perception of the mother was at odds with what the principal thought of Lilla, though the persistent ringing of her daughter's praises may suggest she was trying to compensate for her daughter's failings. Lilla had been head girl at Queenswood School. She appears to have had good references from the school. She had gained her Cambridge certificate. Lilla so far seems to fit Colwill's

⁸⁹ See Appendix 4 for a case study of her application to college.

⁹⁰ (D), Files on Students Sent Down, 1918-1925, Lilla Butler.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

statement relating to Bedford that the students were 'picked from an elite, the best schools, cream of schools.'⁹⁴ But at interview her physical appearance was against her, something that might not have mattered at school.⁹⁵ The opinion of staff two months into the first term was not good either. Not only was she not achieving enough but her attitude and effort is seriously questioned. This is not what one expects of the reputation of such students and raises serious questions about just what an elite student really was like, given that up to a third of students were removed and Lilla survived to complete the course. The reality might be that by this time some students were flawed in various ways. A proportion of students got in to college without being the hard working, fully committed people that students are remembered as being.

Another surprising case study is that of Muriel Bartlett. She had been sent down from Dartford in 1917, but managed to gain a place at Bedford. Miss Stansfeld sent her a very frank acceptance letter:

I am departing from my rule of taking no student from other colleges, but I think from Miss Barkins' [referee] account that the circumstances in your case are a little unusual - I should judge that your manner is a little repellent perhaps, and that you will have to get to work to conquer - I should imagine too your theoretical work is poor but you will have more time in 2 years and 2 terms (if you stay) to make that good. I hope very much you will be able to convince me that I have not done a foolish thing in accepting a rejected student from Dartford.⁹⁶

This extraordinary letter shows how it had become possible with appropriate warnings to continue at an equally prestigious college after being sent down at Dartford. Unfortunately no account exists of the circumstances of her sending down. It was considered unusual enough for her to be given a second chance by Miss Stansfeld who was not usually given to allowing second chances. Bartlett went on to successfully complete the course at Bedford. Hodson (Liverpool, 1918) also took her second chance, her story is as follows:

I came to college in 1915, a very shattered young woman of nineteen. The war had already been a great tragedy and I had been a year at another physical training college [identity unknown]. I had been sent home at the end of the first year by the Principal, with a note to my parents returning most of my fees, and saying there was nothing wrong with my work or behaviour but she did not like me, and did not think I was fitted for a gymnastic career, and would they make it plain to me that I would never be accepted at any

⁹⁴ (B), Oral Tapes, Colwill, 1913.

⁹⁵ See Appendix 4 for the importance of appearance during interview.

⁹⁶ (B), Letter from Miss Stansfeld to Bartlett, dated 10th of January, 1918.

other physical training college? It was a tragedy to me and my parents were extremely irked at these remarks about their daughter and asked me if I would like to go to another physical training college and show the good lady, who was the principal, that I *was* fitted for a gymnastic career? I said 'yes' and I turned up at Liverpool, very sore at heart but hopeful.⁹⁷

Hodson's experience shows how brutal a student's experience at college could be. Her reasons for removal seem at the whim of the principal and occurred not at the end of the first term but the first year. Hodson completed the course at Liverpool and eventually went on to join the staff.

Conclusion

Both Dartford and Bedford colleges seemed to take in more students than they believed were going to be successful. This was followed by an almost traditional culling of student numbers. What was the reason behind this strategy? Those who failed had their fees returned so there appears to have been no economic reason for this. It seems more likely that the aim was to produce an elite stock of students by the start of the second term. A policy of 'survival of the fittest' might well have been seen as a way of enhancing standards at the time. It also helped enhance the principals' reputations as no nonsense perfectionists creating a profession for the perfect woman, who would go on to do credit to her college and her sex. Madame Österberg justified her selection procedure as follows:

Our numbers remain small, standing at or about thirty. From the material offered, I frequently reject as many students as I accept, and this selection must necessarily limit rapid increase. However it is in harmony with my own ideas on education that schools, classes and particularly colleges, ought to be small. Individuality is the priceless quality of the teacher. Where there are large numbers, individuality cannot flourish. Its keen edge is rubbed off along with less desirable angularities. Besides a small college admits also of home life, always essential to women's happiness, and never more so than during the period of youth.⁹⁸

It seems likely that some students were marked as doubtful from the moment their interview ended and the first term was an unavoidable struggle to avoid being sent down. There appears to have been no support from staff for strugglers. Bedford staff seemed to pick on the weaker students actively trying to weed them out by pushing them beyond what

⁹⁷ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine, 1960, p.p. 5-6.

⁹⁸ (D), Madame Bergman-Österberg's Physical Training College Report for 1896-1898. p. 5. See Chapter 6 for a study of 'familism' within the colleges.

they could endure. Students were 'sent down' for failing in key areas; theory work, practical work, character defects or physical deformity. Weakness in any one of these areas led to a difficult time at college and the ever present threat of being called to the principal. Few who fell into the relegation zone managed to get out of it. Those who did were driven by fear of failure to find inner strength. They endured or took bold action to restore their standing before a reputation as unsuitable for college took hold.

The effect on the student community was probably divisive. The senior students were relatively safe having proved by surviving so long that they were considered suitable. It was the juniors who lived with the everyday fear of being sent down. Undoubtedly a certain number of junior students who were considered very good might consider themselves safe. They would not have the day-to-day worry to face. It is possible that this junior elite would make friends amongst itself forming their own clique. The rest would have to endure the terrible atmosphere of rumour and gossip. Those at the lower end of this group would wonder if each new day would be the one which led to their autocratic leader banishing them for good. They knew their principal' would always put college and its reputation before any individual student. This was hardly an empowering experience for young women to endure. The saving grace of failure might well have been one of relief that it was all over once they were sent home.⁹⁹ For those who just managed to keep themselves above the drop zone, it might well have been a long, hard two years before college graduation made it all worthwhile.

⁹⁹ (D), Files on Students sent Down 1918-1925. Not all who were sent down at Dartford in later years left without alternative occupations. In 1923 one student was sent down but went straight to the Royal Naval School at Twickenham. In 1924 a student left to go to Guys Hospital to train in physiotherapy and another wrote thanking the principal for helping her get a post as housekeeper at St Margaret's School, Bushey, where she was teaching some lacrosse. In 1925 another student went to Canada to do coaching. It seems the Dartford principal was actively involved in finding a more suitable occupation for those who were not up to completing the full course.

4.4; Student-Staff Inter-Relationships

Introduction

The other hierarchical group the students came into contact with was the college staff. In the hierarchical nature of the college environment they are clearly seen by the students as subservient to their principal, though well above the students' position. Each member of staff had their own characteristics. They were an important part of the students' life as they were more likely to be in daily contact with them rather than the principal who might be involved more in administration and therefore seem more distant.

Staff were recruited by the principal to serve her and her college. The type of member recruited was very important and at Bedford, 'Over the whole period Miss Stansfeld effectively recruited her staff from among her old students.'¹⁰⁰ This led to very specific control by the principal over her staff and greatly increased the hierarchy of the college.¹⁰¹ Staff owed their success to Miss Stansfeld and were totally loyal; they were the chosen, the pick of the crop.¹⁰² This had an interesting effect on student perceptions: Scott (Bedford, 1907) recalled 'Ida Hadley took us for gymnastics, and during practices, and helped us for our teaching in the Elementary Schools, we were proud to think that she and Molly Petit were a product of college and wondered if we could teach as well.'¹⁰³ The students were inspired by the achievement of these former students. However, even conservative Miss Stansfeld needed outside help when she started off. Young (Bedford, 1905) states, 'The staff consisted of Rhoda James an old Bedford High School girl, trained

¹⁰⁰ S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 69.

¹⁰¹ A. K. Clarke, A History of Cheltenham Ladies College 1853-1953 (London, 1953). At Cheltenham, Miss Beale operated the same strategy; 'She was served by a strong and devoted staff, many of whom were her own pupils.' At Chelsea, a less hierarchical group may have existed; 'The first era of the college leaves one with the very strong impression of a relatively small essentially democratic and progressive social unit of staff and students ably led by Dorrette Wilke', in I. Webb, 'The History of Chelsea Physical Training College' p. 485. And, 'As a Head her role was effective, because she attracted affection and inspired the staff and students to produce their best', in (C), Chelsea College of Physical Education Magazine, 1930, p. 3. Crump speaking on behalf of her mother Impey (Chelsea staff) states, 'Domina would discuss proposals, yours or hers, with you and come to a decision; if the effort was yours she supported you loyally while you attempted to carry it out, and if it were a success never took credit for what you had done', in (C), Crump, Letter to Barbara, p. 20.

¹⁰² Irene Marsh went a step further, by training up her own relations to become staff; 'Irene started to train her sister, Salome and her cousin Muriel Peet.' (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Report, 1990. p. 22.

¹⁰³ (B), Questionnaires Scott, 1907.

at Dartford, who had been Miss Stansfeld's assistant for a time.'¹⁰⁴ Other early college staff included, 'Miss Fredrickson (a Swede), Miss Moor (a visitor who taught dancing), Miss Roberts (Miss Stansfeld's friend), taught Hygiene.'¹⁰⁵

Personality and Inter-Relationships

Some students remember the personalities of these early staff which could be in positive or negative terms. Miss Petit is remembered in positive, caring and nurturing terms; Squires (Bedford, 1917) remembered, 'Dear kind and patient Molly P., and her lectures.'¹⁰⁶ And from experiences ten years earlier, Scott (Bedford, 1907) recalled, 'Molly Petit took Miss James's place and lectured in Anatomy and coached our games. . . what a tower of strength she has proved to College.'¹⁰⁷

The caring side of Miss Roberts' nature is remembered by Scott who noted that 'Miss Roberts was still science mistress at the Bedford High School, but she lectured us on hygiene; we were a noisy and rather troublesome set, but Miss Roberts coped with us and put us through our paces. Many of us remember with heartfelt gratitude how good she was to us at times of illness.'¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless Miss Roberts had a more hierarchical side to her which was perhaps dominant. Her effect on Spafford (Bedford, 1908) was to spoil at least some of her enjoyment at college: as she recalled the 'somewhat sad times, because I was frightened of Miss Roberts.'¹⁰⁹

A particular lecturer could have a greater daily influence on a student than the principal. This was due to her nearness to the student in the hierarchy. The lecturer would also be in daily contact with the student unlike the principal. Scott (Bedford, 1907) comments, 'Miss Lindelof was a grand teacher.'¹¹⁰ It seems the early Bedford students could behave in a more relaxed manner with this member of staff and even risked playing a joke. Scott recalls an experience with Miss Lindelof, who 'asked us how she could tell

¹⁰⁴ (B), Questionnaires, F. Young, 1905. Though a slightly different story is given by Hadley, 1905, (questionnaires), 'Before College started, Miss Stansfeld had trained privately a girl called Rhoda James, who taught us Anatomy.' This implies an input to Miss James Dartford training before she was ready to teach.

¹⁰⁵ (B), Questionnaires, Young, 1905.

¹⁰⁶ (B), Questionnaires, Squires, 1917.

¹⁰⁷ (B), Questionnaires Scott, 1907.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ (B), Questionnaires Spafford, 1910.

¹¹⁰ (B), Questionnaires Scott, 1907.

when Miss Stansfeld was joking, so we suggested she should ask, “Are you having me on toast?” and we were delighted when she came out with it to Miss Stansfeld.’

Miss Roberts was prepared to show her softer side at certain social events where the hierarchical nature of the college pyramid was relaxable. Hadley (Bedford, 1905) recalls such an event, ‘Normally she was very strict and severe, but on occasion of the annual summer picnic on the river, she used to stand on the bank and give us a burlesque of an opera singer which convulsed us all.’¹¹¹ But within the matri-patriarchal sphere of college she reverted back to hierarchical behaviour. Spafford (Bedford, 1908) remembers, ‘Miss Roberts was our house mistress and very strict she was.’¹¹²

Staff were seen as hierarchical members of the matri-patriarchy but could also show a more sociable side. At Early Bedford there was a range of characters; the autocratic

Miss Roberts; and the old students, Petit and James; and the approachable Swede, Lindelof. They were ultra-loyal to their leader. As Fletcher states: ‘Miss Stansfeld, living long into the Twentieth century, and amazingly responsive, as we shall see, to developments in her profession, never lost the habit of keeping in leading-strings, those who were designed to be leaders.’¹¹³ It was her presence which dominated her staff as well as her students. Picking loyal lieutenants from her own stock guaranteed hierarchical loyalty and made sure her will would be done.

4.5; Conclusion

The college community was based upon a matri-patriarchy. In this situation a female leader adapted patriarchal forms of power and control to produce professional physical educators. Student resistance to the matri-patriarchy varied between the colleges. Deviation was possible to some extent. For some students future empowerment was denied through perceived social or academic failure leading to them being ‘sent down’. College life was not for the faint hearted and not all reached their goal of achieving the diploma and having the opportunity to teach.

¹¹¹ (B), Questionnaires Hadley, 1905.

¹¹² (B), Questionnaires, Spafford, 1910.

¹¹³ S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 66.

Chapter 5: The Hierarchical Pyramid: An Examination Of Student Inter-Relationships

5.1; Introduction

The hierarchical model expounded in Chapter 4 is used here to examine student inter-relationships with each other in detail. The problems new students faced in meeting and socialising with their peers are considered. Group identity as year groups (sets) and the experience of socialising with equals are revealed. This experience is compared with the unequal socialising between senior and junior students. This study of college community provides understanding of how women got on with their equals and their superiors in an environment devoid of male presence.

5.2; Early Days: The Presenting Culture and Organisational Membership

The early students who arrived at college did so with trepidation. They had no peers to whom they could go for advice. Few even realised what they were letting themselves in for. A student from Bedford's first set, Young (Bedford, 1905) remembers that:

We were a very small, very individual, set of students. Most of us very young for our years, with no real knowledge of what the training entailed. I had put up my hair and donned my first long skirt the day that I arrived. Miss Petit had bought her first pair of boned corsets to help her through the great adventure. But we soon settled down, desperately keen and finding everything so new and absorbing that we had no interest in anything but work.¹

Those who had been to boarding schools would have been more prepared for the arrival procedures and processing. They might have been more prepared for the feelings of fright and nervousness. Those used to an easy-going governess might have been less prepared. Wakeford² sees this problem as being a case where the *presenting culture* (the students' sum of experiences) has formed a character which finds it difficult to adapt to the organisational membership. Those who had been to boarding schools had a

¹ (B), Margaret Stansfeld: Founder of Bedford Physical Training College 1903, pp. 11-12.

² J. Wakeford, The Cloistered Elite: A Sociological Analysis of the English Public Boarding School (London, 1993).

presenting culture which allowed them to adapt to standards of college membership more easily. A successful interview procedure should have weeded out those too far removed from the requirements of the college.³

Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) describes her arrival at college: ‘When our cab drove up I got out with the boxes and a lot of girls who were just going out to No. 5 rushed to the window and looked out.’⁴ After the curiosity rendered by Pagan’s arrival, ‘Madam introduced me as her own little student to several girls. Then I unpacked all half asleep and discovered my room mate to be a very jolly girl a “friend” called by the hideous name of Grubb.’⁵

Young (Bedford, 1905) had the advantage of knowing some of the other new students and states, ‘When I arrived I found two or three students including two from Bedford High School who I knew well.’⁶ Seeing familiar faces at college must have made the first few days easier compared to those who knew no one. Young comments on how the presenting culture and indeed Miss Stansfeld’s approach to her was different [Young had been taught by Miss Stansfeld at Bedford High School], in that ‘It was strange and rather discomfoting to be called Miss Young by Miss Stansfeld to whom I had been Freda for the last three years.’⁷ Miss Stansfeld then gave a talk aimed at making clear what was required by the first intake to meet college organisational acceptance. She stressed ‘the importance of our attitude to the work, our general behaviour, for on us depended the future of college.’⁸

At Anstey in 1916 an anonymous student remembers that, ‘On our arrival we were conducted down the long corridors, till we were brought up at a door bearing our name. The door was opened, and there was a cheery little chintz covered room; and right in the middle of the floor, looking strangely forlorn and out of place, our luggage in advance.’⁹ Unpacking provided much needed reassurance as familiar objects made the college seem less remote and forbidding. An anonymous Anstey student from 1909 comments that, ‘The first feeling on entering college was the strangeness of the new

³ See Chapter 3 for an in-depth study of this procedure.

⁴ (D), Letters, A. Pagan, to Mother, 28th of October, 1892.

⁵ Ibid. See later for Pagan’s views about her ‘friend.’

⁶ (B), Questionnaires, F. Young, 27th of April, 1973.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1916, p. 27.

surroundings, but the arrival of the luggage made us feel more at home as familiar objects came to sight.’¹⁰

Meal-times brought the new students together for the first time.¹¹ At Anstey in 1916 students were quickly brought together for socialising:

When we had unpacked, and more fully taken over possession of our rooms by establishing therein our numerous and varied *lares penctesque*, we descended to the common room which proved to be a delightfully artistic place, and where, by a cheery fire, we partook of tea and made the acquaintance of some of our future fellow students. Supper that night remains merely as a confused recollection of rows upon rows of new faces, and the babel of talk and laughter, speculation and reminiscence.¹²

Also at Anstey in 1909 ‘Breakfast next morning brought a new occupation of trying to fit names to people, without small success.’¹³ Hodson (Liverpool, 1918) remembers that ‘At college we were put at little tables with the people with whom we were sleeping, instead of at long tables from which I had come at the other college. . . It was great fun and there was tremendous babble, and by the end of that first supper we had all exchanged the four of us, who were the four oldest, all our histories, and I found the other three were far more tragic than me.’¹⁴

Socialising was an important part of community activity for each individual student. This involved meeting fellow equals, i.e. other juniors, and the not so equals, the seniors. This could be a dangerous process as at Anstey in 1916:

During our first days at College our mistakes were manifold and ludicrous - even at this first gathering there were episodes. One new student, who had hitherto sat silent and constrained, reasoning to make a bold attempt at amiable intercourse, remarked to her neighbour that ‘that far girl by the fire was awfully jolly’ and to her immeasurable confusion was informed - rather frigidly, be it said - that the lady in question was ‘a member of staff!’ The student thought silence might have its advantages, after all. Efforts to make conversation are apt to prove disastrous!¹⁵

At Anstey in 1907:

The first few days are full of pitfalls for the new junior. It is so fatally easy to commit terrible blunders, for instance that of speaking of ‘breaking up’ instead of ‘going down’ and to make breaches of etiquette which cover one with confusion when the mistake is discovered. In-spite of these drawbacks the first few days are very amusing

¹⁰ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1909, p. 28.

¹¹ See Chapter 6 for a study of the power rituals which centred around meal-times

¹² (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1916, p. 27.

¹³ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1909, p. 28.

¹⁴ (L) Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine, 1960, p. 6.

¹⁵ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1916, p. 27.

simply to watch everyone and try to sort out the juniors from the seniors is entertainment enough and put out feelers on one's own account and wonder which one of them all will be one's friends.¹⁶

This socialising process grew as the days went by. At Anstey in 1909, 'Day after day we became more and more used to the life, and we now realise what a delightful one it is and feel that two years will be all too short a time at college.'¹⁷ Being accepted by one's fellows was extremely important for the new student's psyche and feeling of self-worth. The students found themselves in a unique behavioural environment, with limited amounts of experience to draw upon. The hierarchical nature of college with its rules and rituals meant mistakes could easily be made by the unwary. This could lead to feelings of dreadful embarrassment and failure. Worse, students could bring negative attention to themselves. A good start was essential at college to avoid censure and notice. Students were constantly in each other's company so the ability to mingle and converse was essential.¹⁸ Those who stood out from the group risked loneliness and possibly an unsuccessful time ahead. Those who had an adaptable presenting culture quickly began to meet the organisation's expectations and had a clear advantage over the less successful.

5.3; Student' Views on College Culture and Community

Students arriving at college had to get along with other students of varying experiences and character. Students quickly formed groups and sub-groups with each other. Some were hierarchical in nature, others were egalitarian based on similar interests and friendships. Unfortunately for the historian the study of the socialisation of peer groups at the colleges has restricted sources to draw upon. This is due to students' reminiscences more often involving experiences up the hierarchical pyramid and related to

¹⁶ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1907. p. 22.

¹⁷ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1909, p. 3.

¹⁸ G. Avery, *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls' Independent Schools*, p. 205; 'Once over the first miseries of homesickness, the newcomer has to contend with the lack of solitude. "Solitude was an eccentricity the school was at pains to discourage," wrote one girl of Wycombe Abbey, but she could have written it of any boarding school.'

inter-actions with the staff (and in particular the principal) rather than laterally amongst each set.¹⁹

Set Characteristics

Successful sets would have a quick uniting of the energies of the disparate groups of individuals. Groups who quickly established a common purpose would get on better, have less students 'sent down,' and provide a more supporting and empowering environment for its individuals.

Generalisations of group attitude and experience are made by old students. These statements are usually very positive. Scott (Bedford, 1907) comments that, 'We were a small community living in an atmosphere of good will and hard work.'²⁰ Rowlatt (Bedford, 1910) recalls that, 'We were a happy crowd and enjoyed college life'²¹ and Payne (Bedford, 1905) expresses that 'There was a wonderful feeling of unity and happy purpose in the College: it was a great seed bed of personality and vocation, for both staff and girls.'²² Payne goes on to state 'We were specially fortunate in being the first set because it was small and intimate and the feeling of being just a family was there.'²³ Heild (Bedford, 1905) also had a very positive view of community ties at Bedford in that 'the general impression left with me is one of hard work both mental and physical and good comradeship and the proud feeling that one was a member of the Bedford Physical Training College.'²⁴ However some sets had more negative personas, Scott (Bedford, 1907) declares, 'We were a queer set, hardly a set at all - so much did we lack cohesion, and so hard it is to find the reasons that led some of us to take up physical training.'²⁵ These divisions backed by the 'individuality' which characterised physical training students could lead to problems involving group identity.²⁶

¹⁹ Each new year group was called a 'Set'; the year of graduation became the 'Set year'. Hence the first set at Bedford was 'Set 1905' the year the students graduated, not 1903 the year the students arrived. This set was also called 'Set 1.' The 1906 set was Set 2 and so on.

²⁰ (B), Questionnaires, Scott, 1907.

²¹ (B), Questionnaires, Rowlatt, 1910.

²² (B), Questionnaires, Payne, 1905.

²³ (B), Ibid. See later in this chapter for my comments on 'college familism'.

²⁴ (B), Questionnaires, Heild, 1905.

²⁵ (B), Questionnaires, Scott, 1907.

²⁶ In later years (B), Questionnaires, Donaldson, 1938, had the awful experience of Miss Stansfeld herself approaching her and stating, 'What is the matter with your set. I can't stand the atmosphere.' Donaldson was taken aback but managed to reply that she 'would do what she could.' (B), Stanley (Bedford, 1949) also

Sub-Groups Within Sets

Within the student body at physical training colleges, certain sub-groups were identified by the students.²⁷ Goodrich (Bedford, 1922) found she could identify with five or six fellow ex-Cheltonians at Bedford, even though she acknowledged that they were 'snooty.'²⁸ This gave her a sense of security as she had known them at Cheltenham during her schooldays 1916-22. The other distinct social group she recalls were the 'Wycombe Abbey group' who were noted as very good at games even though they formed an 'objectionable clique at first.'²⁹

Individual students are sometimes remembered as having their own characteristics: Graham (Bedford, 1910) declares, 'Many of you know Phyllis Spafford. She was a very keen suffragette and our 1st year's play was connected with the movement.',\$³⁰ and Cuthill (Bedford, 1905) remembers 'Blandy the colonel's daughter who fascinated my adolescent mind, she produced her own cheque book.'³¹

The First Sets at College

This strongly perceived difference between student backgrounds may not have been so evident in the early days of college, where the first set is remembered by one of their

has a negative vision of her group, 'We were so childish, naive, didn't grow up. We played silly games . . . like Murders.' (B), Questionnaires, Lewis (Bedford, 1930) also remembers lack of community support, 'we weren't good at standing up for each other. We preferred to save our own skins.'

²⁷ (B), Questionnaires, Donaldson (Bedford, 1938) comments on the 'enormous variety of people, including university and the utterly useless.' There were two distinct categories of students recognised and commented on by the students. (B), Questionnaires, Bowen-West (Bedford, 1946) divides the girls into 'cloaked, public school girls with sophisticated attitudes and behaviour, they were great games players, and the Grammar school girls, all-rounders and more committed teachers.' (B), Questionnaires, Stanley (Bedford, 1949) adds to these categories by remembering that most of the students were from public schools and wealthy families. She remembers a 'snooty voice' on her first day calling out 'Definitely there do seem to be a lot of grammar school types around this year.' Some of this group of students of this period would get the (rare) privilege of leave to attend Ascot. A sign perhaps of their family's status that even the college Principal might reluctantly have to give way to on this occasion. (B), Questionnaires, Feaver (Bedford, 1930) had seven Cheltenham girls in her set who 'terrified' her. She remembers 'The group didn't gel . . . they were all individuals.' The failure of group bonding led to the set getting a reputation from the other social groups in the college, i.e. the staff and senior students, as being 'sulky' and a 'bad set.' (B), Questionnaires, Newell-Smith (Bedford, 1928) firmly places the students' arrogance as being from their schooling, 'Dartford drew students from a wider range of schools, Bedford were snobbish.'

²⁸ (B), Oral Tapes, Goodrich, 1922. Goodrich makes no comment on whether she considered herself to be 'snooty.' The use of the words 'snooty' and 'cliques' at Bedford show social divisions were apparent in later years and resentment may have been apparent between the two groups of grammar and public school students, reinforced by the more wealthy backgrounds of the public school trained students.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ (B), Questionnaires, Graham, 1910.

³¹ (B), Questionnaires, Cuthill, 1905.

own; Young (Bedford, 1905) comments that, 'We were a very small, very individual, set of students, most of us very young for our years.'³² Nevertheless this implies these students were the same only in that they were all 'individual' and 'most' but not all, were immature.³³

Roberts (Chelsea, 1917) found 'a very friendly atmosphere, everybody cheery.'³⁴ Webb sums up the college's early years as giving 'a very strong impression of a relatively small, essentially democratic and progressive social unit of staff and ably led by Dorrete Wilke.'³⁵ At Anstey, 'The first set of seven students was a keen and friendly group, who proved remarkably level in their ability and attainment'³⁶ and, 'Life in general would seem to have an air of easy formality about it.'³⁷ With fewer students in the earlier years the social mix was more similar than in the later explosion of student numbers, meaning perceptions of social differences were far fewer.

Self-Confidence and Arrogance

As far as sporting and academic achievement was concerned all the students had been successful at school in games and gymnastics, Glaister's (Bedford, 1943) comment that they were 'head girls and heroes, put together we were arrogant, self-confident, schoolgirl heroes.'³⁸ may have been applicable to some students in the earlier sets. As McCrone states, 'Character building games were considered appropriate to the future

³² (B), Questionnaires, Payne, 1903.

³³ The types of students thrown together in college institutions are often commented on. M. Tylecote, The Education of Women at Manchester University 1883 to 1933 (Manchester, 1941), p. 88; 'The eleven students represented a wide diversity of outlook and previous experience. They were too few to split up into groups, they were obliged to live in more intimate contact than in larger halls and to rub each others corners off as best they could.' K. K. Sklar, 'Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers', Signs, Summer, Vol. 10, 1985, p. 121; 'Hull House accommodated an array of talented, volatile, opinionated women.' S. Hamilton, 'Women and the Scottish Universities Circa 1869-1939, p. 314. Hamilton comments on the insecurities of young women in such environments; 'I was like most Scottish students extremely shy and inarticulate, I couldn't speak to people without blushing.' And, 'feeling of inferiority or lack of confidence which haunted those women students for whom university was a new experience.'

³⁴ I. M. Webb, 'The History of Chelsea College of Physical Education', p. 98.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 483.

³⁶ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College of Physical Education, p. 20.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁸ (B), Oral Tapes, Glaister, 1943. (B), Questionnaires, Lewis (Bedford, 1930) found the snobbery as 'bad at Bedford as anywhere.' She blamed the 'feeding back' system whereby Bedford old-students recommended their own choice of candidates to the college from their own schools. One 1940s Bedford student even thought, 'I don't remember anybody without the right accent doing well.' S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 63, gives a useful summary; 'Bedford was the most snobbish of the colleges, with much less of a "social mix"

leadership roles of public school children of *both* (my italics) sexes.³⁹ Though some students were more self-confident and assured than others.

The 'arrogance' of students is much commented on by the old-students themselves. Some believed it was the college rather than the students' background and schooling that gave them this manner. Heward asserts that 'It used to be said, possibly with truth that Dartford products were insufferably assured.'⁴⁰ This arrogance and snobbery associated with physical training students from Bedford and Dartford is mirrored by Heward's general statement that 'Criticism of training college students' "over education" and "arrogance" were common.'⁴¹ This does not mean that every student was perceived as arrogant. There seems to have been a general stereotype of the 'arrogant student,' a type that was recognised by some of the students themselves. This implies another hidden hierarchy with the 'snooty' and 'arrogant' student set apart and considered to have certain advantages and superiority over those who were not in this category. Some students felt uncomfortable or afraid of these 'super-students.' There was a background belief that these students got on better at college, especially at Bedford. This leads to the possibility of college differentiation where evidence for the 'arrogant student' is greater at Bedford and Dartford than elsewhere. This arrogance can be seen as the result of 'over-empowerment,' where a false sense of confidence was taken up by certain students.⁴² The division between students may have been broken down or considered less important as the year progressed and students got to know each other better.

Students and Friendship

Student socialising was allowed to occur though it was limited by busy time-tables.⁴³ Small groups met together during parties. Spafford (Bedford, 1908) remembers

than Dartford or Anstey and certainly less than the one in Chelsea (where it was possible for the London girls to train economically at home) or the Liverpool college of Irene Marsh.'

³⁹ K. E. McCrone, 'Class, Gender and English Women's Sport, C. 1890-1914', Journal of Sport History, Vol. 18, No. 1, Spring, 1991, p. 6.

⁴⁰ C. Heward, 'Men and Women and the Rise of Professional Society: The Intriguing History of Teacher Educators', History of Education, Vol. 22, No. 1, 1993, p. 13.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² See J. A. Conger, 'Leadership: The Art of Empowering Others', The Academy of Management Executive, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1989, p. 23.

⁴³ G. Avery, The Best Type of Girl, p. 210; 'Above all there is companionship. In the early days when girls were so often up at home it was exhilarating to be allowed to mix with contemporaries.' R. C. Sherrick, 'Private Visions, Public Lives: The Hull House Women', PhD., Ann Arbor, Mi., 1980, p. 52, is even more

that, 'We gave a party in our room the refreshments were usually oranges: they were very cheap those days. All I had for pocket money was £1-0-0- a term so you could not be extravagant with that.'⁴⁴

However, student friendships were monitored by staff. Salt (Dartford, 1916) for one, was in support of such actions, 'Talking to other people I find that we were rather grateful that discipline was strict and we were segregated and after all most of us did get married in the end!' One thing she 'always remembers of college was avoiding "sticky friendships." We had to go about in threes or more. And a good thing too!'⁴⁵ This echoes Madame's view upon finding Anna Pagan sitting on the knee of her friend Frances Perkins.⁴⁶ Madame's comments on 'Swermerei' shows her distaste of 'special friendships.'⁴⁷ There was an informal battle between students wanting to have special friends as well as general friends. Staff tried to control signs of this behaviour when they came upon it. In the above case Madame gets her way in the incident but has no effect on Pagan's emotional feelings towards Perkins.

Students' admiration for each other, and in particular for senior students did occur. Anna Pagan comments that, 'Polly [senior student] is looking lovelier than ever.'⁴⁸ Her sister Hannah Pagan (Dartford, 1902) also comments as an onlooker on student friendship: 'two o'clock Saturday when Miss Matcheas and May Osborne have left together for London each looking more exquisitely love-daft than the other is naturally the time of all others when I think hardest of home. So here I am in a deck chair across the fields sending my greetings home.'⁴⁹ And later in other letters to Anna, she notes 'Four more days of Mary (Osborne) I wish you could have seen her as a student with her beautiful flat back and lovely movements'⁵⁰ and 'Miss Le Couteur [senior student] has such a sweet womanly face . . . Nora is beginning to look so pretty, her position has improved since January.

positive; 'The women moved easily from the warmth of home and family to the community of college friendship. For many the relationship was an exciting and welcome surprise . . . the educational system at Miss Porter's was "only a small part of our life there . . . personal relations were the important factors in adolescent life.'"

⁴⁴ (B), Questionnaires, Spafford, 1910.

⁴⁵ (B), Questionnaires, Salt, 1916.

⁴⁶ For the full incident see Chapter 4.

⁴⁷ (D), A. Pagan, 'Description of Life at College 1892-1894', Answers, April 24th, 1897.

⁴⁸ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Mother, 28th of October, 1892.

⁴⁹ (D), Letters, H. Pagan to Lizzie, 2nd of June, 1902.

⁵⁰ (D), Letters, H. Pagan to A. Pagan, 15th of December, 1901.

Hollow back steadily disappearing.’⁵¹ Student appearance was therefore valued and commented on by both the Pagans.

When new students were thrown together tensions and frustrations were inevitable.⁵² Sometimes students did not get on or disliked certain characteristics in each other. Anna Pagan laments:

It is a bother about Bessie Grubb. She says such blundering, tactless things (often sounding very rude) that there’s not a soul in college but angelic Ruth, who even asks her to walk out alone, she is in a chronic state of fishing for invitations: and (this is the saddest of all) she walks with me about four times a week, and it wearies me. Talking to her in the bedroom is quite enough, and I am so sorry for her I can’t refuse. Then I never have a day to walk alone or with other girls.⁵³

Walking together was a major source of leisure and opportunity for student socialisation. It was fixed into the Dartford timetable where Pagan comments, ‘Dinner at 1. 30 very large after which we must walk out for an hour and a half.’⁵⁴ Students could also feel jealousy towards each other; Cuthill (Bedford, 1905) remembers that, ‘I used to get very annoyed at the attention shown to Mary Tempest’s knee.’⁵⁵

At Liverpool concern for appearance met a problem with hair style. Hodson (Liverpool, 1918) reminisces that, ‘I personally had rather a reputation for being able to stick hairpins into the softest and most slippery type of hair. I had three clients who came to me

⁵¹ (D), Letters, H. Pagan to A. Pagan, 2nd of June, 1902.

⁵² Friction between resident students was not unknown at school or college see M. Tylecote, The Education of Women at Manchester University, p. 88, Nineteenth century Manchester University had female students ‘from many different environments, stern and narrow Calvinistic homes or light-hearted, easy going artistic homes. With all the tenaciously held conflicting opinions, it was inevitable that sweeping judgements, crude criticisms should frequently be in opposition. But if students frequently shocked or irritated each other, the cleavage never went very deep, there was always underneath, the strong stream of youth and activity and earnest purposes to weld together the warring elements. My memory is that we almost certainly enjoyed ourselves.’ And, G. Avery, The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls’ Independent Schools, p. 210; ‘In the winter, cooped up indoors, resentments and frictions rise to the surface.’ However, ‘Boarding school solidarity is considerable . . . cooped up together for thirty-six weeks of the year, even relatively incompatible elements grow together.’

⁵³ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Louise, 16th of November, 1892.

⁵⁴ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Mother, 28th of October, 1892. Formal walking was common at all the colleges and public schools. M. V. Hughes, A London Girls of the Eighties (London, 1936), p. 120, states at Newnham, ‘We would explore the colleges and the Backs . . . More attractive even than the backs [sic] and the bridges were the real country walks - either one that took an hour, or a longer round that took more than two hours - called respectively the Little Grind and the Big Grind. From these we would come back hot and healthy, laden with branches of autumn berries and leaves to decorate our rooms.’ R. C. Sherrick, ‘Private Visions Public Lives: The Hull-House Women in the Progressive Era’, p. 53; ‘Miss Porter’s students were required to take a two-hour walk each afternoon, a great encouragement to the formation of close relationships.’ Physical training students were allowed to take their walks unaccompanied.

⁵⁵ (B), Questionnaires, Cuthill, 1905.

every Saturday before hockey matches and said “do for goodness sake fix my bun so that it won’t fall down.”⁵⁶ At early 1920s Dartford:

The other factor was that your hair would fall down, always provided your elastic didn’t pop, since bobbed hair had just come in and was definitely taboo. However, as nothing would make mine stay up in spite of endless efforts by my Senior and others, I eventually had it cut off to a page boy bob and appeared at a meeting with staff in fear and trembling. The summons came at the end of the meeting, but Miss Lett was as relieved as everyone else and I was forgiven and it wasn’t long before others followed my example.⁵⁷

Hair style had caused problems for students at Dartford for some time; Broman (Dartford, 1911) remembers that, ‘It was the time when we wore “side combs” in our hair. On vaulting night they were apt to fall out. Mr Mauritz would pick them up and hand them back with his most gracious smile - Madame didn’t approve of this, so “side combs” were banned on vaulting nights.’⁵⁸ At Bedford ‘Janet Coutts and Ruth Muirhead were the first students to arrive with short hair, Miss Stansfeld told them they must begin to grow it immediately or they would never get a job.’⁵⁹

Boyfriends were banned from the colleges in the early years.⁶⁰ The students in later years had limited contact. A late-Edwardian Bedford student sums up the situation at all the colleges: ‘As for boyfriends, they weren’t really on.’⁶¹ And at Dartford, ‘Of course

⁵⁶ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine, 1960, p. 7. See S. Burstall, Public Schools for Girls, 1911, (London, 1911), p. 232; ‘The care of the hair is recognised as a matter for great vigilance. In some cases hairdressers attend periodically; in others matron, assisted by maids, brushes and inspects the hair of at least the younger girls at stated times, varying from every day to three times a term. In some cases elder girls brush hair for each other, but this is a duty which can hardly be left wholly to them. In one school the hair must be kept neatly plaited all day, until the evening hours, and it is manifestly desirable to keep it out of the way during gymnastics etc.’

⁵⁷ (D), ‘College in my Day 1921-24’, Dartford Physical Training College Magazine, 1981, p. 27. Senior students often helped arrange junior student hair. S. Hamilton, ‘Women and the Scottish Universities,’ p. 343, recalls how miss-styling hair could lead to impropriety and the guidance of a senior student becoming necessary; ‘In her capacity as a senior student, to a new student who was “offending” our sense of propriety by wearing her towsey hair adorned with splashes of pink and lavender ribbon - More than the men could easily ignore.’

⁵⁸ (D), Dartford Physical Training College Magazine, 1985, p. 27. A. Broman, 1911.

⁵⁹ (B), Bedford Physical Training College Magazine, 1975, p. 26

⁶⁰ Madame’s views on ‘Swermerei’ and special friendships suggest that relations between females were equally restricted and controlled.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 32. Men were taboo even at mixed colleges. S. Hamilton, ‘Women and the Scottish Universities,’ p. 311; ‘Miss Mcleod recalled that she never knew a man to speak to . . . We sat in separate sections of the class, didn’t mix at all, that wouldn’t have been proper.’ At Cambridge surveillance extended outside the college; R. McWilliams-Tullberg, A Men’s University Though of a Mixed Type: Women at Cambridge (Cambridge, 1975), p. 104; ‘All contact between male and female students was potentially dangerous and had to be kept to a minimum . . . The girls were chaperoned in any place where men might be encountered and a large part of the river was out of bounds for fear men might be bathing there. A student once caused a great panic by being seen walking in the college gardens with a man. The offending male

men were definitely an unknown breed.’⁶² Patriarchal society enclosed the college matri-patriarchy and insisted the college keep to its conventions. All principals were dominated by the desire to avoid confrontation with the society they existed within. Miss Stansfeld may have been an autocrat within the Bedford matri-patriarchy but as Fletcher states, ‘Miss Stansfeld, no more than Emily Davies could ignore the opinion of conventional society.’⁶³ The physical training colleges followed the same unwritten societal rules that other female or mixed educational establishments followed. The students at physical training colleges were involved in dangerously masculine sports and games; they had to make sure no accusations of impropriety or unlady-like behaviour could be brought against any one of them. As Edwards states, ‘The Principal and staff were concerned *above all else* [my italics] to maintain the respectability of their institutions, and therefore to ensure that conditions were such that no breath of scandal could touch them.’⁶⁴ Given the possibility of rumours of scandal imagined or real, the cost would be so great to the college as well as the individual, that it was considered best to ban men from the matri-patriarchal area of influence. Students could go a whole term without meeting a man to talk to. This authority was rarely challenged.⁶⁵

proved to be the girl’s brother, but she was reminded by the principal that ‘The brother of one was not the brother of all.’

⁶² (D), ‘College in My Day 1921-24’, Dartford Physical Training College Magazine, 1981, p. 27. This had changed by the mid 1920s; (B), Oral Tapes, Stratford (Bedford, 1925); ‘The majority had boy friends. The Girl I roomed with was in love, dreaming most of the time.’

An interesting account of the trouble boyfriends could bring a student or in this case a pupil is recalled in J. E. Harrison, *Reminiscences of A Students Life* (London, 1925), p. 29; ‘This same-boyfriend got me into serious disgrace later at school at Cheltenham. I was working for the London Matriculation then just opened to women, and he proposed to write to me just before the examination to “buck me up”. No letter reached me, but one morning I was summoned before Miss Beale’s throne, where she sat in state before the lower school came into prayers. She had in front of her a post card (post cards had just been invented) written in a school boy scrawl and signed “Peveril”. “That” she said, pointing a disgusted finger at the signature, “is a boy’s name”. “Yes” I said, “it’s Peveril; he promised to write to me before the examination, and I put out my hand for the post card.” “No. This must go to your parents,” and then came a long harangue. It ended up with the words which intrigued me so that I remember them exactly: “You are too young, and I hope too innocent, to realise the gross vulgarity of such a letter or the terrible results to which it might lead.” I was indeed and still am, for what do you think was the offence? After his signature “Peveril” had written “Give my love to the examiners.”’

⁶³ S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 65.

⁶⁴ E. Edwards, ‘The Culture of Femininity in Women’s Teacher Training Colleges 1900-1950’, *History of Education*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1993, p. 284.

Summary

An overall view is available for community life at college. A positive view of a general community where 'camaraderie,' 'support,' 'co-operation,' 'goodwill,' and 'loyalty' are key-words, overriding any individual selfishness which may have existed. The 'uniqueness' of college community life is expressed or insinuated in these accounts. Clearly these individuals were able to identify with a self-supporting, community image.⁶⁶

College community experience could however be positive or negative, depending on various factors such as which year group, or which student within a year group was involved. Why some students might enjoy the community experience more than others could depend on many factors; family background, school, academic success, outgoing character, and staff relations. For some the community was a great experience, long remembered and enhanced, as negative aspects were forgotten. For others the negative aspects are remembered and the positive aspects taken more for granted. The community experience was very important throughout the college's history. There was no getting away from college life for the students who lived in college.

Whether the college experience was seen as good or bad by a student was determined to some extent by her fellow students. The individual's sense of self-worth was linked to her relationships with the others around her. The culture that the student suddenly found herself part of allowed her to experience companionship with people of different character and background. This experience would stand her in good stead in the outside world. It opened up her ideas more than experiences within the family home would have done. Student friendships led to a caring mini-environment within the college matri-patriarchy. Friends supported, advised, and informed each other of useful information both social and academic. They supported each other emotionally. This led to

⁶⁵ The students suffered major effects because of this embargo. K. A. Henderson, A Leisure of One's Own: A Feminist Perspective on Women's Leisure, p. 25; 'The threat of deviance was so powerful that it kept women in line ideologically and emotionally, and hindered them psychologically!'

⁶⁶ An outside inspector's report at Bedford 1935, commented on 'an atmosphere of goodwill: keen co-operation and of vital interest in the work of the college. Such an atmosphere cannot but help to foster willing response and that loyalty which is the backbone of every good college.' And, a late-1940s student comments, 'There was a tremendous interest in one another, both people and in individual achievements, and a great deal of support for each other too. There was a sense of time really well spent, of having belonged to a unique community.' However, some students found a darker side to the college community. (B), Questionnaires, Seymour-Meade (Bedford, 1938) found it a 'very narrow community.' (B), Questionnaires, Burgon (Bedford, 1943) found 'the student camaraderie (the) saving grace.' And, 'only saw college people all term.'

an increase in confidence and self-worth of each student. Friendship therefore was an integral part of the empowering process, operating on the emotional level.

Students did not passively agree with all the characteristics that the community contained. They were capable of understanding that they were part of an elite, and the characteristic associated with an elite, namely 'arrogance', was identifiable. The student culture operated in the spaces left by the rules imposed by the college staff and was overruled by college dictates. The female student culture was insular, isolated, and very difficult for individuals to alter. Those students who were able to identify with their fellows and considered the female culture a positive experience, found this greatly ameliorated the hardships of college life and its expectations.

5.4; The Hidden Hierarchy: Junior and Senior Student Inter-relationships

'Feminist history overlooked the power that women have over other women.'⁶⁷

The senior and junior groups form the lower part of the hierarchical pyramid. They have often been considered as a homogenous group by researchers. However each set had their own characteristics at group and individual levels. This section looks in particular at the power relations between junior and senior students in the colleges.

The following words are taken from a poem signed 'A Junior', at Anstey in 1904. The theme is based on a respectful salute to a hierarchically superior group. It is entitled, 'Retrospect':

*'Alas the time has come for sad farewell,
Too soon our Seniors will be scattered far,
And we young things be left to take their place,
But how?- We find it hard to tell!
A fitting wall of dignity was reared.
From first, twixt them and us, yet not too high
But there were ladders we could scale, and chinks*

⁶⁷ K. Sayer, 'Concepts: Feminism and History', Modern History Review, Vol. 6, November, 1994, p. 7.

And cracks, through which we oft-times peered;

Thus caught a warning look, or word of cheer

That helped to steer us through our Junior year.

. . . . Don't quite forget us all, when in your posts

When memory's dull, read what's appended here:-⁶⁸

The major hierarchical division of students was between the senior students (those who had successfully completed one year at college) and the junior students (who were in their first year at college). Senior students were considered of higher status as they had proved their worth to the college by surviving the first year. They had specific powers and influence over the juniors. They also had their own group characteristics.⁶⁹ At Chelsea in 1922 (after the three year course had been introduced): 'The Lodge claims to be one of the oldest hostels, and although grey and stately to look upon, it contains the jolliest crowd of students imaginable. There are eleven *staid* Third Years, only four surviving Second Years, and eight *quiet* little First Years [my italics].'⁷⁰

The Student Hierarchy

'A fitting wall of dignity was reared.

From first, twixt them and us, yet not too high'

⁶⁸ (A), Anstey Physical Training Magazine, 1904, p. 11.

⁶⁹ The division of pupils and students into sets usually led to each separate group exhibiting group characteristics. This was helped when groups were separated geographically; D. E. De Zouche, Roedean School 1885-1955 (Brighton, 1955), p. 60; 'But the Junior House, whether under that name or called Number Five House, had always had its own complete and individual character.' E. Bailey, Lady Margaret Hall: A Short History, p. 95; 'The characteristics of the different years change very much. In general I should describe the First Year as rather elderly, dogmatic, and self-conscious; the Second Year as younger again, free thinking and energetic; the Third Year as hoary with age, Olympian, self-absorbed, and caste-conscious. It is for the Third Year that the Fresher should reserve her shyness. Their air of lofty superiority and remote courtesy is infinitely more alarming than the direct attack of the principal or tutors, and at the first almost invariably produces the uncomfortable feeling of being a poor relation. Those of the Fourth Year who have finished their main schools revert once more to a youthful light-heartedness, and are very often the most easily imposed upon of all.'

⁷⁰ (C), Chelsea Physical Training College Magazine, 1922, p. 7. (B), Questionnaires, Scott, 1907, comments, 'There were 15 in our set, to us it seemed a large number, as we followed a set of 10, who were so brilliant that we seemed a very poor lot in comparison.'

There were various barriers which maintained senior student superiority and segregation.⁷¹ These were in the form of rules and traditions. Rules of behaviour quickly became 'tradition.'⁷² Gummer (Dartford, 1919) recalls that there were:

some humiliating ones for 1st years. No senior was to be addressed by anything but Miss - by any junior who were referred to in return by their surnames. Until the end of the second year (or first year until the three year course had been introduced in 1919) juniors were not allowed in the seniors hall. Juniors uttered a cry "Passage Staff" or "Passage Senior" on the approach of these exalted beings and did their best to melt into the landscape.⁷³

Personal greeting and the use of names were an important part of the segregation procedure at other colleges. Lowe (Anstey, 1914) recalled, 'We never used first names at college, and often we used to address the senior years as Miss so and so.'⁷⁴ At Chelsea greetings held equal importance. Wallace-Smith (Chelsea, 1920) stated, 'Every junior is expected to use the prefix "Miss" when speaking to any of her seniors. The seniors on the contrary address all their juniors as "Brown, Jones," etc., as the case may be.'⁷⁵ As at Dartford, the behaviour was now considered to be 'custom.'⁷⁶ Saluting was remembered as the oldest of all customs:

⁷¹ S. Burstall, *Public Schools for Girls*, pp. 236-7. Segregation was a common policy in public schools 'where girls are generally arranged in dormitories according to age, this division is carried out to some extent in the common rooms also. One head mistress wrote that there is "very little mixing between the quite young girls and the elder ones, although each sixth form girl . . . takes special charge of a little one [see Mothering later]." On the other hand some heads attach special importance to the free intercourse, as in a large family, between girls of all ages.'

⁷² E. J. Morse, 'English Civic Universities and the Myth of Decline', *History of Universities*, Vol. 11, 1992, p. 188, examines the importance of tradition in Victorian institutions, "'Victorian institutions" attempt to establish legitimacy by the "invention of tradition", . . . a trend common to all new institutions of the period: To gain legitimacy, . . . venerable and decayed ceremonials were revived, and new institutions were clothed with all the anachronistic allure of archaic but invented spectacle.' Morse is essentially talking about male dominated institutions though the female colleges were prepared to clothe rules in ceremony where appropriate. For a practical examination of the use of rules in creating corporate identity see K. E. McCrone, 'Class, Gender and English Women's Sport', in particular p. 172; 'To create a strong corporate identity, generations of Cadburys deliberately created an ethos that was encoded with, and advanced by, a plethora of rituals, myths, and symbols reminiscent of those used for the same purpose by elite public schools.'

⁷³ (D), *College in My Day, 1917-1919* by P. Gummer, Bergman-Österberg Union Magazine, 1983, p. 17.

⁷⁴ C. Crunden, *A History of Anstey College of Physical Education*, p. 5.

⁷⁵ (C), *Chelsea College of Physical Education Magazine*, No. 1, 1920, p. 22.

⁷⁶ Until 1903 all students at Chelsea were known to each other by first names. The story goes that one student complained to Domina about this who then discontinued the practice. 'This caused much indignation amongst the students who immediately gave the protesting student a nick-name which stuck to her long after the use of surnames became universal and the indignation forgotten', quoted in I. M. Webb, 'The History of Chelsea College of Physical Education: With Special Reference to Curriculum Development 1898-1973', PhD, University of Leicester, 1977, p. 89.

It seems to have existed since the earliest days and I think is peculiar to our college. The law is that the first time each day that any junior meets a Senior, whether in college or out of it, she shall salute her, by raising her right hand to her head. The Senior returns the salute in the same fashion. The staff however, do not do it in the customary way. This is the privilege of merely graciously inclining their head towards the student.⁷⁷

This reinforcement of verbal differentiation with physical action on a military pattern emphasised a three fold grouping of the college into Staff, Seniors, and Juniors. This procedure had apparently become an embarrassment and more inconspicuous during the First World War when it was considered to be copying the military. This respect and deference must have been to the liking of the young women who had made it into the senior year of the college. Their new found superiority after the trials and humiliations of the first year would have helped encourage pride in their achievements and in the institution which had rewarded them with such status. These feelings would have been enhanced by their low status the previous year as juniors. This had an effect on the perceptions of the new seniors. At Anstey in 1905 a senior noted 'It is amazing how one's point of view changes, we were juniors then, and a senior's point of view is strangely different.'⁷⁸ An Anstey member of staff in 1904 stated, 'As in former years we miss the old seniors very much, though the present ones are showing that they realise the responsibilities of their new position, and their desire to fill credibly is evident.'⁷⁹

Other traditions were designed to enhance the superior status of seniors. Lucas (Chelsea, 1903) remembers that, 'Juniors had to take cocoa to their seniors' rooms at 9. a. m. if required, and breakfast in bed on Sundays if they so wished. Apparently our Seniors 'conned' us a lot - telling us we had to scrub the games shed floor and so forth and we didn't know any better until the staff did a skit on us at their concert.'⁸⁰ These college traditions did not die out for many years.⁸¹ The importance of tradition is summed up at Chelsea by another student in 1920, 'These are only a few of the most outstanding traditions and customs, which serve to bind each succeeding year to the

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1905, p. 16.

⁷⁹ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1904, p. 5

⁸⁰ (C), Chelsea Physical Training College Magazine, No. 5, 1924, p. 29.

⁸¹ (D), B. O. Union Magazine 1983, p. 17. A Dartford old student (1938-41) reminiscing in 1985 describes her view of the traditions the juniors had to observe; 'The traditions were numerous - designed to make first

other, and if we regard our college as our *Alma Mater* in the true sense, we shall not only be willing and proud to adhere to tradition in the smaller things, but also in the higher and nobler traditions.’⁸² Rules and regulations maintaining senior status over juniors were seen as part of the natural order of things. When they became tradition they ceased to be rules but became a natural part of college life which it was important to preserve.

The two groups of students were commonly separated at colleges, in residence, class rooms and games. When the two groups did come together, appropriate boundaries were set up to keep group identity and status separate and visible. At Chelsea college morning prayers were taken at the hostel where one student observes:

We had as usual our prescribed places. Year I had assigned to them a well-worn box settee which had born generations of juniors. One unlucky morning, whether due to greater numbers crowding on it, or to extra bulk of the usual number. . . the whole contraption collapsed. . . since then Year I have been homeless and have to be content with the seats left over.⁸³

Group territory had designated the box as the traditional zone of the juniors. The rise in the numbers of first years had overburdened their territory which had collapsed causing the juniors to spill out elsewhere. The increasing numbers of the juniors in these later years may well have heralded more than a collapsing of the traditional geographic boundaries between groups. The collapsing of the old box settee may also have symbolised a collapse of the rigid old order due to expansion of student numbers. Its effect on student inter-relationships would have been felt largely in the expansion of student numbers in the 1920s. The restraint of the juniors was acknowledged by a senior student: ‘However, no matter how empty the luxurious couch appropriated by Year III may be, Year I have never been known to usurp it, which rebounds greatly to their credit.’⁸⁴ Or their fear of transcending social and hierarchical boundaries!

The dining-hall (see Chapter 6) was also a place where senior privilege was reinforced by staff. At some colleges seniors would sit with staff, or on their own tables. At Dartford college, Pagan commented on the influence of senior students on the menu offered, ‘We are having Miss Rankins’ menu today, rabbits for dinner and lemon

years “know their place”, with duties such as blowing up the net balls, swabbing gym floors etc.! Use of the covered way denied to first years! War time demolished these when the college evacuated to Newquay.’

⁸² (C), Chelsea College of Physical Education Magazine, No. 1, 1920, p. 22.

⁸³ I. M. Webb, ‘The History of Chelsea College’, p. 89.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

sponge. I suppose we shall eat through all the menus which the seniors have drawn up but they are of course based very much on Madame's palate.'⁸⁵

The Role of the Senior Students

*'Thus caught a warning look, or word of cheer
That helped to steer us through our Junior year.'*

As well as being a privileged group of students, the seniors had important social tasks. At Liverpool a junior comments that, 'With all this strangeness we should have been extremely apprehensive and even unhappy, but for the friendliness of the older students.'⁸⁶ Senior students acted as friends and guides at this, the least hierarchical college. They helped make the transition from presenting culture to membership of the organisation easier. This may not have been the case at the more hierarchical colleges. Hodson (Liverpool, 1918) remembered her previous college 'where no senior ever spoke to any junior and the juniors had to speak in rather hushed tones.'⁸⁷ Whether Hodson's memory of her failure at her previous college coloured her memory cannot be known for sure. It is clear that she found Liverpool less hierarchical than her previous college, and the group inter-relationships more relaxed.

At Anstey the guidance of the seniors was also appreciated due to:

The advent of the *diva ex machina* - in the shape of the Seniors - who literally took us under their wing. Saved the unwary from sins of omission and commission, helped us when we were stuck, and generally 'showed us the ropes'. New experiences crowd fast at college, but the juniors of 1915 will not readily forget the unflinching help

⁸⁵ (D), Letters, Anna Pagan, 1892. Pagan uses the correct mode of address for the senior student i.e. 'Miss Rankins.'

⁸⁶ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine, 1960. p. 12. This is mirrored at Lady Margaret Hall, in 1916 see E. Bailey, Lady Margaret Hall, pp. 94-95; 'The members of the Senior Common Room at L. M. H. are remembered with gratitude by every old student. I doubt whether it is possible to over-estimate the effect on the life of the college of their companionship and entire absence of aloofness.' The senior students had onerous duties as tutors to junior students; 'Acquiring a tutor means acquiring a friend. She not only directs your course of study, and keeps a wary eye on your progress or the reverse, but she sacrifices her hard earned leisure to listen to your often uninspiring conversation, and to attend your sometimes unappetising tea or cocoa parties. She must often be bored, but she never shows it; she is certainly often tired, but she is never too tired to have her brains and sympathy pirated at a late hour of the night, nor to join in any festivity with all the enthusiasm of a Fresher.'

⁸⁷ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine, 1960, p. 6.

they received, as bewildered freshers from those august ones. 'All hail! and good luck to them!'⁸⁸

Senior students therefore 'showed the ropes' to the new juniors.

At Chelsea the guiding aim of the seniors was formalised in the role of the 'College Mother.'⁸⁹ An anonymous Chelsea student remembers that, 'The first day of the college year is always a memorable one. On that day Domina gives to each new student a "College Mother", who is henceforth made more or less responsible for her charge.' The aims of the 'Mother' were various. First, she had an immediate special and individual social status⁹⁰ over the new junior 'Daughter' which further enforced at once the unequal standing of the student body. Secondly, the 'Mother's' role was to guide or teach her 'Daughter' to follow and uphold college rules: 'she has to be taken out to tea, then garments have to be lent her - very often she has to be instructed in the art of keeping up her hair. Lessons on various subjects, such as Anatomy, have to be given her, College tradition taught her, etc.'⁹¹

Conformity to the aims and norms of college was essential and who better than one of those who had proved able to succeed in meeting these demands to see them inculcated in others. This reinforcement of college 'tradition' by seniors (as well as staff) on such a one-to-one level, made the aims and beliefs of 'college rigid and universal.' Where a minor transgression from college norms occurred it was the senior who would guide the student back on to the correct path; 'If she offends or disregards an unwritten law, her "Mother" is deputed to see that she understands how she has fallen - an unenviable job.'⁹² This process of initiating the junior into college life took time, but eventually led to a common way of behaviour which bonded the student body with the strength of common values. It was also a good investment for the senior students: 'After a time the first-year becomes tractable and, if properly educated proves very useful in her

⁸⁸ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1916, p. 28.

⁸⁹ (D), Randall, 1911, mentions that prefects or monitors were called 'home makers' but does not elaborate. Randall, *Odd Jottings on College Life*, 1911.

⁹⁰ As well as the general higher status she held over all juniors as a member of the senior set.

⁹¹ (C), Chelsea College of Physical Training Magazine, 1920, p. 22. See: D. Eder and S. Parker, 'The Cultural Production and Reproduction of Gender: The Effect of Extra-Curricular Activities on Peer-Group Culture,' *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 60, 1987, p. 209; 'Peers teach each other how to apply general values to daily behaviour . . . females may adopt general values such as concern with appearance, they also believe it is important to adjust their behaviour to the situation.'

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

turn to her college Mother, which is of course only just.’⁹³ Juniors would serve breakfast in bed to their ‘Mothers’ and run domestic errands for them. As the college expanded, ‘Mothers’ began to find that they could have a large ‘family’ especially when the three year courses were introduced. The Mother-Daughter relationship could be empowering as it provided emotional support for junior students when they were most vulnerable at the beginning of their course and throughout the first year. The senior students benefited as they were put in a position where they provided an important social function. From being part of the junior group with little social power they were suddenly granted an individual (senior student) status, an ‘I’ identity. By giving them the power to guide and influence others they were empowered. This power to influence incorporated ‘power over’; seniors were of a higher status than the juniors and had authority over them. Their unequal relationships also incorporated elements of ‘power to.’ They helped guide the new recruits towards organisational acceptance. Eventually the successful junior would be ready to replace the graduating senior and ‘Daughter’ would become ‘Mother.’⁹⁴

Social Relations Between Senior and Junior Students

*‘But there were ladders we could scale, and chinks
And cracks, through which we oft-times peered;’*

The culture formed at the colleges was against a background of physical training and exercise. Not surprisingly team games allowed at certain times a place where seniors and juniors could meet and mix. At Dartford College, autumn term 1896, the juniors challenged the seniors to a hockey match, ‘And great was the energy displayed

⁹³ Ibid., p. 23. There is evidence that the Mother phenomenon provided a link beyond college, binding successive years of old students in a family tree (see Chapter 9).

⁹⁴ See J. A. Conger, Leadership: ‘The Art of Empowering Others’, The Academy of Management Executive, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1989, pp. 18-19, and her comments on the importance of emotional support to create empowerment within an organisation. In particular the importance of providing ‘a positive emotional atmosphere.’ (p. 18). ‘Making employees feel that, “I make a difference” . . . Rewarding and encouraging in visible and personal ways. . . expressing personal praise and rewarding in highly visible and confidence building ways.’ (p. 19). And the problem; ‘The size of these organisations did little to develop in employees a sense of “I” - let alone an “I” that makes a difference.’ (p. 19).

by the former in practising under the direction of their captain, Miss Rigby.⁹⁵ The result was 2 goals to 1 in favour of the seniors but next term the tables were turned and the juniors came off victorious by 6 goals to 2.⁹⁶ The match was a formal affair highlighting the element of 'challenge' by the juniors who were younger and of less experience than their opponents. The fact that the juniors did the challenging suggests it was up to them to decide when they were ready to face the seniors. The close result of the first game shows the juniors were not overawed and the match was considered at the time as 'the hardest ever played on the Kingsfield ground.'⁹⁷ Given that there were only two hockey matches played between seniors and juniors over the two terms, it shows that this was a special occasion match with a lot of year pride at stake. Such meetings between the year groups were rare, special events.

Senior and junior students could come together on a more individual basis; Anna Pagan comments, 'Polly is looking lovelier than ever. It is jolly to know her, as it gives me a higher standing.'⁹⁸ Clearly the relationship has a status advantage for Pagan amongst her peers. She seems to be pleased by this advantage, without forgetting that Polly is her hierarchical superior. In noticing that 'I am going over to the others' house today to see Miss Marshall's room and photographs.'⁹⁹ Pagan refers to the senior student by her proper title of 'Miss.' This invitation into a senior's inner sanctum would be an honour for a junior student like Pagan.

At Dartford college it was 'custom for senior students to invite the juniors to an entertainment on their arrival and such occasions are made an excuse for all sorts of fun. Later on in the term the juniors respond and in their turn invite the seniors to some frolic (see Chapter 8 for an in-depth analysis of the role of college entertainments).'¹⁰⁰ 'Custom' was important to the students. The welcoming of the juniors to the college family came as an official welcome from the seniors and helped provide some early

⁹⁵ Miss Rigby was a junior student but her prowess on the field (she had been games captain at St Andrew's School for a number of years) gave her elevated status on the field and in the college report for that period.

⁹⁶ (D), Hampstead Physical Training College Report for 1896-98, p. 11.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ (D), Letters, A. Pagan To Mother, 28th of October, 1892.

⁹⁹ (D), Letters, A. Pagan To Madge, 18th of October, 1892.

¹⁰⁰ J. May, Madame Bergman-Österberg: Pioneer of Physical Education and Games for Girls and Women, p. 99.

knowledge of each other.¹⁰¹ The idea of distinct identity and status is emphasised in line with the formality of the offer. The offer may have had a '*rites of passage*' for the new seniors as it was the first opportunity for them to carry out the obligations they owed as senior students and 'College Mothers.'

The End of Year 'Coming Together'

*'Alas the time has come for sad farewell,
Too soon our Seniors will be scattered far,'*

Only towards the end of the final term were the barriers between seniors and juniors allowed to drop. Pagan comments 'It is in the summer term that the students see most of each other and, out-doors and in-doors, juniors and seniors become better acquainted. It is then that friendly spirit among the students which is one of the characteristics of the college, reaches its maximum.'¹⁰² It is notable that this coming together occurs when the senior group is about to leave and the junior group about to take on the mantle of the seniors. College protocol had divided the two groups until then. The coming together came with Madame's approval. Pagan's words 'see most of each other' and 'become better acquainted' hints at the gulf that existed between the two groups until then, though she counters this with the 'friendly spirit among the students'. Pagan then gives us her view on why the barrier begins to break down:

The swimming bath and the cricket field are, I think accountable for this. It is certainly a great comfort when one is floundering about under the water, vainly trying to get one's nose at least, to stay on the surface, to feel a friendly hand grasp ones chin; also, when at last, after allowing six easy catches to slip through one's fingers, one manages to hold a ball, it is jolly - no of course I don't mean that, but it is pleasant to see how glad all the girls are, even the one that has just been caught out.¹⁰³

Pagan therefore records the mechanism by which previously segregated groups began to break down barriers. The reason this was allowed to happen was because the

¹⁰¹ (B), Goodrich, Oral Tapes, 1922, recalls a formal coming together which had become a ritual 'First Sunday was when new students were asked to tea.'

¹⁰² (D), A. Pagan, Hampstead Physical Training College, 1892-1894, 1894.

institution was relaxing its hierarchical nature. This was to prepare the juniors to take on the role of seniors. This occurred by allowing them access to senior friendship and approval on a less formal, less inferior basis than before.

The Senior-Junior Divide: An Empowering Process?

The senior-junior divide while hierarchical in nature actually provided steps to bring empowerment to the students. The junior student was a member of a disempowered group. The juniors' lack of power meant seniors had to be put in charge of the juniors to guide and develop them. This meant that seniors were brought into the decision making process of the organisation involving day to day interactions.¹⁰⁴ This status given to the seniors and the actions carried out led to their individual empowerment.¹⁰⁵ If the senior valued the junior then empowerment could take place even within a hierarchical framework.¹⁰⁶

How did this hierarchical structure affect student relations? It effectively prevented strong inter-year friendships by its creation of a barrier of social inequality. The Mothering system provided links between year groups on an individual basis but again against a background of social inequality; the 'Mother' was superior to the 'Daughter.' This individual interaction served institutional needs by inculcating each

¹⁰³ Ibid. The role of senior students acting as lifeguards for the juniors is mirrored at Liverpool. M.H. Royle, Liverpool Physical Training College, p. 34; 'Once a girl who couldn't swim jumped into the deep end by mistake, whereupon a senior student dived in and brought her to the side.'

¹⁰⁴ J. Rowlands, 'Empowerment Examined', Development in Practice, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1995, p. 102; stresses the importance of bringing people into the decision making process to empower them. 'Empowerment must be about bringing people who are outside the decision-making process into it . . . It is about individuals being able to maximise the opportunities available to them without or despite constraints of structure and state.' Senior students gained experience of successfully guiding junior students through the maze of organisational rituals and expectations. Their success led to an increase in their self-esteem as hierarchical superiors and as carers.

¹⁰⁵ This is in addition and separate from their group empowerment as the senior set. See L. H. Staples, 'Powerful Ideas about Empowerment', Administration in Social Work, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1990, on what constitutes 'individual empowerment' In particular (p. 32), 'process of personal development . . . feel better about themselves . . . dignity, self-respect and self-esteem . . . more capable and worthy individual . . . development of self-confidence and the strengthening of personal ability.' These are factors consistent with the role and status of senior students.

¹⁰⁶ The college model at Chelsea was not a 'zero-sum model' where the increase in the seniors' power led to a decrease in the juniors' situation. Where the power of the seniors was used wisely in nurturing the juniors, a process of empowerment for the students was set in place. This reached its fruition at the end of the course when empowered seniors went off to teach in the wide world and juniors became empowered seniors. Where senior-junior student relationships remained informal or aloof 'power over' dominated and a 'zero-sum' model could result. Here only the seniors gained advantage from such a situation and juniors were oppressed by a third group (seniors) in addition to the principal and staff.

junior into 'membership of the organisation' to which all students had to aspire to continue and succeed at college. This student hierarchical culture was all pervading. The college was the world the students lived in and its social structures the natural laws which each student must follow. The structure gave identity and purpose to each group member.

Family Life

A number of modern researchers have commented on how the education of girls during this period was linked to the same values which dominated family life in the middle-class home.¹⁰⁷ Hence the importance of the 'College Mother'. The role of the Daughter within the family was dominated by the need to learn feminine domestic values. The values transmitted by the senior-junior relationship are more diverse. Certainly feminine values such as how to look suitable in clothes and hair-style were important behavioural values transmitted by the senior students. The discouragement of diversion from the norm and of independent thought were also part of this process. The high regard for unselfish behaviour towards the college family again comes within the embrace of middle-class family values.

The seniors gained the status and power to mould others.¹⁰⁸ Senior students gained respect as individuals, as well as respect which was their right as a group. This helped encourage a sense of worth, recognition, and achievement which may well have

¹⁰⁷ See in particular: J. A. Mangan, 'The Social Construct of Victorian Femininity: Emancipation, Education and Exercise', International Journal of the History of Sport, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1989, pp. 1-9; R. Rogers, 'Schools, Discipline and Community: Diary Writing and Schoolgirl Culture in Late-Nineteenth Century France', Women's History Review, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1995, pp. 525-554; E. Edwards, 'Educational Institutions or Extended Families? The Reconstruction of Gender in Women's Colleges in the Late-Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,' Gender and Education, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1990, pp. 17-35; J. A. Hargreaves, 'Victorian Familism and the Formative Years of Female Sport,' in J. A. Mangan and R. J. Park (Eds.), From Fair Sex to Feminism: Sport and the Socialisation of Women in the Industrial and Pre-industrial Eras, pp. 130-144.

¹⁰⁸ This could be empowering for both Mother and Daughter. J. A. Conger, 'Leadership: The Art of Empowering Others', p. 23, suggests, 'Empowerment is not a pill; it is not simply a technique, as many workshops and articles would lead us to believe. Rather, to be truly effective it requires an understanding of subordinates and our organisational context.' Senior students gained an appreciation of what was good for their junior charges as individuals and were able to pass on this guidance. A good Mother would share her expertise in organisational membership to the Daughter. Eventually the Daughter would acquire this expertise for herself and therefore become more empowered to succeed within the organisation. See L. Dominelli, 'Women in the Community: Feminist Principles and Organising in Community Work', Community Development Journal, Vol. 30, No. 2, 1995, p. 136, for ideas on how women's relationships can lead to 'power to' situations, and the problems of doing this in a modern hierarchical environment.

been unattainable within the home setting. It would stand them in good stead in the post-college world. Students gained the ability to get on with their social inferiors and superiors. The college hierarchical experience therefore allowed social development, and the opportunity to experience control, status, and power. This in turn would allow personal choice and freedom to be more attainable in the post-college world. This would not have been obtained from containment within the middle-class home.

Types of Senior Student Power

The senior students began to feel that they had a specific role within college, to guide and correct the junior students. For the first time the senior student gained 'I' status; an individual with specific duties within the college community. This would have led to a sense of achievement and self-esteem. The student would begin to feel that she made a difference. The main power structure between seniors and juniors was one of 'power over' and fitted well within the college hierarchical pyramid. However the role of the senior student was to guide and make more successful the time of the junior student. This provided an important element of 'power to'. If juniors were left to their own devices within such a hierarchical environment they would have lacked the knowledge and confidence to quickly adapt to the college community's expectations. This would have led to feelings of low esteem from the many mistakes made.¹⁰⁹ Esteem was related to the individual's ability to become part of the organisation's functioning. Successful students quickly internalised the college message¹¹⁰ and did what was expected of them. Those who deviated from this risked censure.

¹⁰⁹ J. A. Conger, 'Leadership: The Art of Empowering others', analyses disempowerment in organisations and suggests subordinates typically lack esteem and feel powerless, (p. 19), 'Subordinates typically perceive themselves as lacking control over their immediate situation . . . or lacking the required capability, resources, or discretion needed to accomplish a task . . . In either case, these experiences maximise feelings of inadequacy and lower self-confidence. They in turn, appear to lessen motivation and effectiveness.' Junior students experienced just such helplessness at college. The senior student could, when employed effectively, diminish these negative influences to a certain extent. The first year at college remained a difficulty to negotiate carefully. A good senior student or students could help guide the junior student through. But it was still the junior student who would have to do the negotiating for herself.

¹¹⁰ The college 'message' was delivered in the form of 'power over'. It stated what students should be like and how to be like this. J. Rowlands, 'Empowerment Examined', p. 102, calls this form of 'power over' an 'internalised oppression'. '[Employees] Internalise the messages they receive about what they are supposed to be like, and how they may come to believe the messages to be true. This "internalised oppression" is adopted as a survival mechanism, but becomes so well ingrained that the effects are mistaken for reality. When control becomes internalised in this way, the overt use of "power over" is no longer necessary.' In terms of the college community, the hierarchical nature of the college allowed a strong central control over

The college power structure was dominated by a backbone of authoritarian 'power over'. This power flowed down the hierarchical pyramid from the principal, through the staff and to the students. This was used to ensure that college values as interpreted by the principal were maintained at all times. This type of power was impersonal and did not take into account individual student needs. On the inter-student level, the senior students adhered to the use of 'power over' when acting as hierarchical superiors over the juniors. They were also charged with guiding and caring for the juniors on a day to day basis. This process involved the use of 'power to'. More authoritarian colleges like Bedford and Dartford may have placed greater emphasis on the use of 'power over' in student inter-relations. Liberal colleges like Liverpool, Anstey and Chelsea may have placed more emphasis on 'power to' inter-relationships.

Senior Students and Empowerment¹¹¹

Seniors helped create conditions where upon the completion of their course they could effectively transfer their power and prestige to the successful junior students who had completed the first year. To carry out this function effectively it was essential that both junior and senior embraced the values of the organisational culture. Seniors were empowered because they had increased their effectiveness as individuals. They were self-reliant and more able to assert their independence within the community (however they remained totally dominated by the leadership of the college). In colleges where seniors were more aloof this impaired their ability to pass on help and their character building role was diminished. Their own status as aloof beings was increased but their relationships with juniors was more in the form of 'power over' than 'power to'. Where seniors were more approachable and friendly this stimulated morale. Each college had its own hierarchical structure dominated by 'power over'. The less hierarchical the college the more ability there was to provide a supportive culture for seniors and juniors. It is clear that seniors, through their status and function within the community, were

the students and how they were supposed to be. This became the normal environment for the student. This ingrained oppression was accepted by the students so as to survive and became the norm. The juniors and seniors accepted the environment and by doing so the hierarchical structure ran smoothly. By accepting 'power over' as the norm, extra use of this form of power was rendered largely unnecessary. This left senior students with space to use 'power to' on a daily basis when dealing with juniors, especially at the more liberal colleges like Anstey and Liverpool.

¹¹¹ For a detailed study of the extent of empowerment at physical training colleges see Appendix 10.

more empowered than the juniors (see Appendix 10). It was the seniors' role to help prepare each junior to be able to successfully answer the question:

*'and we young things be left to take their place,
But how?- we find it hard to tell!'*

5.5; Familism: Focusing the Concept

'College Familism' and 'Home Familism'¹¹²

'The theory and practice of familism in the colleges reproduced the structure and morality of the patriarchal Victorian bourgeois home and reinforced conventional sexual divisions in society.'¹¹³

Most modern researchers believe college community life to have been based around the concept of familism.¹¹⁴ The college community is seen as operating in a manner which resembled the social lifestyle of a typical Victorian or Edwardian middle-class family.¹¹⁵ Edwards comments that, 'This replication of domestic family relationships in an institutional setting was a method of helping students, many of whom

¹¹² See Appendices 12 and 13 for a case study approach to these concepts using Liverpool and Dartford Physical Training Colleges as examples.

¹¹³ J. A. Hargreaves, 'Victorian Familism and the Formative Years of Female Sport', in J. A. Mangan and R. J. Park, From Fair Sex to Feminism, p. 140.

¹¹⁴ J. S. Gibert, 'Women at the English Civic Universities 1880-1920', PhD, Univ. of N. Carolina, 1988. In her study of the civic universities Gibert shows that mixed educational institutions did not consider themselves to be in *loco parentis* (p. 141). Neither were they under such public scrutiny (p. 141). This led to a greater degree of freedom for female students (p. 137). And, a relatively relaxed atmosphere (p. 140). This implies that a pure form of familism only occurs within all-female institutions, such as the physical training colleges.

¹¹⁵ For detailed studies of Victorian families see C. Dyhouse, Feminism and the Family in England 1880-1939 (London, 1989); For the middle-class experience. P. Jalland, Women, Marriage and Politics 1860-1914 (Oxford, 1981), offers a contrasting upper-class view. M. V. Hughes offers an autobiographical trilogy of her experiences as a middle-class girl and woman in Late-Victorian England; A London Child of the 1870s (London, 1934); A London Girl of the 1880s (London, 1936); and, A London Home in the 1890s (London, 1946). H. M. Swanick, I Have Been Young (London, 1935), offers an autobiographical account of her life and schooling in Late-Victorian England. J. H. Murray, Strong-minded Women and Other Lost Voices From Nineteenth Century England (New York, 1982), offers biographical accounts of women's pre-marriage and post-marriage familistic experiences throughout the nineteenth century. Early Victorian autobiographical accounts of adolescent well-to-do lifestyles occur in E. Shore, The Journal of Emily Shore (London, 1891), and, M. Cholmondeley, Under One Roof: A Family Record (London, 1918).

had never been away from home before, to settle into the new environment of college life.’¹¹⁶ Therefore the organisational culture would have been similar to the presenting culture of many or all of the students, given their exclusive middle-class background. Familism is noted as being present at all the physical training colleges and contemporary schools (see Appendix 9). This is despite the differing backgrounds of the principals and locations of the colleges. Fletcher summarises that, ‘As perhaps happens with a first generation, the founders of the colleges were far more diverse than the institutions they created.’¹¹⁷

The behavioural rules inherent in familism constrained and guided the students; therefore as Caine states, ‘What is now of interest . . . is not just what they did, but how they managed to do it within the familial and social constraints to which, as women, they were subject.’¹¹⁸

The implementation of the family system provided a number of community functions and it provided an important ‘protective element’ to the students’ lifestyle. Society expected the college principals to be in *loco parentis* in the all-female communities. The familistic system with its rules, regulations and supervision ensured that girls behaved with appropriate feminine dignity. Familism guaranteed the reputation of the college and the individual. The system protected the student from outside corruption and distanced her ability to communicate with society outside the matri-patriarchal area of influence.

Familism provided ‘emotional satisfaction.’ Pederson has suggested that, ‘Viewing their work as “infinitely worthwhile”’: some of these single women found emotional satisfactions akin to those of family life in their educational institutions.’¹¹⁹ There was therefore a dual effect which constrained students’ behaviour, while supporting them emotionally and guarding their morality. It was a system which was compatible with student pre-college experience: indeed, as Mangan has argued, ‘The new schools and

¹¹⁶ E. Edwards, ‘Educational Institutions or Extended Families? The Reconstruction of Gender In Women’s Colleges in the Late-Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries’, Gender and Education, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1990, p. 18.

¹¹⁷ S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 42.

¹¹⁸ B. Caine, ‘Feminist Biography and Feminist History’, Women’s History Review, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1994, p. 251.

¹¹⁹ J. S. Pederson, ‘Some Victorian Headmistresses: A Conservative Tradition of Social Reform’, Victorian Studies, Summer, 1981, p. 483.

colleges in some ways even helped to produce the very same issues and forms of behaviour which girls had learned from childhood onwards in the family.’¹²⁰

‘College familism’ was not a continuation of middle-class family life, it ‘supplied an *emotional* and *economic* [see below] *substitute* for traditional family life, linking her with other talented women of her own class and educational and political and social power [all my italics].’¹²¹ This new environment incorporated aspects of home life with a stimulating environment amongst talented young women committed to being trained as physical educators. This environment is a background to the process which led each successful student to various forms of power: economic, political, and educational. Therefore this college form of familism is mixed with different ingredients than that found in the restricted middle-class home. College Familism occurred because, ‘Single women established all-female families within their institutions, continuing the supportive, emotional ties of the traditional Victorian extended family, *while attempting cool, professional ways of behaving and working on the job and in the world outside* [my italics].’¹²² There was also an important economic element to ‘college familism’; students were trained to take up employment. ‘College familism’ had different social and empowering results from ‘home familism’ (see Appendix 11).’

‘College familism’ resembled ‘home familism’ in that it created a hierarchical group atmosphere based on respect for those higher in authority. The students were expected to emulate those who were at the head of the college family. This provided a group goal for the students which bound them to the familism process. This process involved continuing to embrace the feminine characteristics the students would have been used to within the family home. From this cultural environment, students found additional meaning to their lives and a psychological sense of community. The college environment therefore reinforced the more patriarchal elements of home life within its culture.¹²³ This

¹²⁰ J. A. Mangan, ‘The Social Construction of Victorian Femininity: Emancipation, Education and Exercise’, *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1989, p. 6.

¹²¹ K. K. Sklar, ‘Hull House in the 1890’s: A Community of Women Reformers’, *Signs*, Summer, Vol. 10, 1985, p. 660.

¹²² M. Vicinus, ‘One Life to Stand Beside Me: Emotional Conflicts in First-Generation College Women in England’, *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 8, p. 604.

¹²³ E. Edwards, ‘The Culture of Femininity in Women’s Teacher Training Colleges 1900-1950’, *History of Education*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1993, p. 281, comments on the insularity caused by the more isolating aspects of familism; ‘The academic and cultural opportunities which the experience of college offered girls were widely appreciated - but there was an insularity about training colleges which, in spite of the possibilities for

restrictive element in college life explains the element of ‘collective stagnation’ in Edwards’ statement that ‘The training college culture with its combination of individual enrichment and collective stagnation is important to our understanding of the history of feminism of the period.’¹²⁴

However, as suggested, the college community structure also encompassed empowering, feminist elements as well. Students became aware of the possibilities of a non-domestic life-style option. In some cases this would have carried on from character development (proto-empowerment) at progressive girls’ schools. Students from less empowering backgrounds, e.g. governess trained or private schools where they were dominated by a ‘home familism’ culture, would find ‘college familism’ quite a new and challenging environment.

The dominance of ‘college familism’ within physical training colleges was not necessarily accepted in its entirety by the students. With their widely differing experiences of pre-college life they reacted in different ways. Anna Pagan was an example of a Victorian student who questioned and criticised college culture. Others whole-heartedly accepted without question the particular form of ‘college familism’ present¹²⁵ or endured it, keeping their views to themselves. Each student created her own individual gender identity within college which was acceptable to the familistic community, and satisfied the standards it demanded.¹²⁶

individual growth, militated against the development of a collective feminist consciousness. Significantly the two issues which did raise a collective response - peace and sexuality, are of continuing feminist concern today.’

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 288. Edwards further comments on the non-empowering aspects of familism; ‘moreover the old-fashioned ethos and stagnant values of the training college world did not encourage students to seek collective solutions to individual grievances.’ Use of ‘power over’ by the college hierarchy ensured little organised resistance by students to grievances. The ‘Dartford rebellion’ by senior students see Chapter 5 is a rare example of collective resistance and was firmly neutralised.

¹²⁵ See Appendix 13 for a study of how the structure of ‘college familism’ changes due to the development of the college as an institution.

¹²⁶ R. Rogers, ‘Schools, Discipline and Community: Diary Writing and Schoolgirl Culture in Late-Nineteenth Century France’, *Women’s History Review*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1995, p. 544, comments on French schoolgirl Eugenie’s resistance to the particular form of familism in operation at her school, ‘School girls did not passively soak up values that either undermined or supported their domestic responsibilities. . . At school, girls learned the importance of female companionship and of belonging to a large female community. It seems likely that women brought home with them a general recognition of their socially and culturally determined rules, but also a sense of their own desires for intimacy and recognition that may not have been satisfied as wives and mothers.’ And, p. 545, ‘Clearly she internalised messages but she also reworked them to highlight her own special gifts. The autonomy thus gained did not directly challenge the domestic orientation of French bourgeois schooling for women but it probably affected relationships within families and served as a springboard for less conventional behaviour . . . individual needs can refashion priorities of

Eder and Parker have commented on the importance of looking beyond generalisations of student behaviour:

Our interest is in culture as lived experience. Thus, we examine the specific context in which gender practices, meanings, and social relations are experienced. This view goes beyond the initial reproduction framework, which implies that students passively adopt the values to which they are exposed, and focuses on the active role students play in creating their gender identities. . . how the values promoted during formal activities are actively modified and interpreted.¹²⁷

‘College familism’ was therefore an adaptable process for the individual student.

Empowering Aspects of ‘College Familism’

At a community level ‘college familism’ played an important part in giving cohesion and stability to the social life of the institution. It bound together a stable, self-perpetuating female society, surrounded by a partially hostile patriarchal society. It was an essential ingredient in providing an example to this society of how women could achieve access to economic opportunity while keeping their essential femininity intact.¹²⁸ Mangan summarises the ‘limited’ empowering aspects of physical training college life: ‘These establishments created “space” for women, allowed social development, access to new reference groups and ideas and the opportunity to acquire limited knowledge, status and power. In short they were both agencies of conservatism and transformation.’¹²⁹

The implementation of ‘college familism’ and the authoritative role of the principal in creating this culture is an example of ‘women power.’¹³⁰ But it was ‘girl [student] power’ that provided the inter-active dynamics which made familism work on a day to day

an all encompassing ideology.’ Students therefore could take on the more useful and empowering aspects of institutional familism while rejecting other aspects.

¹²⁷ D. Eder, and S. Parker, ‘The Cultural Production and Reproduction of Gender: The Effect of Extracurricular Activities on Peer-Group Culture’, *Sociology of Education*, 1987, Vol. 60, July, p. 201.

¹²⁸ K. K. Sklar, ‘Hull House in the 1890’s’, p. 676, relates gender aspects of the familistic system to the class values of the women present; ‘It attests to the capacity of women to sustain their own institutions. Second, it shows that this community’s internal dynamics promoted a creative mixture of mutual support and individual expression . . . they pressed gender-specific reforms that served class-specific goals.’

¹²⁹ J. A. Mangan, ‘The Social Construction of Victorian Femininity,’ p. 6.

¹³⁰ P. Vertinsky, ‘Gender Relations, Women’s History and Sport History: A Decade of Changing Enquiry’, 1983-1993, *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Spring, 1994, p. 15; ‘We now have a deeper understanding of the context in which some remarkable pioneering women in early professional physical education for women on both sides of the Atlantic *fashioned a unique conception of womanhood to deal with issues of female physicality, autonomy and authority* [my italics].’ This is a good definition of ‘Women Power.’

basis.¹³¹ 'College familism' gave graduates a choice. They had not broken their ties with the values of home and domestic life. However they now had the option of pursuing economic independence and had the socialising experiences to undertake this major leap in women's Victorian and Edwardian experience. 'College familism' therefore created adaptable females able to pursue private or public roles in society.

5.6; Conclusion

Student inter-relationships have been studied against the background of a matri-patriarchal hierarchy. Students arriving at college faced the immediate problem of settling in and being accepted as a member of the group. The quicker this happened the easier community life became for the student. The inter-relationships which resulted have been shown to be complicated by hierarchies occurring within supposedly equal year groups. Perceived superiority of character and background led to hierarchical sub-groups being formed. Strong friendships did occur even though they were frowned upon by staff. Many positive results could come from such alliances both during college and later on in life. The status differential between the senior and junior students was the major formal boundary. The role of the senior students has been seen against the use of power both 'over' and 'to'. Rituals and regulations bolstered this hierarchical division. The resulting status led to empowerment for the senior students. The concept of familism has been combined with the concept of matri-patriarchy to focus on general student community experience. This has highlighted the more empowering aspects of college life while showing the opportunities offered by college compared to home life.

¹³¹ M. P. Ryan, 'The Power of Women's Networks: A Case Study of Female Moral Reform in Ante-Bellum America', *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 1, 1979, p. 80, Praises 'women power', 'A few active, organised, well-situated women could exert power in history. They had a direct effect on the opinions of men and had found leverage that extended beyond the households, outside the women's networks . . . in achieving their goals, the female moral reformers demonstrated a distinctive variety of women's power. This power did not take the covert and privatised form which nineteenth-century writers venerated as "women's influence.'

Chapter 6: The Residential Experience And The Effects Of College Institution

Building

6.1; Introduction

This chapter considers the residential experience of students. This experience differed through time as colleges expanded in student numbers, built more buildings, or even moved location. Of particular importance to the students was the bedroom environment where students could shelter from the hierarchical college environment. Here they could socialise with room-mates, and other peers who did not have hierarchical power and advantage over them. The other main event in the students residential life was the meal-time. This event is studied to see the socialising processes which were carried out by staff at such events. It shows how the college aim went beyond training physical educators and involved producing feminine skills and lady-like behaviour to complement their education.

6.2; The Growth of the College Buildings

Throughout the period under study there was an upward trend in the number of students trained. This meant each principal had to make plans to rearrange existing building space for better utilisation of resources. Increased space within the college was created through expansion of the physical assets. This physical expansion of the colleges can be seen as a sign of their success in training professional physical education teachers. It also had important cultural effects. The physical growth of the colleges, and their effect on student social experience, will now be examined.

Madame Österberg began the process when she, 'quite recklessly and against financial advice, bought Reremonde, 1 Broadhurst Gardens, Hampstead.'¹ In September 1885 she began 'the first course in physical education on a full-time specialist basis known in this country with 4 students.'² She was based in Hampstead for ten years teaching an

¹ (D), A. B. Bromham, Svenska Dagbladet, December 1st, 1935.

² Ibid.

extremely select group of students. Madame also supplemented her income by taking private classes in gymnastics, medical gymnastics, and massage. However,

The buildings in Hampstead were threatened during the 1890s by the construction of a railway and Madame began to look around for a new place for her college. She bought a beautiful house, Kingsfield, near Dartford, in Kent, with surrounding gardens and a field. A cycling track of 440 yards was laid down, a games field and tennis pitches were arranged and the house's ballroom was rebuilt into a gymnastics hall. In 1895 Dartford College of Physical Education (then called Bergman-Österberg Physical Training College) was ready to be put to use.³

This move to the country corresponded well with the general Victorian middle-class desire to move to areas separate from the 'lower orders' and the rough crowded environment associated with them. Madame may also have kept in mind the middle-class prejudice that an impressive residence meant success in social status and ideals, something that would impress the parents of her future students.⁴

This college complex allowed Madame space to expand both facilities and student numbers. Expansion can be seen as part of her success as an educational specialist. It also had a number of social effects. Leaving suburban Hampstead for an out of town site increased her matri-patriarchal boundary of control over her students. The more isolated they were from society, the more closely they were tied to college life and society. Therefore it became easier for Madame to 'mould' her students into what she expected of them. A contemporary writer comments 'and within its walls it has been her [Madame] aim and object to gather together a band of women, sound in mind and body, and each one fit therefore to be *developed into the ideal apostle* [my italics] for the propagation of this new religion - the religion that is of physical culture.'⁵ Not only had sport and education facilities increased to give a better physical training but also social facilities had increased to give a greater social training.

Madame was driven to expand her new site by the increasing demand for her training. Hyden (Dartford, 1914) comments on the problem of increasing student numbers 'The house had not been enlarged, The gym was the old ball-room. Kitchens, dining-room

³ (D), A. L. Nasmark, 'Swedish Pioneer in England', English Translation, *Tidskrift I Gymnastik*, 1971, p. 91.

⁴ See Appendix 12 for the importance of this 'environmental familism'.

⁵ (D), 'A Unique School,' C. L McClure-Stevens.

etc. were as they had been built but gradually more and more students applied - enlargements had to be made.⁶

A description of the changes which took place at Dartford at the turn of the century states:

In the vicinity of the present gymnasium was, to the right - stabling and harness rooms, and to the left - a couple of good pig-sties, and for some years a pony, a large pig, chickens, and a dovecote with Miss Wickner's famous white pigeons. The stabling is now used for bicycle sheds, the partly demolished gardener's cottage constitutes the entrance cloakrooms to the gymnasium. Along the line of the covered way were originally a couple of green houses for grapes. When these after a few years were demolished, the area was usually a fine wide show of mixed daffodils. A turfed clearing on the edge of the wood was equipped as an out-door gymnasium. On the site of New Wing was a really charming garden of old-fashioned La France roses, lilies and sweet-tobacco plant, also a patch of gooseberries. The old wall actually produced sun-ripened peaches and plums. The staff house in the wood is built on the site of a large thatched summer house popular with some Sets for summer evening strawberry picnics. The more recent staff house facing the cricket pitches was also built on the site of a summer house; a third used to be by the tennis courts . . . The first addition to the old house was of course the direct extension of the west side of 'Kingsfield' comprising the main dining hall and the three landings over it, and Madame expended enormous care and energy on the planning, building and furnishing of this . . . The laboratory wing took the place of a large glass conservatory and also blocked the west windows of Madame's own room upstairs.⁷

The site was expanded and old building superseded by new during this period. This policy of expansion gained Madame a reputation of providing a formidable training 'factory'. This factory depended on a suitable physical training environment. Dartford was described as 'a big building complex, the biggest part of which is directed by Mme B.O. herself and furnished in the most comfortable and hygienic way meeting the requirements of our time in the best ways.'⁸ The physical structure of the college is seen as an important part of the training factory. This institution bore the imprint of Madame and was meant to produce well trained students of a certain character. She replaced the Hampstead factory with a bigger and better one at Dartford. She constantly tinkered with this organisation and enlarged it to meet her changing and expanding aims.⁹

⁶ (D), Letters, D. Hyden (1914) To J. May 14th of June, 1965.

⁷ (D), Kingsfield Book of Remembrance. See description of Liverpool's urban environment, Appendix 12.

⁸ (D), *Svenska Gymnastika*, p. 430.

⁹ See Appendix 14 for other college environments.

Each college had a unique situation and development. In 1897 Miss Anstey acquired a country house called The Leasowes. The college buildings formed the assets or factory within which the raw materials it received would be transformed into professional physical trainers. Each college had a different physical structure depending on its location and resources. Dartford and Anstey colleges were rural in essence, Bedford was suburban, Liverpool and Chelsea inner city. Each college had a boundary of influence.¹⁰ The more isolated the college the greater the effect of this sphere of influence on the student. Dartford's boundary was unchallenged to the limits of its land and gates, Liverpool's to its doors which opened onto the streets. Within these spheres of influence the principals had the power to mould the students towards achieving the aims they had set them.

Eventually demand outgrew the original college sites' ability to supply physical trainers. Hampstead was superseded by Kingsfield, Dartford in 1895; The Leasowes by Yew Tree in 1907; Liverpool left its inner city site in 1921 to move to Barkhill; Chelsea waited until 1948 before leaving London for Eastbourne. Only Bedford stayed in its original site, being able to expand into sturdy, stable housing, of good quality. These new colleges/factories provided a quality environment for producing physical educators. Once purchased they were continuously modernised, altered and updated for efficiency.¹¹

The advantages of institutionalised colleges with separate physical identities was that they were able to build up the names and reputations of the colleges, the principals and the quality of their teacher output. The more separate the college and the associated boundary of influence, the more easily the principal was able to pursue her aims for the students without interference.¹² This included autonomy from patriarchal influence from the surrounding society. Freedom of action also included economic control for the

¹⁰ K. L. Kirber, 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Women's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History', Journal of American History, Vol. 75, No. 1, 1988, p. 17, where she defines Separate Spheres as 'an ideology *imposed* on women, a culture created by women, a set of boundaries *expected* to be *observed* by women [*her italics*].'

¹¹ New halls and campuses meant new experiences and environments for the students. A new hall was not necessarily an improvement: G. Handley, The College of All Saints: An Informal History of One Hundred Years 1878-1978 (London, 1978), p. 9; 'very mixed feelings with those that had known the delights as well as the inconveniences of the various hostels, took possession of the bare-looking uncompromising edifice with only its possibility of garden and pleasure ground, after the summer holidays of 1880.'

¹² For an interesting background view of how institutions can work, see, J. Azzarto, 'Understanding the Dynamics of a Community Health Centre: From General Systems to Family Systems Theory,' Journal of Applied Social Sciences, Vol. 18, No. 2, Spr/Sum, 1994. The article discusses how emotional and non-rational motivations can gain precedence in the operation of organisations. Also self-maintenance not goal achievement can become the building block of an institution. Especially p. 183.

principal. Revenue for the college's self-maintenance was as important as its achievement aims.¹³ As a private institute, revenue had to cover costs. With increasing demand, a good reputation, and a visible separate identity, the colleges were well placed during their establishment period to be successful in achieving physical, social and economic goals.

6.3; The Growth of Residential Accommodation

The college Madame created consisted of building and rooms with varying functions. Residential accommodation played an important part in the physical and social structure of the college. Students came from a wide geographic area¹⁴ and needed somewhere to stay. Apart from Chelsea college which had a high proportion of non-residential students, the great majority of students lived in, although there were some exceptions. Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) records her early experience of being a day student. She spent her first year as a resident student but due to a change in her relatives' situation spent her senior year out. This was because, '[Aunt Anna and] Uncle Tom met with a misfortune in his grain business while he was running it in New York . . . [and had] to square the creditors . . . They had a large house, 20 minutes' walk from the college, and mother offered me as a boarder to help with the expenses; I was to share May's room.'¹⁵ Madame was also willing for this to occur, 'as she had been offered three very distinguished boarders who were to come as patients, and though she put the brother and sister with their governess in the Annexe, she wanted my room for their cousin, the 14 year old Nina Poore.'¹⁶ Treatment of patients in need of physical exercise and the treating of bad postures and other physical ailments provided a supplementary income for Madame. The availability of a spare room provided a new source of income from the wealthy father of the patient (Nina Poore went on to marry the Duke of Hamilton, whose wedding Pagan was to attend).

It appears likely that residence was just about adequate for the numbers of students at Dartford in the early days. Also rigid rules on residence had not yet been set in place.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ See Appendix 16.

¹⁵ (D), A. Pagan, 'Hampstead Physical Training College 1892-1894', Answers, April 24th, 1897, p. 43.

¹⁶ Ibid.

At Bedford, the college was residential from its origin, but exceptions could exist even at a relatively late date. Rowlatt (Bedford, 1910) was a non-residential student who 'did not want to sleep in college because I lived so close, but lived in college all day from breakfast until bed time.'¹⁷ This suggests that Rowlatt herself decided that she would sleep at home. Miss Stansfeld may have been agreeable because it brought in fees from a good student (she went on to become a member of staff) while allowing an extra boarder to take her place in residence. Rowlatt still spent most of her working hours at college and was therefore still largely under the social control of the college hierarchy.

Chelsea with its inner London situation and lacking a campus of its own always had a high proportion of its students in private accommodation. Students lived in isolated pockets in central London with 'Private accommodation of students [being] provided in Glebe Place, Trafalgar Square, Paulton Square, and Sidney Street, prior to the opening of a boarding-house in Oakly Street.'¹⁸ As time went by, residential accommodation was developed. An early prospectus instructed that, 'Students whose homes are not within easy reach of the college are required to live at the hostel (Cadogan Lodge).'¹⁹

The experience of residence was an important part of the students' lives and had a lasting effect on many of them. Where college residence was low as at Chelsea this must have reduced the socialising effect the isolated college existence provided. Chelsea students living separately in London, attending a college as part of a male dominated polytechnic, must have been exposed to differing cultural effects than those secluded in the countryside at Anstey and Dartford, or suburban Bedford. The other urban college at Liverpool did not have Chelsea's problem, having secured a house early on for residential use. 'This was 'three storied with large rooms which were gradually transformed into the nucleus of a college. Upper rooms became dormitories.'²⁰ In 1915 there was no doubt of Liverpool's status as a 'residential' college, a college report for that year states that, 'The physical training college is residential, and consists of three handsome houses.'²¹

Residence existed as a means of reassuring parents that the girls were kept in *loco parentis* at the college. Accommodation at all the colleges was always under pressure from

¹⁷ (B), Questionnaires, Rowlatt, 1910.

¹⁸ (C), 'Interview With Fraulein Wilke, Gymnastic Teachers Training College', Reprinted from Women at Home, 1898, p. 73.

¹⁹ I. M. Webb, 'A History of Chelsea College', p. 482.

²⁰ M. H. Royle, Liverpool Physical Training College, p. 27.

increasing student numbers. It was important in the almost exclusively residential colleges that bedrooms kept apace with this growth. Dartford increased its number of bedrooms in 1904; and an old student declares, 'By the time I reached Dartford in 1904, Madame was firmly established at Kingsfield and the first extension block, consisting of the present original Dining Room, Study Bedrooms and covered way leading to the first Gymnasium, was completed and in full use.'²² This meant the accommodation was now based in the Old Building and the Main Wing. Reorganisations followed and the next major change was in 1921. A contemporary student remembers that 'There were 42 of us and about the same number of second years, and College consisted of the "Old House", "Kingsfield" "Oakfield" and the Cottage. All students were resident in Tower or Oakfield and it was the Tower for me.'²³

Chelsea College started its existence with its students spread out in private accommodation. Its long term policy was of increasing the percentage of its students in boarding houses. In 1902 only the Oakly Street boarding-house was open. Later 'In 1905 the Pioneer Hostel for college students was opened at 11 Carlyle Square and accommodated twenty students. Until this time, students had lived in lodgings of their own choosing, and for some time longer Third-Years were allowed to revert to this practice.'²⁴ In 1914, 'The House', a college hostel, was opened and remained in use for ten years. Despite these efforts Chelsea was to remain a substantially non-residential college. By 1916 only half the students were in college residential accommodation.

6.4; The Residential Bedroom Environment

The bedrooms on the whole appear to have been shared,²⁵ especially in later years as student numbers rapidly increased. Exceptions were at Dartford in the early years where

²¹ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Report, 1915, p. 2.

²²(D), Bergman-Österberg Union Magazine, 1976, p. 20.

²³ (D), 'College in My Day 1921-24', Bergman-Österberg Union Magazine, 1981, p. 27.

²⁴ (C), 'Chelsea College of Physical Education 1898-1958', undated, p. 11.

²⁵ Students would have had experience of shared rooms at boarding school. See D. E. De Zouche, Roedean School 1885-1955, p. 32; 'A few bedrooms contained cubicles for three girls, but the majority had five.' A single room was once offered by Miss Lawrence to a senior Roedean girl as an incentive towards the completion of one term clear of misdemeanours. This held no problem at the P. T. Colleges as any student misdemeanours were met with warnings and/or being 'sent down.'

senior students were privileged to have single rooms. In 1909 'there are fifty separate bed-sitting rooms'²⁶ mentioned. At Bedford only the first set of students were privileged to have a room each. Hadley (Bedford, 1905) remembered that 'Every student had a bed-sitting room to herself, with a desk, an armchair, warmed by a coal fire.'²⁷ At Liverpool, 'Upper rooms became dormitories which were partitioned off by curtains for privacy.'²⁸ By 1915 they had 'about 30 big bedrooms, divided into cubicles.'²⁹ Even after 1921 and the move to Barkhill, students still lived in dormitories.

The comfort of the rooms varied from college to college. At Bedford there were also 'lovely carpets, curtains and bureaux in students rooms.'³⁰ At Dartford, 'The bedrooms are all very bright and airy, with pretty papers on the whole, charming sets of furniture, (and each made homelike with photographs, and books of the particular occupant).'³¹ At least one Dartford student had an experience not dissimilar to that of Helena's Mother at Girton College in the 1880s, 'On viewing her somewhat Spartan rooms for the first time Helena experienced a sense of exhilaration and freedom. Her mother's reaction was to burst into tears and urge her daughter that it was not too late to withdraw and return home.'³² A Dartford student of 1921 remembers that 'There was no heating and having acquired sciatica, probably through an excess of Hamstring stretching, the cold, and a hard mattress, combined with the natural anxieties of the first term, made it seem more like Wormwood Scrubs than the pleasant place I am sure it was.'³³

S. Burstall, *Public Schools for Girls*, p. 232, comments in 1911; 'In many schools there are no dormitories, but only single bedrooms or larger rooms divided by screens or curtains for two to five girls. In others dormitories for nine to eighteen girls are the rule; the beds being separated by curtains or partitions.' Therefore to some girls the smaller rooms at college would be an improvement from their previous experiences. For those who were non-boarders or governess trained it would possibly have proved a shock to be put in close proximity with strangers.

²⁶ (D), Bergman-Österberg Prospectus, 1908-1909.

²⁷ (B), Questionnaires, Hadley, 1905.

²⁸ M. H. Royle, *Liverpool Physical Training College*, p. 28.

²⁹ (L), *Liverpool Physical Training College Report*, 1915, p. 2.

³⁰ (B), Bedford Physical Training College, *Margaret Stansfeld*, Privately printed, (Bedford, 1953), p. 2.

³¹ J. May, *Madame Bergman-Österberg*, p. 97.

³² S. S. Holton, 'The Suffragist and the "Average Woman"', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1992, p. 16.

Room-Mates

Even shared, the rooms still gave an element of privacy. The first recollections of a room-mate are made by Scottish student, Anna Pagan (Hampstead, 1894): she had been promised a northern room-mate by Madame to keep her company, but she found that ‘My room mate Bessie Flavell’s [nee Grubb] “North” turned out to be Birmingham. She became a life long friend, and we still correspond, though she moved to Canada years ago.’³⁴ A good partner must certainly have helped the new student settle down into the college community. Some students found themselves with multiple room-mates.³⁵ In 1898 a Dartford student reported, ‘The number of girls in one bedroom varies: but there are never more than four together.’³⁶ Madame seemed to operate a selective policy of sorts when choosing room-mates; ‘We three students from Scotland slept in the tower, as Madame thought we could stand the cold better.’³⁷ Miss Stansfeld also took the former geographic location of students into account when matching them up: Scott (Bedford, 1907) comments, ‘I came from Sutton Scorney and so did Margaret Bomford and we shared a room all through our training.’³⁸

The choice of room-mate was made in advance by the college principal. It appears that the principals retained the right to choose who roomed with who throughout the period. Wicksteed (Bedford, 1907) felt naturally apprehensive about her future room-mate, “‘I am putting you to share a room with a Miss Hall from Heidelberg” - So ran Miss Stansfeld’s letter and the picture of a tall domineering woman educated on the continent was added to my other fears.’³⁹ All students were anxious to have a room-mate who they could relate to, and feel relaxed with, given that they were going to live together in close proximity for at least a year, if not two. Wicksteed’s fears got worse:

On arrival, Miss Stansfeld personally conducted me from ‘37’ the senior house to ‘29’ the junior house, she remarked ‘I hope you are not a nervous person?’ With my knees knocking together at the thought of Miss Hall, I refrained from answering and was much

³³ (D), ‘College in My Day 1921-24’, Bergman-Österberg Union Magazine, 1984, p. 27.

³⁴ (D), A. Pagan, ‘Description of Life at College 1892-1894’, p. 38. See Chapter 5 for Pagan’s first (negative) recollections of her room-mate.

³⁵ However the Bergman-Österberg Union Report for 1983, p. 17, states, ‘shared rooms 1st year, single rooms 2nd year.’ This suggests room sharing depended on space available, and the junior-senior student hierarchy.

³⁶ (D), ‘Letter to the Editor’ St Leonard’s School Gazette, February, 1898.

³⁷ (D), Bergman-Österberg Union Magazine, 1985, p. 28.

³⁸ (B), Questionnaires, Scott, 1907.

³⁹ (B), Questionnaires, Wicksteed, 1907.

relieved to find that the question referred merely to sleeping in a ground floor room and not to meeting an ogre. When we entered the room and I was confronted with a bright eyed mouse-like youngster, standing, nay almost hiding, behind a huge wicker chair, I prayed fervently that my other fears might prove equally groundless. They did not.⁴⁰

Wicksteed, who was one of the older students, found that she ‘rubbed along very comfortably’⁴¹ with her room-mate, throughout the junior year. Some students found their new room-mates did not last long. Farr (Bedford, 1918) remembered, ‘I was very tired and scared as it was the first time I’d been amongst the English . . . I was taken to “29” “Bobs” (Miss Roberts) house and found I was sharing with a Liverpudlian with an even more awful accent than mine. She was very unhappy and we did not have anything in common - She left after three weeks.’⁴² Hodson (Liverpool 1918) jokes that her room-mate got an initial shock when finding out Hodson was to be her room-mate:

I travelled in the train from Euston with about half a dozen other Freshers who were coming to college at the same time, and on that journey one of them took a violent dislike to one of the others and was quite devastated to find when she got to college that she had been put to sleep in the same room - I think it was No. 14. The reason she disliked this woman so much was because her voice was rather loud. She got over it - she has been my friend ever since and she’s here today Miss Walmsley.⁴³

A shared room might seem to have been an improvement on the complete lack of privacy experienced in the public school dormitories.⁴⁴ The students’ experience of room life at college had a big impact on their psyche. The good luck of having a compatible partner could provide much comfort during the good and bad times of college life. It would seem probable that the room-mate may have been the single most important person at the college for providing mutual support and sympathy. They provided an important experience of female companionship within the larger more impersonal community. The

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² (B), Oral Tapes, Farr, 1918.

⁴³ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Report, 1960, p. 7.

⁴⁴ E. Edwards, ‘The Culture of Femininity in Women’s Teacher Training Colleges 1900-1950’, *History of Education*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1993, p. 281. Edwards considers that ‘students who had never been away from home before, found the camaraderie of the dormitory more comfortable than the lonely freedom of a room to themselves. Moreover, dormitories were prominent in the culture of the upper-middle class boarding school.’ However, she contrasts this view by stating, ‘A room of one’s own was one of the crucial experiences for the enhancement of feminine ideology which college could offer.’ Commenting on her work on teacher training college students, she states, ‘Students were not only able to use their rooms for private study and to entertain fellow students, but they were able to express their femininity by the individual arrangement of their possessions and treasures.’

room itself provided a Student environment for privacy (subject to staff encroachment), personal development, and a place where one could be on one's own from time-to-time.

Furnishings

Dartford's interior gets special mention in some records and seems to have been richly furnished, Madame was recalcitrant however, "Please do not describe my sitting-room, my appearance, or give any personal details" were her first words: "I never think that a woman's life is of much importance to the public outside her work, and that is especially the case with my own."⁴⁵ She made great efforts to make sure the house was comfortable and decorated. A contemporary visitor reports that, 'Madame, who had more than one string to her bow, filled the house with beautiful things such as reproductions of Greek art - the students should be educated aesthetically.'⁴⁶ The house would look not unlike some of the more affluent middle-class homes the students might come from.⁴⁷ 'The college bore further the imprint of her personality:

Madame had a great love of beauty and wide general interests which she had shared with 'My girls.' From holiday travels she brought pottery and photographs and gave informal talks, vividly descriptive. She made a point of good pictures in the college, and incidentally the regulation day dress was copied from Andrea Del Sartu's portrait of himself as a young man.⁴⁸

By providing such furnishings Madame softened the background to what was at times a hard regime with students under stress. It reflected her colourful personality. It would also look good to visitors.⁴⁹ The Liverpool college was also well furnished, 'The

⁴⁵ (D), Hearth and Home, December 31st, 1891, p. 197.

⁴⁶ (D), Tidskrift I Gymnastik, p. 93.

⁴⁷ See Appendix 11 for my comments on 'home familism.'

⁴⁸ (D), A. Bromham, 'In Commemoration of Madame Bergman-Österberg, Founder of the Bergman-Österberg P. T. C. 1885-1935.'

⁴⁹ (D), Svenska Gymnastika, pp. 432-433. Another description states, 'The house of residence itself invites great interest, and every where one sees the marks of the owners outstanding ability to lead and organise. Next to the charming reception lounge is the library or reading room with a carefully chosen book collection. In the halls as well as in the stairways one finds productions of famous sculptures tastefully arranged, designed to foster a mind and taste for beauty and loveliness. Several big and spacious preparation rooms and reading rooms invite the students to a pleasant place to stay at during the free hours. No less than 50 single bedrooms have been fitted out with all today's comforts, excellent bathrooms and drying rooms and so on . . . In brief everything is planned for practical purposes, a true and elegant testimony to Mme. B. O.'s good taste and uncommon talent for organisation.'

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study and the library like the dining room, had vases of fresh flowers as well as many pot plants. The walls were adorned with portraits, oil painting and water colours.⁵⁰

Bedroom Furnishings

During this period, 'No room in the house reflected the tastes and character of its owner so completely as the bedroom.'⁵¹ At college the only room the student could call her own was the bedroom, so it is not surprising that great pride was taken in providing and arranging ornaments.⁵² These followed the trend at home where rooms could be crowded with photographs, water-colours and pottery. Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) commented, 'I am going over to the other house today to see Miss Marshall's room and photographs. They have cubicles there as at Bedford [Girls School].'⁵³ Each student's bedroom had its own unique collection of photographs, pictures, pottery, flowers, and cooking essentials, which gave an indication not only of the femininity of the occupants, but an important expression of individuality existing within the general group structure of college. In a 1913-1914 Bedford student's photograph album, the caption below the view of the inside of her room reads, 'Emmie in our room, note our medley of pictures, chairs, teapots, photo's etc.'⁵⁴ This caption implies shared ownership, and a mutual pride in the collection of private possessions therein. At Anstey, getting one's room just right took many attempts. A 1907 student commented, 'I believe there are very few rooms which have not been rearranged three or four times within the first half term.'⁵⁵

On top of what was provided, the students created their own unique environments, with personal possessions especially photographs, crockery, and vases of mainly dried

⁵⁰ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Report, 1915, p. 2. Madame was able to quickly decorate her college. Sometimes decorating could take colleges many years. See G. P. McGregor, Bishop Otter College and Policy for Teacher Education 1839-1980 (London, 1980), p. 125; 'The Staff Common Room had to be refurbished, since almost all its furniture had belonged to Miss Trevor or Miss Davy; the dormitories, domestic quarters, and several teaching rooms needed repairs and redecoration, the gas and plumbing systems overhauling, and most of the college plate and linen replacing; the architect pronounced the college chimneys dangerous.' A new beginning was made after the principal had left and a few years later, 'During the last few years this college has been almost transformed. It is now one of the most beautiful and complete in the country, every provision being made for the comfortable housing and effective instruction of eighty students. The work is faithfully and cheerfully done and the homelike air and good taste of the place are noteworthy', p. 134.

⁵¹ A. J. Jackson, The Middle Classes, p. 113.

⁵² This form of environmental familism was student controlled.

⁵³ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Madge, 18th of October, 1892.

⁵⁴ (B), Unnamed Photograph Album, 1913-1914.

⁵⁵ (A), Anstey P. T. C. Report, 1907, p. 21.

flowers. The rooms were certainly not Spartan and reflected middle-class environments the students would have been used to at home. At Dartford there was an attempt in 1921 to standardise the furnishings of the rooms:

Previously we had been allowed to have our own curtains and bed-covers, but very wisely this was changed to all green covers and curtains and a sort of bureau with a wash basin and, to our disgust, we had each been given a 'pottie.' However as there was a cupboard on the landing these soon found a home, only to be returned back again to us until, I think someone gave up the struggle and we won.⁵⁶

Liverpool in contrast had dormitories, 'sparsely furnished with hospital type beds.'⁵⁷ At Anstey the construction of six new bedrooms caused wonder and excitement amongst the students:

There were six new bedrooms, and every one wondered what they would be like, who would sleep there, what colour would the walls be . . . What is size compared to the delightful cosiness of a room where there is just sufficient space to fit everything nicely, and where the cupboards are big and spacious (hiding a multitude of sins) and where there are new curtains and bedcovers . . . The rooms have not been colour washed yet, but the curtains and bed covers are old rose colours and very pretty. When we arrived the builders were just putting their finishing touches, in fact we did not sleep in the rooms for a night or two, but we now feel quite at home, and we would not change places with anyone, for we feel as the poet says 'There's peace and rest in paradise.'⁵⁸

This passage suggests the importance which the bedroom held in the life of the student at college.

Sub-Culture

In these rooms there was a sub-culture, based on female equality and separate from the hierarchical structure outside the door.⁵⁹ Scott (Bedford, 1907) states, 'When we were seniors and moved to no 37, we had a room with a communicating door through into the room where Mary Neild and Mary Mc'Lean slept and we were all four very often together, when we made too much noise in one room, we just moved into the other room and settled

⁵⁶ (D), 'College in My Day 1921-24', Bergman-Österberg Union Magazine, p. 28.

⁵⁷ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Report, 1974, p. 58.

⁵⁸ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, No. 12, 1910, p. 12.

⁵⁹ K. K. Sklar, *Hull House in the 1890's*, p. 661, 'Although each had a room of her own . . . this room was sometimes shared with other residents, and the collective space was far more important than their small private chambers. Nevertheless, this intimate proximity was accompanied by a strong expression of personal individuality.'

down to work.’⁶⁰ This joining together of ‘pairs’ for socialising also increased the geographical area available by the use of the communicating door. Within the rules of staff authority which constrained Scott’s sub-group. She asserts that ‘Indoors revelry could be maintained at a high level on cocoa made with . . . milk and eaten with “sugar buns” at the midnight hour of ten p. m. “Just in time for lights out.”’⁶¹ Evans (Bedford, 1906) remembers lights out, as being 9 p. m.⁶² The house warden would personally enter the room to switch off lights as the time approached. Food partaken in small social groups is a common memory of the enjoyable side of residential life. From the early days and throughout its history, the coming together of small informal groups, with tea and buns, or equivalents have marked an enjoyable and acceptable form of socialising between friends, and equals at the college.⁶³ This practice fitted easily into the residential framework and was private, relaxing, and very difficult for staff to disapprove of, or even monitor. Squire (Bedford, 1917) recalls, ‘piles of crumpets on a Sunday for tea in our own rooms and if lucky a boiled egg on top.’⁶⁴ Life may have been very restricted during this war time experience: Squire remembers the luxury of ‘Fires in our own rooms on a Sunday’ as opposed to ‘other days, in winter, getting into a hot bath with a book to keep warm.’⁶⁵ The student rooms also served as a place for private study. This was compulsory between 8 p. m. and 10 p. m. each night. Students would also practice physical exercises in them, sometimes early in the morning before breakfast.

⁶⁰ (B), Questionnaires, Scott, 1907.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² (B), Questionnaires, Evans, 1906.

⁶³ See G. Bailey, *Lady Margaret Hall: A Short History*, pp. 105-106. The rooms would also have been used for work; ‘Essay writing for our “coaching’s” was a weekly or bi-weekly trial which often meant burning the midnight and early morning oil. Not every one was able to adopt the light-hearted attitude of the student who would beseech us to “come and talk to her while she was essay writing!” When this ever recurring crisis came upon us we would retire with dignity into our rooms, putting a large “Engaged” outside the door: but many of us would be secretly glad of interruptions. The strain of composition over, cocoa or tea would taste like nectar, and the time of relaxation in company which succeeded the completion of an essay or “time-paper” was glorious compensation . . . Coffee, tea and cocoa parties were of course a great feature of hall life . . . Best of all were the late cocoas which just happened on the spur of the moment, and which usually involved borrowing china and stealing food and taking more than one’s fair share of milk, but were well worth such little inconveniences.’

⁶⁴ (B), Questionnaires, Squire, 1917.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Wardens and Rules

Each residence had a warden.⁶⁶ These were usually a member of staff, especially once the college had become established. Where the college had a campus, the principal was usually in charge of residence. At Chelsea it was Fraulein who was in charge. The accommodation rules state, 'A Boarding House under the supervision of the H. M., can be recommended.'⁶⁷ However, as other hostels opened up staff were put in command. 'In 1914 Miss Crowdy opened "The House" - a College Hostel which formed a very happy centre of college life for ten years.'⁶⁸ Miss Wallers was Warden at 11 Carlyle Square. At Bedford college, each house had a member of staff as Warden. In the early days Miss Stansfeld looked after the senior house and Miss Roberts looked after the junior house.

Various residential rules were enforced.⁶⁹ At Dartford one rule was, 'Students were not to visit each others' rooms. Dresses had to be hung in cupboards not folded into cases.'⁷⁰ At Bedford there was a rule that there was to be no communication with other rooms after 10 p. m.⁷¹ Brown (Dartford, 1910) remembers that, 'There were very strict rules. We were not allowed to visit one another in our bedrooms along the corridors.'⁷² At

⁶⁶ For an interesting description of life as a warden just prior to the opening of Madame's college, and the associated skills and stresses, see P. Gallant, 'Against the Odds: Anne Jemima Clough and Women's Education in England', History of Education, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1997, pp. 145-164., In particular, pp. 156-161.

⁶⁷ (C), 'Rules for Admission 1902-03.'

⁶⁸ (C), 'Interview With Fraulein, Gymnastic Teachers Training College', Reprinted from Women at Home, 1898, p. 17.

⁶⁹ In the P. T. College environment the staff rigorously enforced residential rules. 'Power over' was practised not 'power to.' Students fitted in with the hall rules. This was not the case at other training colleges. See G. Bailey, Lady Margaret Hall, p. 93; 'The Hall rules are, of course laid down by the authorities, but they interfere very little with the internal social government of the Hall, which is largely the function of the Students Committee, consisting of the two senior students and a number of elected representatives. From time to time meetings are held of all resident members of the Hall, and a Hall meeting when the constitution is read and amendments to it are proposed and debated, or when motions of the burning importance concerning chaperonage rules, smoking and other weighty matters are discussed, is a very awe inspiring occasion. The Students' Committee sit around the High table in the Dining hall, whence they can look down with Olympian calm on the seething mob of Bolshevik malcontents below. Such meetings are a means of getting at the general opinion of the Hall; they enable rebels to air their views and so prevent grumbling in corners: and changes in the rules are from time to time brought about as the result of mutual understanding produced from frank discussion.'

⁷⁰ (D), Randall, 'Odd Jottings on College Life, 1911.'

⁷¹ (B), Bedford Physical Training College Report, 1980, p. 33; 'Things were still fairly restricted at the beginning of the period (1969-1979): No visitors in rooms during the week. Any visitors on Friday or at weekends had to be out by 8.30 p. m. Parents had to write a letter to the tutor if you wanted to go away for the weekend.'

⁷² This restriction on student socialising was common practice in girls' schools. S. Burstall, Public School for Girls, p. 234, comments, 'The rule that no girl is to enter another girls' cubicle is generally very strictly enforced; in some cases it is the only dormitory rule. Regulations as to silence vary considerably. In many

Dartford, 'Hot water bottles were forbidden but in spite of that were sometimes filled from a tap in Madame's part of the house.'⁷³ However, Napier-Clark (Dartford, 1910) comments, 'She [Madame] never came into our private study-bedrooms which we had after about 6 months. She never interfered with the one in charge - she just brought with her a breath of fresh air and happiness.'⁷⁴ Rilligan (Dartford, 1907) adds, 'None of us would have dreamt of leaving her bed untidily made or the mattress unturned. If we were tempted at once the thought came - What will Madam say?'⁷⁵ The students' residential lives were guided and controlled to varying extents. These rules were not dissimilar to ones they would have experienced in boarding-schools. This may have been because the over-riding reasons for their existence was to control feminine behaviour, a function which was as important in physical training colleges as in schools. Also, as Ashby states, 'Women's halls frequently give rather less personal freedom to students than the men's institutions, on account of the pressure which parents are supposed to put upon the guardians of women.'⁷⁶

Hierarchy Amongst the Students

Even though room-mates were of equal standing and status on the macro-level, there was social grading of students. Junior and senior bedrooms were always kept apart usually in separate buildings or on separate floors. When Liverpool college moved to Barkhill freshers went to the junior College which was in Barkhill Road while the seniors remained in the original Bedford Street buildings. At Bedford the senior and junior houses were separate, so a visit from any senior students was a noteworthy event. Wicksteed (Bedford, 1907) remembers 'Several seniors came to call upon us and make us feel at home and as if we were not really such mouses as we felt - Such a kindly action and so well meant, but this talk of games, dancing, elocution and teaching practice was so

instances, absolute silence is required in all dormitories; in others, speaking is restricted, e.g. after all girls are in bed, conversation is freely allowed for a fixed period which is rarely exceeded. And some relaxation from strict silence seems a wise concession to human nature, a safeguard against stealthy whispering. The enforcing of rules and order in the dormitory is in most cases entrusted to elder girls, specially appointed for this purpose; but the house mistress or matron also supervises.'

⁷³ (D), Letters, V. A. Brown (1910) to J. May, 6th of June, 1965.

⁷⁴ (D), Letters, E. Napier-Clark (1910) to J. May 13th of June, 1965.

⁷⁵ (D), Letters, J. E. Rilligan 1907, To J. May 11th of July, 1965.

⁷⁶ M. K. Ashby and J. H. Nicholson, 'Residential Life in the Civic Universities', The Forum of Education, Vol. 3, 1925, p. 126.

terrifying that nothing but lack of moral courage prevented my packing up that night.’⁷⁷

Therefore residence could be used to reinforce students into hierarchical groups.

House Maids

The other important functionary of the residential system was the house maid.⁷⁸ An early visitor to Hampstead commented, ‘I found myself following a neat maid into Madame Bergman-Österberg’s study.’⁷⁹ All the colleges employed servants to do part of the housework. Madame employed Swedish domestics but not without problems: one of them comments:

When the term had started Mrs Hakansson arrived as a ‘cook’. . . But she failed in doing it, so I took over. I didn’t know much about the English food. Once Mrs Bergman-Österberg came down to help me make a chocolate pudding. Anyway I was cooking one or maybe two years until I became a housekeeper. . . During that time the caretakers were: one Norwegian kitchen-maid, the old woman Betsy and a Swedish gardener who was recommended by Miss Welin.⁸⁰

Clearly Madame seems to have regarded them not just as servants and employees. Madame even invited her servants with her on holiday to the Paris exhibition. Alma remembers, ‘I was allowed to go too and shared a room with Miss Welin. Some days I was together with the students sight seeing. . . At Christmas time. . . Mrs Bergman-Österberg went to London in the evening. . . Christmas Eve I went there and we stayed at the Great Central Hotel.’

At the other colleges the relationship between principal and servants may have been more formal. The servants had specific limited duties: at Liverpool, ‘One of Miss Marsh’s maids came to do the housework and cooking, but the students made their own beds and dusted their rooms.’⁸¹

At Bedford, Scott (Bedford, 1907) remembers that ‘The large domestic staff cleaned the grates and made the beds.’⁸² An Anonymous student (Bedford, 1914) recalled:

⁷⁷ (B), Questionnaires, Wicksteed, 1907.

⁷⁸ S. Burstall, Public Schools for Girls, p. 244, comments, ‘With regard to self-help, in many cases girls make their own beds and mend their own clothes, but for nearly all other service they depend on servants. Want of time has much to do with this, prejudice perhaps more, but it is open to question whether the “simple life” should be practised in resident schools.’

⁷⁹ (D), Winther’s Magazine, 11th of November, 1893, p. 28.

⁸⁰ (D), J. Alma, ‘Memories from Kingsfield, England, 1898-1909.’

⁸¹ M. H. Royle, Liverpool Physical Training College, p. 28.

⁸² (B), Questionnaires, Scott, 1907.

I think of that old character- Miss Lilley (I think that was her name) anyhow the woman who 'obliged' there - I can see her now at my bedroom door pointing to some bones and a skull on my bed and saying 'I never could n' abide those things! Fair give me the creeps they do.' Poor soul I can see her dusting the bones and feeling creepy all the time.⁸³

Squire (Bedford, 1917) knew her housemaid by her first name, 'Ethel, the tall red haired housemaid who looked after our rooms.'⁸⁴ Students were not expected therefore to see to all their own domestic needs. Even so, students made their own beds, sometimes under staff supervision. Colwill (Bedford, 1915) was taught to mitre the bottom of the sheets and make sure they were sloping boldly. She remembers Miss Stansfeld watching her performance, and saying, 'Miss Colwill turn that down again it's not mitred properly!'⁸⁵ Again this would be similar to what many students would do in their middle-class homes.

This experience of living in a residential college allowed the students to develop close social relations with room-mates. This helped widen the students' horizons. It certainly provided them with a social environment of greater value than what was on offer in the relative isolation of the middle-class home of the era. Students learnt to co-operate and share possessions and space with others of their kind, who, though of a similar social class were distinguished by their individuality of character and experience. Many of these friendships were to continue long after graduation from college.

The residential rooms allowed the students a geographical space to create an individual personal life. The female student culture there gave the girls an important new aspect to their sense of college community. This coming together to form an egalitarian community of sharing and support contrasted strongly with the college hierarchical pyramid structure, which dominated their dealings with the principal, staff and senior students, and which constrained their own private community.

The overall residential structure does seem to resemble the middle-class homes from which they came.⁸⁶ There was a strong matriarchal figure in charge of the house, who

⁸³ (B), Questionnaires, Anonymous student, 1914.

⁸⁴ (B), Questionnaires, Squire, 1917.

⁸⁵ (B), Oral Tapes, Colwill, 1915.

⁸⁶ E. Edwards, 'Educational Institutions or Extended families? The Reconstruction of Gender in Women's Colleges in the Late-Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Gender and Education*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1990, p. 18. Edwards commenting on life at Homerton Teacher Training College notes, 'Whilst feminist ideas such as the right to privacy, personal development and a room of one's own, were by no means absent

imposed strict rules and could override any privacy the student had, if it suited her. The residential staff provided service for many domestic tasks. These included clearing fire grates and cleaning the rooms. They took on the roles of the family servants in the better off middle-class homes of the period. As Fletcher states, 'All colleges were in *Loco Parentis* and women's colleges took this very *seriously* (her italics).'⁸⁷ This helped the student settle into a recognisable environment while also constraining them to follow the college ethos. The residential experience for college students could be rewarding and empowering. The last word goes to one unnamed student who underwent the college residential experience at Bedford. She commented in her photograph album that 'This is the house wherein 16 Juniors spent a very happy Junior year with Miss Lindelof as Head and we all hate leaving it.'⁸⁸

Other Types of College Room

For the institution to function as a whole, rooms with differing functions were needed.⁸⁹

The other rooms in the colleges were essential to meeting the goals of the organisation. Each room in the college had to be utilised efficiently to ensure maximum use of resources. Different rooms had different behavioural rules. In bedrooms socialising might be banned except with room-mates. In the common room a group identity could be formed. The gymnasium allowed group work and effort. Class rooms were a disciplined working environment. The college institution was therefore made up of various physical assets with varying functions. Within these rooms the social units or human groups⁹⁰ followed different roles and patterns which helped them achieve their goals of becoming

from women's colleges, many of the prevailing discourses evolved out of the conventions and practices of the Victorian middle class home.'

See also S. Hamilton, 'Women and the Scottish Universities Circa 1869-1939: A Social History', PhD, University of Edinburgh, 1987, p. 326. Hamilton in her work on female experiences at Scottish universities of the same period suggests, 'The halls in their organisation and image were all representative of middle-class life styles.' However, she adds, 'although the structure of the halls appeared to be perpetuating middle-class values and conventions, they were not always interpreted as such by the residents who lived in them, and took the life styles of university halls very much for granted. They were part of the university experience but they also reflected the social mores of the day and as such were not questioned or challenged to any great extent.'

⁸⁷ S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 66.

⁸⁸ (B), Caption, *Unnamed Photograph Album*, 1913-1914.

⁸⁹ See Appendix 15 for a more detailed discussion of room type and function.

physical trainers. These college physical assets were improved and altered through time. It is an important point that the institutions which students attended in the early years of their existence were not the same as those which students attended ten or twenty years later. The college institution was not fixed in nature, it continuously altered, and could change completely when a new college site was found and adopted. Therefore student experience within a college which had recently been founded was not the same as when it had been established for some time.

6.5; The Hidden Menu: The Social Significance of Meal Times at Physical Training Colleges

‘Don’t you wish you were in Hampstead then? Even though Madame is cross today on account of an insufficient breakfast.’⁹¹

The dining hall was a focal point in the life of the students at college. It was here that the entire staff and student body would come together at regular intervals each day. It was the only place where such a total gathering might occur. It was therefore a very important time and place with much cultural significance. Meal times were of great social importance within the all female college communities. Edwards believes ‘[Meals] functioned not only to promote the socialisation of individuals in institutional norms, but also as an important instrument of social control.’⁹² These occasions, especially dinner, were formal and had incorporated a number of devices or rituals which provided social lessons, to be of use to the students, whether at home or in society.

The Scene: Decorations

The Dartford dining room was richly decorated. May provides a description:

Altogether the dining room is charming. Round the walls hang good photographs of ‘The Briar Rose’ and other well-known and beautiful pictures, while the oak

⁹⁰ See Azzarto, ‘Understanding the Dynamics of a Community Health Centre,’ p. 183, Where she defines organisations as “social units” (or human groups) deliberately constructed to seek specific goals.

⁹¹(D), Letters, A. Pagan to Unknown, 1892.

⁹² E. Edwards, ‘The Culture of Femininity in Women’s Teacher Training Colleges 1900-1950’, History of Education, Vol. 22, No. 3, p. 280.

mantelpiece has niches for graceful statuettes modelled in clay. It is all these things which make the place so homelike and take from it every appearance of a school.⁹³

The importance of the college community meeting as one, at meals, is well reflected in this description. Though formal in ritual, the meals were taken in a homely background rather than institutional environment.⁹⁴ It was the formality of the middle-class home which ruled during meals. At Anstey, ‘The Dining hall is a large pretty room with its four tables placed corner-wise and a large window overlooking the lake and distant hills.’⁹⁵ The college therefore had a dining room that was comfortable, well adorned and homelike. Within this pleasant setting very serious cultural behaviours were enacted.

Hierarchy: Seating

At Anstey, senior students as a sign of their status, would sit with Miss Anstey for meals. The seniors were geographically nearer to their leaders than the juniors, which reinforced the status and privilege they had earned by becoming seniors. They were not only physically nearer their leader they were nearer in status than the juniors. Their success in becoming seniors was visibly acknowledged. This imposing of a physical, hierarchical structure within the dining room environment was bolstered further as ‘The diet was strictly vegetarian in keeping with Miss Anstey’s strongly held view on healthy living,⁹⁶ although if a student objected strongly enough she could eat meat, provided she sat at a separate table.’⁹⁷ This reinforced the hierarchical structure of the college. Meat-eaters were allowed to diverge from Miss Anstey’s values, but suffered a social punishment by being put on a separate table.

At Bedford, meal times were also extremely important social events. However the hierarchical structures involved were manifested very differently from Anstey. Here at Bedford “Following on” had quickly become a ritual which suggests the very considerable importance attached to eating rituals in a structured society.⁹⁸ This process involved students systematically moving places at the dining table each day (a table seating list was

⁹³ J. May, Madame Bergman-Österberg: Pioneer of Physical Education and Games for Girls and Women, p. 98.

⁹⁴ See ‘environmental familism’ Appendix 12.

⁹⁵ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, No. 8, 1905, p. 23.

⁹⁶ See Appendix 17 for details about the kind of food served at physical training colleges.

⁹⁷ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, No. 8, 1905, p. 23.

drawn up each day) so that sooner or later they ended up sitting next to a member of staff, who sat at the head of each table. To be able to hold polite conversation with anyone, was considered important, and good manners were of overriding importance. The requirement that students take their turn in conversing with the principal at the high table ensured that, 'Students, like daughters in the upper-middle-class home, were equipped to make polite dinner conversation with their parents' guests.'⁹⁹ Therefore the aim was to produce the 'all round woman' who though pursuing a professional career, would also be able to carry out valued, feminine, social graces, which would stand them in good stead outside of the class room. Useful cultural training could therefore be carried out while eating. It would also give the principal and every member of staff the opportunity to quiz each student and find out about their characters. In this college the hierarchical structure had staff in positions of power at the heads of tables and senior and junior students mixed together. This was a staff-student hierarchy, not staff-seniors-juniors hierarchy as at Anstey. The dining hall at Bedford allowed staff to give displays of (crude) power and authority, against students who were unable to avoid close proximity to the staff in this situation. Meal times provided a way of socialising students one-by-one in a conveyor process. It was therefore a place where more negative aspects of the hierarchical structure could be reinforced. Harsh lessons on social skills were imposed on students. Those who were shy or nervous would suffer the most.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ S. Fletcher, *Women First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education*, p. 125.

⁹⁹ E. Edwards, 'Educational Institutions or Extended Families? The Reconstruction of Gender in Women's Colleges in the Late-Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Gender and Education*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1990, pp. 21-22. The students would have been used to hierarchical situations at home meals. See A. J. Jackson, *The Middle Classes*, p. 220; 'At home most middle-class children were accustomed to order and regularity and were obliged to conform from an early age to a prescribed routine of discipline which included, "eating up" . . . not sitting at table until all others were in place, staying at table till all had finished the meal.'

¹⁰⁰ Even in later years this could be a terrible experience. Bowen-West (Bedford, 1946) remembers how students would dread to sit next to one member of staff who had strong likes and dislikes, 'God help the poor students. She would crush the students. "What do I want to hear about that for." She was very cruel.' Swallow (Bedford, 1936) felt inadequate, Miss Stansfeld liked sparkling conversation but Swallow 'dried up, with not a thing to say to her . . . She wanted me to be able to talk in any society, she said "Entertain me, show me you can talk." "Following On" was finally reduced to dinner times only, but with the reminder that it is important that the dining room should be a social place and that, everyone should make an effort to make "following successful.' (B), Oral Tapes, Bowen-West 1946, and Swallow 1936.

Socialisation

The formality of the evening meal was emphasised by formal dress. a 1901 Anstey student recalled, 'We lived in navy tunics to the knee length all day, changing for dinner in the evenings.'¹⁰¹ This would have seemed quite natural for the students, as at home the family and guests always changed into evening dress for this most formal of meals.¹⁰² Servants attended to the college community's needs, preparing and serving the food.

The dining room at Dartford was meant to provide a comfortable background for social gathering. The meal provided an opportunity for socialising and spreading news amongst the group. Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) noted, 'At dinner today Madame was talking of a little cabinet which she had made herself.'¹⁰³ On hearing about a social event Pagan had been invited to, 'Madame called down the long table, "Is it going to be a large dance Miss Pagan?" "I don't know what the numbers are at all but it is not very large", I said. "What are you going to wear?"', she then asked. There was a dead silence, everyone was perfectly quiet and I felt I simply couldn't answer but at last faltered out, "White silk", blushing furiously at the originality of my costume. If it had been a nice mauve spotted satin trimmed with corn flowers it wouldn't have been so bad but to repeat it twice, "white silk", sounded too funny for anything.'¹⁰⁴ The dining table provided a place where non-college events could be commented on. Pagan is very much on the defensive during this conversation as she has to answer her hierarchical superior, yet is being affected by variables such as fashion, about which she would rather keep quiet. This is a communal event as all the other staff and students are suddenly listening in. This implies that multiple conversations could also occur at the same time at the table. This indicates a veneer of informality between the members of the group, despite great differences in status.

Reminiscences from Bedford reveal the formality of dress there.¹⁰⁵ Wicksteed (Bedford, 1907) recalls what she wore and what was spoken, 'At dinner on that first night - silk on white blouses trimmed with much lace and long black skirts - I sat next to Miss Roberts and opposite two members of the 1st hockey eleven and the talk was all of games and matches, of hopes and aspirations for the season interlaced with terrifying references to

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 23, Reminiscence of a 1901 Anstey student.

¹⁰² A. J. Jackson, The Middle Classes, p. 97.

¹⁰³ (D), A. Pagan Letter to Mother, 23rd of November, 1892.

¹⁰⁴ (D), A. Pagan, Letter to Unknown, 8th of June, 1893.

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter 7 and Appendix 20 for a discussion of the significance of uniform.

a Miss Mason, who came down from London to take the dancing.¹⁰⁶ This first night experience for Wicksteed shows that work experience could be discussed informally, despite staff being present. The senior students are relaxed and know what conversation is acceptable. Even discussion of the characteristics of Miss Mason is allowed. How difficult Wicksteed felt making conversation during this first night surrounded by hierarchical superiors is not given.¹⁰⁷ Seating arrangements at Bedford did not reflect status, everyone mingled together.

Almost on the same night the following year:

Then came the senior year, the main and awful feeling of the beginning of term was modified at dinner the second night by Miss Stansfeld turning to me after gazing around the room and remarking, "Its curious how fond you get of your seniors, when a new set of juniors comes in; and with that came the slow realisation of the shattering fact that we had become, 'my Seniors' and would never again be referred to as, 'you' Juniors.

¹⁰⁸ Wicksteed now finds herself as a senior student. Miss Stansfeld informally comments on her views of the hierarchical make up of her college. Such is her hierarchical power her words have great effect on Wicksteed.

Hierarchical Power

The dining room being an intense meeting area of hierarchical power and behaviour led to an almost processional form of entry at Dartford. When Madame entered the dining room the arrival of the hierarchical leader was powerfully visual, and all responded to it, 'Madame's entry into the dining room during meals was certainly dramatic and she walked between our tables, noting everything.'¹⁰⁹ And:

No one will forget the dramatic effect of Madame's entry into the dining room during meals and how involuntarily everyone straightened up and waited. She would walk between the tables, her observant eye noting everything. She might make a general statement but, more often, a criticism of something amiss, concerning posture, or personal

¹⁰⁶ (B), Questionnaires, Wicksteed 1907

¹⁰⁷ The experience of the 'difficult' first meal at two public schools is recorded in G. Avery, The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls' Independent Schools, p. 205. At Bedgebury Park School, 1920, 'That first meal was terrible, everyone was extremely nervous, not knowing what to talk about or how much to eat.' There was a regular bombardment of questions, the ones that are asked when there is nothing else to say, such as, "Have you been to school before?" "How old are you?" "Do you play hockey?" And, "At the school that was to become Benenden twenty-four girls assembled for the first supper and everyone was too shy to speak, except to ask for the salt in inaudible whispers."

¹⁰⁸ (B), Questionnaires, Wicksteed 1907.

¹⁰⁹ (D), Napier-Clark 1917, Letter to J. May. 1st of June, 1965.

appearance. For example, a student thought she had made a real effort to tidy her hair but Madame, touching her head, said ‘what is this? A birds nest?’¹¹⁰

And, ‘Madame would walk around the tables at meals and deliver homilies.’¹¹¹ The opportunity was taken by Madame to examine the gathered students. It may be the case that she would not meet some particular students anywhere else, so it provided an opportunity to examine the captive audience and point out ways of improving themselves in minor ways to meet her ideals. Madame’s hierarchical power is clearly displayed over those gathered during the entry ritual.

During the meal Madame would, if it pleased her, use her power negatively in the form of ‘power over’. The atmosphere at meals could be uncomfortable; Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) remembered one morning, ‘Well Madame was perfectly horrid . . . Molly spilt her tea at breakfast and when she went and apologised to Madame afterwards, the creature neither moved or spoke just stared at her, which is not the conduct of a model gymnastics teacher.’¹¹² Shortly after:

Molly unfortunately spilt milk on the staff table cloth and while we were wiping it up Madame came in and stood stock still for a minute or two collecting herself for a grand storm of cutting satire and polite remarks about the costs of homes people who spilt on newly dyed table cloth came from. (That is her favourite mode of torture.) She showed traces of most of the seven deadly sins and with want of foresight and thought for others of course. This ridiculous nonsense set all our backs up and if she had only taken the exactly opposite stand point and hastened to say ‘never mind only an accident, old table cloths etc.’ Then everything would have been different but then so would the entire character of Madame.¹¹³

Things got worse, ‘Then of course next morning at breakfast Bessie had to upset a whole cup of milk, we were threatened with a price of ware cloth.’¹¹⁴ These crude displays of power by Madame serve to remind those below her that she was in charge. If anything irritated Madame she would exercise her power in verbal admonitions. Clumsiness may not be compatible with the *feminine, middle-class background environment Madame had created in the dining hall*. Pagan’s response is illuminating. She is not prepared to respect her leader privately over these actions, though her low status means she must endure

¹¹⁰ Bergman-Österberg Union Magazine, 1965, p. 22, Remembered from circa 1893.

¹¹¹ (D), Randall, ‘Odd Jottings on College Life’, 1911.

¹¹² (D), A. Pagan Letter to Unknown, 18th of November, 1892.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ (D), A. Pagan Letter to Unknown, 1892.

Madame's dictats. A short while later Pagan noted 'Madame was in an awful stew yesterday, the senior students saw it when she came to breakfast and trembled for what was to come.'¹¹⁵ Careless behaviour at meal times was considered unfeminine and a disciplinary offence; also Madame might let off steam against those around her at meal times. The Dartford dining hall was as at the other colleges, a place where social division, and power was displayed. No one displayed more power than the college principal.

Student entry to the dining hall was also formalised at Dartford. In later years:

We marched into breakfast and bowed to 'High' the staff table in the window, with Miss Walton, and later Miss Lett, and the rest of the staff noting with amusement our various kinds of nods! Our chairs were turned to 'High' for prayers and then were turned for meals, except on April 1st when the juniors tied them together.¹¹⁶

The students were expected to acknowledge their hierarchical superiors on entry. They were clearly visible to staff who would appraise their dress and appearance.

The entry of the principal was an important cultural process. At Bedford, how students left the room was equally important: Scott (Bedford, 1907) remembers,

We assembled for meals in the dining room at 37 and we used to eat very fast, for fear we should be last and have to walk the length of the room with Miss Stansfeld's eye upon us. I was left behind one day and she called me to her and said, 'Miss Scott please remember that your arms are not oars to help you through this wicked world.'¹¹⁷

Being noticed by the principal could draw unwanted criticism. Safety and relative anonymity was achieved by keeping in a group and not being isolated.

Informal Meals

More informal meals could take place on special occasions. Guests could be invited to college and Madame allowed a much less formal procedure to develop. Miss Buchanan the singing teacher, brought her sister and three nephews to play music one evening. Pagan remembers 'We had coffee, burgundy, cakes and finished up by singing Rounds, Drink To Me Only and Old Kent Road at which Madame conducted vigorously. She was in a beaming good humour tho [sic] our third breakage had just occurred - one of her favourite vases too. I played Gloria, and sang Twin Ye To Me.'¹¹⁸ Here food was used

¹¹⁵ (D), A. Pagan Letter to Madge, 25th of October, 1892.

¹¹⁶ (D), 'College in My Day 1921-24', Bergman-Österberg Union Magazine, 1981, p. 28.

¹¹⁷ (B), Questionnaires, Scott, 1907.

¹¹⁸ (D), A. Pagan Letter to Mother, 23rd of November, 1892.

as a supplement to a much more informal socialising. This event took place outside the dining hall, which was associated with well furnished formality. It occurred in a relaxing drawing room, where informal, friendly behaviour took place. Though still the centre of attention, Madame seems to have relaxed the hierarchical college structure temporarily, to facilitate a 'good time' for all.

An extremely informal meal occurred at Bedford: Hadley (Bedford, 1905) states that 'On one occasion she [Miss Stansfeld] heard a noise in the night: thinking it was a burglar, she came downstairs to find Mary Tempest, an Irish student, raiding the kitchen. Instead of scolding her, Miss Stansfeld set to and helped her get herself a meal.'¹¹⁹ This unusual occurrence must have given the student a shock at being discovered by the principal. Tempest was breaking residential rules by being out of her room and helping herself to food. Miss Stansfeld however was lenient and used the meeting to create an informal one to one situation, which must have created interest amongst students like Hadley when recounted to them.

The longevity of meal-time rules and regulations show just how important they were considered for educating middle-class females for a more social, feminine role outside of the class room.¹²⁰ Though encouraging students to take a career role that was considered unfeminine by disapproving elements of patriarchal society, the college staff tried to build up a defensive feminine shield, of social graces and skills, which would be very acceptable to parents and society at large.¹²¹

Meal-times in all-female institutions were important, not only for providing calories and energy for the active students, but for providing an environment for reinforcing power

¹¹⁹ (B), Questionnaires, Hadley, 1905,

¹²⁰ It was not till after Margaret Stansfeld's death, and during the 1950s, that the rules and regulations of meal times began to break down, 'I remember the feeling of a battle won when we were actually allowed permission to leave dinner early once a week if we were going to the cinema - and Sunday breakfast became optional.' (B), The Bedford Physical Training College Students' Association Report, 1978, p. 33, states that it was even later before the 'following on' ritual finally began to break down. A change in the time of lunch to one o'clock was reluctantly agreed by staff but, 'not if the "dignity of the dining room" was disturbed by latecomers.' In the early 1960's, wearing a dress was compulsory if you were 'on coffee' after dinner and no coloured stockings could be worn at meals. S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 182.

¹²¹ The formalisation of the college meal is mirrored in the Scottish university experience for women, where they had 'four good meals a day, very good dinner in the evening, properly waited on and so on, a running lunch, a very good breakfast and a very nice tea.' And, The process of 'following on' or 'buffering' as it was here called, manifested itself in the Scottish female hall of residence, 'Dinners involved dressing up and in rote students would be chosen to "dine high", sitting at the warden's table.' S. Hamilton, 'Women and the Scottish Universities Circa 1869-1939: A Social History,' PhD, University of Edinburgh, 1987, pp. 326-327.

structures within the college, and training students in important (feminine) social skills. Ritual, in the form of dramatic entry by Madame into the dining room, 'following on' at Bedford, or Anstey's hierarchical seating arrangements, were used to show what values were considered important within the hierarchical college society. Those who participated and observed in these meal time rituals were able to show loyalty and solidarity towards shared college values. Meal times were a period of restraint, where students observed procedures designed to make them 'attractive people' both in college and society as a whole.

6.6; Conclusion

The residential experience at college dominated the students lives for two years. This experience changed over time as the colleges grew or changed location. Of particular residential importance was the bedroom environment. This provided to some extent a safe place from the impersonal, hierarchical environment surrounding each student throughout the day. Room-mates provided an opportunity to socialise on an egalitarian basis with one's peers. Personal room furnishings provided much needed comfort, while reflecting personal taste and reminding the student of home. The coming together of the student body at meal times provided the single most important group event of the day. It was an event of great social importance. Formal dinners provided social lessons in feminine behaviour and hierarchical control. The residential experience provided important information on how students were controlled and moulded by the college education process outside of their work hours. It also shows how students were able to express their own personalities within the colleges highly controlled way of life.

Chapter 7: The College Course Examined: Physical Training And Teaching

7.1; Introduction

‘The object of this course is to train educated women to become teachers of rational physical education, who after the completed course will teach Ling’s gymnastics and disseminate knowledge of Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene, and also introduce outdoor games in girls schools and colleges.’¹

So noted a Swedish Professional visitor to Dartford in 1907. This summary of the function of the college course does not do justice to its intricacies and multiple aims and objectives. This chapter considers the importance of the college course. The origins and purpose of the curriculum are examined to show how the course content came about, and how its purposes went beyond the production of professional physical educationalists. Societal attitudes to race and women are considered. The structure and role of the subjects, both theoretical and practical, are studied together with old students’ experiences of their work. How course work produced a link with outside society and in particular contact with women of a lower social class are given close attention.

All students were subject to an intensive two year course (three years at Chelsea from 1911). The subjects students took at Dartford college can be split into Theoretical and Practical experience in games, and physical education teaching. There were many subjects taught at the training colleges² including, ‘Theoretical Anatomy, Animal Physiology, Animal Mechanics, Hygiene, Practical Ling’s Swedish Gym, Fencing, Slojd,³ Swimming, Outdoor Games.’⁴ At Dartford in 1921, one student recalled:

All games, gym, and dancing lectures were compulsory and I reckoned we had to pass in 15 subjects, which included, Classical Dancing, Country, Scottish, and Sword Dancing, Gym, Hockey, Lacrosse, Cricket, Tennis, Indoor Games, Theory of Gymnastics, Theory of Games, Theory of Dancing, Anatomy, Physiology, Hygiene, Chemistry, Massage and Remedial, First Aid, and of course Teaching.⁵

¹ (D), ‘Swedish Gymnastics at Home and Abroad,’ *Svenska Gymnastika*, December, 1907, p. 31.

² See Appendix 18 for the Bedford Timetable of 1910 and the Anstey Timetable of 1918.

³ Slojd or Sloyd was a form of Swedish carpentry which exercised the arms and hands. For a detailed look at its development and importance see K.J. Brehony, ‘Even Far Distant Japan’ is “Showing an Interest”: The English Froebel Movement’s Turn to Sloyd’, *History of Education*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 1998, pp. 279-291.

⁴ (D), ‘The Swedish System’, *Sidcot Quarterly* Vol. 1, No. 8, 1892.

⁵ (D), ‘College in My Day 1921-1924’ Dartford Physical Training College Report 1981, p. 28.

These examples show the wide range of knowledge and skills needed by the students. The most important core theoretical subjects were Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene.⁶ The most important practical subject was gymnastics.

7.2; The Origins of the Physical Training College Curriculum

Madame Österberg implemented the first college curriculum in 1885. This was based upon her own experience and training.⁷ At the heart of the college syllabus and her training work for the London Board was Swedish Gymnastics.⁸ This system of gymnastics was ‘devised from medical and educational criteria.’⁹ It also had a long and successful history and ‘For at least thirty years the system had been used in the education of girls.’¹⁰

There were rival theories of gymnastics and not all principals committed themselves to the Swedish method at first.¹¹ By putting Swedish gymnastics at the heart of her training, Madame was gaining a number of advantages, ‘Madame Österberg was presented as offering the best system of physical training for boys and girls yet devised by science, and as training thoroughly competent teachers for spreading the system throughout

⁶ See Appendix 19 for the course details of these three subjects offered at Chelsea in 1915.

⁷ Madame had commenced private teaching when she was 21. She then became a librarian. Aged 30 she enlisted at the Royal Central Gymnastics Institute in Stockholm. Successfully completing her course, she travelled widely, observing forms of gymnastics in other countries. She was recommended by the institute to the London School Board, who required a Lady Superintendent of Physical Exercise. In 1881 Madame (then Miss Bergman) took on the post for £200 a year. A post she continued in for over six years. In 1888 she resigned, to commit herself totally to her college work. During this period she trained 1312 elementary teachers. Every elementary London Board school (276 in number) had a teacher trained in Swedish Gymnastics by Madame Österberg.

⁸ Madame had been trained in Swedish gymnastics at the C. G. I. This was based on the work of Per Henrik Ling who had created forms of gymnastic training related to the theory of anatomy and physiology. This work had been developed by his son, Hjalmar, who had developed a theory of gymnastics. Both Hjalmar and his sister Hilder (lecturer in medical gymnastics) taught Madame during her course in Stockholm.

⁹ I. M. Webb, *Chelsea College of Physical Training*, p. 8.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Fraulein Wilke came from Bavaria and had trained at the Stempel Gymnasium in London which favoured German gymnastics. Her college trained students in German Gymnastics at first and gave equal emphasis to Swedish and German by 1902. Only later did Swedish Gymnastics become dominant.

Miss Marsh had been trained by Alexander Alexander at the Southport Gymnasium. Like her mentor she favoured a more British approach to gymnastics, using music for floor exercises. Miss Anstey and Miss Stansfeld were trained by Madame and were firm disciples of the Swedish method. Eventually all colleges embraced the Swedish method, as it became accepted by the school boards. The differences between the various theories of gymnastics are beyond the scope of this dissertation, For a detailed description of the theories of gymnastics see L. E. Eugene, *A Guide to the History of Physical Education* (London, 1947).

the country.’¹² The system was sound, and had economic advantages. As Webb notes, ‘Her insistence on the value of Swedish exercises even without apparatus was an argument which posed a swift and cheap answer to a pressing problem. This was an important factor in the national acceptance of the system during the 1890s.’ The school syllabuses for physical exercise remained however dominated by military drill. It was not until 1904 that less emphasis began to be put on drill. Swedish Gymnastics became firmly incorporated into the school syllabus as late as 1909.¹³

7.3; The Purpose of the Curriculum

Madame was aware of the importance patriarchal society gave to Social Darwinist theories and Eugenics (see Chapter 1). Race regeneration was an essential part of her work and of the curriculum she used to train her students; ‘I try to train my girls to help raise their own sex, and to accelerate the progress of the race; for unless the women are strong, healthy, pure, and true, how can the race progress?’¹⁴

Madame sought to replace male control in the physical education of women with female control. Her stated aim was, ‘Let us once and for all discard man as a physical trainer of woman; let us send the drill sergeant right about face to his awkward squad. This work we women do better, as our very success in training depends upon our having felt like women, able to calculate the possibilities of our sex, knowing our weakness and our strengths.’¹⁵ This meant replacing patriarchal influence and control with matri-patriarchal influence and control. Training young female teachers was her method of achieving this.

The curriculum provided a source of training which would lead to economic self-empowerment. Students were trained to have skills which provided professional, paid employment. Madame, however, never forgot the other roles available for her graduates; ‘from the beginning she was aware of her momentous task in educating independent,

¹² I. M. Webb, *Chelsea Physical Training College*, p. 38. Femininity and appropriate behaviour for women were used as arguments for and against the systems. Adherents of the German system argued that their system was more restful and graceful for girls. Both sides (Swedish and German) claimed the development of muscle as a fault in the other system. ‘Muscle is masculine’, I. M. Webb, p. 49.

¹³ See I. M. Webb, *Chelsea Physical Training college*, pp. 121-122, for her comments on the school board syllabuses gradual acceptance of scientific principles of physical training and acceptance of the role of Swedish Gymnastics.

¹⁴ S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 28.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 137-138.

mature, capable women as responsible teachers, future mothers and citizens.’¹⁶ The other college principals, especially her former students Anstey and Stansfeld, followed and developed the original Dartford curriculum. The success and longevity of the course Madame put together is proclaimed by May:

It is quite a remarkable fact that, apart from modern developments within the subjects, especially in gymnastics and dance, the practical course of gymnastics, dance, swimming, athletics and games evolved by Madame Österberg is the same course, in broad outline identically so, as the one now followed for the teachers’ certificate in this the eightieth year in the life of the College. The major games are still exactly those she chose - cricket, tennis, hockey, lacrosse and netball.¹⁷

7.4; Theoretical Subjects

Scientific principles underpinned the entire training course at the colleges. Being able to cope with theory work was as important as showing practical skills.

Anatomy

At Chelsea the general structure of the body was dealt with during the first year (see Appendix 19). In the second year the body was considered as a living machine. The course developed through time¹⁸ and from 1911 visits were made to Cook’s School of Anatomy, for dissection courses. In 1915 students began going for hospital practice at St George’s Hospital. Student demonstrations on dissection became compulsory. In 1914 the Anatomy of Deformities and Diseased Conditions was introduced into the course.

Anatomy was considered by some students to be the most difficult subject. Anna Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) lamented that, ‘Anatomy is much worse than any subject I have ever tried at school,’¹⁹ It was a subject coming to the fore at the end of the century. Payne (Bedford, 1905) remembers that, ‘As for anatomy, we lived with bones, slept with them in our rooms and Mr Perkins our skeleton was one of our most intimate friends.’²⁰ The choice of teacher played an important part in the students enjoyment of their subject; Wicksteed (Bedford 1907) comments, ‘With our senior year came the advent of Miss Petit,

¹⁶ J. May, Madame Bergman-Österberg, p. 49.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ See I. M. Webb, Chelsea Physical Training College, pp. 127-150, for a detailed investigation of the course content of subjects offered at Chelsea during this period.

¹⁹ (D), A. Pagan, Hampstead Physical Training College 1892-1894.

very young - only one year out of college and behaving during her first term very like a student at times - brought dry bones to life in her anatomy lectures largely by means of her wonderful drawings. Those lectures were fascinating, but some of us must have behaved badly for years after, she confessed to having felt something akin to panic as she entered the senior study for a lecture.²¹ The way the subject was taught impressed Scott (Bedford 1907) who stated that, 'Molly Petit took Miss James' place and lectured in Anatomy and coached our games. I remember being full of admiration at the clear way she lectured and how painstakingly she was with the slower ones, what a tower of strength she has proved to college.'²² However there were times when it did not matter who the class teacher was, Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) states 'Then at this morning, Madame ushered herself in to Anatomy and made Miss Wellin question us on unprepared three weeks old work. We did it fairly well but you may imagine how happy we felt to begin with.'²³

Physiology

At Chelsea physiology students examined tissues and organs with microscopes. They set up tests on fats and carbohydrates and analysed food, blood, bile and urine. Experiments were carried out on the digestion of food, saliva, gastric juices, and pancreatic juice. Frogs and rabbits were dissected. Cardiograph, sphygmograph and ophthalmoscopes were in use.²⁴

At Bedford, physiology lectures could be a frightening experience but not for Farr (Bedford, 1920) who remembers that, 'Some were frightened by Stan in lectures, "You answer this question." I would answer, others were petrified. Lectures were terrifying. I respected it and did learn an awful lot.'²⁵ Those who were good at physiology, like Farr and Scott (Bedford, 1907) could enjoy it more. Scott comments on her experience, 'Then there was physiology once a week taken by Miss Stansfeld and the thrill of those lectures is

²⁰ (B), Questionnaires, D. P. Payne, 1905.

²¹ (B), Questionnaires, J. H. Wicksteed, 1907.

²² (B), Questionnaires, K. H. Scott, 1907.

²³ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Anonymous, 18th of November, 1892. Clearly Madame withdrew from class lecturing at an early stage. This was probably when the college family phase ended and the corporate phase began with its increasing need for someone to control and organise the institution. Madame always took her supervisory role seriously see Letters, Napier-Clarke (Dartford, 1910); 'No, Madame took practically no actual lecturing (she called them talks), but seemed to be in and out of the various lectures to see us for a few minutes at any time, or at our studio.'

²⁴ See Appendix 19 for a more detailed look at the Chelsea syllabus.

never to be forgotten that I confess that being one who quite often “knew the answers” I perhaps enjoyed those hours more than some did.’²⁶

Some like Wicksteed (Bedford, 1907) were inspired, ‘We were fortunate in having lectures in physiology from Miss Stansfeld and those lectures were sheer joy, she had a real gift for impressing the important points and of making us laugh at our own stupid mistakes.’²⁷ Miss Stansfeld’s teaching ability and idiosyncrasies are remembered in a number of anecdotes. Scott (Bedford 1907) reports:

Once I grew sleepy during a lecture and woke to hear Miss Stansfeld say ‘Miss Scott, will you come and draw that for us on the blackboard?’ I went to the board picked up a piece of chalk and said ‘what exactly was it you wanted me to draw?’ But Miss Stansfeld did not let me get away with it, I was advised to go to bed early.²⁸

And:

Stan brilliant and wonderful. In physiology she had lovely wit. She saw the fun of life. A student drew a ‘puss.’ Stan ignored it and drew lungs with a black cat in the cavity. Surely a very uncomfortable condition. All that fun in her. Straight faced with witty remarks, a twinkle in her eyes.²⁹

Colwill (Bedford, 1915) adds that ‘Everything she taught was vivid and full of life, and what might have been a comparatively dull lesson became in her hands a thing of absorbing interest and delight.’³⁰

Hygiene

Chelsea students covered air, water, food, housing, sewage, prevention of diseases, personal hygiene and school hygiene, food diet, cardiovascular system, respiratory system and infectious diseases.

Hygiene was not the most favoured subject but it could provide a successful way of doing well in college; Wicksteed comments:

I was considered a freak because I enjoyed hygiene, never having done any chemistry at school. I was fascinated by seeing liquids change colour for no obvious reason, and little lumps of what appeared to be lead dashing about on their own power in white bowls; also possessing some psychological defect as yet undiagnosed, I soon

²⁵ (B), Oral Tapes, A. Farr, 1918.

²⁶ (B), Questionnaires, K. H. Scott, 1907.

²⁷ (B), Questionnaires, J. H. Wicksteed, 1907.

²⁸ (B), Questionnaires, K. H. Scott, 1907.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ (B), Oral Tapes, F. Colwill, 1915.

realised that in liking a less popular subject - drains and incubation periods, one could excel where one's rivals failed and throughout my career as a student I headed the list in the hygiene exams. This did something, but not everything, to compensate for such breaks as serving double faults throughout a whole set when receiving special tennis coaching - and that after I had got a post that included games coaching!³¹

A contemporary report stated that at Dartford in 1896, 'Her [Madame] students study all matters affecting drainage, ventilation, and light; they learn to diagnose deformities, and to detect the symptoms of infectious and other diseases. In fact they are not only trained to be teachers of a system of physical education, but also to fulfil, in the best sense, the duties of a health mistress.'³²

Theoretical Studies

Subjects were studied so that students understood the reasons for giving specific exercises. Techniques and tactics of games were taught. The theory of umpiring and coaching skills developed. At Chelsea 'In 1902 Histology became a regular feature and a course of special lectures was initiated in ventilation, heating and lighting of gymnasia, methods of testing the security of various instruments in the gymnasium, the construction and materials used in the different apparatus . . . '³³

7.5; Practical Work

Swedish Gymnastics

Practical physical training was necessary to make the student fit and able to teach. Physical education at colleges was centred around Swedish Gymnastics. This was tolerated by patriarchal society as a suitable feminine form of exercise (see above).³⁴ Some

³¹ (B), Questionnaires, J. H. Wicksteed, 1907.

³² (D), 'Mme Bergman-Österberg's Physical Training College', Educational Review, November, 1896, p. 24.

³³ I. M. Webb, Chelsea Physical Training College, p. 132.

³⁴ For the perceived femininity or masculinity of certain sports and exercises, see in particular D. H. Pederson and D. M. Kono, 'Perceived Effects of Femininity of the Participation of Women in Sport', Perceptual and Motor Skills, Vol. 71, 1990, pp. 783-792. Especially p. 784; 'In some sports there has been perceived to be little or no loss of femininity for women participants. It is likely that these perceived differences among sports may be attributed to inherently held beliefs concerning what constitutes acceptable sex-role behaviours.' *Gymnastics fits Pederson's idea of a feminine form of exercise*, p. 784; 'use of heavy objects, the need for accuracy rather than undue strength, little or no body contact and shorter more aesthetically pleasing patterns of body flight.' K. A. Csizma, A. F. Wittig and K. T. Schurr, 'Sports

of the students had been taught gymnastics at school but this did not necessarily prepare them for Anstey's level of performance:

When we arrived in the gymnasium for our first class we were asked who had done Swedish Gymnastics before? There were several eager replies of 'Oh I have.' Upon lining up and beginning movements, we began to wonder what we had ever done before, and were quite surprised to find that some of us did not even know our right and left hands apart. Some took huge steps forward and some small and we were told that the length of step depended upon the respective size of our feet. This made us look down and our feet appeared to be even larger than usual, as most of us were wearing ill-fitting speckled black sand-shoes, never dainty at any time, still less so now.³⁵

The gymnastics set up at Dartford in 1921-1924 is described:

The Gym was beyond Madame's Garden at the end of the covered way and Mr Mauritz came and took us for Vaulting, very carefully chaperoned of course. They said he was 76 but was very efficient and neither looked 76 nor acted it. Miss Stirling an excellent teacher, known to us as Fifi and feared by most of us, and later Miss Cranfield, took Gym and we had an hour each day . . . Gym was the rigid type until Miss Stirling went to Sweden and came back with 'Pull and Fling' and movement to Music, and what have you. The other fear was that your hair would fall down, always provided your elastic didn't pop, since bobbed hair had just come in and was definitely taboo.³⁶

High standards of performance were always expected; Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) recalls, 'She [Madame] was discoursing to all the boarders about the dullness and self-consciousness of English people. "You kill the Swedish System with your dullness", she said (what a glorious Gym lesson she gave herself, like a sea breeze.)'³⁷

When done properly by a trained group, the performance was to a high standard. When the 1909 seniors gave a display:

The movements were well chosen, and were executed in a finished style to the quiet and effective command of Miss Engelbrecht. The juniors followed with a display of Jumping and Vaulting, after which the seniors gave a charming display of aesthetic movements and dances arranged by Miss Bell . . . The students opened the proceedings by singing a part song 'Merry June.' Miss Clarke then took both juniors and seniors for a

Stereotypes and Gender', *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, Vol. 10, 1988, pp. 62-74. Csizma describes non-female appropriate sport behaviour, p. 64; "Not appropriate" sports involve subduing an opponent by bodily contact, applying force to heavy objects, projecting the body into or through space over long distances, and face to face competition in which some body contact may occur.' M. T. Allison, 'Role Conflict and the Female Athlete: Preoccupation's with Little Grounding', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 3, 1991, pp. 49-60. Allison describes female orientated sports (p. 50); 'feminine orientation . . . gymnastics, tennis, archery, . . . characterised by attempts to project the body into or through space in aesthetically pleasing patterns; overcoming the force of a light object; or application of force through a light implement.'

³⁵ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine 1909, p. 19.

³⁶ (D), College in my Day 1921-1924, Dartford Physical Training College Report 1981, pp. 28-29.

³⁷ A. Pagan, Essays by Old Students on College Life, 1892-1894.

short table of free movements, the seniors following with an interesting table given by Miss Engelbrecht, and the juniors concluding with jumping and vaulting. The seniors' gymnastics showed excellent style and finish throughout, the standard of work attained certainly comparing favourably with that of any previous year.³⁸

At Dartford knowledgeable visitors from Sweden noted, 'We went back to the gymnastics hall and watched Swedish Gymnastics and Swedish Song dances. Buoyant and slender, the girls lovely [sic] proceeded during the Gymnastic demonstration, which even an expert would have undoubtedly found exemplary.'³⁹ However the learning process took time: H. Pagan (Dartford, 1902) noted that, 'Madam is away but the staff and juniors make a most hilarious audience while we go through a dreadful table of dumb-bell exercises.'⁴⁰

To reach standards of excellence certain background procedures were sometimes necessary to get students into shape. Napier-Clarke (Dartford, 1910), records such an example, 'Madame occasionally assembled (each set of us) in the gymnasium to watch us walk past her, or from one end of the gym to the other.'⁴¹ Grace, posture, and carriage were important for appropriate femininity at any time; for gymnastic work they had to be near perfect; Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) had the following experience:

This morning I had quite a nice little constitutional up, and down the gym, while Madame and the entire class looked on and tried to analyse the defect in my walk and trace its origin. Then Madame asked Mrs Boyle what she thought of my walk (Mrs B. is supposed to walk in the same way.) and she answered (being the essence of kindness) 'it is so very nice and light.' 'Yes' said Madame 'she is very nice indeed and very light but she walks very badly.'⁴²

There was no mercy for Pagan from the demands of the work, 'I cried in bed nearly every night. This was partly because I was so very tired - my back ached horribly.'⁴³

Flexibility was no less important. Rowlatt (Bedford, 1910) mentions the following illustration, 'My back examined by Miss Lindelof - whose conclusion was spoken in broken English "very stiff - will never make a nice back."⁴⁴ This led to, 'Exercise each

³⁸ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1905, p. 5.

³⁹ (D), 'Memories of a Congress', Dagny Journal for the Swedish Women's Movement, 3rd of June, 1903.

⁴⁰ (D), Letters, H. Pagan to A. Pagan, 8th of June, 1902.

⁴⁰ (D), Letters, E. Napier-Clarke to J. May, 1st of June, 1965.

⁴¹ (D), Letters, H. Pagan to A. Pagan, 8th of June, 1902.

⁴² (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Anonymous, 18th of November, 1892.

⁴³ (D), A. Pagan, Essays by Old Students on College Life, 1892-1894.

⁴⁴ (B), Questionnaires, H. Rowlatt, 1910.

morning, given by a senior student to improve my stiff back and short hamstrings - very painful.’⁴⁵

Dancing

At Chelsea only Ball Room dancing was taught at first. Morris and Folk dancing soon followed. Fraulein commented, ‘If they are danced properly they exercise the whole body, and, as every one knows, exercise which is combined with enjoyment is worth far more than exercise which is merely taken for the sake of exercise.’⁴⁶ At Dartford, a contemporary report states, ‘Thus dancing lessons form a regular part of the training. In their first year at the College the students are taught to perfect their ordinary waltzing etc. Later on, they may advance to skirt dancing and other elaborate branches of the art.’⁴⁷

Students on the whole seemed to enjoy dancing: Payne (Bedford, 1905) states, ‘I should not think, with a few exceptions, that we were really stars in the dancing firmament, but we did try. You should have seen one of us dancing the Catchuca with fierce energy in which even her hair had a part.’⁴⁸ There was a degree of subject specialisation at the colleges: Wicksteed (Bedford, 1907) remembers:

In our third year we had to specialise in either massage, when students went to Charing Cross Hospital, games, or dancing. Dancing students went to Jill Argyle’s studio in Baker Street (we were allowed 1/6d a day for meals in London - lunch and tea, sausage and mash was 25). Jill had been a ballerina but had broken her ankles, so she gave us the “feeling” or the spirit of the thing.⁴⁹

Eventually students became adept and received praise at displays, “‘A Little Girl’ is recorded as saying after a Dartford’ Demo in Gym and Dance at George Dixon Secondary School “they were like a piece of elastic, all moving together the same way at the same time.”⁵⁰ And, an older Swedish gymnastic visitor noted, ‘After the most casual glance at the pupils one cannot fail to be struck with their erect carriage, their free and graceful manner of walking and running. To gain this end is one of the ideals of the system.’⁵¹

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ I. M. Webb, Chelsea Physical Training College, p. 128.

⁴⁷ (D), S. C. Mitford, ‘A Physical Culture in Kent’, *The Girls’ Realm*, April, 1899, p. 556.

⁴⁸ (B), Questionnaires, Payne, 1905.

⁴⁹ (D), ‘College in My Day 1921-1924’, Dartford Physical Training College Report 1981, p. 29.

⁵⁰ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1907, p. 21.

⁵¹ (D), S. C. Mitford, ‘A Physical Culture in Kent’, *The Girls’ Realm*, April, 1899, p. 556.

Games

Madame was quite willing to use the traditional role of women to justify physical training and games play for her girls. An 1896 article states, 'Mme Bergman-Österberg is a great believer in games, and thinks English women ought to learn to appreciate them just as men do. She would even go so far as to say that if only one of the sexes could learn games and thus develop a fine physique, able to bear some stress and strain, that sex should be feminine.'⁵² Madame related character building games to the same values which public schools for boys had previously claimed their own. A 1907 article commenting on the college character states, 'Outdoors the various playgrounds have the greatest role, and here the English girl gains physical courage, endurance, *esprit de corps* and the good disposition which in later life will assist her in so many situations.'⁵³ These characteristics were now considered acceptable for both public and private female roles.⁵⁴

In relation to student participation in athletic games Madame was keen on recording her students physical development. Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) declares:

Well, after Miss Marshall was done I sat in a chair and was measured and stood up and was measured. I am only 6 ft 2 - I mean 5 ft 2 you must excuse my wandering thoughts. I breathed 172 cubic inches my span is 2 inches more than my height! Madame was very pleased about my breathing and said it promised great things and I must tell my mother the average female is 138 c. m. but some of the girls breathed out over 180 c. m so I am not distinguished.⁵⁵

⁵² (D), 'Mme Bergman-Österberg's Physical Training College', Educational Review, November, 1896, p. 24. However Madame had her limits: J. Hargreaves, Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports, pp. 85-86; 'Madame Österberg believed that German gymnastics would develop characteristics that were too manly'. And, at physical training colleges in general, p. 102; 'So, it remained imperative for women players to be as ladylike in their play as possible - to tackle each other gently and fairly, to behave with respectable demeanour on and off the hockey pitch, and to dress inoffensively.' And, J. A. Hargreaves, 'Victorian Familism and the Formative Years of Female Sport', in J. A. Mangan & R. J. Park, From Fair Sex to Feminism: Sport and the Socialisation of Women in the Industrial And Post-Industrial Eras, p. 138; 'The equating of moral rectitude with physical well-being was a fundamental feature of sport in the physical education colleges for women'.

⁵³ (D), 'Swedish Gymnastics at Home and Abroad', Svenska Gymnastika, December, 1907, p. 31.

⁵⁴ This was one view; the other view 'against exercise' is summed up by U. Pleasaunce, 'Disillusioned Daughters', Fortnightly Review, vol. LXVIII, 1900, p. 854; 'Athletics, even pursued, as they seldom are, in moderation, are apt to fail women just when mental relaxation is most sorely needed. Even in girlhood they are far too often indulged in at the expense of health; in middle life they are seldom wholesome and always unbecoming . . . where is our sewing, our embroidery, our dear starching and ironing, all the hundred and one beautiful domestic pursuits which our ancestors in their wisdom invented to meet this purely natural requirement.' [This criticism of exercise is based on the theory of 'vital energy' where by a finite level of female energy is wasted on exercise leaving little or no energy left for other female pursuits which are considered more important and feminine. Not the least is child birth and motherhood].

⁵⁵ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Mother, 18th of October, 1892.

Progressive physical development was therefore part of the Dartford course.⁵⁶

A whole range of games activities were carried out at the colleges. Some were already known to most of the students as an 1899 article illustrates:

Other girls were playing a game of tennis - the first of the year on the asphalt course at the right. Tennis is a game which many of them love, but which at this college is subservient to cricket. Tennis as the principal truly says, can be played at home, and nearly every girl is more or less proficient in it when she comes to Dartford Heath. But cricket is comparatively little indulged in by women, and is so full well adapted to schools and colleges, where the requisite numbers are always at hand, that everything is done to make the students expert at the game.⁵⁷

Providing new skills and experiences were considered more important than honing old skills. As in non-athletic subjects, high standards were expected and appropriate training was provided. A student comments that, 'Madame was tremendously generous if she thought her students were really worthy. We as a set were shown this. For us she brought two Surrey cricketers - one 1st XI, the other 2nd XI - down 3 times a week to coach us. She also brought for us a member of a famous family of ballet dancers and teachers from Denmark to give us special dancing lessons.'⁵⁸ The seasons determined which games were in fashion. In 1898 a student states, 'We play hockey in October and Easter terms, and cricket in the summer. Basketball [netball] and tennis are played all the year round. In cricket we are coached by a professional who comes down four evenings a week.'⁵⁹

Hockey was a popular game but some (the non public school group), had no experience until college. An anonymous student at Anstey in 1909 comments, 'Hockey. Everyone was keen, and even if our play was not up to senior level, some of us never having played the game before, the excitement of the game was enough to make us red and hot.'⁶⁰ As with cricket, the number of students was too low to provide two full teams⁶¹ and

⁵⁶ Madame's desire for statistics may have been due to a need to justify physical development and progress of her students. K. E. McCrone, 'Play Up! Play Up! and Play the Game! Sport at the Late-Victorian Girls' Public Schools', in J. A. Mangan & R. J. Park, From Fair Sex to Feminism: Sport and the Socialisation of Women in the Industrial And Post-Industrial Eras, p. 97; 'Suppositions about her physique were the most powerful factor controlling role and place.' Madame's success in the physical development of her students therefore weakened societal beliefs of women being weak and unable to benefit from exercise.

⁵⁷ S. C. Mitford, 'A Physical Culture in Kent', The Girls' Realm, April, 1899, p. 551. [In the college 'family phase'] 'numbers of students were too low to provide two teams and opponents were few.'

⁵⁸ (D), Letters, J. C. Rilligan to J. May, 11th of July, 1865.

⁵⁹ (D), E. H Rigby, 'Letters to the Editor', St Leonard's School Gazette, February, 1898.

⁶⁰ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Report, 1909, p. 29.

opponents were scarce: Young (Bedford, 1905), illustrates the problem, 'Being so few, 13 only - our games had to be helped by outsiders. We played Hockey with the ladies club on Russell Park. Lacrosse with the High school where two of the school staff played for us in matches. Cricket was played in our rather small field.'⁶²

During the war the Army provided opposition. Rigby (Bedford, 1918), recorded such experiences, 'I think the part of the training I enjoyed most was the Games - we used to play the 1st XI hockey v the Officers at Elstow . . . And on Wednesday aft[ernoon]. After we had played the tough game of hockey with the officers at Elstow.'⁶³ And Squires (Bedford, 1917) remembers, 'The only hockey matches were against the army - and great fun too.'⁶⁴

Swimming was another common exercise at college, though again some had no previous experience. Marshall (Dartford, 1893) states, 'Swimming was a joy to many of us, although very few students could swim when they came to college.'⁶⁵ And, a contemporary article states, 'In the early days a natural swimming bath being formed out of a private part of the river Darent, just where it runs through and is dammed up in an old, secluded and romantic garden.'⁶⁶ Students often had to travel to facilities, Squires (Bedford, 1917) remembers that, 'Both playing fields and swimming baths were about five miles away, so a bicycle was a necessity for those students - and they were many - who had to keep down expenses.'⁶⁷ Even the best students could not excel at every game played: Cuthill (Bedford, 1905) records that her strength was, 'Bathing. Well that was the only theory at which I ever beat Molly Petit. She was never a swimmer if I remember rightly.'⁶⁸ Chelsea students were taught, 'the basic strokes and were entered for external

⁶¹ This was a problem typical to the 'family phase' of college development when numbers of students were low.

⁶² (B), Questionnaires, F. Young, 1905.

⁶³ (B), Questionnaires, E. Rigby, 1918.

⁶⁴ (B), Questionnaires, R. Squires, 1917. These games were highly competitive. Such experience taught lessons useful in later life that male participants took for granted. D. Eder & S. Parker, 'The cultural Production and Reproduction of Gender: Effects of Extra-curricular Activities on Peer-group culture', *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 60, July 1987, p. 209; 'The emphasis on achievement and competition prepares males [in this case females] for a stratified labour market. Participation in sports teaches them to accept the legitimacy of hierarchical and competitive relationships.'

⁶⁵ (D), Letters, K. Marshall to J. May, undated.

⁶⁶ (D), 'The Most Curious School in the World Where Girls are Taught to Play', *Answers*, 24th of April, 1897.

⁶⁷ (B), Questionnaires, R. Squires, 1917.

⁶⁸ (B), Questionnaires, J. Cuthill, 1905.

examinations. Students were also taken to lecture/demonstrations and themselves gave swimming displays for the public.⁶⁹

Certain subjects held more importance at some colleges than others. Early Bedford put great store in fencing. Miss Stansfeld brought in specialist staff; Haldane (Bedford, 1908) remembers both, 'Monsieur Bertrand (fencing master) and the agonising stances we had to maintain, while he slowly walked down the whole line of us, poking our respective anatomies here, pushing there, lifting here. While the people he had already corrected surreptitiously took a rest and hoped he would not catch them at it.'⁷⁰

At Hampstead sixteen years earlier, Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) recalled, 'At fencing we just learned position and I felt very clumsy. It meant a good deal of practice.'⁷¹ And:

Mr Öberhausen was pleased with my fencing yesterday, but of course that was only accuracy of position. Quickness is not required yet, and I am sure I will never get it. One has to watch the adversaries eyes and tell where she is going to lunge, do the proper guard of course. It is funny.⁷²

At Chelsea, 'Direct, Indirect, Counter, Second Return, Indirect Return and Irregular Attacks were studied and details given in note form.'⁷³

Liverpool had horse riding on their curriculum, 'Horse riding and drawing, in both of which Miss Marsh was expert, were also included in the curriculum . . . The College attended the Hengler's Riding School run by Mr. Caine, a riding master of international-reputation.'⁷⁴ Miss Marsh thought this training increased the chances of students obtaining good posts, 'It enables the student to take a post at the high class private schools where the Sports Mistress is required to accompany the girls in their rides with the riding master.'⁷⁵

Rowing was also of importance at early Liverpool and was of a demanding nature, as Royle's account suggests, 'For rowing the College went to Chester and this meant cycling to Pier Head, taking a boat to Rock Ferry, cycling to Chester and then rowing five miles up to the iron bridge and back before cycling home in the evening. This was done in

⁶⁹ I. M. Webb, Chelsea Physical Training College, p. 130.

⁷⁰ (B), Questionnaires, Haldane, 1908.

⁷¹ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Mother, 28th of October, 1892.

⁷² (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Louise, 16th of November, 1892.

⁷³ I. M. Webb, Chelsea Physical Training College, p. 131.

⁷⁴ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Prospectus, 1919, p. 9.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

half a day and no one even thought it strenuous. No student was allowed to row until she could swim the width of the river.’⁷⁶

Going out into patriarchal society on college business was sometimes inevitable. Spafford (Bedford, 1910) recorded the financial procedure, ‘If we had to go by train for matches the fares were put on our journey bills. We could not afford to pay our own fares.’⁷⁷ This type of journey was not without danger or censure. Students were identifiable by their college uniforms;⁷⁸ Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) recalls the problems such visibility could bring, ‘but we have to resign ourselves to being called “Those dreadful girls” by the passers by, and to overhearing discussions of our character, in the train by men who don’t know how troublesome skirts are, and by women who don’t know how delicious it is to be free of them.’⁷⁹

Students were fully committed to sporting activity.⁸⁰ At Anstey in 1904, a senior student recorded, ‘The juniors as a whole have shown great keenness and energy for games which makes practices very enjoyable . . . The 1st XI has gained some valuable members from the Junior Set . . . fleet of foot . . . They keep their places well and play hard . . . play a strong defence.’⁸¹ However there were surprising restraints to unlimited effort at Anstey,⁸² ‘Our zeal for practising showed itself at any odd time, but it was considerably

⁷⁶ M. H. Royle, Liverpool Physical Training College, p. 36. Their experience was far removed from Victorian Cambridge students: K. E. McCrone, Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women 1870-1914, p. 46; ‘Its eight, the first at a women’s college, was used only on a secluded part of the river so as to avoid the undesirable attention such a masculine activity would have attracted.’

⁷⁷ (B), Questionnaires, Spafford, 1910.

⁷⁸ See Appendix 20 for a detailed analysis of the significance of college uniforms.

⁷⁹ (D), A. Pagan, Hampstead Physical Training College 1892-1894.

⁸⁰ For the advantageous skills learnt in team play see: N. Theberge, ‘Gender, Sport, and the Construction of Community: A Case Study from Women’s Hockey’, Sociology of Sport Journal, Vol. 12, 1995, pp. 369-402. In particular, p. 389; ‘Particularly important is the bonding that grows from the camaraderie and time spent having fun collectively.’

⁸¹ Anstey Physical Training College Report 1904, p. 21.

⁸² The students would have learnt negative aspects of sporting participation: See, E. M. Blinde, D. E. Taub & L. Han, ‘Sport as a site for Women’s Group and Societal Empowerment: Perspectives From the College Athlete’, Sociology of Sport Journal, Vol. 11, 1994, p. 54; ‘counterproductive to developing close relationships with team-mates. Because team-mates often found themselves competing for playing time and the same team positions, jealousy among athletes and suspicion about other players’ intentions.’ And, D. Eden, ‘The Cultural Production and Reproduction of Gender: Effects of Extra Curriculum’, Sociology of Education, Vol. 60, July, 1987, p. 205, ‘Participants must compete with each other for scarce rewards, i.e., for high-status team positions. This establishes an interesting context for participants; They are told to focus on the team and its goals, yet conditions encourage open competition among participants.’ Clearly Victorian and Edwardian students were under similar conditions. Student reminiscences do not record such negative tensions towards each other. Though old students with this type of feeling may have been reluctant to recall and record it at a later date.

dampened by our being told that it was a bad habit, the sign of a Junior, and *not* to be cultivated.⁸³

A visitor at Dartford in 1899 gives a view from patriarchal society of the proceedings:

but today a vigorous game of basketball was going on. It was pretty to watch the girls as they ran to and fro eagerly striving for a goal . . . For the moment they had nothing to think of but their game, and to win it each put forth her best energy and skill. Round the hockey field runs the cycling track, and here one or two of the students were practising trick-riding of all descriptions. Some were such adepts at the art that they were doing gymnastic exercises of a simple sort as they rode around the course and a few of the more energetic spirits may even be seen taking a run round the track.⁸⁴

Each college had a selection of successful athletes; Liverpool listed the following amongst its early notables:

At this time members of college began to enter county, provincial and international trials so that at one time the First Teams consisted entirely of County, North and England players. Mabel Bryant played 16 years for England and was several times the official coach to the English team on tour in hockey and cricket. Kathleen Henderson played many years for England and was a member of the North selection committee for Hockey and Lacrosse. Rachel Blacklock was goal for England and Nan Hunt played many times for the North. Mary Howlett and D. McEvoy should be mentioned in cricket.⁸⁵

7.6; Teaching Practice

Students had on occasion to leave the security and influence of the area of matri-patriarchal influence and venture out into patriarchal society. Non-college sites included; playing fields, public swimming pools, cafes and, in particular, teaching practice schools. This in turn meant students travelling through patriarchal society as members of the public.

Teaching either side of the turn of the century was not without problems.⁸⁶ At Dartford, Madame had used her pre-college London School connections to obtain placements for her girls, 'Students obtain necessary practice in gymnastic instruction in the Board Schools of Dartford and Wilmington, and in the National School at Crayford. These schools are visited several times a week, and hundreds of boys and girls go through

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ S. C. Mitford, 'A Physical Culture College in Kent', *The Girls' Realm*, April, 1899, p. 551.

⁸⁵ M. H. Royle, *Liverpool Physical Training College*, p. 35.

the course of instruction.’⁸⁷ But as Hyden (Dartford, 1914), recalls, ‘At one time we had great difficulty with teaching practice - schools were few and distant and when there was any kind of epidemic there were none!’⁸⁸

At Chelsea Physical Training College, Fraulein Wilke supervised the students on teaching practice.⁸⁹ Personal performance (Confidence, Carriage, Voice, Vigour, Vitality, Conviction) was taken into account, plus Teaching performance (Commanding, Explanation, Questioning and Answering, Controlling, Knowledge).

Individual students recall problem schools and classes; Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) gives an early account:

One afternoon a week we go back to teach a class of outsiders - sometimes high spirited boys who require an enormous amount of energy and decision of manner to keep them in order, and sometimes a dozen proper girls from a proper boarding school, who are dreadfully shocked if we correct their positions, and highly indignant if we don't call them 'Miss.'⁹⁰

Later in her college experience Pagan comments on individual pupils:

I was less tired the second year, as my muscles were improving, and I enjoyed the teaching at my first school. If it was possible, we held our classes in the play-ground. The little cocks were keen, and though half-a -dozen girls were drilling their flocks around us, we managed to keep order and not become tangled in each other. I remember one small girl who amused herself by squinting violently. I reproved her, and pointed out that she might injure the muscles of her eye. One small boy piped up ‘The wind moight change teacher’, and then she would stick like that. I had not heard of this danger before, and it impressed the small girl.⁹¹

Sturge (Hampstead, 1893) also recalls a particularly difficult group, ‘We had good teaching practice, many pupils came to Hampstead and we learnt to help teach them. We had one or two schools outside which we went to teach. One (uneasy pack) was a great bain for our youthful discipline - unruly girls.’⁹² A much later student Rigby (Dartford, 1918) recalls the conditions they had to teach in:

We take the children in the playground if fine; and if wet in the school. In either case it is difficult to keep their attention fixed on what they are doing; in the former, where

⁸⁶ For comparison with a history teacher's training (and subsequent career) see W. Robinson, ‘Rediscovering the Story of Florence Isabella Gilbertson: Personal Perspectives on Teacher Training A Century Ago’, *History of Education Society Bulletin*, No. 61, May, 1998, pp. 38-44.

⁸⁷ (D), Mme Bergman-Österberg's Physical Training College' *Educational Review*, November, 1896.

⁸⁸ (B), Questionnaires, Hyden, 1914.

⁸⁹ See Appendix 21 for a detailed account of her observations on a group of her students on teaching practice.

⁹⁰ (D), A. Pagan, Hampstead Physical Training College 1892-1894.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² (D), Letters, V. Sturge to J. May, 27th of May, 1965.

there are several classes going on in the same playground, and in the latter where there are only thin partitions between the class rooms, so that every sound in the next room can be distinctly heard. The rooms are filled with desks and forms, so that very often the children have to stand on the forms to do their exercises as there is no room for them between the desks.⁹³

The pioneering feeling was never far away: Payne (Bedford, 1905) thirteen years after Pagan's experiences gives an account of her impressions at school, 'Teaching practice, when for the first time the Elementary Schools of Bedford first saw a tunic; then I did feel a pioneer, then our training showed up, and our personality too! Those miraculous people who could keep order in a class of large unruly boys without effort - Those large classes of keen to bursting small girls.'⁹⁴ Evans (Bedford, 1906) describes her experiences:

Teaching practice we did ourselves, and in our final year we went to the Girls Modern School (now Dame Alice School) where Miss Jacques taught - in our second year we went to the High School and Miss Stansfeld suffered much from our inability and we suffered also! As well as this we had our own elementary schools where we taught two classes a week.⁹⁵

Eva Cook recalls the pupil's viewpoint, 'She [Miss Stansfeld] always walked with a swing step mostly on her toes. After a few years, students used to take us for lessons because she had started the training college. We rather enjoyed them, as we were not frightened of them.'⁹⁶

Teaching practice was extensive: Young, (Bedford, 1905) recalls, 'Very soon we began to go to the various town elementary schools and had our own class - so were teaching nearly everyday of our two year training.'⁹⁷ Rigby (Dartford, 1918) describes her feelings about teaching:

The teaching I have mentioned is, to me one of the most interesting parts of the work. We seniors teach drill four times a week in the various Board and National schools round Dartford. On Saturday afternoons, many of the village children can come up to the gym, and two or three of the seniors give the classes there. Another of my classes consists of over 40 girls.⁹⁸

⁹³ (D), E. H. Rigby, 'Letters to the Editor', St Leonard's School Gazette, February, 1898. Restricted environments for exercise were common in schools, P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, p. 123; 'However, the hard realities of the situation were inescapable. Games were still impracticable in many city schools and some form of drill or gymnastics seemed the only possible alternative. But recognition of games had been won even if facilities had not been provided.'

⁹⁴ (B), Questionnaires, D. Payne, 1905.

⁹⁵ (B), Questionnaires, M. Evans, 1906.

⁹⁶ (B), Questionnaires, Cook (non student).

⁹⁷ (B), Questionnaires, F. Young, 1905.

⁹⁸ (D), E. H. Rigby, 'Letters to the Editor', St Leonard's School Gazette, February, 1898.

The external teaching practice was backed up with detailed internal training, culminating in the 'crit class.' At Dartford this taking of a lesson in front of staff and students was considered helpful. Sturge (Hampstead, 1893) positively records, 'Also, most valuable, we had to give lessons ourselves with Madame's occasional criticisms.'⁹⁹ Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) describes part of one of her own practice lessons:

My subject was The Muscles of the Face, and Miss Wellin had been amused at my method. I had the blackboard prepared with four large circles in chalk (drawn round a plate of course) and as I spoke I inserted eyes, turned to one side or upwards to the roof, mouths drawn up or down at the corners, eyebrows at odd angles etc. Naming the muscles and commenting on the odd or pleasing expressions on the faces that used them. It was more amusing than Rosa Wilson's solemn discourse on the digestive organs.¹⁰⁰

However, attitudes had changed at later Dartford as Rigby (Dartford, 1918) reveals, 'The part I disliked most was the Crit. Class on Sat a. m. When all the staff and one's fellow students were present, while you took a class of children - followed by criticism.'¹⁰¹ At Bedford the 'crit' was much feared. Rowlatt (Bedford, 1910) illustrates the ordeal, 'teaching practice test on Sat. morning when some school children came for a lesson. All the staff and all the senior students sat to watch this terrifying ordeal for the individual chosen was criticised unmercifully - if you thought it was a splendid lesson your criticiser - was questioned as if it was too good to be true.'¹⁰² Colwill (Bedford, 1915) recalls a particularly difficult 'crit':

One girl was shaking. I stood up and spoke on her behalf, stood up and backed her. Miss Read had been criticising. Miss Hadley later leant over the banisters and said 'well done.' Stan asked me, 'Why?' I said 'Miss Gillepsie did not get a fair do.' Stan 'you do your best, you know what my standards are. You can get through with ease but you must do your best!'¹⁰³

Gymnastic work was not only about being able to perform gymnastics, being able to teach gymnastics was just as important; a proper tone of voice was necessary and lessons were provided. At Anstey a 1905 student recalled the problem of getting used to speaking commands:

⁹⁹ (D), Letters, V. Sturge to J. May, 27th of May, 1865.

¹⁰⁰ (D), A. Pagan, Hampstead Physical Training College 1892-1894.

¹⁰¹ (B), Questionnaires, E. H. Rigby, 1918.

¹⁰² (B), Questionnaires, Rowlatt, 1910. An Anonymous 1922 student (Questionnaires) recalls the 'awful crit classes, Dreadful children from high School who were immediately galvanised into terrific life when Miss Stansfeld so much as lifted a finger.'

¹⁰³ (B), Oral Tapes, F. Colwill, 1915.

Commanding sounded weird: who or what was going to be commanded? It began with an inspection of tunics, and those most conscious of their legs were mercilessly told to have their tunics shortened. After falling into a straight line at the rib-stalls, with great difficulty we were induced to yell 'AR! Arch! March.' Uncertain up to the last second as to whether any sound would issue, great was our surprise when a voice we didn't recognise burst forth with great violence in tones an octave higher or lower than required.¹⁰⁴

7.7; Supporting Activities

Class and field work was supported by various activities and visits. At Chelsea, students went to see external lectures from experts; educational visits, e.g. The Royal College of Nurses Museum; gymnasiums to watch classes and demonstrations; the students were even taken on trips to Denmark and Sweden to see displays and events there.

Working Women's Clubs

At Anstey, Chelsea and Liverpool, students spent time taking women's gymnastic clubs.¹⁰⁵ This was not the case at Bedford or Dartford where as Fletcher states, 'Madame Österberg was ready to endorse the advantages to health and even to morals of girls playing cricket and lacrosse, but the civic virtues did not speak to her as they did to Miss Lawrence and Miss Dove.'¹⁰⁶ Dartford and Bedford students remained isolated from women of lower social class. At Liverpool, students met regularly with groups of such women. As 'The Union of Girls' Clubs had approached Miss Marsh for leaders . . . she generously responded. Soon every senior had care of a club in which she was allowed to work out her own ideas under the occasional supervision of Miss Marsh.'¹⁰⁷ Parker (Liverpool, 1923) records, 'Teaching in clubs and play centres were added to our time-table. Can you imagine a roof top playground, little scraps of humanity, often arriving with smaller brothers and sisters, even babes in arms?.'¹⁰⁸

Grafftey-Smith (Liverpool, 1906) recalls how eventful taking on a club could be:

¹⁰⁴ (A), Anstey Physical Training College 1905, p. 5. Voice Culture played an important role in training. At Chelsea dialects were considered satisfactory except for cockney, which needed elocution lessons.

¹⁰⁵ For more information on the history and role of working-class women's clubs see J. Goodman, 'Leisure for Girls: Girls' Clubs in Victorian and Edwardian Manchester', *History Education Society Bulletin*, No. 60, Autumn, 1997, pp. 4-12.

¹⁰⁶ S. Fletcher, *The Making and Breaking of a Female Tradition: Women's Physical Education in England 1880-1980*, in J. A. Mangan, *From Fair Sex*, p. 148.

¹⁰⁷ M. H. Royle, *Liverpool Physical Training College*, p. 30.

¹⁰⁸ (L), J. S. Parker, *Association of Past Students Magazine* 1974, p. 59.

I had two clubs. One was on a Wednesday afternoon when, being the unfortunate goal-keeper of the 1st XI hockey team with Miss Bryant always playing centre half in front, I had no work to do so I was sent out to a club! I felt very hard done by especially during those two cold winters when the Dee froze and all the ponds were frozen and everyone else skated, while I had to go to Heswall and take a very nasty group of girls. I then spent the night with the lady of the manor, taking her Girls' club in the evening. I was aroused at 4 o'clock in the morning to catch the 5 o'clock train to Liverpool where she (the lady of the manor) showed wonderful works of art in the market place to educate the masses. I then had to wait outside college until 7 o'clock when the door opened.¹⁰⁹

As well as gymnastic displays, students also helped the clubs with winter and summer games and swimming. This could be a challenge, as Royle illustrates, 'This was not always easy when the Bath appeared to be a mass of bobbing heads, many of which did not belong to club members. But when a Club night was established, some order could be obtained and the results were good.'¹¹⁰

At Anstey there were many clubs in need of instructors in the Birmingham area. The 'Birmingham Girls' Club competition organised by Miss Bell. [involved] Bournville Girls' Club, Carr's Lane Girls' Recreation Class, Church of the Messiah G. C., Fazelly Street G. C., Selly Oak Bohemians, Women's' Settlement G. C.'¹¹¹ However such competitions were taken very seriously by the participants, 'We are glad to find that the some-what bitter feelings of rivalry existing between the different clubs, engendered by the competition, is fast disappearing.'¹¹² The success of Anstey students was appreciated, 'Miss Finney then proposed a vote of thanks, and spoke very highly of the work done by the students in teaching the girls' clubs, and said the city of Birmingham was greatly indebted to the A. P. T. C. for the benefits these girls received from their weekly classes.'¹¹³ At Chelsea, 'Teaching at the London Girls Working Clubs was always part of the college teaching experience. Domina sent her students to clubs, not only to gain teaching experience but to learn more of human nature and to see something of the lives of the less fortunate of the world's workers.'¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ (L), M. Grafftey-Smith, *The Journal*, 1960, p. 5.

¹¹⁰ M. H. Royle, *Liverpool Physical Training College*, p. 30.

¹¹¹ (A), *Anstey Physical Training College Magazine* 1906, p. 6.

¹¹² (A), *Anstey Physical Training College Magazine* 1909, p. 26.

¹¹³ (A), *Anstey Physical Training College Magazine* 1906, p. 6.

¹¹⁴ J. M. Webb. *Chelsea Physical Training College*, p. 154.

Other Forms of Student Training

Medical Gymnastics derived from Swedish Gymnastic exercises were used to treat common body deformities of children. At Chelsea, 'The theories and causes of all known physical deformities together with methods of examination of patients and treatments'¹¹⁵ were studied. senior students would assist staff in helping patients. At Dartford students also assisted staff on 'certain afternoons in the week when children from various schools used to come for treatment for flat feet, peliosis [sic], etc.'¹¹⁶ Physiotherapy like this provided a useful extra income for college, plus practical experience for the students. Irene Marsh offered a medical service to the public, 'She had a room fitted up at 110 Bedford Street, where patients were sent by doctors for treatment by exercises and massage . . . By the time college had reached 171 Bedford Street, where there was a large medical gymnasium, she required help and senior students worked under her supervision.'¹¹⁷ Here again an income earning service provided experience for students interested in the medical side of physical training. Miss Marsh for a time was an integral part of the hospital service in Liverpool, 'The physiotherapy department of the Stanley Hospital was being run from the College under the direction of myself, and students attended in turn to assist with cases and gain experience of hospital methods . . . a number of students passed through the department, some of them becoming members of . . . the Almeric Paget Massage Corps in the First War.'¹¹⁸

7.8; Conclusion

Successful students had proved their worth at a wide range of demanding subjects both theoretical and practical. The success which followed completion of such a range of challenges must have instilled an empowering confidence. This confidence would enable them to overcome demanding obstacles in later life. In sport, the student gained social skills, including team work, competition, and camaraderie. In teaching, they learnt how to deal with other people, sometimes from other social classes. They had to show considerable bravery in standing up to the 'crit class.' Experiences such as travelling to

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 127.

¹¹⁶ (B), Questionnaires, E. H. Rigby, 1918.

¹¹⁷ M. H. Royle, Liverpool Physical Training College, p. 42.

schools and playing fields unattended, created the ability to act independently and be ambassadors for college within patriarchal society.

The college uniforms the students wore during course participation provided a visible identity. The uniform showed that the wearer belonged not only to their college but to a way of life centred around the pursuit of knowledge of physical training. These uniforms identified the student to patriarchal society. They professed a certain respectable unconformity against that society's general beliefs on the non-active role of females.

The college course was a test of the students ability to create self-empowerment. Staff acted as guides and judges on the two year passage. The weak failed the tests and did not complete this journey. Those who succeeded, left with skills and experiences that marked them as empowered young women. These women were able to make at least some choices in the patriarchal society they rejoined.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

Chapter 8: Student Socialisation Experience Inside And Outside The Patriarchal Area Of Control

8.1; Introduction

The general memory of college life was one of much work and little spare time. When Anna Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) commented, 'Tea is at 6, silent study from 7-9 then supper and bed as soon as you like,'¹ she was summarising a typical day, determined by a strong work ethic, which existed in all the colleges. However, an organised social life did exist in the 'gaps' between work and sleep. In particular, Anstey and Dartford recorded regular instances of leisure activity, which was rewarding for the students. This chapter looks at the nature of such activities and events and considers the effect on the students' personal development.

8.2; 'Creating Community': The Role of Extra-Curricular Education and Organised Leisure Activities

The Effect of Extra-Curricular Education in the Physical Training Colleges

Not all of the students' lives were taken up by physical training. Time was deliberately put aside for extra-curricular education.² The amount and type of this education was instigated and controlled by the principal and could take various forms.

At Madame's early college, she quickly introduced forms of education which provided the students with the latest radical ideas circulating in Victorian society. A debating society met once a fortnight during 1893 and various topical motions were introduced, debated and voted on, including:

That a vegetarian diet is that provided by nature for men? Voting was 12 for, 11 against, 7 undecided. The society secretary reported that, 'The subject was thoroughly gone into in two, very interesting papers, and gave rise to some lively discussion. The

¹ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Mother, 28th of October, 1892.

² D. Blake and V. Harley, The Dictionary of Educational Terms (London, 1995), p. 57; 'Extra-curricular Activities: The activities planned and supervised by teachers or responsible adults, take place outside the normal curricular *timetable*. They may take place before or after school hours, during lunch times, at weekends or in holidays.' This present day definition adequately covers the activities of Victorian and Edwardian extra-curricular education.

Proposer made several converts (in theory), and eventually carried the motion . . . This was one of the best debates of the term.’³

That woman’s suffrage is essential to the well being of the community? 24-1-0. ‘Their interesting and well thought-out papers were supported by some animated discussion on the subject.’⁴

Is vivisection admissible? 14-12-3. ‘Both Proposer and Opposer gave us very careful and interesting papers, though unfortunately the Opposer was unable to read her own paper due to ill health. A very able substitute was, however, found in Miss Armstrong. The discussion that followed showed considerable familiarity with the elements of science.’⁵

That women are incapable of co-operation? 1-10-6. ‘This meeting was only attended by members of the society in residence at college. In the two papers read a difficult subject was well handled. On the whole the subject seemed to fall flat, perhaps for want of illustration.’⁶

Is the influence of the stage for good? 18-3-4. ‘Miss Dolan, of St. James’ (a guest), took the favourable view . . . This was the last meeting of the society for the year, and was doubly interesting from the fact that the supporter of the stage was an actress, and could therefore speak with authority from personal experience. Both Proposer and Opposer read very able papers, and the debate was altogether a most interesting one . . . This last meeting varied at the close by recitations from Miss Dolan, whose dramatic power was much appreciated and heartily applauded.’⁷

That town life is more advantageous than country life? 8-11-0. ‘After much interesting discussion on both sides the motion was eventually lost.’⁸

That the Swedish system of gymnastics has greater advantages than the German? 15-0-3. ‘Both papers showed much careful thought and consideration on the part of Proposer and Opposer, but the arguments against the motion were not convincing.’⁹

³ (D), Hampstead Physical Training College Report, 1893, p. 15. All ‘motion’ summaries here, and below, are recorded by senior student, Ruth Raeburn, Secretary of the Debating Society.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

⁶ Ibid., p. 15

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

⁹ Ibid., p. 17

That corporal punishment should be abolished? 3-5-2. (low attendance debate.)

‘Good papers and a mild discussion.’¹⁰

Other topics of discussion included:

Are our greatest men those who have pursued knowledge under difficulties?

The English man’s dress of the present day.

That novels are not injurious in moderation.

The coal strike.

Teetotalism.

These early debates certainly show that topical subjects in Victorian Society were not taboo. Vice-Principal, Mary Tait, thought, ‘The discussions have, on the whole, been animated and bright, and the papers well thought out and carefully written, and some pretty talent for public speaking has been discovered.’¹¹

Student attendance at the debates ranged from thirty to ten, depending on the time of year and holidays. The split votes for most of the motions show that disagreement could be considerable. With ‘vivisection’ the motion ‘for,’ was carried 14 to 11 with 7 abstaining. In the ‘value of vegetarianism’, the motion was carried 12 to 11 with 7 abstaining. The students were almost entirely behind women’s suffrage 24-1-0 (and let us not forget the one who voted against must have had a lot of character to stand up against the rest, unless the student giving the argument against was allowed to vote.) Not surprisingly the motion on women being incapable of co-operation was lost one to ten but more surprisingly six were undecided, hopefully not due to their experiences at college. Swedish gymnastics was Madame’s great forte and it was partly due to her efforts that German gymnastics was eventually superseded. The students’ work at college revolved around the Swedish method and significantly none voted against it, though three hedged their bets by abstaining.

These debates, the contents of which are not recorded, provided a rich, social and cultural learning process. Issues were considered which current and previous generations of women had largely been excluded from discussing. It seems that Madame deliberately encouraged her girls to study topics, gain perspectives and take sides on issues. This new term had several distinctive features. First of all, ‘the successful institution *by our*

¹⁰ Ibid.

principal (my italics) of a Debating Society, the meeting of which are held at the college once every fortnight.’¹² The debate encouraged articulation of ideas, allowing students to defend and argue against those of a different persuasion. The result was the educating of a group of women bound by a physical training ethos, but with a range of knowledge and beliefs covering a whole range of topical subjects. Some of these subjects were in support of mainstream society and some against. Madame was moulding a group of thinking, criticising, women, who would be an anathema to those with conservative views of women’s role in society.¹³ Madame did not hide her aims, as she advertised the debates in her prospectus to impress current and potential parents and students. Her purpose was a continuation of her policy as revealed by the words, ‘I need women with brains and character. None other will do.’¹⁴ Her policy was to develop the brains and characters of her charges further and not just in the sphere of physical training. She encouraged the students to think as individuals and have ideas of their own. This was quite in contrast to her day time policy of moulding students to the high standards of the ‘ideal student’ through discipline and loyalty to college. This procedure involved demeanour, dress, and behaviour, acceptable to mainstream society’s reluctant acceptance of lady professionals. She was also developing their brains and characters, to help them deal with the stormy seas of disapproval which waited outside of college in the world of work. She did this by developing her students’ abilities to question and stand up for themselves, as individuals, as well as physical training professionals. In this respect Madame was providing a radical environment which could allow students to develop feminist perceptions in the future.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 7.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Anstey college also had a debating society, though its existence was intermittent. It was live and well in 1909 when the most memorable motion was ‘women with sufficient private means should not enter a profession? Needless to say the motion was defeated by a large majority, the general opinion being that *every woman* (my italics) should take up a profession, which is amply proved from an economic, social, and domestic point of view. M. Walker (Sec).’ In 1913 a new debating society was formed; ‘Meetings were held weekly during the Christmas term, and the Spring term, and were well and regularly attended; But unfortunately the debating is left in the hands of the few, while the bulk of the members sit rapturously (apparently) silent, with occasional grunts and pithy interjections.’ Subjects covered were corporal punishment, vivisection, The Insurance Act, and Conscription, all of which provided heated argument. Motions on emigration, co-education, over-civilisation, and working class over-education, were one sided in support. At Anstey, like Dartford twenty years earlier, there was an effort to allow students to question society’s norms and allow students to be free thinking. The debates are summarised; ‘On the whole this impromptu speaking was good, and some very effective resolutions were received. Some of the best were: “That servants should be tipped for extra trouble”; “That it is unwomanly to smoke” (motion lost!) “That it is contrary to all ideas of beauty to frizz and back comb the hair!”’¹³

¹⁴ S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 66.

The other form of extra-curricular education at Dartford/Hampstead was to have guest speakers come and stimulate the students' minds. During the period 1896-1898 Madame invited the following visitors to speak at college:¹⁵ Dr. Seaver (Yale University, lecturer on anthropometry), Baroness Posse (Boston University), Miss M. Hopkins (Director of Physical Training for Women, Drexel Institute), Miss Hogstrom (Royal Institute of Gymnastics, Stockholm) and Dr. F. Werner (Lecturer on Feeble Minded Children). Several societies visited the college grounds: The Ethical Society, Teachers' Guild and The Healthy and Artistic Dress Union.

This environment is a long way from the type of female education which existed long into the nineteenth century where, according to McCrone, 'Their education focused on polite accomplishments that were thought to improve marital chances rather than on sound intellectual and physical training which, it was feared would do the opposite . . .'¹⁶

Madame stated that, 'Such visitors are one means of keeping us in touch with the outer world, and are always warmly welcomed by us.'¹⁷ The speakers would provide examples of female role models, who were active in society. Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) who we have seen had a very enquiring and knowledgeable mind noted, 'Some of the students had not much of a background, and she (Madame) took trouble and went to some expense to widen their outlook.'¹⁸

Madame encouraged the question of women's rights throughout her time at college. She invited the Congress for Women's Rights to visit college for a 'women's rights discussion. She "asked the girls to have a really good look at the delegates, her guests, because they work for the cause, they work for you too!" And the girls raised a hearty cheer for the delegates.'¹⁹

Through extra-curricular education within the college environment, Madame empowered her girls with thoughts and ideas on the future development of society and its present rights or wrongs. While holding the girls to a strict physical training regime, she did prepare them to hold their own in debate after they left college. The students were

¹⁵ (D), Hampstead Physical Training College Report 1896-1898, p. 8.

¹⁶ K. E. McCrone, Play Up! Play Up! and Play the Game! in J. Mangan and R. J. Park, From Fair Sex to Feminism, p. 101.

¹⁷ (D), Hampstead Physical Training College Report 1896-1898, p. 8.

¹⁸ (D), A. Pagan, 'Description of Life at College 1892-1894', Answers, April 24th, 1897, p. 41.

¹⁹ (D), 'Memories of a Congress', Dagny, (Journal for the Swedish Women's Movement), 3rd June, 1909, p. 38.

particularly encouraged to take sides on the question of suffrage and women's rights, at a time when such views were frowned upon by various parts of patriarchal society. The college was therefore providing a radical education in a paradoxically restricted environment.

Crunden states, 'Both Miss Anstey and Madame Österberg were reactionary towards many of the restrictions of their period and Miss Anstey was an active supporter of a number of reform movements such as Women's Emancipation, The Anti-Corset League and the Dress Reform Society.'²⁰

Miss Anstey encouraged staff and students to support reform groups with the result that, 'Staff and students demonstrated their sympathy with the cause through numerous meetings and invitations to guest speakers, on which occasions visitors were usually allowed.'²¹ Students were encouraged to join the Women's Social and Political Union. These students put on the topical play 'The Younger Generation' as a contribution to 'Self Denial Week'. *The Suffragette* was sold to parents and the funds sent to the W. S. P. U.²²

Miss Anstey was more up front than Madame over the issues, and considered women's rights as an obvious and fundamental part of her colleges ethos. As a vegetarian, another great interest of hers was the diet of her students. A Mr Theobald was invited to give a lecture on food reform. A student commented:

This title is perhaps a little disconcerting, and liable to prepare one for a boring half-hour. But such was by no means the case. Mr Theobald is a charming lecturer, and though he has been a vegetarian for 17 years, yet he is not at all bigoted in his views, and did not run down meat-eaters which fact - I think won the close attention of his listeners. Miss Anstey 'expressed the hope that those of her students who were meat-eaters were converted!' Time will show!²³

This summary shows that students could find guest speakers boring. Secondly the student was able to analyse the value of the lecturer's credentials, 'a vegetarian . . . yet he's not at all bigoted' and that he had respect for alternative views (meat-eaters) which gained the attention of his audience. This suggests a discerning student audience. Miss

²⁰ C. Crunden, 'The Care of the Body in the Late-19th and Early 20th Century in England', *Bulletin of Physical Education*, Vol. 11, 1974-75, p. 12.

²¹ C. Crunden, *A History of Anstey College of Physical Education*, p. 9.

²² (A), *Anstey Physical Training College Magazine*, No. 10, 1907, p. 12.

²³ *Ibid.*

Anstey 'hoped' the students would become vegetarians. The 'hope' of a reasonable person, rather than of a dictator, perhaps.

Groups such as the Women's Temperance Association, and the Food and Dress Reform League were welcomed at the college. It seems that Miss Anstey's unique character and her interests, led to students being kept fully up to date with groups and issues which were of importance to women. This would have helped counteract the feeling some students had that they were cut off from the world around them, 'The isolation of the Leasowes socially and educationally as well as geographically can hardly be imagined nowadays but we were a large enough group to be self-contained and merry withal though of a serious purpose.'²⁴

At Bedford college there is very little recollection of extra-curricular education: Young (Bedford, 1905) states, 'We had very little free time - and I have no memory of how it was spent.'²⁵ Hadley (Bedford, 1905) comments, 'For the students of the First Set, life was largely a matter of all work and little play; lectures in the mornings, games in the afternoons and study in the evenings filled our days, leaving little room for outside activities or social life.'²⁶ This restricted environment continued long after the period of this study. Glaister (Bedford, 1943) remembers that there was 'very little extra-curricular, No debating society. No Christian, [sic] no services.'²⁷ Colwell (Bedford, 1915), returning to college as a lecturer in the 1920's, found that at least politics were now being discussed by the staff in the college common room.²⁸ Limited ideas on the outside world may have come from after dinner talks by Miss Stansfeld. Boyd (Bedford, 1932) enjoyed the meetings but admitted 'We were very unsophisticated.'²⁹ This contrasts sharply with student experience in 1890s Hampstead and the confident mature appraisal by the Anstey student of Mr Theobald's lecture a quarter of a century before Boyd's experience. It seems that Miss Stansfeld did not consider giving students a mission outside of their physical training work. Both Miss Anstey and Miss Stansfeld had been trained by Madame Österberg, who may have been a role model for them. Miss Anstey put women's concerns

²⁴ (D), F. A. Crump, 'E. Adair Impey, Letters of Remembrance' (undated), p. 23.

²⁵ (B), Questionnaires, Young, 1905.

²⁶ (B), Questionnaires, Hadley, 1905

²⁷ (B), Oral Tapes, Glaister, 1943.

²⁸ (B), Oral Tapes, Colwell, 1913.

²⁹ (B), Oral Tapes, Boyd, 1932.

and empowerment as an integral part of college experience, Miss Stansfeld ignored it, concentrating on physical training criteria and the values and rewards associated with this.

Fraulein Wilke was self-trained when she opened Chelsea college, which was situated within the South Western Polytechnic and at first had to share class-rooms with male students. Its central, urban position made it impossible to segregate students from the outside world. Webb has commented on the open environment at Chelsea, 'College was open to visitors at all times, members of the profession, other educationalists and doctors were made welcome. As a result, staff and students, were privileged to meet many interesting people.'³⁰ Fraulein seems to have actively orchestrated this generation of outside information for her students:

She ensured that the students should always be kept in touch with all that was helpfully new. There is every evidence that, in these early days, and all through college life, if Domina knew that the students needed certain work which was not obtainable through the ordinary channels, she would pay for this out of her own purse, rather than the students should be without it.³¹

These varied talks included League of Nations, British Fascisti, Dr Barnardo's Homes, Physiological Topics, National Playing Fields Association, Physical Training in Sunderland (for children under seven years), English Folk Dance, Citizenship, Songs of Europe, and A New System of Physical Training.³² Fraulein also extended the experiences of her students by organising trips abroad. These involved physical training, but also introduced students to new nationalities and cultures by boarding students with local families.

8.3; The Role of Extra-Curricular Education in College Life

The students' extra-curricular experience is strangely at odds with their other college experiences. The college principals expected total obedience and loyalty to college rules. This imposed strict behaviour patterns and limited personal freedom. Yet at Dartford, even in the early days, students were exposed to radical, some might say

³⁰ I. M. Webb, 'The History of Chelsea College of Physical Education: With Special Reference to Curriculum Development 1898-1973', PhD, University of Leicester, 1977, p. 46.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 140-141.

³² Ibid., p. 141.

dangerous ideas, in the form of debates and lectures. Fletcher comments that 'It has been said of this new race of women that, on the whole, they presented their pupils with conservative images of woman's work and lives. As a group the heads of specialist colleges hardly bear this out.'³³ This quote seems apt for extra-curricular education at Dartford and Anstey in particular. Miss Stansfeld, who rather than being conservative in this matter, just does not seem to have rated the subject as having much importance. Her ideas were enough for her students. Dartford and Anstey, and to a lesser extent, Chelsea students, were getting a wider education than seems so at first glance. The colleges were producing discerning individuals, able to criticise social norms. This must have been to the advantage of college culture. Ashby commenting on university life states, 'Any residential life, however comely, which is not lively intellectually, is a waste of money and a missed opportunity.'³⁴ An unusual type of womanhood was being formed. The students left college holding strict and uniform adherence to professional values which had been laid down by their principal's own code. These women also held a diverse range of thoughts and attitudes, on matters outside of their profession. They owed this experience to the extra-curricular education they had received.

Plays and Parties

The Anstey Physical Training College Reports provide a detailed account of leisure activities inside college during the period 1901-1911. A record was made of the various activities during the rather brief (once a week) periods of leisure the students were allowed. These activities included fancy dress, charades, rhymes, singing, piano, performances, plays, dancing, games and parties. Anstey College was the most active college as far as leisure activities are concerned. The other colleges were less forward to varying extents, but each seems to have offered their residents some opportunities for organised leisure activity.

To understand the important role of organised leisure we need to consider some examples. At Anstey, socials (and socialising) began shortly after the juniors arrived. These events carried important purposes beyond entertainment. A 1901 Anstey student

³³ S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 58.

³⁴ M. K. Ashby and J. H. Nicholson, 'Residential Life in the Civic Universities', *The Forum of Education*, p. 120.

reports, 'Our first social was of importance in that it served to break the ice between seniors and juniors, but beyond dancing and one or two items there was nothing noteworthy.'³⁵ Clearly the event was designed as a welcome to new students, and an introduction to those already resident. There were two distinct groups at the social events, of differing hierarchical status. The event introduced each group, senior and junior, to the other. A meeting which might have been greeted with trepidation by one group, and with interest by the other. The role of the important 'first social' is revealed further by one held five years later, 'At the beginning of another college year, there is always a certain amount of expectancy in the air regarding the capabilities of the "new set" not only as regards their work, but also as to the part they will take in making our weekly Social Evenings pass pleasantly for all!'³⁶ Here the role of the social is seen from the senior students' viewpoint. It has two roles; firstly it will show what the new intake is like in its theoretical and practical skills and, secondly, it will show what skills the juniors can offer in terms of social input to leisure activities over the coming term. A poor intake might not only affect the college's academic reputation, but would harm the important social aim of providing entertaining leisure activities as well.³⁷ First impressions had therefore been made. This process was necessary for the cohesion of the community as an example from Anstey in 1906 illustrates:

On this evening the new one-year-old seniors mingled unreservedly with the 3 day old juniors; and when 9. 30 struck and our ever punctual departure for bed ensued, we felt we had broken the ice, and wondered whether our strange mixture of first impressions would remain fixed, or dissolve into thin air in the light of the greater experience of the following twelve weeks of companionship.³⁸

This first social started the process of increasing group identity and also served to impose the hierarchical nature of college. This was important for the new seniors. They

³⁵ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, No. 4, 1901, p. 11.

³⁶ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, No. 9, 1906, p. 9.

³⁷ See: E. Bailey, *Lady Margaret Hall: A Short History*. At Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, a similar importance was attached to the role of the new intake; 'During the first term the Freshers are called upon to be responsible for a "Sociable." A "Sociable" of some sort usually takes place every Saturday evening, whether it be a concert, a dramatic performance, or a dance. The "Freshers Sociable" is always a great event, and one which the audience is extremely critical. It follows that the First Year is conscious, almost from its arrival in college, of an *overwhelming responsibility* for the occasion...All the members of the Year are *thrown into violent contact with one another* during the rehearsals for the "sociable," and the Year contains *a sort of cohesion* which it maintains throughout its college career (all my italics).' This interesting paragraph emphasises the responsibility of the first year in providing leisure activities, and the process of students coming together, which produces the group community.

had graduated to a higher stage of the hierarchy and this was their first opportunity to experience and contrast their new status. The 9.30 curfew reminded all gathered that there was a higher hierarchy, which controlled all their movements. Early social events were the norm at Dartford, where it had 'become the custom for senior students to invite the juniors to an entertainment on their arrival, and such occasions are made an excuse for all sorts of fun. Later on in the term the juniors respond, and in their turn invite the seniors to some frolic.'³⁹

The students' enjoyment of the Social was heightened by the surprise nature of some of the activities. For example at Anstey on 20th of October, 1907, an impromptu fancy dress was advertised 'which took place amidst great excitement.'⁴⁰ Students went as Egyptian girls, Sisters of Mercy, Queen of Hearts, and Arabian Dancers. A Saturday social, described as a 'Nigger Social'⁴¹ involved the students blackening their faces, and was an 'appreciated event.'⁴²

The juniors were quickly expected to play their part in the entertainments. The Anstey magazine comments that on 24th of November, 1907, 'The play was extremely well done, and the juniors are to be congratulated on their dramatic talent, of which we hope to see more in the future.'⁴³ At Dartford, Fancy Dress was much appreciated:

but nothing has been more enjoyed than the Fancy Dress Ball. An additional zest was given to the occasion by the order that no dress should have more than one shilling expended, and that prizes would be given for the best-made dress in the room. The result was splendid. If only shillings could produce such marvellous costumes, then indeed the poorest among us should feel rich. In fact so many were excellent that in the end a dozen prizes were awarded instead of the three offered at first. A student appearing as 'Salad' carried off first prize, while 'Jeanne d'Arc', 'The Genius of Music', 'The Firmament', and 'A Japanese Lady' were much admired.⁴⁴

The juniors were under pressure to provide acceptable entertainment for the seniors. At Anstey the junior end of term play was 'an event looked forward to with much anxiety

³⁸ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, No. 9, 1906, p. 9.

³⁹ J. May, *Madame Bergman-Österberg*, p. 99.

⁴⁰ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, No. 9, 1906, p. 10.

⁴¹ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, No. 10, 1907, p. 23.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴⁴ S. C. Mitford, *Girls Realm*, April, 1899, pp. 559-560.

by us juniors, and full of worry during its preparation, though tempered by a great deal of fun.’⁴⁵

Perhaps the most well remembered and detailed account is of the 30th of October, 1909 Hallowe’*en* Social, provided by the seniors, ‘Senior Notice: All Hallowes E’*en* Revels tonight in the gymnasium at 8. 15. . . . The seniors in their sheets, were prowling about and groaning in the centre of the gymnasium in a terrifying, but, if it is permissible to say so, hardly a ghostly manner.’⁴⁶ The juniors with only one month of college behind them were right to be nervous as the following description illustrates: ‘apples flowing- pick out with teeth [sic]. The unfortunate victim was politely invited or dragged to one of these basins and had to kneel down in front, picking out an apple with her teeth. This was all very well if she had not been mercilessly ducked from behind, and several juniors were put in bodily, or as much as could be conveniently crammed into the basin.’⁴⁷ This interesting show of senior student power borders on an initiation ceremony. Snap dragons of burning brandy and meths were lit. Traditional Hallowe’*en* games were played. Blowing out candles blindfold could be interpreted to find out the trades of future husbands. Students sat on the hanging basket seat and tried to knock nuts off a seat with a stick. Some girls fell through the basket. More boisterous behaviour then followed: ‘The evening ended up by the seniors tossing the juniors in, which on the whole the seniors were the worse off, owing to the danger of the “hoofs” of the “Juniors” coming into violent contact with the mouths and noses of the unfortunate tossers. Everybody thoroughly enjoyed the evening, and the seniors are to be greatly congratulated on its organisation.’⁴⁸ The evening was an ‘official success.’ The juniors had no choice but to accept it in good part. The seniors’ reputation as good leisure providers was increased. The liberality of the Anstey regime is emphasised, as this record was made public in the official college journal for all associated with Anstey to see.

The social term culminated in the Anstey Christmas party: ‘Who does not remember a Christmas party at the A. P. T. C., when everything becomes topsy-turvy, and everyone finds herself in a new position in life? The servants have disappeared to don party dresses, frocks, coats, etc. Amidst all the hustle and bustle we see students flitting here and

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 24.

⁴⁶ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, No. 12, 1909, p. 20.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 20.

there, laying tables, cooking, running into each other round corners, blocking passages with chairs, cushions, evergreens, and other luxuries on their way to the gymnasium.’⁴⁹ Servants, and old friends, with their own friends and relatives were invited. The juniors put on the play ‘The Mouse Trap.’ Christmas supper followed with a speech by Miss Anstey. Dancing and games were held in the gym; ‘The men were shy when asked to dance (for one evening woman had the upper-hand, and man bore it meekly.)’⁵⁰ The ‘kangaroo’ game was played involving bound feet. Songs like ‘Hark the Herald’ and ‘Auld Lang Syne’ were sung. Tea, coffee and cakes were plentiful. Miss Anstey spoke again and music was then provided for the rest of the evening. The students ate the remaining food and then washed up. This party was special in that it involved the ritualistic mixing of the college hierarchy. Servants were included in the proceedings and men were invited into college, an unusual occurrence at any of the colleges. It was a major college event involving various cultural aspects. It was the zenith of a culture which had been developed over the last three months for the juniors and the last 15 months by the seniors.

The senior students ‘final social’ also had great significance. On 30th of July, 1911:

We all felt it was the last entertainment we should receive from the seniors, and knew they would exert every effort to give us a really enjoyable evening as a Grand Finale. The juniors arrive first on the scene determined to give the staff a hearty welcome, and as each member entered, cheers rent the air. The night birds appeared in costume consisting of most fascinating pyjamas of many shades. They carried on one hand a lighted candle, and a pillow under the other arm . . . having seated themselves on their pillow, they blew out their candles and the entertainment commenced. Songs and recitations of every description met with hearty applause . . . excellent refreshments were handed round, and to the juniors this was not the least enjoyable part of the evening.⁵¹

The seniors put in a lot of effort for their final contribution to the leisure side of college life. But it appears to have been an important event for the juniors as well. They were leaving to come back as seniors themselves. The event marked the closest point between the two groups before the juniors took on the role of those who were saying goodbye. As a sign of their taking up the standard held by the departing group, they

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 27.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 38.

vocalised their loyalty and commitment to their leader and her staff. They were showing the mantle of senior students was ready to be taken up. A remnant of verse spoken by a student at the event is recorded:

‘She [Miss Anstey] gives us our crits,
And generally pulls us to bits,
You try to look bold,
And she freezes you cold,
But her praises would give you three fits.’⁵²

Such events, especially a final event like this, might allow a softening of the usual hierarchical status of the community and might allow staff to be made polite fun of in a way that would never be tolerated at any other time.⁵³

Chelsea, like Anstey, had a special Christmas Party:

The Christmas Party which has continued uninterruptedly until the present day, and has been the occasion of so much fun and merriment for students and children alike, was initiated in 1910. In its early days, when smaller numbers made it possible, it was a party of most magnificent conception - there was a fairy-tale play, acted and danced by year I, a gigantic Christmas tree (presented by a generous father), lighted with candles and bearing a present for each one, a Father Christmas (impersonated by various famous and notable gentleman who perfect in every detail, allowed themselves to be lowered from the roof) who directed the whole thing, to sing carols and dance round the tree before he distributed the gifts. Everyone from Fairy-land was in the company, and many strange moderns and animals in addition.⁵⁴

Bedford seems to have had a limited form of social events: Rowlatt (Bedford, 1910) remembers that ‘It was the custom for the senior students to set up a play before leaving in the summer term. Miss Spafford was a very keen suffragette and Miss Hatherson (Secretary for the Ling Association) wrote the play on that subject then very much in the news.’⁵⁵ Scott (Bedford, 1907) remembers two plays during her training. Two fancy dresses also occurred, ‘We had two delightful fancy dress dances. Mary Heild and I went

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ See E. Bailey, *Lady Margaret Hall*, p. 98. During the same period, Second Year final socials were ‘usually a merciless caricature of the Third Year who are about to go down. Nor are the dons forgotten.’ The final social may have been a traditional time of low community hierarchy and an event of fun making against those who were unassailable at any other time of the year

⁵⁴ (C), *Chelsea College of Physical Education 1898-1958* (Chelsea, 1958), p. 15.

as niggers to one of them and had great fun because people did not recognise us with black faces.’⁵⁶ They danced Waltzes, Polkas, Washington Posts, Lancers ‘and naturally ended with a romping gallop.’⁵⁷

Information on other types of organised social events is more difficult to find. This may actually reflect that social events were less organised than at Anstey and that they were less common. At Dartford in 1904 students ‘organised singsongs and dances among ourselves; danced the Swedish national folk dances, often at Madame’s invitation and with the Swedish members of the staff.’⁵⁸ An even earlier report states:

Before long the usual term routine was established, occasionally broken by a show class or a little festivity of some kind, such as a concert given by several artists in the Gymnasium by invitation of Madame Bergman-Österberg, or a dinner or dance in honour of the reappearance of some of the old students.⁵⁹

Salt (Dartford, 1916) gives us an atmospheric fragment of alternative social life at Dartford, ‘the winter sitting in the fire light on the floor singing songs like Tipperary, and Keep The Home Fires Burning. Out of our senior set, Bessie, had a very good voice, she sang the vesals and we sang the chorus.’⁶⁰ H. Pagan (Dartford, 1902) recalls rather maternally, ‘Last Saturday the juniors had some killing charades - they are an awfully jolly set.’⁶¹ and, ‘The juniors have got up an operetta and do it awfully well, with their good voices and after weeks of careful work.’⁶² Napier-Clarke (Dartford, 1910) remembers that, ‘Before Xmas we used to sing Swedish carols dressed in Swedish costumes and wander about the grounds with lanterns all very picturesque followed by a Swedish supper and Swedish dances.’⁶³

Societies and Clubs

Societies and clubs received far less publicity in the existing college records. This may well reflect the fact that there were few opportunities available for this type of leisure activity. Students would however have had experience of such pastimes in secondary

⁵⁵ (B), Questionnaires, H. Rowlatt, 1910.

⁵⁶ (B), Questionnaires, K. H. Scott, 1907.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ (D), Madame Bergman-Österberg Magazine, 1976, p. 21.

⁵⁹ (D), Hampstead Physical Training College Report for 1893, p. 11.

⁶⁰ (D), Letters, M. Salt, undated.

⁶¹ (D), Letters, H. Pagan to A. Pagan 8th of June, 1902.

⁶² (D), Letters, H. Pagan to Mother, 2nd of April, 1902.

education.⁶⁴ Only one club is mentioned in the college journal at Anstey, and that is the Anstey Reading Club. Here, 'The object of the club is to induce us to use the small amount of spare time we have at our disposal to the best possible advantage. So often one hears the opinion expressed that gymnastic teachers are "all brawn and no brain."⁶⁵ This is an interesting comment revealing society's perception of student ability in 1911. They had read a number of respected fiction, 'Soul of a People'; 'Essays of Elia'; History of the Holy Grail; Goethe's 'Faust'; Dante's 'Divine Comedy'; Shelley's 'Poems'; Essays of Stevenson, and Carlyle.' A guest visitor had expounded on the life of Robert Louis Stevenson. There were a number of rules and penalties. Two hours or more a week were to be spent on reading, including at least twenty minutes consecutively. There was a stiff fine of two pence for every hour omitted. An entrance fee of six pence was charged to buy books. This seems a rigorous and ordered, club unlike the Dartford one:

This society was formed last term by the Resident Students, eleven of them enrolling themselves as members and electing a president from amongst their number. The meetings were held on alternative Tuesdays at 9. p. m. So far the society has read Shakespeare's 'As you like it' and selections from miscellaneous writers. Owing to other arrangements we have been unable to have the full number of meetings, and so have not been able to do as much as we intended. We hope that our society will continue to flourish and that our numbers will be increased next Term.⁶⁶

The fledgling society may have been squeezed by the long working day at Dartford. If it met once every two weeks, probably for an hour before curfew and had not had the full number of meetings, its effect on the social life of the participants must have been limited. It had however, achieved official recognition in the college magazine. Its future aim was to attract more participants.⁶⁷ No other societies apart from the college debates are mentioned

⁶³ (D), Letters, E. Napier-Clark to J. May, 13th of June, 1965.

⁶⁴ Students from Roedean for instance would have participated in a number of clubs and societies. See D. E. De Zouche, *Roedean School 1885-1955*, p. 147; 'These [societies] in the school's history have been legion. Some have been permanent institutions, like the Dancing Club begun in 1895 and Debate even earlier, others transient like the Shirt Club of 1898 of which no more is heard than its aim, the making of shirts and blouses, and the report that "some members met with discouragement" . . . Musical [club] of 1895 . . . [and] Poetry.'

⁶⁵ (D), Hampstead Physical Training College Report for 1893, p. 17.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ This was a problem most college societies had. See E. Edwards, 'The Culture of Femininity in Women's Teacher Training Colleges 1900-1950', *History of Education*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1993, p. 282; 'Societies tended to wax and wane with individual enthusiasm. One wonders for instance at the commitment of the Homerton Debating Society in 1915 when students were urged; "Why not come to meetings, if it is only to get your mending done."'

throughout this period and the Reading Club itself receives no further mention in future journals.⁶⁸

The evidence suggests that societies did not catch on in physical training colleges, possibly due to the lack of available 'gaps' in leisure time available to students. This is in comparison to contemporary schools and colleges where such societies were encouraged and plentiful.

8.4; The Role of Organised Leisure Events at Anstey College

Organised leisure activities (to a great extent at Anstey, and to varying extents at the other colleges) played an important part in college culture. Leisure activities had a number of important roles in the socialisation of the students.⁶⁹ At Anstey and Dartford, the social programme was introduced early. This was no accident. The students were heterogeneous in nature and experience as we have seen in Chapter 3. Social events united these disparate individuals and gave them common purpose.⁷⁰ From their striving to put on a co-ordinated event, a group identity could be forged. The parameters of this identity had already been set within the strongly hierarchical structure of the environment; it only needed the group to become cohesive and expand to fill these parameters and common experience quickened this process. With only two years of training, it was necessary for

⁶⁸ Other higher education colleges for women offered a range of societies. See: E. Edwards, 'The Culture of Femininity', p. 282; 'Each college [Avery Hill, Homerton, and Bishop Otter, teacher training colleges] had a full selection of societies . . . art, debating, geographical, historical, literary, music and scientific societies.

⁶⁹ See M. K. Ashby, 'Residential Life in the Civic Universities', *The Forum of Education*, Vol. 3, 1925, pp. 120-128. This 1925 study of residential life in civic universities for men and women includes interesting comments on the social education such places should have provided. In particular, 'It is universally agreed that there can be no true University life without some form of residential life.' p. 120. And, 'The best Halls of Residence have a strong corporate life', p. 121. They also go on to state that one of the four aims of a hall is to 'provide suitable recreation', p. 122. The author's conservatism, typical of the period, includes 'the women have institutions which are confined to their own sex, and which thus provide opportunities for the cultivation of their own more typical activities, and the development of a feminine point of view', p. 121. This social life produces students 'who will be able to pass on some account of the good life, and of the means of attaining it.' p. 124. This interesting, nearly contemporary analysis, misses out on a number of subtle liberating effects on the students. I introduce these less paternalistic factors in the above text.

⁷⁰ See: L. Dominelli, 'Women in the Community: Feminist Principles and Organising in Community Work', *Community Development Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 2, 1995, pp. 133-143, for an interesting feminist work on recent modern aspects of 'community' and what this concept involves for women. In particular her comment, 'The magic ingredients of the word "Community" have united disparate groups of individuals together and fused their energies in a common purpose', p. 133.

the students to gain a group identity quickly, and to know what was expected of them as a group.

As well as group identity the leisure events played an important part in character development of the students. The activities gave a dimension to student experience which they would not have experienced had they stayed at home. Therefore a fundamental aspect of the activities was to widen the student's horizons. It gave long term benefits to the contributors in that it enriched their capacity for personal development and individual fulfilment.

A regular time and space was provided for the enacting of the events, but it must also be remembered that the preparation must have gone on in the small amount of time set apart each day for relaxation. This means that 'space' must have been available for organising practice. This 'time and space' must have been set apart from normal supervision.⁷¹ The process gave the students access to companionship, and shared experience with females of differing pre-college backgrounds but of similar status within college. Key empowering actions such as bonding, collaborating, interacting, camaraderie, and collectivity,⁷² were involved in this working for the common good. These actions were empowering for the students future character. The more immediate rewards were recognition amongst equals, and recognition by hierarchical superiors.

The leisure events were strongly hierarchical. Juniors provided shows for seniors and vice-versa. Only the Christmas party broke the barriers down, not only for the students, but for servants and probably some of the staff. The leisure events were an important part of the social stratification of college life and regularly reinforced this stratification from an early stage.

Organised leisure was a curious facet of college life. It was conservative in action, reinforcing the pyramidal hierarchy of the community culture. It was certainly considered a feminine action. Yet it provided a transforming environment where girls could behave

⁷¹ See: J. A. Mangan, 'The Social Construction of Victorian Femininity: Emancipation, Education and Exercise', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1989, pp 1-9, for his thoughts on the concept of 'space' in student lives; 'Nevertheless, these establishments created "space" for women, allowed social development, access to new reference groups and ideas and the opportunity to acquire limited knowledge, status and power. In short, they were both agencies of conservatism and transformation', p. 6.

⁷² See N. Theberge, 'Gender, Sport and the Construction of Community: A Case Study From Women's Hockey', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, Vol. 12, 1995, pp. 369-402. She gives a discussion on benefits of group activity. Specifically: 'particularly important is the bonding that grows from the camaraderie and time spent having fun collectively.' p. 389.

unconventionally and gain status as a group, and as individuals.⁷³ The small number of girls at the colleges made it unlikely that anyone could avoid participating in the events. Reports on the activities are favourable, and students looked forward to events with excitement. Some students may have found such high visibility participation alarming but no records exist of personal negative thoughts. The general memory of social events is that they played an important part in the 'good life' at college. Cut off from the society outside the college, the students had to provide their own leisure activities. These provided a pleasurable contrast with the disciplined long hours of day time work. Some colleges provided more opportunities than others. As we have seen in earlier chapters this was due to the structure of the regime at each college and the importance given to the work-leisure relationship. The organised leisure activity was an important tool in creating community, character, and pleasure, amongst physical training college students.

8.5; Other Forms of Student Socialising: Socialising Within the College Matri-Patriarchal Boundary

This form of socialising occurred within the college environmental boundary. It was characterised by strict codes of behaviour backed up by rules and regulations. At Dartford, 'In September [1896] we gave an "At Home"⁷⁴ to the students' relatives and nearest friends; it took the form of a garden party, and was entirely arranged and supervised by the students themselves.'⁷⁵ In 1899 an 'At Home' is again recorded, 'Many of the girls, too, had friends to entertain this Saturday afternoon - for Saturday is the day on which parents and friends know they will always find the students at strolling about the garden, or sitting about the woods, enjoying the weekly privilege.'⁷⁶ Saturday had become an informal day at Dartford, where friends and family were welcome. This reflects the

⁷³ See: R. Rogers, 'Schools, Discipline and Community: Diary Writing and Schoolgirl Culture in Late-Nineteenth Century France', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1995, pp. 101-107. Rogers gives a fascinating account of a case-study based on the diaries of a female pupil at a French boarding school in the nineteenth century. In particular she comments, 'Clearly she internalised what are viewed as traditional feminine cultural message but she also reworked them to highlight her own special gifts. The autonomy thus gained did not directly challenge the domestic orientation of French bourgeois schooling for women but it probably affected relationships with families and served as a spring board for less conventional behaviour . . . individual needs can refashion the priorities of an all-encompassing ideology', p. 545.

⁷⁴ The 'At Home' was a middle-class social event where friends and relatives would be asked round to the girls' homes for tea.

⁷⁵ (D), Dartford Physical Training College Report 1895-96, p. 10.

⁷⁶ S. Mitford, A Physical Culture in Kent, *Girls Realm*, April, 1899, p. 556.

family or intermediate phase of familism at Dartford,⁷⁷ where outsider access to the area of matri-patriarchal control was much less restricted than in the later corporate phase.

8.6; Socialising Outside the College Matri-Patriarchal Boundary

Religion

Early Dartford students (family phase) were allowed to leave college more regularly as the first term wore on. Hannah Pagan (Dartford, 1904) comments, ‘The flowers are lovely and the woods devine . . . church is no longer forbidden but Dartford is still impossible.’⁷⁸ Later that month, ‘I have had a breezy walk with Miss Marshall today among the orchards of the loveliest. I have never been to church at Bexley but either stick in the grounds or go for a walk on Sunday mornings . . . The new church where we go has a very dreary morning service, no music, hymns.’⁷⁹

Church was an influence outside of Madame’s area of matri-patriarchal control. It seems that Madame was prepared to allow access to this powerful outside influence in some students’ lives. Hannah’s older sister, Anna Pagan, had a number of recollections of visits to churches from Hampstead [1892], ‘Ida and Maud and I walked one and a half miles to church in the morning, which was lovely. Grace did filial duty at a long dull service.’⁸⁰ Later she went out into London with room-mate Bessie Grubb:

She took me one Sunday to the Quaker Meeting House. We had been told vaguely that it was near Westminster Bridge, and she was nearly in tears as she had asked to be directed six times, and no one had heard of it. She kept asking for the Quaker Meeting House, and he told us at once. I liked the peace and quiet very much. Bessie was rather sad at the end, as we stood up at the exit for a while and no one spoke to us. ‘We made a point of talking to strangers at home,’ she said. At last a lady stopped and they found out at once that they had friends in common. She invited us to the debating society at Westfield College for women, near Madame Österberg’s. We went on a Tuesday evening and enjoyed the debate very much. Everyone was most friendly, in true Quaker fashion.⁸¹

⁷⁷ See Appendix 13.

⁷⁸ Letters, H. Pagan to Mother, 2nd of April, 1902.

⁷⁹ Letters, H. Pagan to Lizzie, 24th of February, 1902. Pagan’s comments hint at the restrictions imposed on student access to the outside world. This is ‘corporate phase’ Dartford. ‘Family phase’ Dartford had less restrictions. See now, Anna Pagan’s more liberal experiences at Hampstead in 1892.

⁸⁰ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Madge, 14th of November, 1892.

⁸¹ (D), A. Pagan, Description of Life at College 1892-94, p. 41.

Visits to Friends and Relatives

Anna Pagan also records a number of visits to friends and relatives outside the college boundary:

I had an invitation from Jessie to come for a week-end during the Henley Regatta and bring a friend, as she wanted two lively girls to balance her house-party. I was very doubtful if Mary [Tait, Pagan's cousin] would feel that she could give us leave, as she would not want to show favouritism, but she smiled and said 'As I have just given Miss Righton leave for the same thing, I can't very well refuse you. You can go on midday on Friday, and come back on Monday morning.' I took Frances Perkins with me and we had a gorgeous time. River-picnics, watching the races from the tow-path, drives in the dog cart, and fun with the nieces, - the boy was more serious minded. We always suspected our brother-in-law of trying to marry us off, and I regarded the two young men provided with suspicion, but they were very pleasant, and showed no alarming symptoms of any kind.⁸²

Her comments show that there were restrictions on how many students should leave college at a particular time. Mary Tait the vice-principal, is Pagan's cousin, making the decision more embarrassing. However the vice-principal interprets the rules liberally. (This is still not the corporate phase of college development.)

Later Pagan arranges a visit with a relative:

Another treat that term was a theatre expedition. Ethel Daille had been given the stage box for a matinee by her step brother, and as she could not go she gave it to me, suggesting that I might take Frances and any friends or relatives available, as the box held 4 or 5. My Grand-mother was paying her annual visit to uncle Tom . . . She had never been to a theatre in her life, but we persuaded her to go with us. The play was 'Liberty Hall' an innocuous romantic comedy, and as we put her in the end seat, almost on the stage, she saw and heard splendidly and approved of the whole thing.⁸³

Pagan's letters suggest that the family phase of Hampstead college allowed easy access between the matri-patriarchal boundary and the patriarchal society beyond. Her early months at college included:

18th of October, 1892. 'We are having lovely sunshine today and I think I shall walk down and call on the Schmitz, even if they are out the people in the park will have the joy of seeing me.'⁸⁴

25th of October, 1892. 'As I spent the whole of yesterday (Tues.) from 2-10 at Aunt Anna's, I am behind with my work and I wanted so much to write this letter before breakfast.'⁸⁵

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

28th of October, 1892. 'We have a good deal of time to ourselves just now, but it will be harder when the difficult anatomy begins.'⁸⁶

31st of October, 1892. 'Jeanine and I go to tea with Adelaide this afternoon.'⁸⁷

16th of November, 1892. 'This morning brought an invitation from Emy's aunt Miss Deane, in Broadhurst Gardens for Sunday afternoon, I think of going around this afternoon and explaining that I can't come on account of a previous engagement.'⁸⁸

16th of November, 1892. 'I meant to go and get a tiny present for you, but it fogged all yesterday, and a letter is quite good enough for a little girl who is only eleven and has besides learnt to read.'⁸⁹

23rd of November, 1892. 'Yesterday I called on Adelaide, but she had neuralgia, so I left . . . and had a nice little call on Miss Boyd. Steven showed me his shoulders.'⁹⁰

25th of November, 1892. 'Molly is a pip and I went a short walk with yesterday. I wanted my cuffs from Belsize Grove so we went there. Everyone was out, so we went up to May's room and sat and rocked on chairs.'⁹¹

This sort of social access is a long way from the restrictions of the corporate phase at Dartford in 1911, 'Weekends away were allowed every 3 weeks. Students were allowed out of college in parties of not less than 3.'⁹² Or 1921 Dartford, 'We had to have permission to go away at half term but we could go into Dartford in twos or on the Heath in threes.'⁹³ Gummer 1919 and Oliphant 1913 record even more negative views, 'Social life - none---.'⁹⁴ And, 'There was nothing social at college.'⁹⁵ It seems likely that the family phase of student socialising involved a much freer form of interaction with friends, relatives and places, than corporate Dartford. Here rules and regulations prevailed, and use of 'power over' restricted student access to the world beyond the matri-patriarchal boundary. These rules could be ambiguous: Hodson (Liverpool, 1918) states, 'We could go out when we

⁸⁴ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Madge, 18th of October, 1892.

⁸⁵ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Mother, 25th of October, 1892.

⁸⁶ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Mother, 28th of October, 1892.

⁸⁷ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Belle, 31st of October, 1892.

⁸⁸ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Louise, 16th of November, 1892.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Mother, 23rd of November, 1892.

⁹¹ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Madge, 25th of November, 1892.

⁹² (D), Randall, *Odd Jottings* 1911.

⁹³ (D), *College in My Day 1921-24*, Dartford Physical Training College Magazine, 1981, p. 27.

⁹⁴ (D), *Dartford Physical Training College Magazine*, 1983, p. 17.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 28.

liked for as long as we liked but woe betide any student who missed her “bus” or when her car “broke down.”⁹⁶

Tea Room Socialising

A popular form of inter-student socialising in the outer patriarchal society, was eating and drinking at cafes or tea rooms.⁹⁷ There are many fond memories of such interactions at all the colleges. Brown (Dartford, 1910) comments, ‘Then in the afternoons while they played we were free to bicycle where we liked. I seem to remember tea at Bexhill.’⁹⁸ At Liverpool, Hodson (Liverpool, 1918), liked a cafe called ‘Troxters, in Bold Street where were the most remarkable cakes which we always ate too many of. Another place where we used to eat was King’s where we had mixed grills on the way back from hockey matches.’⁹⁹ And, ‘Then there were those Saturday hockey matches, usually followed by ‘high tea’ in a Liverpool cafe before returning to college. The quality and quantity of the meal was entirely dependant upon the money we had left after paying our fare to the match (not refunded). The only means of transport, bicycles or the team bus.’¹⁰⁰ At Bedford there were ‘buns and coffees at the Victory Tea Rooms after swimming.’¹⁰¹ And Anstey 1907, ‘We can find time to look round the shops and have tea at the Kandomah or Patterson’s afterwards - an extravagance which few of us have strength of mind enough to refuse.’¹⁰²

The cafe provided a rather unique environment where students could meet as equals outside the supervision of the principal and staff. Here students could relax and enjoy the food and perhaps forget some of the stresses and strains of the college day. Sometimes this could be combined with a shopping trip, student finances permitting.

⁹⁶ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine, 1960, p. 8.

⁹⁷ A. J. Jackson, The Middle-Classes 1900-1950, p. 248; ‘Unescorted visits “to town” were further encouraged by tea shops and restaurants which offered secure and respectable sanctuary for the middle-class woman.’

⁹⁸ (D), Letters, Brown to J. May, 6th of June, 1965.

⁹⁹ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine, 1960, p. 8.

¹⁰⁰ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine, 1974, p. 59.

¹⁰¹ (B), Bedford Physical Training College Magazine, 1975, p. 32.

¹⁰² (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1907, p. 23.

8.7; Other Forms of Outside Socialising

Various other forms of outside socialising were available on a restricted basis for students. At Bedford the river was a particular attraction: Evans (Bedford, 1906), remembers, 'Always in Summer half-term there was a river picnic down the river in about nine boats, for the whole-day.'¹⁰³ Also we had days in Shefford pine woods, driving out there in brakes - They were lovely days.'¹⁰⁴ When the river froze [pre 1914], 'A spell of frosty weather made many students seize a whole day with no work beyond our school classes. As the morning wore on, a familiar figure [Miss Stansfeld] was seen on the bank at Longhome carrying a huge basket and a member of the staff with a similar load was with her. Hot, steaming hot buns - the very things for a freezing morning.'¹⁰⁵

Miss Stansfeld purchased a cottage in a nearby village for herself, and the use of students at weekends. a student reminisced in later years, 'We shall never forget the grand week-ends at Miss Stansfeld's little cottage at Pavenham. She always saw us off as we cycled out, grossly overladen with food (yet somehow there was never any to bring back!) and we returned refreshed and replete.'¹⁰⁶ Bedford students were within walking distance of the countryside, 'When we could afford it, some of us used to ride old Hartsop's horses from Putnoe. It was hard work getting them to move at all and one was blind in one eye. The only time they really moved was when you turned to go home! We also went for long bike rides all over the country.'¹⁰⁷

At Anstey [1910] the last outside social of the year was a time of great significance and contemplation for senior students:

Seniors were beginning to feel misty about their eyes . . . we lay about in groups on banks and under trees. We lay idly-day-dreaming, some of us in the posts we had already got, others of the luxurious ones they were going to have (they always are luxurious in that stage). And others of yet another years work of exams and classes to overcome. We recognised the day as a sort of finale- at least to the many glorious outing days we had had. One by one we talked them over, enjoying again old joys, old thrills and delights.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ The importance of the picnic as an appropriate form of female social pursuit was mirrored at Bedford College [London]. M. J. Tuke, *The History of Bedford College for Women 1849-1937*, p. 291; 'The annual boating picnic on the Thames given by Miss Notcutt was an event of the college year which was much looked forward to.'

¹⁰⁴ (B), Questionnaires, Evans, (1906).

¹⁰⁵ (B), Bedford Physical Training College Magazine, 1974, p. 33.

¹⁰⁶ (B), Bedford Physical Training College Magazine, 1975, p. 32.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁰⁸ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1910, p. 19.

By 1924 visits to the pictures were available: Roberts (Liverpool, 1924) remembers, 'We did occasionally go to the pictures.'¹⁰⁹ How much earlier this student practice had been going on is unknown.

Outside Socialising at Specific Events

Sometimes students would participate in meetings or events which had a societal rather than college significance. Some students were suffragettes. Even at Bedford the most behaviourally conservative college, 'Some of the students attended a suffragette meeting in the town at which dead rats were thrown in at the window.'¹¹⁰

Anstey (where Miss Anstey, a keen suffragette) encouraged participation in national events. In 1910:

Those of us from Anstey College (and we were a goodly contingent) who took part in the wonderful demonstration in London . . . It was a tremendous privilege to be identified with those brilliant and self-sacrificing women - the leaders of the women's cause. 10,000 women, representative of all classes, militant and non militant, of varying opinion and station, from all parts of the world, yet all unanimous in their desire for the franchise. Our own contingent, headed by a charming banner designed in dark blue and silk and silver, inscribed 'Gymnastic Teachers' mustered about 58. In our short navy blue skirts, college badges and colours - marching strictly in tune and step, we thought we looked quite pleasing, so evidently thought the spectators, as we came in for a vigorous share of cheering.¹¹¹

Next year another student records:

Miss Anstey, nearly the entire staff and several of the students went up from college in one of the special women's procession excursions which took the Birmingham Suffragists to London, and marched in the section of the Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, which called forth many good-humoured specimens of cockney wit, such as 'Here come the elastic teachers; lets see those biceps.' With their neat navy shirts and white skirts crossed by Regalia in the colours of their society (blue and silver): and the alert, smart marching, these women looked indeed fit for the training both physical and moral of the coming race.¹¹²

Student patriotism was present within the colleges. At Anstey students went to see the King open a building at Birmingham University in 1909. It was commented that 'The red, white and blue was not lacking in our little group. Typical rowdy British students,

¹⁰⁹ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine, 1974, p. 33.

¹¹⁰ (B), Bedford Physical Training College Magazine, 1974, p. 33.

¹¹¹ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1910, p. 10.

¹¹² (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1911, p. 7.

with minds made up to be enthusiastic and enjoy. Every type of student was present, from the harum scarum girl student (trencher riddled with hat pins), to the sweet art graduate, who wore her gown with grace.’¹¹³

Students were able to participate in patriarchal society, subject to restrictions decided by the college principal. In the family phase of college development, access to the outside world was more easily achieved than in the later corporate phase. Students had a variety of experiences available to them, most of which were unsupervised. At all times students were expected to behave in appropriate manners determined by the principals’ high standards. Most of this socialising was well within the constraints of society’s expectations of young middle-class women.¹¹⁴ At Anstey in particular, protest and political activity was encouraged, particularly within the area of women’s rights and suffrage. Therefore, particularly within the early phase of college development, students were able to pass through the matri-patriarchy boundary to the patriarchal society beyond.

8.8; Conclusion

Leisure time was scarce time at college. It was therefore used to the full providing a rich range of experience for the students. The principals were users of ‘power over,’ expecting obedience to their impersonal laws and beliefs. Some principals however, used the ‘debate’ as a device for widening the students’ horizons. Topical debate and discussion was not taboo, particularly at Dartford and Anstey. The principals were creating women loyal and obedient to their physical education beliefs but with the ability to make decisions of their own on outside societal topics.

Plays and parties though more conservative and feminine in nature, allowed the students to intermingle in a more relaxed environment. Sets became united through common experience. Characters were developed by participation, and status could be increased through successful role-play.

¹¹³ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1909, p. 8.

¹¹⁴ A. J. Jackson, *The Middle-Classes*, p. 113. The affluent young women in the private sphere would fill ‘their hours with elaborate toilette and changes to dress, coiffured and beautified for an endless round of lunching, of taking tea and dining, of dancing, theatre-going, “at homes”, country visits, city shopping and holidays.’ While the less affluent middle-class woman was ‘indulging in afternoon visits to the theatre and cinema. She also entertained her neighbours to afternoon tea, visited the great new department stores, joined local operatic and dramatic societies.’

Beyond the matri-patriarchal sphere of influence students visited church or friends or relatives. Here they could relax with non-college people. Picnics and walks allowed student friends to intermingle in select groups. The tea-room offered a more formal, non-college environment, where students could meet and talk, and take brief time off from college. Those who had become empowered enough to make feminist appraisals might choose to attend suffragette groups and events.

Leisure activities both inside and outside college control, played an important part in the self-empowerment of students. Here they benefited from a 'power to' environment, as opposed to the daily 'power over' situations they were subject to during more formal college life.

Chapter 9: Patriarchal Society And The Post-College Experiences Of Old Students

9.1; Introduction

This chapter looks at the post-college opportunities for successful physical training college graduates. Contemporary data analysis is used to examine what ‘old students’ made of the available opportunities. Marriage rates of old students are determined and the factors affecting and determining these rates considered. Employment rates are calculated to provide an idea of old student commitment to entering the economic (employment) sphere and becoming self-supporting. Specific occupations are then determined to gain a measure of old student commitment rates to teaching. The success of the physical training colleges in providing not just well trained teachers but teachers who actually *did* teach in educational institutions is ascertained. The geographic distribution of working old students is found to show if colleges were of national or regional importance in providing a teacher workforce.¹ The post-college experience of old students is put into perspective with statistics for non-physical training college graduates, and for women in society as a whole.

9.2; The ‘College Product’

The principals had two (and later three) years to mould the student raw material via the college process. Those who survived to obtain the diploma were close to the ‘norm’ expected of professional gymnastic teachers. This process led to particular characteristics being exhibited by students. An old student recalled that, ‘It used to be said, possibly with truth, that Dartford products were insufferably assured. This may have been because Madame aimed at the highest in everything and taught her students to be intolerant of anything but the best.’² Madame had culled those who were less worthy, ‘So lofty was her ideal that many students fell by the way and none finished their course save those whom she considered would be a credit to her, the college and themselves.’³

¹ For an individual analysis of student experience, see Appendix 28 which lists information on the careers of students quoted in this dissertation.

² (D), By Two Old Students, Dartford Physical Training College Magazine 1931, p. 7.

³ Ibid.

Madame had exhorted the students to strive to be an elite; ‘Many times Madame would say “The day may come when you will feel nervous; never show nervousness, remember you are one of Madame Österberg’s students and it will be enough to carry you through any situation with perfect poise.” Though this may have created a poise and air of conceit it was largely external.’⁴ And, ‘Let me see you walk as if you owned Bond Street, so that people may look twice when they see how *my* students carry themselves.’⁵ However this was not how all students remembered themselves; M. Salt (Dartford, 1916), states, ‘We were kept rather strictly to rule and when at 21 years of age we took our first posts, we had not much self-confidence.’⁶

To achieve this high standard, only the best students could be allowed to obtain access to the employment market for gymnastic teachers. Successful Dartford products had ‘character, health, a clear understanding, an engaging appearance and a good manner, all this and a great addition of energy are the paramount qualifications. The number of trained women gymnastics teachers has thus been less than it would otherwise have been. The quality has been better and the results were the best.’⁷ How the raw materials had been altered during the production process is described by Madame:

‘The girls when they leave me are altogether different creatures, their physical capacity has developed surprisingly; but what is far more striking is the improvement in mind and character. They have come to a better understanding of the facts of life and nature, and of their own place in the world. They have got rid of sentimental morbid fancies, if they ever had any, and they have become responsible human beings.’⁸ However, all students were warned by Madame, ‘Remember my dears it does not matter how good you are you will never be good enough for the profession you have chosen.’⁹

⁴ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

⁵ Ibid., p. 8.

⁶ (D), Letters, M. Salt to J. May, undated.

⁷ (D), Bergquist Worishofen, ‘Swedish Gymnastics at Home and Abroad’ (translation), Svenska Gymnastika, December, 1907.

⁸ (D), Madame Bergman-Österberg, ‘Professional Women Upon the Professions 1891: The Teaching of Physical Education,’ (1891).

⁹ (D), Letters, J. C. Rilligan to J. May, 11th of July, 1965.

9.3; Marriage

Upon successfully completing college, students had a number of options; stay at home, get married immediately, find work and get married sometime later, or start a career and never get married. Fraulein, perhaps surprisingly, has been quoted as saying:

For my part I always say, although I love training them, that I hope my girls may never have to teach in the end; I want them all to marry and be as happy as they can be! But if they do not marry, she adds becoming swiftly grave again, it is something to feel that they will be thoroughly equipped, every one of them, to face the world.¹⁰

Madame also commented on the role her college served for those wishing to become mothers, 'Without wanting to earn their living, girls might here get the education and training which would fit them for the grand calling of mothering the race.'¹¹ An analysis now follows to study marriage rates of old students compared to other sectors of female society.

Analysis 1: Marriage Rate of Bedford Old Students 1905-1914

Aim

To find out how many old students became married and hence removed from the jobs market.¹² To allow comparison with data for other types of women.

Source

Bedford Physical Training College Students' Association Report 1914. List of Members, pp. 14-29 (the report was compiled to March 1915). This report contains

¹⁰ (C), Interview With Fraulein Wilke: *Gymnastic Teachers Training College, South Western Polytechnic, 1898*, p. 11.

¹¹ (D), 'Mme. Bergman-Österberg's Physical Training College', *Educational Review*, November, 1896, p. 24.

¹² For a look at the negative effects of the marriage bar see A. Oram, *Embittered, Sexless or Homosexual: Attacks on Spinster Teachers 1918-1939* in Lesbian History Group, *Not a Passing Phase: Reclaiming Lesbians in History* (London, 1989), pp. 99-119. For Scotland see C. Adams, *Teaching a Celibate Profession: The Marriage Bar in Scotland 1915-1940*. M. Ed. B. U., 1987. Reaction to marriage varied from authority to authority. Women might be dismissed, moved to temporary posts or supply posts. At first there was little protest despite the largely unwritten rules involved. By 1914 'There is adverse comment on the economically unsound, unjust and racially dangerous tendency in many salaried professions to enforce upon women resignation upon marriage', quoted in E. J. Morley, *Women Workers in Seven Professions: A Survey of their Economic Conditions and Prospects*, p. xv.

marital details of 149 out of 154 old students, i.e. 96.8% of the total Bedford Old Students trained between the college's opening in 1903, and 1914.¹³ Bedford Physical Training College Students' Association Report 1945 (compiled early 1946). This report contains marital details of 105 out of 154 old students, i.e. 68.2% of the total Bedford, Old Students trained between the college's opening in 1903 and 1914.

Method

Tabulate data on marital status of old students for each set and convert to percentages. Compare the data; by set, by total students, and by other groups of women. Compare 1915 data to 1946 data.

Results

Table 9a: Marriage Rates of Old Students Registered in Bedford Physical Education Old Students' Report 1914 as a Total and Percentage of Each Set (1905-1914) in 1915

Set	Total Number of Students in Old Students' Association in 1915 (numbers in parenthesis includes students in the sets who were not members of the O. S. A. i.e. very few)	Number of Married Old Students in 1915	Percentage of Married Old Students in 1915
1905	13 (13)	5	39
1906	9 (9)	3	33
1907	13 (15)	1	8
1908	15 (15)	5	33
1909	14 (14)	4	29
1910	15 (16)	3	20
1911	16 (17)	4	25
1912	16 (16)	1	6

¹³ Only five students were not members of the old students' association at this time. This is an extremely low figure especially if of the five some were dead, or out of the country. It reflects the old students continuing loyalty to their former college and principal. The sample therefore gives us a very accurate picture of what the old students of Bedford were doing at this time. See Appendix 27 for a detailed analysis of the old students' association role.

Set	Total Number of Students in Old Students' Association in 1915 (numbers in parenthesis includes students in the sets who were not members of the O. S. A. i.e. very few)	Number of Married Old Students in 1915	Percentage of Married Old Students in 1915
1913	18 (19)	0	0
1914	20 (20)	1	5
Total 1905-1914	149 (154)	27	18

Discussion

Given that the earlier sets had been of marriageable age for longer, it was anticipated that these sets would have a higher marriage rate. The data shows a steady rise in the proportion of old students married as time after leaving college increased. The exception was the 1907 set which had a low marriage rate compared to other sets. One in three students were married in sets 1905, 1906 and 1908 and nearly as many in the 1909 set. These groups had an average age of between twenty six and thirty. Therefore approximately two out of three old students were unmarried six to ten years after graduation from college. This suggests a minority marriage rate for physical training college students (see later for comparisons of marriage rates with those of other college women, and the general female population). Overall only 27 out of 149 old students who were members of the old students' association had married by March 1915, i.e. 18% of the total. This data compares with marriage rates (see Appendix 22) of 32% in 1922 for Dartford trained students (1885-1918) who were members of the Ling Gymnastic Teachers Association. This higher rate may well reflect the maturity of the old students sample. Dartford had been in existence for over thirty six years and the old students had more time to get married than Bedford graduates. Marriage rates for less mature colleges show rates similar to Bedford: in 1913, 17% of Chelsea Old Students were married (see Appendix 22). This figure rose slightly to 20% by 1922. Anstey data for 1909 (see Appendix 22) covers sets 1898 to 1909 and gives a figure of 18% married. This figure corresponds to the low marriage rates of Bedford and Chelsea and is typical of the low marriage rates of the newer colleges at this time. Overall only a minority of physical training college students were

being married during this early period but that figure was rising as time went by. As might be expected sets which had graduated longer had higher marriage rates than those just graduated. Out of the two most recent groups to have left Bedford college (Sets 1913 and 1914) only two old students had been married, while the other fifty two were unmarried. This suggests that marriage was not seen as an immediate requirement for students after leaving college.

Comparisons with data from other colleges again reveal a minority marriage rate. Early data from Oxford and Cambridge colleges to 1893 (see Appendix 23) show marriage rates of Somerville (data taken from 1879-1893) 17%, Newnham 23% (1871), Holloway (1887) 4% and Girton (1873) 13%. In addition Alexandra College (Dublin) had 10% of old students married at this time. Overall 14% (208 out of 1486) of Oxford, Cambridge and Alexandra female graduates were married. Data for Glasgow University female graduates shows 12% from Sets 1894-1914 were married by 1914 (see Appendix 23). Therefore only a minority of women leaving higher education were getting married during this period. Physical training college students fitted this trend.

Analysis 1a: A Comparison of Bedford College Marriage Rate Data for 1946 with Data for 1915

Results

Table 9b: Marriage Rates of Bedford Old Students Registered in Bedford Physical Education Old Students' Report for 1945¹⁴

Set	Total number of students in Old Students' Association in 1946 (number in parenthesis is original number in set)	Number of married Old Students in 1946 and in Old Students' Association	Percentage of married Old Students in 1946 and in Old Students' Association
1905	9 (13)	4	44
1906	6 (9)	2	33

¹⁴ 68.2% of total old students were members of the old students' association in 1945. This reflects death and voluntary dropping out of membership. This is still quite a high total membership considering 43 years had gone by since the college opened and over 30 years since the 1914 set had graduated.

Set	Total number of students in Old Students' Association in 1946 (number in parenthesis is original number in set)	Number of married Old Students in 1946 and in Old Students' Association	Percentage of married Old Students in 1946 and in Old Students' Association
1907	6 (15)	1	17
1908	13 (15)	4	31
1909	8 (14)	6	75
1910	12 (16)	6	50
1911	12 (17)	7	58
1912	12 (16)	6	50
1913	16 (19)	13	81
1914	11 (20)	6	55
Totals sets 1905-1915, in 1945	105 (154)	55	52

Discussion

When the records for 1946 are considered¹⁵ the total number of married students registered rises from 27 to 55. Old students are now approximately aged between 51-60 years. These later statistics do not cover those old students who have died or dropped out of the association. Therefore set 1908, shows a slight fall in percentage married. The higher marriage rates of earlier sets in 1914 has now been replaced by a varying percentage married for each set. Sets 1912, 1913 and 1914 have risen substantially in percentage married, catching up and surpassing earlier sets. 1907 remains a set dominated by unmarried women.

The percentage of women married from Sets 1905-1914 who are registered as Bedford Old Students is 52% (as opposed to 18% in 1915). Given that married students no longer teaching would be more likely to drop out of the association rather than single working women, it does seem that students delayed marriage for at least a few years after graduation (see later). By the end of their working lives just over half the students had been married.

¹⁵ (B), Bedford Physical Education Report 1945, pp. 23-60.

The Bedford marriage rate in 1946 is higher than the contemporary Liverpool rate of 39% of those registered with their old students' association, from sets 1900-1914 in 1946 (see Appendix 22).

Girton (see Appendix 23) had an overall marriage rate of 14% in 1893. However 39% of the first 41 students were married by then. In 1914 Glasgow University had a marriage rate of 12% for those who had graduated 1894-1914 (see Appendix 23). By 1924 this had risen to 29%. The earlier sets also had a marriage rate much higher than later sets. Sets 1894-1899 had 40% married in 1914, while sets 1910-1914 had less than 1% married in 1914. Therefore it seems that some old students married in later life, gradually increasing the marriage rate for their set towards half of the group.¹⁶

9.4; Employment and Commitment Rates

Part of the college's effect on society, was measured by how much of its output went on to participate in the economic (employment) sphere.¹⁷ Students had attractive career options available to them, though some might voluntarily decide to stay at home, others got married and were thereby excluded by tradition from the work market. A true measure of success for the role of the physical training colleges was more than producing an ideal product. It also included whether that product went into the economic sphere and used its skills to contribute to society's economic output in some form. Determining the employment rate (the commitment of graduates to a working lifestyle) of old students is therefore an important measure of the success of any college.

Analysis 2: Percentage of Bedford Old Students in Employment by Year Group in 1915

Aim

To find out how many old students were in employment in 1915. This will show how many old students were committed to an economically active life-style.

¹⁶ For a detailed look at the societal factors affecting student marriage rates see Appendix 29.

Source

Bedford Physical Training College Students' Association Report 1914. List of Members pp. 14-29. (The report was compiled to March 1915.) This report contains employment details of 149 out of 154 old students, i.e. 96.8% of the total Bedford Old Students trained between the college's opening in 1903, and 1914.

Method

Tabulate data on employment status of old students for each set and convert to percentages. Compare the data; by set, by total students, and by other groups of women.

Results

Table 9c: Employment Rates of Total Number of Old Students Registered in Bedford Physical Education Old Students' Report as a Total and Percentage of Each Set (1905-1914) in 1915

Set	Total Number of Students in Old Students' Association	Number of Employed Old Students	Percentage of Employed Old Students
1905	13	5	39
1906	9	4	44
1907	13	7	54
1908	15	10	67
1909	14	7	50
1910	15	10	67
1911	16	11	69
1912	16	14	88
1913	18	17	94
1914	20	14	70
Total	149	99	66

Discussion

The table shows that the earliest groups to leave college had a lower employment rate than later groups. The four groups with the lowest employment rates are 1905, 1906, 1907 and 1909, and range from one in two old students employed, to barely one in three of

¹⁷ See Appendix 30 for a more detailed look at job prospects for physical training college old students.

the original 1905 set. The more recent sets to graduate have the highest employment rates. Sets 1912 and 1913 average over nine in ten old students employed. The most recently graduated group 1914 (graduated June 1914) had seven in ten old students employed (data collected to March 1915). Assuming this set will achieve a similar percentage employed as sets 1911-1913, it may be that a set takes up to a year or more for everyone to achieve employment. Approximately two in ten members of set 1914 were therefore still looking for work.

Employment rates for each set vary considerably. Later sets have higher rates. This could be due to a more vocational attitude by the students and a more relaxed patriarchal environment, or it could be due to students postponing marriage to pursue careers.

On average six and a half old students out of every ten, from sets 1905-1914 were working between 0 and 9 years after graduating from college. Therefore 51/149 or 34% of the college product was non-productive in 1914. Bedford's rate of 66% of all old students working in 1914 is similar to Anstey data for 1909 where 69% of the old students' association sample were employed (see Appendix 24).¹⁸ This confirms the high commitment of students at this college to a working life style. Chelsea data collected in 1914 gives a lower employment output of 55%, approximately one in two of their graduates (see Appendix 24).

9.5; Unmarried Old Students and Employment in 1914

To examine the true rate of employment or the 'commitment to obtaining work' for those able to do so, the married students must be removed from the figures. The students which are left in the sample are those who could work if they wanted to. The following graph shows the percentage of those who actually were working in 1914.

¹⁸ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine, 1909.

Results

Table 9d: Employment Rates of Unmarried Old Students Registered in Bedford Physical Education Old Students' Report as a Total and Percentage of Each Set (1905-1914) in 1915

Set	Total Number of Students in Old Students' Association	Number of Unmarried Old Students	Number of Employed Old Students	Percentage of Employed and Unmarried Old Students
1905	13	8	5	63
1906	9	6	4	67
1907	13	12	7	58
1908	15	10	10	100
1909	14	10	7	70
1910	15	12	10	83
1911	16	12	11	92
1912	16	15	14	93
1913	18	18	17	94
1914	20	19	14	73
Total	149	122	99	81

Discussion

The percentages of unmarried old students who are available for work and employed are inevitably higher than the figures for the total numbers of students in the previous analysis. In the early sets, 1905-1907 have at least one in two old students in work. Though this still means one in two could work but did not. The 1908 set has a 100% employment rate. Of sets 1911-1913, over nine in ten of those available for work were actually employed. Of the 1914 set, all those not in work were unmarried and probably still looking for work. Early sets therefore have a lower employment commitment rate than later sets. Overall 99/122 or 81% of unmarried old students in the sample were working in 1915.

When married students unable to work are removed from these figures a more accurate employment commitment rate is achieved. For the Bedford sample eight in ten old students available for work were employed. Of the two in ten not working at Bedford, some might have been looking for work, others may have been unable to work, due to incapacity or caring for sick relatives, some might have worked in the past but not now.

Even of those choosing not to work, some would be doing philanthropic work.¹⁹ Anstey matches the Bedford figure with 80% employed (see Appendix 24). Chelsea data shows 66% were working (see Appendix 24).²⁰

Manchester University had a female old student employment commitment rate of 88.6% in 1923 (see Appendix 24).²¹ This may be due to Manchester graduates taking up a wide range of non-teaching careers which did not include retirement of married staff.

Oxbridge college data shows rates of 3.8 to 7.5 in 10 of those *known* to be unmarried and in employment (see Appendix 24). This data suggests that Bedford Physical Training College students were fully committed to work after graduation. Therefore the effect on the patriarchal society and the profession they took up was maximised.

9.6; Occupations

Analysis 3: Occupation Types of Employed Bedford Old Students 1905-1914

Aim

To find out which occupations old students took up. To gain a measure of their 'Commitment Rate' to teaching.

Source

Bedford Physical Training Association Report 1914, list of Members pp. 14-29.

Method

Tabulate data on employment type for old students of each set, convert to percentages and compare data.

¹⁹ A. M. Gordon, 'The After Careers of University Educated Women', *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 38, 1895, p. 959; 'Without doubt, a great deal of unpaid work, done by these ex-students who live at home which it is difficult, indeed impossible, to put into any list . . . literary work . . . philanthropic and charitable undertakings around their homes, . . . these diverse occupations are hardly of a kind to be called a definite career.' This type of work would have been taken up by non-working physical training college old students both married and single.

²⁰ (C), Chelsea Physical Training College Magazine Reports 1911 and 1914.

²¹ J. S. Gibert, *Women at the English Civic Universities Circa 1880-1920*, PhD, University of North Carolina, 1988.

Results

Table 9e: Type of Employment by Year Group in 1915

Set	Teaching	Inspector (Schools)	Private (Sch) Work	Instructress (Education)	Assistant to Teacher	Hospital (Nursing)	Works (Factory Physical T.)	Misc/ Unknown
1905	4		1					
1906	3	1						
1907	5.5*		0.5*					1
1908	8		1			1		
1909	4		1	2				
1910	9				1			
1911	10			1				
1912	10		1				1	2
1913	13		1		2			1
1914	9.5*		0.5*	2	1			1
Total	76	1	6	5	4	1	1	5

* Decimals show part-time split between two occupations.

Discussion

Of all students employed 76.8%, or three out of every four were employed as teachers in secondary schools and colleges. Of the rest; private school work, educational instructors, and assistants, made up a further 15% of employment. Much of this work involved teaching or supervising, in small private educational institutions. Of the remainder; one student was an educational inspector, one worked in a hospital, another taught in a women's club, others taught in a factory. The number of old students known to be in some form of educational work was an extremely high 94%. The bigger and later sets, in particular sets 1912-1914, began to show more variation in employment type, though this remained educational in nature. This may suggest widening occupational opportunities in education. Sets 1912 and 1914 are the only years where employment in secondary school teaching fell below the average three out of four old students engaged in teaching.²²

²² Comparisons with other colleges suggest equally high teaching percentages. See A. M Gordon, 'The After Careers of University Educated Women', pp. 955-957. Derived data for Newnham College suggests 56% of *all* students took up teaching (this figure is artificially low due to the data containing a number of students whose occupational status was unknown. Eighty-six per cent of occupations stated are in teaching). The percentage of those employed in teaching is very high. Ninety-six per cent of old students whose occupations

Comparison with data available for Chelsea (see Appendix 25) for 1916, again shows that school teaching dominated the employment of old students. However the figure is not quite as high as at Bedford, with 63% of Chelsea Old Students employed in school and college teaching (a total of 87% were in some form of educational employment). This may be due to the effects of the war with 13% employed in medical and army work (nursing, massage, physiotherapy).

Table 9f: Percentage of Bedford Old Students Employed in Teaching in 1915

Set	% Employed in Teaching
1905	80
1906	75
1907	92
1908	80
1909	57
1910	90
1911	91
1912	71
1913	77
1914	73
Average	77

The percentage of old students involved in teaching remains high for each set. At least seven out of ten old students for every set, except 1909, were involved in teaching in secondary schools and colleges.²³ In all 77% of old students graduating from Bedford College 1905-1914 and at work, were involved in secondary level teaching in 1915. This suggests a high commitment rate to teaching. It also reflects the lack of opportunity to work in other sectors of the economy. The Physical training college output was therefore

are listed in the data were teaching (374 old students). Five old students went into medicine, two into missionary work, One into market gardening and an indeterminate number into secretarial.

The other Oxford and Cambridge colleges produce similar results; most working students are in education, with a few doctors, nurses, government employees and miscellaneous. Girton has 91% of all working old students teaching, Somerville 97% and Holloway 95%. Alexandra College (Dublin) has 95% of all working old students in education. Glasgow University old students 1894-1914 had more diverse careers; 49.7% of all old students went into teaching, a sizeable 14.4% into medicine, 5.8% to further study. Other occupations listed include; metallurgist, HMI inspector, missionary, chemist, foreign Correspondent and secretary. Quoted in S. Hamilton, *Women and the Scottish Universities Circa 1869-1920*, PhD, University of North Carolina, 1988, p. 395.

²³ See Appendix 28 for a breakdown of individual students' experiences.

largely a secondary sector teacher one. Given the qualifications and the overwhelming comments in old student reports on physical education, almost all of this teaching involved work or part-work in physical training.²⁴

Analysis 4: To Find the Geographic Distribution of Employed Bedford Old Students in 1915

Aim

To Determine Whether Bedford College Was a National or Regional Institution During Its Early Phase to 1914. To Compare This data With Other Institutions. A high committed old student employment rate would have had limited effect if the college was a regional rather than a national influence. Large areas of the country could be devoid of old student influence and work. Therefore the college could have only local or pockets of influence. This analysis will examine the extent of college influence across the country.

Source

Bedford Physical Training College Report 1914. List of Members pp. 14-29.

Method

Tabulate regional locations of places of employment of old students in 1915, and compare with other institutions data.

²⁴ A description of a typical physical training teacher's career is given in E. J. Morley, Women Workers in Seven Professions, p. 62; 'After the course of training the gymnastic teacher usually takes a post in a school, and having had a few years' experience, may then become an organiser or inspector to an education committee, a trainer in an elementary training college or physical training college, the head of the gymnastic department of a school clinic, or she may prefer to start a private practice, holding classes, treating cases of deformity, and also acting as visiting gymnastic teacher or games-coach to schools in the neighbourhood.'

Results

Table 9g: Total and Percentage of Bedford Old Students Employed in Each Region in 1915

Location	Total Old Students	Percentage
London	26	27
South & E. Anglia	8	8
West Country	8	8
Midlands	14	14
Lancs. /Yorks.	17	17
N. East	10	10
Scotland	9	9
Abroad	7	7
Total	99	100

Discussion

27%, nearly three in ten Bedford Old Students who were employed, were working in London. A fairly large grouping of 17% were working in the central Lancashire and Yorkshire conurbations. Wales, Southern England, East Anglia, and North West of Birmingham were poorly represented. This may have been due to regional competition from Anstey near Birmingham and Dartford and Chelsea in Southern England. It is clear that some areas were offering more work in physical education than others. The Bedfordshire region offered few opportunities for work at this time. A small proportion of old students, 7%, were working abroad mainly in South Africa. Though specialising in the London area to some extent (where Madame had increased the profile of physical education amongst schools in her pre-college career), Bedford was still sending out students across the country. This meant that a nation-wide development was taking place in physical training. Bedford's form of national distribution of its old students compares with the more regional specialisation of Chelsea Old Students.

Table 9h: Total and Percentage of Chelsea Old Students 1898-1916 Employed in Each Region in 1917

Location	Total Old Students	Percentage
London	31	40

Location	Total Old Students	Percentage
South & E. Anglia	19	25
West Country	7	9
Midlands	5	6
Lancashire/Yorkshire	5	6
Scotland	2	3
Abroad	6	8
Durham/Cumbria	2	3
Total	77	100

Conclusion

The sample of 77 Chelsea Old Students taken from 1917 information, reveals a regional bias in the distribution pattern of employed old students. 65% of old students who were members of the old students' association in 1917 were working in London, the South or East Anglia (compared to 35% of Bedford Old Students in 1915). Chelsea, being situated in London, had an advantage placing students in employment within the conurbation. Less than three in ten old students were employed in other areas of Britain. Like Bedford, a small number of old students (8%) were employed abroad; four of the six were in Canada. This local regional specialisation pattern is seen in other forms of teacher training institutions such as Edge Hill Teacher Training College, which has a particularly high regional specialisation pattern (see Appendix 26).

9.7; The Old Student Experience: A Summary

Bedford data shows a steady rise in old students married as time went by. This rate was similar to other non physical training college results, and similar to the experience of middle-class women in general. Job prospects were good for physical training college old students throughout the period. The evidence shows that old students took full advantage of this opportunity to find employment. The 'marriage bar' certainly had an effect, dragging down old student employment rates. Despite this, the old students showed a high 'commitment rate' to employment and indeed went out to work in higher proportions than university college graduates of the same period. Therefore physical training college old students were highly vocational in nature. Of those employed, nearly all were in education and in particular, teaching physical education. Although Bedford Old Students have

provided much of the data, supporting evidence from the other physical training colleges suggest that they mirrored the Bedford-based results though perhaps in some cases not to the same high extent). Overall the physical training colleges were therefore producing a committed, specialist, physical education teacher, output.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1; General Conclusions

This dissertation has used student-centred analysis to go beyond the previous principal-centred work to consider the student experience of Victorian and Edwardian physical training colleges. The concept of matri-patriarchy has allowed a close examination of the unique female culture contained within these institutions. The model provided ideas to analyse women's control over other women. This has allowed new interpretations of the workings involved in such hierarchical relationships. The results have produced a profile of student experience which has enhanced knowledge of the values, perceptions and experiences of young Victorian and Edwardian women who formed the college communities of the period. The Matri-patriarchal concept has given a more varied and optimistic picture of women's experiences than has been obtained from studies of patriarchal control over women.

The college has been examined as a female controlled community within the context of an outside patriarchal society. The exceptional and typical, the group and individual, have been examined to put female college culture within its wider social and cultural context. Each college has been compared to the others. This has shown the differences in cultural experience available at each institution.

The economics involved in running the colleges dictated the type of student entry. Fees were affordable by middle-class students only. Gender and political factors led to compromises between lady-like and feminine behaviour (acceptable to a society keen to relate the role of women to superiority of race and empire) and the changing perceptions of the role of women in society.

This dissertation has shown that the colleges did not exist in isolation from society, they adapted the concept of the type of women society wanted rather than break with society's norms.

10.2; Female Culture in Physical Training Colleges 1885-1918: An Empowering Experience?

The pre-college girls lived in a patriarchal society where they had inferior status and were subject to control and restriction. For these girls to seek entry to higher education and physical training they needed a combination of personality and background characteristics. These characteristics added up to give a form of discretion and independence of action which was needed to gain access to college training.

The pre-college candidates almost exclusively came from a sub-group of the middle-class, the professional class. This class tended to give parental support to daughters wishing to earn a living. It also provided a guarantor of acceptable breeding and behaviour demanded by the colleges and their principals.

These future students had a diversified education ranging from governess to high school training. Many students had a combination of educational institutional experience. Secondary education had developed an 'expectation' amongst these girls that they would not stay at home but 'could' go onto further training and employment. Success at being educated had shown the pre-college girl that disempowering theories of 'Social Darwinism and 'Vital Energy' were wrong. It was possible to gain access to life-styles other than the 'cult of true womanhood' and the 'angel in the house.' These girls had access to ideas and training incompatible with patriarchal society's 'domestic ideology' for women.

Girls from high schools had experienced education involving serious sports play. Other students however lacked experience in at least some games. Some had training which fell below the standards expected by the colleges but this was not a barrier to entry. Sport was considered by patriarchal society to be the domain of men. Most middle-class women in society therefore had little or no access to sport. Those pre-college girls with experience of games and gym work had started on the road to physical and psychological emancipation. They already had an altered view of acceptable femininity, as opposed to women with no sporting experience.

The main factor affecting choice of a physical training career was the character of the students. They were pioneers by nature, and remained so for much of the period under study. They were able to defy and overcome obstacles in the way of their training. To do this successfully they were already proto-empowered by their childhood experiences.

Proto-empowerment allowed them to seek liberation from patriarchal constraints and gave them access to training and the public (employment) sector of society. They were able to use their characteristics to take advantage of a society in which the role of women was in flux. Democratic rights and liberties of women were being questioned. Jobs for women were increasing at a time when middle-class unmarried daughters were becoming financially insupportable. The expansion, first of the secondary sector and then of higher education, opened up horizons for some young women. It was proto-empowered young women who were able to take advantage of such conditions first.

The colleges were institutions set up by women for women. They operated more or less on the same structure as the bourgeois family. This involved a hierarchical pyramid based upon inequality and patriarchal structures. The principal interpreted this structure in a particularly feminine way, known here as a matri-patriarchy. There was never likely to be a truly egalitarian, more maternalistic set up, due to lack of role models in Victorian and Edwardian society. Within this hierarchical pyramid structure, students were to varying extents dominated and disciplined. Staff directed students to achieve high standards with varying use of 'power over'. This was a harsh moulding process which paradoxically led to eventual empowerment for successful students. Those who survived the process gained the opportunity to pursue active and independent lives if they so wished.

The moulding process attempted to create a 'norm' - a high quality product characterised by a hard working, morally upstanding, feminine, professionally trained physical educator, who was acceptable to patriarchal society. This was a modification, rather than an alternative to the respectable model of the Victorian and Edwardian lady. When weakness and shortcomings were exposed by the process, this could lead to rejection and denial of future empowerment to the student who could be 'sent down' from college. For the student to survive the moulding process at college they needed to draw heavily on their proto-empowerment. This involved having the character to cope mentally as well as physically with the college demands.

The means were deemed to justify the ends at physical training colleges and not just by the staff and principals. Moulding altered students' perceptions and expectations. The moulding process changed proto-empowered girls into empowered young women who expected more from life and had greater control over their futures.

The principals and staff varied to some extent in their use of 'power over.' Some principals were thought at times to be cruel, oppressive, and dictatorial. All seemed to employ 'power over' in some extent as the driving force of the college moulding process. There is no doubt that those who survived the process and successfully passed the college course were empowered by a choice of alternatives for their future lives. Not all passed however and some were 'sent down' and did not achieve this ultimate goal.

Students who arrived at college sometimes found the environment to be very different from any of their previous experiences. Those who had been to boarding schools were perhaps better prepared. They at least had a 'presenting culture' of experiences which mirrored most closely the life they were about to lead. They had previously been expected to behave in a way not dissimilar to the 'norm' expected at college. They made less mistakes and were less likely to be recipients of specific acts of 'power over.' Being accepted into organisational membership made the moulding process, future success, and empowerment, that much easier to obtain.

The colleges were residential institutions and provided a substitute home for the students. Each college had a diverse environment with differing character, site, and resources. Students gained positive and negative experiences from each one.

Each student had a bedroom, either single or shared. Within their rooms students had access to a sub-culture of equality. Room-mates provided comfort, sympathy and camaraderie, the extent dependant on their compatibility. The room itself provided a space where the student could find time for privacy, socialisation, and self-development, on a far greater scale than what was available within the middle-class home. These wider horizons provided greater expressions of both femininity, and individuality.

The warden system provided encroachment and containment of student activity. This occurred through free entry of staff into student rooms, and supporting rules and regulations. The aim was to control 'feminine behaviour' within the principal's chosen norms. Residential experience in the college widened students' horizons, despite being based on middle-class home values approved by patriarchal society.

Meal times were attended by the entire student body. They were the central focus of the residential day. Here aspects of socialisation and social control were intensified. Meals were used to provide lessons in social graces, like good manners and conversation.

They were a time not just for calorific intake but for cultural training. Colleges were not only interested in producing physical training educators, they aimed to produce the 'all-round woman.' The dining room was just as much a place for learning as any class room.

Student inter-relationships were limited by the busy timetable. The student Set (yearly intake) brought companionship with those of other backgrounds and experience. Students showed towards each other: camaraderie, support, co-operation, goodwill, and loyalty. They proved that all-female communities could work together and prosper. There were some negative aspects; the community was isolated and insular. Some enjoyed such a life more than others. Overall the community experience was important whether it was liked or disliked, as it gave opportunities for individual social development, new reference groups, and the opportunity at least to accept and be accepted by others of a similar rank.

Though Year Sets were egalitarian in nature, students were divided hierarchically into seniors and juniors. The seniors had higher status, power, and influence over the juniors. This gave seniors access to empowerment through higher self-esteem.

Seniors at the more liberal colleges concentrated on acting as guides and friends, exhibiting of 'power to.' In the more conservative colleges, seniors were more aloof and concentrated on controlling juniors through acts of 'power over.' The 'mothering system' provided an official capacity to guide/control the junior until her 'presenting culture' matched the 'norm' expected of the ideal student. The 'mother' therefore played an important role in helping the junior student to be successful at college in her first year. This led to her becoming an empowered senior thereafter.

Senior students therefore had access to roles and behaviours which increased their self-esteem and feelings of becoming empowered. Colleges which encouraged seniors to be aloof and demand very high standards made the juniors' path to empowerment harder, though achievement of these higher standards may have led to greater feelings of final empowerment at the completion of the course. Colleges which encouraged guidance, and forms of 'power to,' made the juniors' progress to empowerment easier.

The students experienced a 'familistic environment' where staff were in *loco parentis*. Colleges were decorated in a similar fashion to the middle-class home (environmental familism). The colleges therefore had the advantage of providing some similarity with home life but with an empowering and stimulating 'activity environment'

amongst talented young women committed to physical training. The type of familistic experience changed throughout the period 1885-1918. Early colleges with limited numbers of students provided an environment easily related to the homes they came from (home familism.) Later years with an influx of students provided a more 'corporate' form of familism. This exhibited more impersonality and forms of institutional control. Student experience was therefore changing throughout this time, but always remained challenging and ultimately rewarding.

Extra-curricular and leisure activities acted against the insularity of college life. Debates involved radical ideas being argued and discussed. Through this process the students widened their horizons. This social and cultural learning process involved students considering new perspectives, taking sides, and articulating ideas effectively. The range of knowledge and beliefs which resulted might be just as much against patriarchal society's beliefs as for them. Therefore college did input a radical element into student character training, though perhaps to a limited extent.

Leisure events such as plays and parties were more conservative in nature. Social events encouraged group solidarity and cohesion but were often divided by hierarchical boundaries between senior and junior students. College social events are remembered as part of the 'good life' of college experience. They certainly encouraged community, character development, and pleasure.

Students undertook a testing course both theoretical and practical. A wide range of subjects were taken and skills learnt. Sporting activity included the aesthetically pleasing, feminine, Swedish gymnastics (German gymnastics was considered by some principals to be to masculine). Archery, fencing and more active sports such as cricket and hockey, were integral parts of the course.

High standards of participation were demanded. Students had to combine lady-like behaviour with competitiveness. Physical fitness was related to moral rectitude. Students gained empowering experiences from camaraderie, bonding, and basic fun, from sports play. They also had to learn to control feelings of jealousy and rivalry from inter-student competition for team places.

Teaching practice developed personal character. Students from sheltered middle-class backgrounds found themselves dealing with discipline and poor conditions in

working-class schools. Some had to manage adult, working-class women in the women's clubs. The students quickly had to develop personal characteristics of confidence, conviction, and vigour, while displaying feminine characteristics of deportment, and appropriate language. They had to continuously find the energy to cope with such a demanding environment. This was in addition to developing essential teaching skills, which were severely tested within college as well in the schools.

When students ventured out of the college matri-patriarchal boundary to visit schools they gained independence of action. Identified by their uniforms, they balanced feminine demeanour with professional training and became ambassadors of their college.

As students progressed through the course more subjects were passed, more skills learnt and more self-esteem gained. The college diploma certificate provided final, written proof of the students' empowerment. The successful students who completed their course had a number of options open to them; go back in to the home, get married, have a career, or work for a time then get married. Only a minority chose marriage, and of these, many went to work for a time before getting married. Students who had acquired their newly empowered status were loathe to give it up. The 'marriage bar' in teaching meant a price had to be paid for marriage - economic freedom. The majority chose to keep their empowered status.

The old students showed a high 'commitment rate' to teaching. They had good prospects, with an income which maintained their middle-class status. It was not long before most areas of the British Isles and some places abroad had networks of physical training specialists. These professional women provided examples of self-empowerment to young girls, some of whom went on to emulate their teachers.

College professional associations were formed to 'forward the cause' of the old students. These elite, all-female associations, provided a link between college and profession. The associations gave an effective 'collective empowerment' to influence on a professional and national scale.

Many students had long and successful careers and some reached the peaks of their profession. College graduates did this through having achieved a state of 'empowerment from within.' Physical training college experience was at the heart of their success. Most students never forgot this, keeping in touch with student friends, and college staff. They

tried to emulate the high standards they had seen at college. These women used the gift of empowerment to empower other women across Britain and the World.

Appendix 1: Types of Educational Institutions Attended by Dartford Students

Aim

The 'Student Register' booklet, provides an insight into the academic background of the 'typical' Dartford student¹ during the key 'expansion period' of the college. It provides information on whether there was a typical educational background of Dartford students, or whether there were different educational routes into the college. The type of education institutions² experienced by Dartford students is examined by set and by individual student. The relative importance of each type of institution in the education of the students will be analysed and commented on.

Source

Student Register 1900-1914 (Student Sets 1901-1906 and 1912-13 are covered; 1907-11 and 1914 are missing). The book was compiled in Madame's handwriting throughout. The information is unique in that it provides time-series data on the students and in particular, includes educational history, exam certificates obtained, types of school, and years spent at school.

Method

The student population was used for tabulating information on school type and certificates. In 1912 Madame haphazardly included information on the number of years each student spent at various educational establishments. This has reduced the accuracy of the analysis for this year. 1913 data was not detailed enough to use. The information for each set was tabulated to allow inter-set comparisons, and to see if trends could be ascertained over the period in question. The information on each set was divided into individual student experience by examining those who had been trained by governess, high school, private school, college, etc. This allowed an interpretation of the heterogeneity of student experience, which was not evident amongst group analysis. The time-series data lent itself readily to statistical interpretation. Averages allowed trends in years spent at school to be examined. Percentages showed if some types of educational institution were increasing or decreasing in importance for the students. Graphs are used to allow clear summaries and comparisons of data.

¹ This work will show that there is no 'typical' Dartford Student.

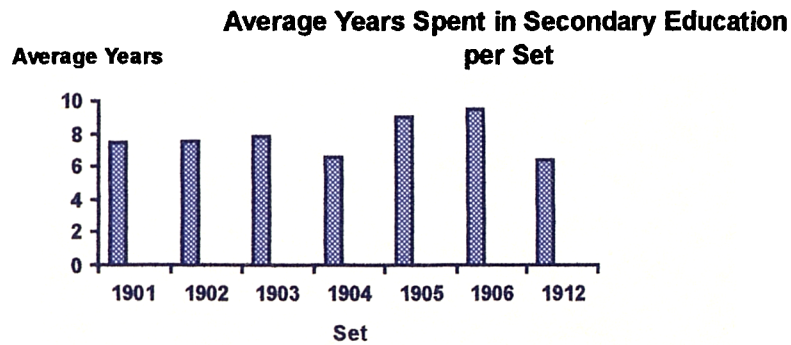
² The main types of educational institutions available at this time were: Private schools, run by gentlewomen in need of an income. These women usually had few academic qualifications and no training. Public schools, these could be divided into High schools, further divided into the Girls Public Day School Company, founded in 1872 and the Church School Company responsible for Anglican high schools. Grammar schools had been established by the Endowed School Act in 1869 which took endowments from the boys grammars to the girls. Municipal secondary schools also appear in this section. Colleges like Cheltenham were highly selective and funded by the issue of shares to chosen individuals. All charged fees. Undesignated types of public schools are considered under the title 'public school' in this study.

Results

Table 1: Average Years Spent in Secondary Educational Institutions by Dartford Students in Sets 1901-1906 and 1912

Set	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1912
Average Years	7.5	7.6	7.8	6.6	9	9.5	6.4

Graph 1

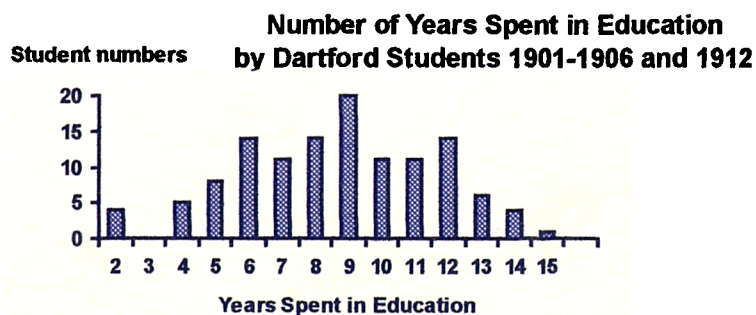


The information obtained shows a rise from an average 7.5 years - 9.5 years spent in education per student from 1901-1906. However average years spent in education actually fell in the 1904 Set to 6.6 years. The overall increase was not maintained in 1912 where the time spent in education was actually lower, at 6.4 years, than any other year.

Table 2: Total number of Years Spent in Education by Dartford Students 1901-1906 and 1912

Years in Education	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Number of Students	4	0	5	8	14	11	14	20	11	11	14	6	4	1

Graph 2

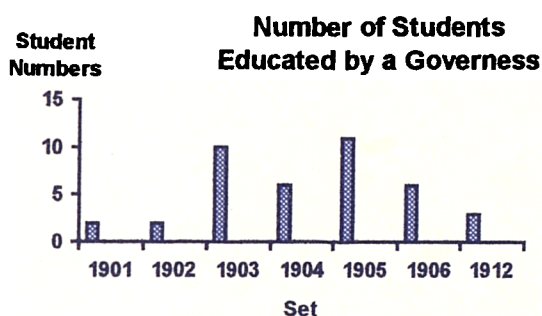


It can be seen that in rare cases two years of secondary education was enough to satisfy college entry requirements. However most students had between four and fourteen years of education, with nine years being the most common. The data shows that individual students had widely differing experiences of 'time spent in education.' The time may be increased if students underwent kindergarten education, which may have not been included in Madame's notes. It appears that years spent in education above or below the average were not an important variable in obtaining entry to Dartford.

Table 3: Number and Percentage of Students Taught by a Governess per Set

Set	901	902	903	904	905	906	912
Number of Students		2	0		1		
Percentage of Students	1	3	6	2	1	1	

Graph 3



This information shows the number of students in each set who had some experience of being educated by a governess. Some students were partly educated by a governess, usually in their early years. Madame notes 'governess till 10,' 'governess till 12 years,' 'governess till 14,' and 'governess till 17.' Many students then went on to a more formal institution for the rest of their education. Only four students were entirely governess educated (three of these in Set 1912). Sets 1903 and 1905 had the highest numbers of students who were part- governess educated, with 10 and 11 students respectively. Sets 1901 and 1902 had the lowest, with two students each. In all, 40 students out of 165, some 25%³ had experience of being educated by a governess. The peak Sets of 1903 and 1905 had over four out of ten students with governess experience. Yet there is no trend, as Sets 1901 and 1912 only had one in ten so trained.

Dartford candidates were accepted who had been home taught for significant periods of time by a governess. One in four Dartford students during this period had a significant governess input into their education. This had not affected their success in gaining entry at the expense of others more formally trained. This gives an important new

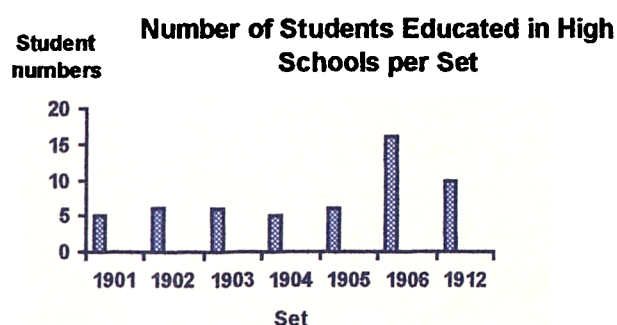
³ Given the relatively low number of students covered by the sample, percentages could be affected considerably by low changes in student numbers. However they will be used throughout this work where results give a consistent and clear picture of the situations involved.

aspect on the role of the governess in Edwardian education. Researchers often play down the academic role of the governess, describing them as poorly trained and providing a useless education. The evidence here points to governesses playing an important part in the education of Dartford physical training students during this period.

Table 4: Number and Percentage of Students Educated in High Schools per Set

Set	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1912
No. of Students	5	6	6	5	6	16	10
% of Students	26	40	27	26	22	57	29

Graph 4

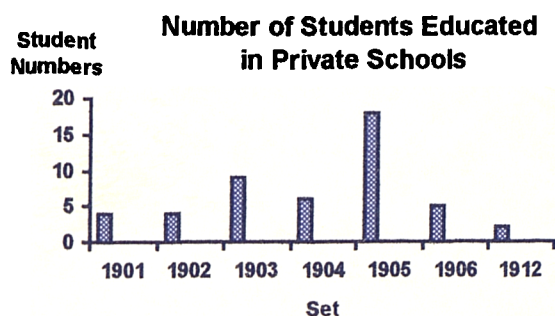


High School numbers also show little sign of a positive rise or fall. There is a leap from six students in 1905 to 16 in 1906, but six years later numbers are down to ten students. Though second largest in numbers, this figure fails to match the numbers in 1906. It may suggest that High Schools were having some increasing influence on physical training student education, as time went by. The percentage of each Set with High School background also fluctuates, rising, falling, rising, and falling again. Sets 1901, 1903, 1904, and 1905 have nearly one in four students with some experience of High School education, while 1906 peaks at a large one in two (57%) with such experience. The overall average for the period under analysis is 32%, nearly one in three.

Table 5: Number and Percentage of Students Educated in Private Schools

Set	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1912
No. of Students	4	4	9	6	18	5	2
% of Students	21	27	41	32	67	18	6

Graph 5

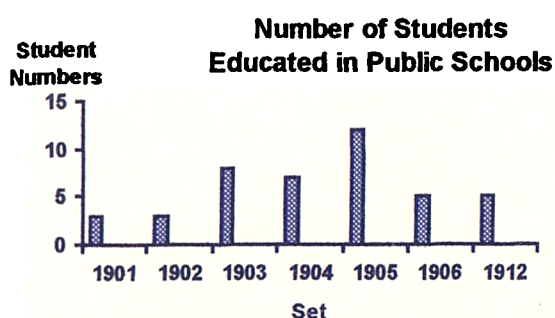


There is a rise in numbers of private school students, followed by a fall. Peaking at 18 students in Set 1905, numbers fall rapidly next year to five, and later in 1912 only two students have an experience of private school education. The percentage of students with a Private School education rises from 21%, or one in five, in 1901, to peak at a very large 67% in 1905. The percentage dropped considerably in the 1906 set to 18% and was an insignificant 6% in 1912. Perhaps this shows a decline in importance of this type of institution. On average during this period 30%, nearly one in three students, had been to a private school at some stage of their education.

Table 6: Number and Percentage of Students Educated in Public Schools

Set	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1912
No. of Students	3	3	8	7	12	5	5
% of Students	16	20	36	37	44	18	14

Graph 6

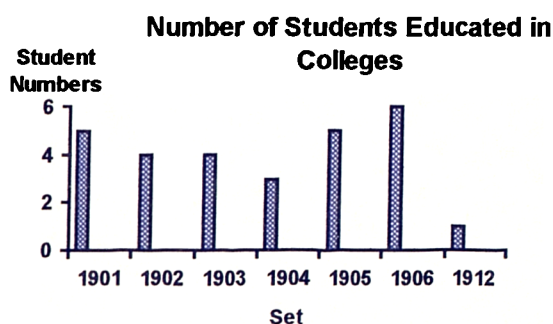


Student numbers rose and then fell during the period, reaching a high of 12 students (44%) in 1905. Otherwise the figures ranged between 14% and 37% of the Sets. Later data from the 1920s and 30s outside the scope of this work, suggest a steady future input from these establishments into physical training colleges. Therefore the decline suggested by the limited data available for 1906 and 1912 is temporary.

Table 7: Number and Percentage of Students Educated in Colleges

Set	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1912
No. of Students	5	4	4	3	5	6	1
% of Students	26	27	18	16	19	21	3

Graph 7

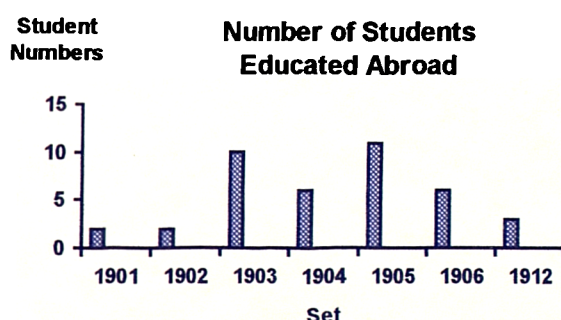


These figures include the 'elite' colleges of Cheltenham and Wycombe Abbey from which a couple of candidates came, as well as lesser known colleges. The figures remain steady between 16% and 27% in 1901-1906, though only one student (3%) came from a college in 1912.

Table 8: Number and Percentage of Students Educated Abroad

Set	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1912
No. of Students	4	0	3	4	2	3	2
% of Students	21	0	14	21	7	18	6

Graph 8



A small, but significant number of students had experience of education abroad. Five students came from Sweden (possibly due to Madame's name and influence) and had been educated exclusively there. Eleven students had experience of being educated abroad at finishing schools. Only set 1902 had no students with experience of continental

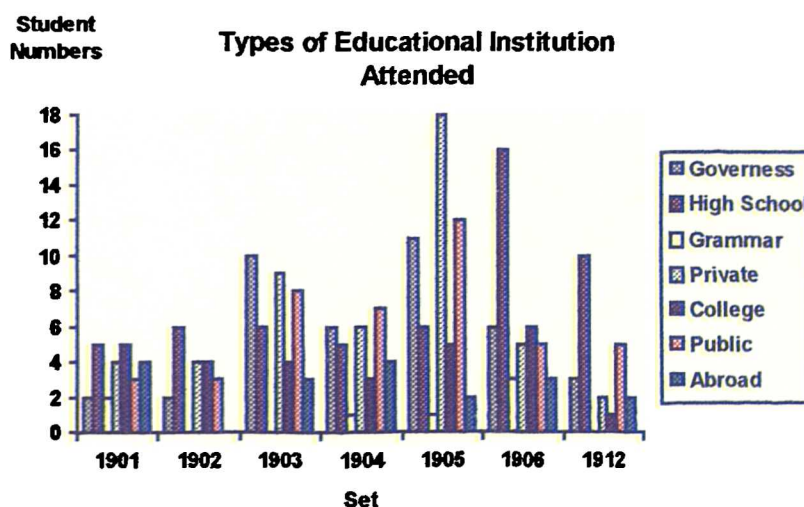
education. Sets 1901 and 1904 had four students each with such experience. Most stays abroad were only for a year or so. The average percentage of students with experience abroad during the period under study was 12%, or nearly one in ten. Nevertheless it gave a taste of continental experience to most of the sets.

Table 9: Numbers of Students Attending Types of Educational Institutions

Set	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1912
Governess	2	2	10	6	11	6	3
High School	5	6	6	5	6	16	10
Grammar School	2	0	0	1	1	3	0
Private School	4	4	9	6	18	5	2
College	5	4	4	3	5	6	1
Public School	3	3	8	7	12	5	5
Abroad	4	0	3	4	2	3	2

This table shows at a glance the number of secondary institutions attended by students of each set. This includes students who had experience of more than one institution.

Graph 9



The data includes grammar schools and colleges which were fewer in number than the other forms of institution studied.

Each set was composed of students with a wide range of secondary school institutional background. Each set was characterised by its own educational background. (The data is now examined to show the importance of each institution for each set, in other words by ranking each institution type by the number of students who had experience of such an institution.) Dartford students therefore had a mixed educational institution background.

Table 10: Order of Importance of Each Type of Educational Institution For Each Set

	Rank Order of Institution Types by Numbers of Students Educated in Each Set							
Institution	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1912	Total
High Schools	1	1	4	4	3	1	1	15
Governess	6	5	1	2	1	2	3	20
Private	3	3	2	2	3	4	4	21
Public	5	5	3	1	2	4	4	24
Colleges	1	2	5	6	6	2	6	28
Abroad	3	3	6	5	5	6	4	32
Grammar	6	7	7	7	7	6	7	47

It can be seen that High School experience was the most common in four out of seven sets (1901, 1902, 1906, 1912). Colleges and Grammar Schools, fewer in number, appear well down the list of importance.

By adding up the rank order of student experience of each type of institution, we get an order of importance for each institution's influence on the background education of Dartford Physical Training College students. High schools rank first, followed by governess, and private schools. Colleges, abroad, and grammar schools have the least effect.

Appendix 2: The School Environment Experienced by Dartford Students

Aims

To examine the specific educational background of the group of students who attended public sector schools (high schools, colleges, grammars and public schools). This gives an insight into the type of academic environment the girls at Dartford college came from. In many cases this educational experience occurred immediately prior to their entry to Dartford. The educational environments the students had previously trained in give information on the qualities and character of the students.

Source

The 'Student Register 1900-1914' lists names of schools attended by Dartford Students. Forty-two of these schools are contained in the Girls School Year Book (Public Schools) 1911¹ These are High Schools, Colleges, Grammar, and Public Schools. Information includes: mottoes, founding date, size, age range, fees, sporting facilities, examinations passed, games played, staff lists, and any other subject the principal wished to address.

Method

The Year Book was searched for reference to educational institutions mentioned in the 'Student Register' lists. Information included mottoes, founding date, size, age range, fees, sporting facilities, examinations passed, games played, and staff lists. They provide a contemporary look at the institutions the Dartford students were in during their formative years. Information was then extracted under these key headings, and then tabulated in the tables for clarity. An interpretation could then be made of student experience at these institutions, and conclusions drawn on how this may have helped them gain access to the college.

Results

Table 1: Showing General Characteristics of 42 Public Schools Experienced by Some Dartford Students in Sets 1901-1906 and 1912-1913 (Summarised from Girls School Year Book 1911)

Name	Motto	Founded	School Size	Age Range	Fees per annum
Haberdashers' Aske's Acton School			500	8-19	£11-0-2d
Bath High School	Vincit Veritas	1875	150		£18-15-0d
Royal School for Daughters of Officers, Bath.	The Lord Giveth Wisdom	1864	120	10-18	Board £80
Bedford High School		1556	430		Board 65 Guineas
Bedford Modern School				7-18	Board £50-8-0d
Birkenhead High School		1901			£18-15-0d
Edgbaston High School	Fideliter, Fortiter, Feliciter				£22-1-0d
Bolton High School	Let knowledge grow from more to more, But more of reverence in us dwell!		150		13. 5 Guineas

¹ Girls School Year Book (Public Schools) 1911 (London, 1911).

Name	Motto	Founded	School Size	Age Range	Fees per annum
Bradford Girls' Grammar School		1875	401		£16-10-0d
Redland High School	So hateth she darkness	1882	270	4-19	£17-5-6d Board 41 Guineas
Bury Grammar School	Sactus Clavis Fores Aperit	1884	207		£9-9-0d
Cheltenham Ladies' College.		1854	650 + 400 bye- students	3-19	
Clapham High School.	Sursum Corda	1882	538		£21. Board 60 Guineas
Croydon High School		1872	320	4-19	£18-15-0d
Exeter High School	Fest Und Treu	1877	163		Board £50
Liverpool High School	Sine Labe Decus	1880			£26-14-0d. Board £50-8-0d
East Liverpool High School	Quaecunque, Sunt, Vera, Haec, Cogitate	1891			£17-5-0d
Francis Holland Church of England School	That our daughters may be as the polished corners of the temple		125 + 25 Bye		£28-7-0d
Blackheath High School		1880	400		£19-10-0d
North London Collegiate School	We Work in Hope	1875	392	8-19	Board £66
City of London School For Girls					£12-12-0d
Dulwich High School		1878	180		£18-15-0d
South Hampstead High School	Mehr Lidt	1876			£18-15-0d
Highbury and Islington High School	Aymez Loyaite Highbury	1875			£18-15-0d
Stroud Green and Hornsey High School					£9-9-0d
Queen Elisabeth Grammar for Girls	Labor Omnia Vincit	1885	200	4-19	£27-0-0d
Norwich High School		1875			£20-5-0d. Board £50
Nottingham High School		1875	260		£17-5-0d. Board available
Sandecotes School Parkstone	Dilige, Disce, Doce		80		Board £100
Reigate High School		1889	81		15 Guineas.
Rochester Grammar School for Girls	Sub Umbra Alarum Tuarum		240		£9-18-0d. Board £40
Godolphin School, Salisbury	Franc Ha Leal Eto Ge'.	1886			£18-18-0d. Board £70
Sheffield High School	Help One Another	1878	330		£20-5-0d
Sherborne School for Girls, Dorset		1899			£25-4-0d
Shrewsbury High School		1885			£18-15-0d
St Felix School, (Southwold)		1897	100		£28-7-0d. Board £35
Sunderland High School	Timor Domini Principium Sapientiae	1884			15 Guineas. Board £60
Tunbridge Wells High School	The Aim, if reached or not, makes great life	1883			£20-5-0d. Board £52-10-0d
Wakefield Endowed High School	Each for all and all for God				£12-12-0d. Board £37
Wallasey High School for Girls			250		
Winchester High School	Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might	1884.	166		£20-9-6d. Board 80 Guineas
Wycombe Abbey School, Bucks	In Fide Vade	1896	200	13-19	Board £40

Table 2: Showing Academic and Sporting Characteristics of 42 Public Schools Experienced by Some Dartford Students in Sets 1901-1906 and 1912-1913 (Summarised from Girls School Year Book 1911)

Name	Facilities	P. E. Teacher and college where known	Exams Passed *	Games played	Summary Information
Haberdashers' Aske's Acton School	Gymnasium, Tennis-courts, Asphalt Playing-ground	Feesey (Dartford 96)	L. U. M. - 13. L. U. J. S. E. - 33 Certs. - 54 Dist.		'Games are actively encouraged'
Bath High School	Gymnasium, Playing-field	Turner-Smith (Dartford 07)	O. C. J. B. H. C. -3. L. U. M. -2. R. A. M. -4.		
Royal School for Daughters of Officers, Bath.			Forms take either public exams or technical subjects.	Hockey, Tennis, Cricket, Netball, Badminton.	'to provide at the lowest cost a good practical and religious education for the daughters of all officers who are serving or who have served'
Bedford High School	8 acre playing-field	M. Stansfeld (Dartford 86)	Oxford Sch. -1. L. U. BA. -2. C. H. L. 33, O. S. L. - 32. R. A. M. - 29. R. D. S. - 107 hons - 123 Pass.	Hockey, Cricket, Croquet, Lawn-Tennis.	'If required girls can be prepared for the B. A. and Inter BSc. of the London University'
Bedford Modern School	Field for Sports		O. L. -35. R. D. S. - 31hons - 75 pass.	Hockey, Cricket, Tennis, Netball.	'Pupils play under the supervision of mistresses'
Birkenhead High School	4 Tennis-courts	F. L. Stansfeld (Dartford 88)	O. S. L. -5. R. D. S. -26 hons - 43 pass. N. F. U. - 2.	Hockey, Lawn-Tennis, etc.	In Cheshire Public Schools Hockey League and Liverpool and District Public Schools Lawn Tennis Championship
Edgbaston High School	Gymnasium, School-field	K. Scott (Bedford 07)	Matric's - Bryn Mawr, Birmingham, Girton, Somerville. O. C. J. B. Letters - 3. C. Prev. -9, C. H. L. G. -6. R. D. S. -58 hons-75 pass. R. A. M. -9.	Hockey, Cricket, Lacrosse, Tennis, Rounders.	'Physical Exercises in the gymnasium under the direction of a special teacher are a regular part of morning school...matches are played with other schools.' Boarding house, 'Special attention is paid to the health and physical development of the girls, and each girl has a separate cubicle'
Bolton High School	Play-ground		O. C. J. B. H. -9, R. D. S. 28hons - 63 pass, R. A. M. -8	Lawn-Tennis, Badminton, Basketball, Rounders, Drill.	
Bradford Girls' Grammar School	Gymnasium. Use of Boys Grammar Playing-field. Asphalt Tennis-Court, 3 Grass-Courts, Netball Court, Play-ground	M. Tonken	O. C. J. B. H-15, Letters - 10, O. C. L. -7, Letters - 14. C. H. E. - 2. L. U. M. - 10, R. A. M. - 5 R. D. S. 50hons - 58pass.	Tennis, Netball, Hockey.	
Redland High School		M. Still (Bedford 06)	O. C. J. B. H. -9, Letters - 9. R. D. S. 30 - 69. Univ Schols. -5 L. U. M. - 1, R. A. M. -1.		'a public school education of the highest class, fitting the pupils for home life, for professional life, or for the universities.' 'there is a boarding house attached to the school; it is organised on the same principle as that which prevails in the large public school for boys'

Name	Facilities	P. E. Teacher and college where known	Exams Passed *	Games played	Summary Information
Bury Grammar School			Victoria Univ Sch. - 1. Vict. Univ Matric. - 9. O. L. - 42. R. A. M. - 17. R. D. S. - 58 Hons - 66pass.	Hockey, Tennis, Basketball.	'The course of instruction in the school is general, and the studies to be pursued by each scholar in particular are determined by the Headmistress, but the wishes of the parents are considered in every case'
Cheltenham Ladies' College.	2 Gymnasia, Swimming Bath, Playing-field	K. I. Ogier, (Bedford 09)	London Univ. B. A. - 10. London Univ. BSc. - 1. Inter B. A. - BSc. - 14. L. U. M. - 13. C. Teachers Dip. - 11. C. H. L. - 19. O. S. L. - 20. R. D. S. - 74 hons - 44 pass.	Health Exercises- Danish System, Gymnastics, Drill, Medical Exercises, Fencing, Swimming,	'embracing those preparing for London University degrees and other university examinations, and also elder pupils who, though not looking forward to examinations, require a good all-round education and are acquiring knowledge of many branches of study.' 'Physical training is well catered for'
Clapham High School.	Gymnasium	B. Haldane (Bedford 08)	Westfield Col. & St Hilda's Col. Schs. - 2 Trust Schs. - 2. Teaching Dips. - 13. N. F. U. - 6. Ling Assn Elem Certs. - 4. C. H. L. - 12. O. C. H. - 5, Letters. - 17. O. S. L. - 11. R. D. S. 17. R. A. M. - 26.		
Croydon High School	Gymnasium	H. B. Nicholas	Schs. Girton. - 1. L. U. M. - 5. C. H. L. - 2, O. S. L. - 5. R. A. M. - 26. N. F. U. - 3.	Swedish Drill, Gymnastics. Hockey. Netball, Lawn-Tennis, Rounders.	'A separate department of the school is organised to prepare girls over 17 years of age for home life. A practical course of instruction is given in Domestic Economy and Hygiene'
Exeter High School	Playground, Rented field		Entrance Sch. - 2, Maynard Sch. - 1, Cam Teacher Cert. - 1, N. F. U. - 1, C. H. L. - 5, O. C. J. B. E. - 10, R. A. M. - 4, R. D. C. - 59 hons - 45 pass. O. S. L. - 1	Tennis, Cricket, Basketball, Hockey, Lacrosse, Fives.	
Liverpool High School	Gravel Playground, Rents 3 Tennis Courts, Large Field	Lindquist	Liverpool Sch of Art Studentship. - 1, Northern Univ Matric. - 3, O. C. J. B. H. C. - 2. C. S. L. - 1 R. D. S. - 6.	Hockey, Basketball, Lawn-Tennis, Rounders, Swimming.	
East Liverpool High School	Swedish Gym/Large Assembly Hall, Asphalt Playing-Ground, Hired Field	F. Stansfeld (Dartford 88)	Newnham Sch. - 1, O. C. J. B. H. C. - 1, O. Loc. - 1, R. D. S. - 30, R. A. M. - 1, C. H. L. - 4.	Lawn-Tennis, Basketball, Hockey, Rounders, Swimming.	
Francis Holland Church of England School		B. E. Bear	O. C. J. B. H. C. - 6, Letters. - 6, R. D. S. - 46 hons - 26 pass.	Hockey, Badminton, Tennis, Swimming.	

Name	Facilities	P. E. Teacher and college where known	Exams Passed *	Games played	Summary Information
Blackheath High School	Gymnasium, Large Playing-field, Pavilion	M. Wally (Dartford 05) Miss Gold (Dartford 09)	Somerville, Newnham, Holloway, Froebel, Schs. - 4, O. C. J. B. H. C. - 5. Letters - 9. C. H. L. - 12. R. D. S. -63 hon's - 24 pass. C. Trip. - 9.		
North London Collegiate School	Gymnasium	A. Robertson. A. Gardner (Chelsea 02)	Girton Sch. - 1, 20 Other Schs, Univ. Lon Jnr. - 5. L. U. M. - 30,		'All pupils have the opportunity of obtaining at the end of their course the leaving certificate of the University of London either at the Matriculation or a Higher Standard...In the Sixth Form the work is specialised some pupils take the London Intermediate Arts and some the London Intermediate Science Course, while others, generally with a view to further studies at Cambridge or Oxford, specialise more particularly in Classics, Mathematics, Modern Language or History
City of London School For Girls			O. C. J. B. H. C. - 6, Letters. - 5. O. L. - 28. C. H. L. - 6. R. D. S. - 76 Hons - 113 pass. L. U. M. - 13.	Callisthenics, Physical Exercise.	
Dulwich High School	Playing-field	C. E. Hadfield (Dartford 07)	O. C. J. B. H. C. - 2, Letters. - 1. R. A. M. -1, Royal Holloway Col Sch. - 1 L. U. M. -4.		
South Hampstead High School	2 Fives-courts, Tennis-court. Use of Hampstead Swimming Baths	R. Blaikley (Chelsea 07)	Newnham Sch. - 1. C. H. L. -1, U. L. M. - 1. O. S. L. - 1. O. C. J. B. H. C. - 2, Letters. - 2. R. D. S. 55 hon's - 60 pass.	Hockey, Tennis, Fives, Netball, Swimming.	
Highbury and Islington High School	Playground, Rented Playing-field	L. Hooper	Mat. - 6. O. C. J. B. H. C. - 2. Int. Col. Sch. L. C. C. -1. R. D. S. - 4, R. A. M. - 1. Sch. -2.	Gymnastics, Swimming, Hockey, Tennis, Netball.	'Highbury belongs to Games' Association of London and Suburban Schools...Competes for shield and cups-Hockey, Tennis, Netball.'
Stroud Green and Hornsey High School		I. Bramham (Chelsea 06)	N. F. U. -1. C. H. L. -2. O. L. Class 1. - 1, Class 3 - 71. R. D. S. -22 hon's - 65 pass. R. A. M. - 1.	Tennis, Cricket, Rounders, Swimming, Hockey.	Extra Subject-Gymnastics, cost to participate 9/-
Queen Elisabeth Grammar for Girls	Grass and Asphalt Tennis-courts, Hockey and Cricket Field	M. Cooke	C. S. L. - 19. C. J. L. -34. R. A. M. -7. R. D. S. -38 hon's - 32 pass.	Tennis, Hockey, Cricket, Swimming, Athletics, Netball.	Tennis, Cricket and Hockey Clubs
Norwich High School	Playground, Tennis- court, Hockey field (at a distance)	H. Greene (Dartford 99) Miss Jones	C. Prev. - 1. N. F. U. -3. O. C. J. B. H. C. - 2. O. S. L. - 9. R. D. S. -39 hon's - 39 pass. C. L. - 2.	Drill, Gymnastics, Tennis, Hockey.	

Name	Facilities	P. E. Teacher and college where known	Exams Passed *	Games played	Summary Information
Nottingham High School	Gymnasium, Tennis-court, Playing-field (nearby)	K. Petit. (Bedford 10)	L. U. M. - 7. O. C. J. B. H. C. - 3. Letters. - 10. C. H. L. - 2. R. D. S. - 43 hons - 64 pass.	Drill, Cricket, Hockey, Gymnastics, Games.	Clubs: Debating Society, Shakespeare Circle. Field Club. Games Club. Decorative Society. 'Beside the Tennis and Hockey Shields, two cups are competed for annually in the school for Drill and Gymnastics
Sandecotes School Parkstone		Miss Bulau (Dartford 05)	L. U. M. - 1. O. C. J. B. H. C. - 1, Letters. - 5. R. A. M. - 28. R. D. S. - 47.	Hockey, Lawn Tennis, Swimming, Sea Bathing, Riding.	'Education is on modern lines, and preparation is given for university examinations. The curriculum is adapted to suit individual tastes'
Reigate High School	Rents Tennis-courts of Reigate Hill Cricket Club. Hockey Field rented from Priory Club Ground	M. Brown (Liverpool 15)	O. L. S. - 3. R. A. M. - 8. R. D. S. - 33 hons-46 pass.	Drill, Gymnastics, Tennis, Hockey.	Compulsory Physical Drill. Gymnastics available at extra cost. Tennis each afternoon during summer. Hockey two afternoons a week during winter term
Rochester Grammar School for Girls	Grass and Asphalt Play-ground, Grass Tennis-courts, Playing-field (2 minutes walk)	Brooks-Smith (Dartford 08)	Reading Univ. Schol. -1. L. U. M. - 5. C. H. Letters. - 5. C. S. - 12. C. J. - 16. R. D. S. -108 Hons - 170 pass. R. A. M. - 11.	Hockey, Tennis, Cricket, Netball, Swedish Drill.	'Swedish Drill:- a trained Mistress holds daily classes in Swedish Drill, for which there is no extra charge'
Godolphin School, Salisbury	Gymnasium, Several Tennis-courts, Cricket Ground	M. P. Westlake (Dartford 06)	O. C. J. B. H. C. - 3, Letters- 9. R. A. M. - 51. C. H. L. E. - 1.	Gymnastics, Tennis, Cricket, Lacrosse, Croquet, Swimming. Riding.	Gymnastics costs 5/- extra (along with Piano, Violin, Sanatorium, Singing or Dancing.) 'There is an excellent Swimming Bath in the town, which at certain hours is reserved for the girls of the school. Riding is arranged when desired'
Sheffield High School	Play-ground	M. Tobey (Dartford 03) Miss Hall.	Schs. - 4. N. F. U. - 5. L. U. M. - 1. Northern Univ. - 1. O. C. J. B. H. C. Letters. - 3. O. L. E. - 23. R. D. S. - 40 hons - 32 pass. R. A. M. - 12.		'Great attention is paid to the maintenance of health by means of daily exercises and Games; a playground is attached to the school. Remedial Gymnastic treatment is given for spinal and other weaknesses.' 'Training of teachers for secondary schools in conjunction with Sheffield University'
Sherborne School for Girls, Dorset		Creemer-Rowe (Dartford 06) Miss Emerson.	Westfield Col. Sch. - 1. O. L. E. - 17. R. D. S. - 38 hons - 12 pass.		
Shrewsbury High School	Assembly Hall (used as gymnasium with movable fixtures). Playground with two Tennis-courts-one asphalt and one grass. Hockey Field (short distance away)	B. Malloch (Dartford 10)	Schs. - 2. L. U. M. - 1. Dublin M. - 1. O. C. J. B. H. C. - 2, Letters. - 4. O. S. L. - 7. R. D. S. - 63 hons - 63 pass. R. A. M. - 19.	Tennis, Hockey, Swimming. Basketball, Gymnastics.	'Hockey matches are played between Shrewsbury High School and Hereford High School and Orme School. Sport and Tennis tournaments have been arranged by the Games Club of the school, and all members of this Club can belong to the Swimming Club'

Name	Facilities	P. E. Teacher and college where known	Exams Passed *	Games played	Summary Information
St. Felix School, (Southwold)		B. Steedman (Bedford 00)	Somerville & Girton Schs. - 2. C. H. L. E. - 1. O. C. J. B. H. C. - 2.	Cricket, Tennis, Netball, Lacrosse, Hockey.	
Sunderland High School	Gymnastics Room, 2 Asphalt Tennis-courts		L. U. M. - 2. N. F. U. - 1. R. A. M. - 10. R. D. S. - 29 hors - 8 pass.	Tennis, Croquet, Hockey.	'Swedish gymnastics are taught weekly in addition to the ten minutes.' 'daily drill'
Tunbridge Wells High School			Sch. - 1. L. U. M. - 2. O. C. J. B. H. C. - 3, Letters. - 2. C. L. H. - 7. R. D. S. - 31 hors-21 pass. R. A. M. - 11.	Hockey, Cricket, Tennis, Netball.	'A secondary school of the highest grade, preparing pupils for the universities and for scholarship examinations. A large number of girls have won scholarships and have taken honours at the universities. Great attention is paid to the maintaining of health by means of physical exercises and out of door games'
Wakefield Endowed High School	Gymnasium, Tennis Lawns & Asphalt. Playing-field (few minutes walk away) inc. Cricket Pitch, Croquet Lawn, Space for 3 Netball games, & a Hockey or Lacrosse Ground	I. M. Cooke (Dartford 06)	Sch. - 1. C. H. L. E. - 7. N. U. Mat. - 6. O. L. E. - 19. N. F. U. - 2. R. A. M. - 7. R. D. S. - 131. Music Schol. - 3.	Gymnastics, Drill, Tennis, Hockey, Lacrosse, Netball, Cricket, Croquet.	'The School buildings include a gymnasium, which is used for lessons on Ling's Swedish System of Gymnastics, Drill and Games'
Wallasey High School for Girls	Gymnasium. Field for Games. 4 Tennis-courts, Play-ground	M. E. Evans (Bedford 06)	N. U. Mat. - 6. S. O. L. - 8. Int Sch Ches C. C. - 6. R. A. M. - 2. R. D. S. - 72 hors-pass 75.	Swedish Drill & Gymnastics. Hockey, Tennis, Basketball, Rounders, Swimming.	'Pupils are prepared for the Matriculation and Scholarship Examinations of Liverpool and other Universities, Cambridge Higher Local, Oxford Local Examinations, Froebel Certificates, the Examinations of the Royal Drawing Society and for the Cheshire County Council Intermediate and Junior Scholarship Examinations'
Winchester High School	Playing Field on St Giles Hill	Drilling: Froken Cederberg Fencing: M. Chute	Lady Margaret Hall. - 2. Cam Teac Dip. - 3. O. C. J. B. H. C. - 10, Letters. - 12. R. D. S. - 2. R. A. M. - 1. O. C. J. B. C. - 14 Letters 27. Girton Entrance. - 2. Cam Prev Exams. - 3. O. Responsions. - 2.	Drilling, Fencing, Lacrosse, Tennis.	Extra Expenses; Fencing 2 Guineas. Secondary Training Department offers Cambridge Teachers Diploma
Wycombe Abbey School, Bucks		Gym: Froken Hessel Games: N. Walker	O. C. J. B. H. C. - 14, Letters. - 27. Girton Ent. - 2. C. P. Exam. - 3. O. Responsions. - 2.	Gymnastics, Lacrosse, Cricket, Tennis, Netball, Archery, Golf, Boating.	'The houses compete each term for challenge cups.' Entry to school needs a college shareholder's nomination

* A plethora of examinations existed during the period, these are included here to indicate the variety of female academic success during the period. Some were recorded under different names depending on the whim or accuracy of the head teacher. See

Appendix 3 for a more detailed analysis of examinations which students had passed. The main examinations passed above were:

Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board School Examination Higher Certificate
Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board School Examination Senior Certificate
Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board School Examination Junior Certificate
University Matriculation (various)
Associated Board Royal Drawing Society
Associated Board Royal Arts Music
Scholarships (to various universities)
School Leaving Certificate
National Froebel Union Certificate
Board of Education Certificate
Oxford Responsions

'Letters' refers to two out of four subjects being passed within a certificate.

Mottoes

Many of the schools have taken up mottoes as a short, sharp way of signalling the institution's ethos. These mottoes are certainly not submissive in nature, or suitable for those pursuing a life of domesticity in the home. 'So hateth she darkness.' 'We work in hope.' 'Help one another.' 'The aim if reached or not, makes great life.' And, 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.' Exhortations are made to study and achieve. These are hardly signs of the student being awarded an inferior education unsuitable for a career. The mottoes seem to suggest the schools' aims were to produce intelligent girls, with loyalties to their institution, and to each other. These girls would be hardworking, confident, and ready to take on life's challenges after school.

Foundation Date

The schools were well established, Most of them had been founded during the period 1860-1889, when the great expansion of middle-class girls' schools took place.

School Size

Reigate High School was the smallest with 89 pupils, followed by St Felix, Southwold with 100. In contrast, Cheltenham Ladies College had 650 full time students and 450 more, associated as Bye-Students (part-timers). Most of the schools were under 300 pupils strong, and therefore small, and manageable.

Age range

These range from 3-19 year olds at Cheltenham, to 13-19 year olds at Wycombe Abbey. Many schools took children from 4-19 years of age.

Fees

All the schools charged fees, making them accessible only to the better off. This could prove very expensive for those fathers with many daughters. The Government Public Day School Trust schools mostly charged a set fee of £18-15-0d. per annum. Board at the school could cost from 40 Guineas as at Wycombe Abbey, to £100 at

Sandecote School. All the students coming from these schools had considerable amounts of money invested in their education.

Sporting Facilities

Many schools went out of their way to advertise sports and facilities for games. It is an important theme throughout the year book, and testifies that sporting prowess was taken seriously. Facilities for sport are listed by 31 of the 42 schools under review, despite the limitations on space for advertising their school in the book. Sixteen schools mention a gymnasium. Twenty eight list, and sometimes describe, playing fields.

Staff

Thirty four schools include the names of their games staff, some include their diploma and college. A notable is Miss Stansfeld, who though principal at her Bedford College, was also listed as games teacher at Bedford High School. Her sister Freda was at East Liverpool High School. M. E. Evans, a future principal of Bedford College, was teaching at Wallsey High School.

Games Played

Many schools list the games played at their schools, though the list may not be exhaustive. The number of citations may indicate the popularity of each sport and its incidence.

Table 3: Type and Number of Games Played at Schools

Game	Number of Schools
Tennis	30
Hockey	27
Cricket	14
Netball	12
Swimming	12
Rounders	7
Lacrosse	7
Basketball	6
Croquet	4
Badminton	3
Fencing	2
Riding	2
Fives	2
Archery	1
Golf	1
Athletics	1
Sea Bathing	1
Boating	1

This suggests that Tennis and Hockey were the most played from all the games available. It is likely that other schools which did not list sporting activities also participated in games to varying extents. The 17 games listed, show a variety of sports and activities were available to girls at these schools, and that headmistresses were prepared to advertise this as a positive inducement for parents to bring their daughters to these schools. Exercises were also advertised and these included physical exercises, callisthenics, drill, health exercise, gymnastics, and medical exercise. These turn of the century schools were thriving places for athletic girls.

The Role of Games and Exercise

Varied amounts of information were given on sporting activities, these can be classified under key headings:

Health

Games are justified by their therapeutic effects on the health of the pupils.

‘Great attention is paid to the maintenance of health by means of daily exercises and games.’ (Sheffield High School.)

‘Great attention is paid to the maintaining of health by means of physical exercises and out of door games.’ (Tunbridge Wells High School.)

Encouragement

The taking of games was not left passively to the students ‘games are actively encouraged.’ (Haberdashers Aske’s School.)

‘Physical training is well catered for.’ (Cheltenham Ladies College.)

Frequency

Games were a compulsory and fixed part of many school time-tables. Headmistresses took the opportunity to stress this regularity; ‘physical exercise in the gymnasium under the direction of a special teacher are a regular part of morning school.’ (Edgbaston H. S.)

‘Tennis each afternoon during summer, Hockey two afternoons a week during the winter term.’ (Reigate High School.)

‘Swedish gymnastics are taught weekly in addition to the ten minutes’ daily drills.’ (Sunderland High School.)

‘A trained mistress holds daily classes in Swedish Drill.’ (Rochester Grammar.)

Competition

Matches were played between school houses and between schools. This element of competition was positively displayed as an attraction in participating at games.

‘In Cheshire Public Schools Hockey League and Liverpool and District Public Schools Lawn Tennis Championship.’ (Birkenhead High School.)

‘Highbury belongs to Games . . . Association of London and Suburban Schools . . . competes for shields and cups. Hockey, Tennis, Netball.’ (Highbury High School.)

‘Beside the Tennis and Hockey Shields, two cups are competed for annually in the school for drill and gymnastics.’ (Nottingham High School.)

'Hockey matches are played between Shrewsbury High School and Hereford High School and Ormes School. Sport and Tennis tournaments have been arranged by the Games Club of the school.' (Shrewsbury High School.)

Restricted Access

In some cases access to gymnastics was restricted by charging an extra cost for the pupils' participation. This therefore made access available only to the pupils whose parents were willing to pay extra. These charges may have been necessary to help maintain the special apparatus and the gymnasium.

'Gymnastics, extra cost to participate.' (Stroud High School.) However at Godolphin High School Gymnastics cost 5/- a year extra along with piano, violin, sanatorium, singing, and dancing, making it seem peripheral to the curriculum. Games were always an integral part of the curriculum and no extra charge was made. At Reigate High School there was 'compulsory Physical Drill. Gymnastics available at extra cost.' However at Rochester Grammar School there was no extra charge for Swedish Drill.

Examinations²

Success was held in high regard by the headmistresses. Most, published all their exam successes including dancing and music passes, and elementary passes in all subjects. Some went further and drew attention to their exam based ethos.

'If required girls can be prepared for the B. A. and inter BSc of the London University, the Cambridge Higher Local, the Oxford Senior and Junior Local, and for the examinations of the Associated Board of the Royal College of Music, The Staff Sight Singing College and the Royal Drawing Society entrance exam.' (Bedford High School.)

'embracing those preparing for the London University Degrees and other university examinations.' (Cheltenham Ladies College.)

'All pupils have the opportunity of obtaining at the end of their course the leaving certificate of the University of London either at the matriculation or a higher standard . . . In the Sixth Form the work is specialised. Some pupils take the London Intermediate Science course, while others, generally with a view to further studies at Cambridge or Oxford, specialise more particularly in Classics, Maths, Modern Languages or History.' (North London Collegiate School.)

'Education is on Modern lines, and preparation is given for university examinations. The curriculum is adapted to suit particular needs.' (Sandecotes High School.)

'a secondary school of the highest grade, preparing pupils for the universities and for scholarship examinations. A large number of girls have won scholarships and have taken Honours at the universities.' (Tunbridge Wells High School.)

'Pupils are prepared for the Matriculation and Scholarship Examinations of Liverpool and other universities Cambridge Higher Local, Oxford Local Examinations, Froebel Certificate, the Examinations of the Royal Drawing Society and for the Cheshire County Council Intermediate and Junior Scholarship Examinations. The school is under the Inspectors of the Board of Education.' (Wallsey High School.)

'2 years course of preparation for the Cambridge Higher Local Examination is provided.' (Winchester High School.)

² See Appendix 3 for a micro-analysis of student exam experience.

This shows that there was a wide variety of examinations covering a whole range of subjects.

Subjects

At Sunderland High School examinations were available in Classics, English, English Literature, Mythology, Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Physical Science, French, German, Physical Drill, Needlework, Drawing and Singing. This was a typical amount and range of subjects for many of the other schools. The pupils experienced a broad based education.

Range of Ability

There would be a range of ability within each school; 'those girls obliged to leave school at 16 or 17 are encouraged to take the lower certificate.' (Bradford Girls Grammar.)

'elder pupils who, though not looking forward to examinations, require a good all-round education and are acquiring knowledge of many branches of study.' (Cheltenham Ladies' College.)

For those not interested in careers 'a separate department of the school is organised to prepare girls over 15-17 years of age for home life. A practical course of instruction is given in Domestic Economy and Hygiene.' (Croydon High School.)

All types of needs were catered for by the schools. They offered a wide range of examinations ranging from elementary to advanced, and covering a whole range of subjects. The schools were up front with their intellectual role, stating exam passes for the past year and listing old pupils who had gone on to take degrees, or who had obtained scholarships. Given the small size of many schools, a fair proportion of pupils each year achieved some sort of examination success at a good level.

Appendix 3: Academic Qualifications of Dartford Students 1901-1913

Introduction

The first formal examinations for girls were introduced in 1869. These were the Local Examinations of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham Universities. Higher Examinations were introduced in 1869. 'Examinations have been seen as part of the nineteenth-century 'middle-class' reform of education, and as a key instrument in the development of rational schooling.'¹

During the time of this study, the first decade of the century, 'the new secondary schools had become the hunting ground of a horde of examining bodies - at one time they numbered fifty.'² In 1911 'the consultative committee was asked to investigate the question of external Examinations for secondary schools because of the increasing confusion owing to the multiplicity of examinations and examining bodies.'³

Aim

The aim of this study is to find out what level of academic attainment Dartford students had obtained, and whether this was an important factor in obtaining entry to college. This will show if there was a 'typical student' as far as academic attainment is concerned. It will also show what type of examinations were considered useful to physical training college students.

Source

'Student Registers 1900-1914.'⁴ These records contain a section summarising the academic qualifications of most of the Dartford college students from 1901-1906 and 1912-1913.

Method

The qualifications will be examined and divided into types of examination, and level of academic attainment. These figures will be tabulated, graphed, and converted into percentages, so that the composition of the qualifications of individual Dartford students, Sets, and the whole sample (189 students) can be reviewed.

The many types of examination mentioned in the introduction could have led to problems when studying the Dartford students' examination records. However most of the students who have exam passes can be easily classified into the following categories.

¹ R. Aldrich, *An Introduction to the History of Education* (London, 1982), p. 61.

² H. C. Dent, *1870-1970, A Century of Growth in English Education* (Harlow, 1970), p. 94

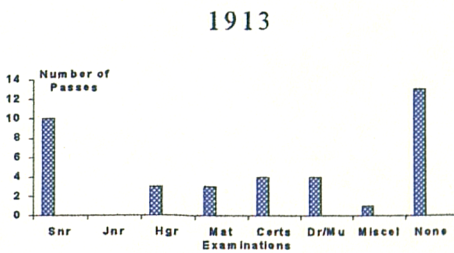
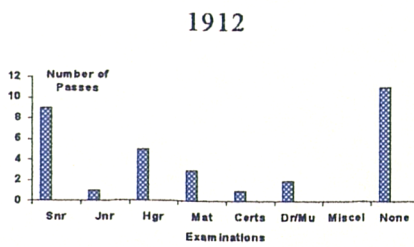
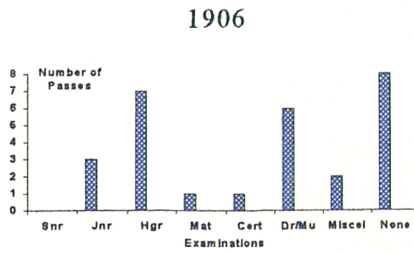
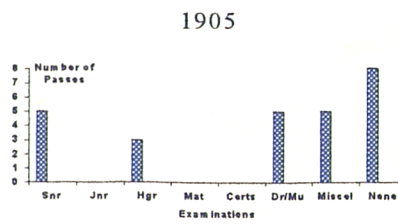
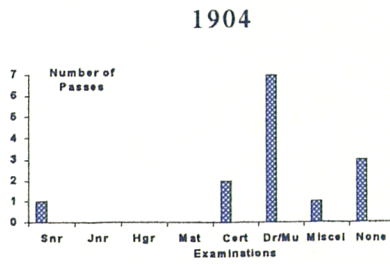
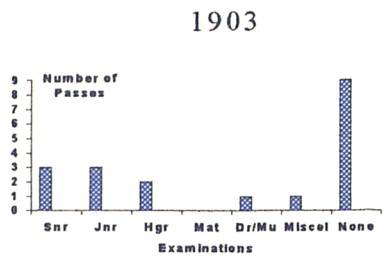
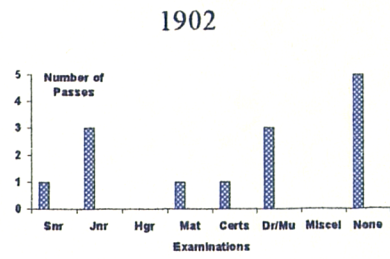
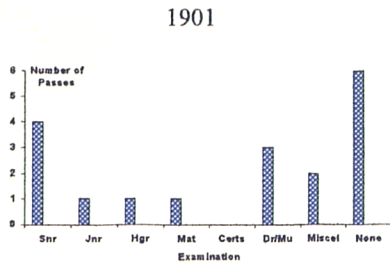
³ S. J. Curtis and S. James, *History of Education in Great Britain* (London, 1968), p. 354.

⁴ (D) 'Student Registers 1900-1914.'

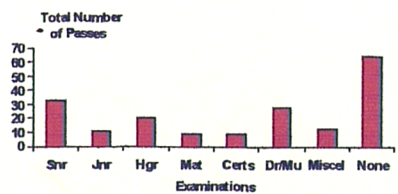
Results

Graphs 1-9:

Graphs Showing Examinations Passed per Set 1901-1906 and 1912-1913



Total Exam Passes 1901-1906 and 1912-1913



Snr. Senior, Oxford and Cambridge Exam Board Certificate. Four subjects could be taken in all, but it was rare for a girl to take all four. Obtaining 'Letters' passes in two out of four subjects were common. From all school exam entrants in 1910,⁵ 87% of exam candidates obtained 'Letters'. Students with these examinations were well qualified for girls at this period of time.

Jnr. Junior, Oxford and Cambridge Exam Board Certificate. These were lesser qualifications, usually taken to increase employment chances and were taken by 14 or 15 year old school leavers.

Hgr. Higher, Oxford, and Cambridge Exam Board Certificate. These were highly regarded examinations of a good enough standard to 'unlock the door to university, and so to the dizzy heights of a professional career.'⁶

Mat. University Matriculation. This was another form of examination acceptable for university access.

Certs. School Leaving Certificate. This was evidence of completion of a satisfactory level of school education.

Dr/Mu. Drawing and Music Certificates. These were not academic qualifications but were probably reflective of the attitude that these subjects were suitable for girls to study, and were capable of being passed by girls of varying academic ability.

Miscl. Miscellaneous exams including College of Preceptors, and Tripos. A few unusual examinations are included here. They include the Tripos (a university degree pass, without the certificate, which was not awarded to female candidates at this time). The College of Preceptors examination pass, was evidence of a good general education, and if achieved as a 1st class level, giving exemption to preliminary examinations of some professions.

No Qualifications. This covers those students who had no examination qualifications at all.

Thirty three students had Senior, Oxford and Cambridge examination passes. Unfortunately Madame does not make clear how many subjects were passed. Junior, Oxford and Cambridge Exam Board passes were held by 11 students (in addition most of those with senior passes had junior passes too). Higher, Oxford and Cambridge Examinations were passed by 29 students. Nine had Matriculated at London, or other universities. School Leaving Certificates numbered 9.

It was possible to identify most exam passes as belonging to the above groups. Only 13 were miscellaneous, including College of Preceptors qualifications. One student in 1912, had achieved a 1st class Modern Languages, Oxford University, Tripos, equivalent to a degree, though as a woman, she was not eligible for the awarding of the certificate.

A few undesignated exam board passes are included, very few, considering the variety of examinations which were causing concern to educationalists at the time.

Another large grouping, of 28 students, were those with music and/or drawing certificates.⁷

The biggest group, 65 out of 189 students had no recognised qualifications at all.

⁵ *Girls School Year Book (Public Schools) 1911*, p. 383.

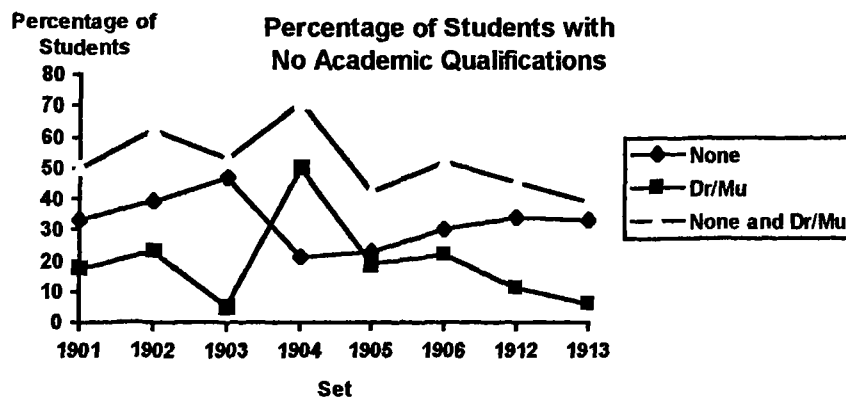
⁶ H. C. Dent, *A Century of Growth*, p. 94.

⁷ Mainly Abletts Drawing Certificate, and Royal College of Music Certificates.

Table 1: Total and Percentage (Parentheses) Number of Students with No Qualifications and with Non-academic Qualifications per Set

Set	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1912	1913
None	6 (33)	5 (39)	9 (47)	3 (21)	6 (23)	8 (30)	13 (34)	11 (33)
Dr/Mu	3 (17)	3 (23)	1 (5)	7 (50)	5 (19)	6 (22)	4 (11)	2 (6)
Total without Academic Quals.	12 (50)	8 (62)	10 (53)	10 (71)	11 (42)	14 (52)	17 (45)	13 (39)
Total Students in Set	18	13	19	14	26	27	38	33

Graph 10



None. No Qualifications.

Dr/Mu. Drawing and Music Examinations.

Using percentages it can be seen that 32% of all candidates had no qualifications at all. This figure remains steady for each set, though Set 1903 has 47%, nearly half its students without a formal qualification.

Those with music and/or drawing examinations form a significant, though variable, amount of students. Set 1904 has 50%, or half its numbers, with these type of examinations only. The previous year had only 5%. These type of qualifications may be starting to tail off by 1912 and 1913, where they have fallen to 11% and 6% respectively.

When added to those with no qualifications, we can see just how common the non-academic student was at Dartford. Only one set has below 40% of its students with non-academic examinations or no examinations. 71% of students in Set 1904 have no academic exam passes. There seems to be evidence that these numbers are tending to fall as time goes by. In Sets 1912 and 1913 these figures fall to their two lowest levels 45% and 39% respectively.

Appendix 4: Case Studies of Dartford Applicants 1916-1918

Aim

This is an investigation into the application and interview procedure in place at Dartford Physical Training College 1916-18. The aim is to investigate the criteria which were important for a successful interview. The observations of the candidate by the principal¹ are considered to see what effect character, and physical appearance, played in the process. From this criteria a fuller picture of the interactive process between interviewer and applicant can be perceived.

The second part of the study looks at information supporting the candidate's application. This includes parental pleas, and school references. How this support may have influenced any decision to call the candidate for interview or offer her a place in college is evaluated.

Overall the case studies provide a useful micro-analysis which can work alongside the more general study of college interviews given earlier. It will provide detailed new knowledge on the selection procedure of students at Dartford College.

Source

'Files on Students' Sent Down² 1918-1925'. This series of folders actually covers the period back to 1916. They contain interview notes and supporting information, including application letters, references, and parental pleas.

Method

Six students have been selected from the 'files'. These candidates were selected for particular study as their records contained many details involved in the interview procedure. These applications are well backed up with supporting letters and information. The interview notes made by the Dartford principals contain key criteria which can be examined and tabulated. This includes age, health, appearance, certificates, sporting experience etc. This information when tabulated, can be used to compare and contrast what the applicants of this period had to offer, and what importance this was held in by the principal. The candidate's supporting evidence is analysed by a detailed look at what the text of these letters is saying. Information on what skills the candidates and their supporters thought they could offer the college and profession is extracted and examined.

¹ Principal from 1915 -1917 was Miss Meade. She had a B. A. Honours in the Moral Science Tripos. She was not trained in gymnastics. Principal from 1917-1919 was Miss Greene, a student at Dartford 1899.

² The title of the documents written at a later date is a misnomer as documents relate also to successful students as well as those who left college voluntarily.

The Dartford College Interview Method 1916-1918

The interviews were summarised under the following headings. These were common to all the interviews.

Name
Age
School
Health
Certificates
Appearance
Games
Remarks

The interview notes are more or less in the same format for each candidate. Basic matters such as age and school are established first.

'Health' is the first major division. Past diseases are noted. This was a likely pointer to any ailments a successful student might have at college, as well as the physical strength needed for the strenuous student life. Physical ailments such as weak eyes and breathing problems were noted. Students were ideally supposed to be healthy and without physical ailments.

Exam 'Certificates' were noted and considered. Candidates had a wide background of certificates.

'Appearance' was an important factor. This involved how pleasant looking the candidates were considered to be. Physical phenomena including size, complexion, aura, and expression, could be commented on. Dress was also a notable feature.

'Games' experience was obviously important to cope with the life ahead. This included not only games played, but ability, and commitment to playing. Captaincy was noted as a positive bonus. Games playing must have been an important factor in determining success, as the Dartford course was about games playing (ability and experience) and games teaching (commitment and enthusiasm).

'Remarks' contained a general summary and included any points for or against the candidate's applications. Other subjects the candidates could offer were listed, mainly drawing, music and dance. Prefect experience, ability to cope with college life and residence, ability to pay fees, impressions of character, and religion, were commented on for particular students.

The interview procedure followed a particular pattern. Questions were asked and observations made. This format remains the same during the period covered, and for each of the six candidates studied. Occasionally an answer/observation was left unrecorded for a particular student. The information is sometimes recorded in note form, and always condensed to a scribble on the interview sheet. The result of the interview may be included as a note on a corner of the sheet in some cases.

Results: Individual Case Studies

Case Study: Lilla Mary Butler For Entry 1916

Name	Lilla Mary Butler
Age	18 (Born 14. 1. 1898)
School	Queenswood, Clapham.
Health	Whooping Cough, Chicken Pox, German Measles, Mumps, Diphtheria, Measles.
Certificates	Senior Cambridge. Exemption from London Matriculation. Fond of science and mathematics. Other quals: piano, not fond of music.
Appearance	Physically pale, not tall. Square shouldered. Not quite straight.
Games	
Remarks	With her mother. Possible difficulty about fees in the second year. Wesleyan.

Butler is 18 years of age. She is a pupil at Queenswood School, Clapham. The status of this school is never made clear. It was not designated a high school or college like the other candidates' institutions, so may have been a private school. She has had a general range of ailments, including the particularly dangerous one of diphtheria. Her examination qualifications were good as she had passed the Senior Cambridge examination. Her fondness for science and mathematics are balanced against her dislike of music. She suffers on observations of her appearance; She is 'pale', 'not tall' and 'not quite straight'. There are no positive appearance features in her favour. Games experience is left blank. There appears to be a problem with fees, which would not have gone down well with the principal. Her religion is also mentioned. This is an average interview result. She is intelligent, but her appearance is against her. The mention of her mother attending the interview is notable. It was this woman who would have orchestrated Butler's application to gain entry to Dartford.

Supporting Information

25th June 1916. Mother To Miss Meade (Dartford Principal).

'Miss Drew of Queenswood School sent me your letter to her today, with prospectus etc . . . I think Miss Drew will probably have told you that my daughter has been a pupil at Queenswood for nearly seven years and that she has been a scholarship for the past two years. She passed her Senior Cambridge last summer . . . Mr Butler died when my two children were very young . . . his death was due to lung trouble . . . I am quite sure you will understand how keenly I have tried to do all in my power to make my children strong . . . It is now of vital importance that Lilla shall choose a profession that will be healthy . . . Miss Drew of Queenswood suggested physical training for her. I feel it was exactly what I most desired for her. I would far rather she was at Dartford than anywhere else . . . also I find that it will be possible for me to meet the expense of the

training without too big a strain on my finances. Now I must leave it I do not think you will misunderstand my reason for writing. My child's future means so much to me.'

Butler's mother wrote a number of long letters expressing Butler's, and her own desire, to see her daughter train at Dartford. She used the novel idea of her husband's death from a lung infection (caught during missionary work in the Australian Bush 'away from civilisation because no one else would volunteer to take it.')

as a reason why Butler should train at Dartford. This is to keep Butler 'strong' and 'it is vital' that she train at Dartford to keep her 'healthy'. She seems to admit that Butler has little say in this. Butler's headmistress came up with the idea, and her mother felt 'it was exactly what I most desired for her.' Dartford gets praise as being the favourite college. The fees are mentioned but are manageable. The mother is obviously a forceful and emotional character. The letter provides a barrage of information, interspersed with emotional statements, and a general life history of the family. She finishes by saying 'my child's future means so much to me.' That is obvious.

2nd July 1916. Mother To Miss Meade (Dartford Principal).

'Thank you for your letter delivered this morning. I have filled in the application form . . . I am very anxious that my daughter shall take the training. I believe she will be successful with it . . . She is now head girl of the school . . . I am afraid it isn't possible for the child to take her higher locals in a year. She couldn't do it in time . . . Her future for this coming year isn't yet settled, but we want her to get a post where she may possibly be able to do something fruitful towards the college expenses. I wish the fees weren't quite so high.

A week later the college application form arrives at the Butler household. The form is returned completed in the mothers handwriting (she states she writes better than Butler) on the same afternoon. The content of the letter enclosed is 'anxious'. Butler is now head of school which suggests she must have many characteristics of her own, including leadership. It seems the principal prefers Butler to take a higher examination for a year but this is not possible. Butler's entry is meant to be for a year later (but that is not how it turned out). The fees are now considered a problem, unlike last week's letter.

6th July 1916. Mother To Miss Meade (Dartford Principal).

'I quite understand about the fees and that they must be comparatively high for the course, also I know that for many people they would not seem high at all. I am very anxious indeed that Lilla shall have the training and I believe you will think she is fitted for it. In the spring I took her to see a Doctor because I thought she needed a tonic through having a touch of Rinhalfia. It turned out that her glasses needed changing (she uses them at times for reading) but to make sure, the doctor examined her carefully. He was very pleased with the result, and even said she was as sound as a bell and breathed beautifully. I told him she was hoping to take up physical training and he thought that would be capital for her. He said she would have no trouble taking a full certificate. Lilla is really good at mathematics, has done well in science generally, during the last year. The games mistress at Queenswood has given her special lessons in physiology and she has taken a Drill Class under instruction a few times. I am telling you all this to show you how she has been preparing for her future and how disappointed we should be if it could not be continued. Though from letters I have received in the last few days I think there will be no difficulty in

finding a position in a bank for a year . . . I am enclosing a photo of Lilla taken in January.'

A return letter from the principal must have arrived quickly at the Butler household. There appears to be some counter remarks to the mother's complaining about the fees. The mother is quick to backtrack. She is still 'anxious.' A doctor's opinion is provided as further evidence on behalf of Butler's application. Butler's mother adds his opinion on Butler's suitability for the course. Her educational effort over the last year is also provided in support. Butler's voice is mute during this exchange. Clearly her mother is the controlling force behind her application. This might have worked against Butler in some situations; it did her no harm here.

Result of Application: Completed Dartford Diploma 1918.

**Case Study: Maud Mary Brown
For Entry 1916**

Name	Maud Mary Brown
Age	32 (Born 9. 1. 1884)
School	Reigate High School
Health	Measles, Whooping Cough.
Certificates	First Aid, British College of Physical Education-Swedish side. Folklore Society Certificate.
Appearance	Pleasant face, aesthetic dress.
Games	
Remarks	Would probably settle down to the life and discipline. Difficulty about fees.

Brown is an unusual student as she is aged 32, nearly double the average student age. She came to Dartford in 1902 but could not complete her second year due to a foot injury. She went to Reigate High School but obviously that was a long time ago for her. Her certificates are somewhat unusual, consisting of First Aid, and Folklore certificates. She does have a useful practical Swedish Gymnastics certificate, which proves she can teach basic gymnastic work. Her appearance is satisfactory, as is her dress. Games are unremarked upon. In the summary remarks she has convinced the principal that despite her age and maturity she would probably cope with college residential life, despite it being an environment geared for 18 to 20 year olds. The college charged fees to pay for its expenses and there is doubt whether Brown could pay. She would have to prove she could afford all college expenses before being allowed to enter. This is an average report, favourably recorded.

Supporting Information

14th June 1916. Miss Le Couteur (Inspector of Physical Education, Surrey) To Miss Wickner (Dartford Vice-Principal.)

'She is now anxious to finish her training if this is possible and come as a second year student . . . I have seen a good deal of her work in Surrey since she left college. She had long thought of completing her training but I think lack of funds was her chief reason

for not so doing. Now that difficulty has been overcome. She left college in 1902 or 3 . . . In my humble opinion I think [she is] in her prime! She had taken and is taking classes for us in Surrey for some time now. Miss Palmer has inspected her work and thought very well of it. I think her work decidedly good - though not brilliant. - but it is very conscientious, thorough and taught in the right spirit - the latter quality being perhaps the most important? I do not know if any strict regulations as to 1 year students exist at college . . . My reason for writing is interest in her steady work and personality and a wish to aid her great and I think wise desire to be attached to her college.'

Miss Le Couteur stresses Brown's positive aspects; her keenness to train, long term desire to train, her good work in teaching, and the qualities she brought to the lessons. Against this she poses the negative aspect of affording fees, but uses it to justify Brown's late application in years, to the college. Her work is also 'not brilliant,' though perhaps this is said to justify the need for further training. This reference is different from the younger students' references, in that it stresses practical strengths, obtained through maturity, and experience, of the world of work. This is a good reference and introduces the student, who does not apply herself until later.

14th July 1916. M. M. Brown To Miss Meade (Dartford Principal)

'I am very anxious to become a fully qualified gymnastic teacher and should like if possible to come to Dartford for a second years training. I shall be so glad if you can give me an interview. I was a Dartford student for a year in 1902, but unfortunately had a strain which prevented work for some time, but I am quite strong now. I started with voluntary gymnastic work in 1905, which led on to school work in 1908. I passed the Swedish part of the examination of the British College of Physical Education in 1910, being prepared by Miss Veblen, (a Danish Lady who taught Swedish Gymnastics at Alexandria House.) but I could not get further as I would not take German Gymnastics in order to gain their certificate. I also did remedial work with Miss Veblen. In August 1913 I was a month at Silkeborg, Denmark, taking the advanced course. From February to October 1914, I took an elementary teachers physical training class at Redhill under the Surrey Education Committee, preparing them for the physical training certificate. Miss Le Couteur inspected during the course, while Miss Palmer inspected at the end, and seemed pleased with their work, giving two of the teachers distinction. I gained the Elementary Certificate of the English Folk Dance Society in August 1914. I have been taking teachers country dance classes in Surrey arranged by Miss Le Couteur (who is Inspector of Physical Education in Surrey, and also a Dartford student.)'

Brown asks for an interview and gives her own account of her working experience. There is no doubt that Brown has been committed to teaching various classes in the area of dance and physical education. Her commitment to Swedish gymnastics (favoured by Dartford and most colleges) is stressed. It is the background of someone who is committed to physical education work. The key point of her application, which she does not mention, but justifies by relating her experience, is her age, and the desire to do a one year course.

3rd August 1917. Miss Wikner Dartford Vice-Principal) To M. M. Brown.

'I can offer you a vacancy for next term. With reference to fees, I do not think you must reckon on any reduction being made for the second year, though if you are doing well I would propose to the committee the advisability of making some reduction, but I cannot at all say that this would be accepted. There has not been a single case of any reduction of

fees being made since the college was under its present management . . . The first term is one of probation . . . If at the end of the first term, you did not seem to be making a success of the training in any direction I should of course be obliged to ask you to give up . . . I enclose a clothing list and I hope you would arrange to keep to this as closely as possible.'

Brown is accepted with the warning that she must pay her own fees and she is on probation. All the students were on probation. It provided a useful tool for getting rid of unwanted students who failed to make the grade.

Result of Application: Completed Dartford Diploma 1918..

**Case Study : Sylvia Pawle
For Entry 1918**

Name	Sylvia Pawle
Age	17 Years (Born 2. 7. 1900)
School	
Health	V. Good. Chicken Pox, Teeth and Eyes Good.
Certificates	Domestic Science Course, Music: Higher, Abletts Drawing Cert.
Appearance	Bright and Pleasant.
Games	Lacrosse Team, Tennis (average), Gym-drills well. Barwork-a little.
Remarks	Drawing-not as good at this. Will work at elementary chemistry.

The interview information shows that Pawle is young (17 years of age), though still in the typical age range for Dartford applicants. Her health is summarised as 'very good,' an advantage for her. She lacks academic certificates, having the usual music and drawing certificates, and undertaking a domestic science course. This is not a major disadvantage given the high percentage of Dartford students who entered college without such qualifications in the past.³ Her appearance favours her, as she is 'bright' and 'pleasant.' Her games work is moderate. She is an average tennis player and has experience of lacrosse. No other games are noted. At gym, she drills well. Pawle has limited, but satisfactory, games experience. Final remarks are seemingly of minor importance. Observations are good, on health and appearance. Practical information, certificates, and games experience, are undistinguished. Overall this is not a high calibre candidate. She obtains a modest interview result, and it appears the principal hesitated over her admittance.

Supporting Information

Pawle enlisted the help of her head mistress to provide support in obtaining an interview at Dartford.

³ See work on Academic Qualifications of Dartford Students 1901-1913, Appendix 3. Thirty two percent of the sample of students had no qualifications.

21st November 1917. To Miss Greene (Dartford Principal) From Headmistress.

'doing domestic science . . . Very keen on training, only I cannot say that she is very quick at brain work and she has passed no examination. Would it be possible for you to have an interview with her next holiday if her father agrees. He has written to me about her and wants to know about the college. I was wondering if you could send him a prospectus.'

Pawle enlists the aid of her headmistress in approaching the college on her behalf. The headmistress stresses her keenness, while giving an honest appraisal of her intelligence and the resulting lack of examination success. She adds her weight to Pawle's application by asking for an interview for her. Pawle's father is mentioned as a supporting influence who is interested in her coming to college. Candidates with parental and school support, provided a solid and balanced background to any application. This three pronged strategy to support an application is often used by the applicants. Whatever its effect on Miss Greene, an interview was given.

Evidence shows that the decision on Pawle's acceptance was delayed pending a satisfactory end of school report. This led to a series of difficulties for the three interested parties, Pawle, her Father, and her headmistress.

3rd February 1918. Sylvia Pawle to Miss Greene (Dartford Principal).

'I am writing to ask you if it would be possible to let me know definitely now, whether I shall be able to come to college next October or not . . . whether I give up all together and try to do something else. I have been working at physiology with a view to helping me, should I be able to get into college. If I cannot my people would like to let my head mistress know before the end of this term, whether I shall be staying on next term otherwise I should not think of troubling you.'

Pawle has had enough waiting for a reply and has decided to risk asking for a decision. She helps justify her letter by stating her headmistress needs to know her situation and adds a token to her application by mentioning her work on physiology, ostensibly to gain entry. The main reason is that she has waited long enough and wants a decision.

4th March 1918. Ernest Pawle (Father) to Miss Wright (Dartford Staff Member.)

'We do not yet know for certain whether you are going to admit my daughter to your college so it is rather difficult to decide about the cape you mention. If all the other girls have them I should be sorry for Sylvia to feel out of it. One does not wish to incur any additional expense these times, but I think I had better leave this matter in your hands.'

Pawle must not have received a satisfactory reply from her letter a month previously so her father tries on her behalf. He uses the purchase of a cape to justify sending a letter enquiring on the result of the application. He was only going to buy the cape if his daughter has definitely got a place, and was using this to force a decision on her future.

11th March 1918. Headmistress To Miss Greene (Dartford Principal).

'From your letter to Miss Pawle, February the 5th asking her to withdraw her name from your waiting list . . . [have you] decided against admitting her to your training

college . . . Miss Higham thinks her theoretical work less good than her practical work but Miss Higham thinks her so keen, she would do everything in her power to excel at this.'

A week later the situation has now become confused. Pawle's headmistress is trying to clarify a letter which must have been sent to Pawle straight after her letter arrived in February. It seems to have suggested that Pawle may have been rejected. Regardless the headmistress continues to support Pawle's application by including a summary of her work report. This does the trick.

17th March 1918. Miss Greene (Dartford Principal) To Headmistress.

'Miss Greene has asked me to say that she very much regrets the mistake that has arisen about Miss Pawle. Her name has been down on the list of candidates accepted for entrance next October since her interview, and we have only been waiting until the end of this term when we were to have your report of her work to enter her name definitely on the books as a student for entrance this autumn . . . Your report on Miss Pawle's work is so satisfactory her name has been today entered on the books. We should be much obliged if you would make this clear to Miss Pawle herself in order that there may be no doubt in her mind about the fact of her acceptance.'

It seems all along no decision would be made until Pawle's final school report arrived. The satisfactory nature of the report secured entrance for her. It may have been left to the headmistress to confirm this to Pawle.

Result of Application: No evidence of attending college or completing the college diploma.

**Case Study: Joyce Fenwick
For Entry 1918**

Name	Joyce Fenwick
Age	19
School	Sunderland High School
Health	Very good but does not look very robust. Has had scarlet fever (slight) and some childish complaints
Certificates	Preparing for Cambridge Snr.
Appearance	Slight and fairly tall. Not bad looking, but lacking in--- and decision. Has a very weak aura.
Games	Does seem very fond of games. [plays] Hockey, netball, tennis.
Remarks	Does not appear to be enthusiastic over profession but proffers to be so. Decided to take up this work 5 years ago. Developed very slowly. Too shy and reserved. Not fond of music and draws very little. Poor voice and nervous manner. Does not appear to have the qualities of a leader. Rooms well.

Fenwick is at an average age for a candidate, and two years older than Pawle. She has trained at Sunderland High school⁴ Her health is generally very good, but her physical size does not impress the principal, and she is described as not 'robust' enough. She was preparing to take the Senior Cambridge Examination Certificate, therefore showing a certain amount of academic intelligence, though she is yet to pass. Her appearance, and performance, during the interview are not good. She is described as 'slight' which is not good for entry to physical training. Worse, she is 'indecisive' and has a 'weak aura.' This is not good enough for someone expecting to teach and play games to a high standard. Her interview does not get any better as she fails to convince the principal that she is fond of games, which rather cancels out her experience of playing them. She is summarised as being unenthusiastic over becoming a teacher, despite saying she was. Her character defects are again highlighted as being shy and reserved, she has a poor voice, and is nervous. The final condemnation is that she does not have the qualities of a leader (teacher). At last a good point is recorded, she 'rooms well.' This would be an important factor as it would not matter how good a student was (or how bad in this case) if she did not fit into the community and its residential life. This was obviously not a good interview by Fenwick. She arrived shy, reserved and lacking in confidence. Her appearance did not help matters, and she was unable to give answers which impressed the interviewer. When news of this reached Fenwick's headmistress she seems to have been very angry.

Supporting Information

19th July 1918. Headmistress (Sunderland High School) To Miss Greene (Dartford Principal).

'I am horribly disappointed at your letter. Joyce Fenwick has never had poor health since she has been at school. I confess that she looks "weedy" and the ankle trouble seems an entire surprise to her and has certainly never inconvenienced her.

With regard to Bedford, directly you told me of your vacancy and we felt that there was the least chance of her coming to you, Bedford was given up. If she does not stand in the way of any other stronger candidate is it too much to ask that you should at least give her one years trial? She is an only girl and has lived in great seclusion, and the training with you is something I have always wanted for her, to develop her and rub off her shyness and diffidence. She is by far our best jumper in the whole school, is a tennis champion, a good runner and one of the first 4 in gymnastic tests, Dorothy Morrison being easily first.'

It is obvious that the conclusions drawn by Miss Greene are not those of Fenwick's headmistress, who no doubt recommended Fenwick to the college. A letter must have been received by the headmistress from Miss Greene, containing the conclusions drawn above. The interview note 'does not look very robust' has become 'weedy' which the headmistress is forced to agree on. The words 'poor health' (which were not mentioned in the interview notes) was too much for her. So is the 'ankle trouble' (this again was not mentioned in the interview notes).

It seems these notes are only a summary, rather than a detailed commentary of what was said and done at interview. Fenwick must also have mentioned that she had applied to Bedford College as well, which seems to have provided further ammunition for Miss Greene's letter. The headmistress had to promote Dartford's preference in the application procedure over Bedford. Fenwick must have been rejected as an applicant, as the

⁴ See Appendix 2 for a summary of Sunderland High School's sporting and academic achievement.

headmistress pleads for a special case being made of her and suggests a year's probation. She tries to justify Fenwick's poor interview performance by mentioning her reclusive upbringing, which has disadvantaged her, and that college would be the cure for this. Finally her sporting prowess is bolstered and compared favourably with the school's best student Dorothy Morrison.

This is a major intervention by a headmistress. She pleads accentuating circumstances for a disastrous interview, which has not done the candidate justice, in her supporter's eyes. Miss Greene's reaction on receiving this letter must have been interesting when she compared her view of the student with that of the headmistress's.

25th August 1918. Headmistress To Miss Greene (Dartford Principal).

'I am so glad Joyce is through all right as she has worked extremely well. She is tremendously keen to start at college This term she seems to have been much stronger and her back has not been giving her trouble. Of course her head work is not good, but she has worked very well for me at both Gym and Games through the year and has made a good captain.'

Fenwick's admittance is a great surprise, given her poor interview performance and subsequent letter from the principal to the headmistress. Yet one month later, after the headmistress' reply, a letter arrives at college from the headmistress obviously delighted at Fenwick's success in obtaining entry to college. The letter adds support to this being the correct decision. The very factors which failed her at the interview, are reversed here. She is keen, strong(er). Her back, which has not been mentioned so far is better, and her games work is good. Fenwick is even a successful school captain, despite Miss Greene having described her as lacking leadership qualities. No attempt is made to support Fenwick's intelligence, though this does not seem to be considered of importance in the acceptance procedure by the headmistress. Fenwick interviewed poorly and was a weak candidate. Her headmistress exerted pressure and the decision was reversed. This must cast doubt on the quality of some candidates applying to Dartford Physical Training College at this time.

Result of Application: No evidence of her attending college or completing the college diploma.

Case Study : Alice Victoria Parry For Entry 1918

Name	Alice Victoria Parry
Age	20 (Born 7. 9. 1897)
School	Girls High School Wakefield
Health	
Certificates	No Leaving Certificate. Worked on all subjects except Maths. She has taken special science, in readiness for the P. T. C. Exams: Advanced grade Music and Abletts Drawing.
Appearance	Nice expression, but not really good looking. 5'5"
Games	Captain of all games-Lacrosse, hockey, netball, cricket, fives, gym.

Remarks	Musical - plays fairly well. Having lessons in singing.
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Parry's age is slightly above average at 20. Her maturity may have given her an advantage in the interview. She was high school trained, but had no leaving certificates, though she had at least followed courses in most subjects. She has tried to plan for entry to a college by taking Special Science, a sign to the principal of her keenness. She has music and drawing passes, but is a typical, non-academic applicant. She does however have a general knowledge of subjects. Her appearance is favourable, as she had a 'nice expression'. Being 'not really good looking' may be only a minor disadvantage. Her games experience is strongly in her favour. She is a captain (leader) and has played all the main sports. The summary remarks are fairly neutral, commenting on her musical ability. Overall this seems an average to quite good interview result.

Supporting Information

10th December 1917. G. McRoben (Headmistress, Girls High School Wakefield) To Miss Greene (Dartford Principal).

'A. Parry has quite cool mental capacity, although she is weak in Mathematics and French. She has strong common sense and is one of those girls who never do well in exams, but her cool intelligence and as I said, much common sense [sic] I feel sure she could do the work. She is very keen about it and capable of doing very hard work and that goes a very long way. I once sent up a girl Stella Blackburn of much the same kind mentally and she did very well in her theory. So much so that Madame gave her the post at the Durham T. C. and she is now at Bingley T. C. doing very good work I believe . . . She has no leaving certificate, though she has worked with the VIth for all subjects, except Mathematics, and she has taken Special Sciences in readiness for the Physical Training College. I can warmly recommend her as likely to benefit by a course.'

Parry's head teacher supports her application by stating she is intelligent despite her lack of examinations. She is honest about Parry's lack of exam ability, but stresses her common sense. Intelligence and sense are useful attributes for a student and may make up for her lack of examination success. Parry therefore would do well in the headmistress' view. An example of a previously successful girl from the school is given. This girl, described as similar to Parry, was successful at the college and proves to the principal that the headmistress' judgement is good. Overall this letter stresses Parry's less obvious good points, while reducing the importance of her lack of examinations.

15th December 1917. Miss Greene (Dartford Principal) To Alice Parry.

'In view of the letter from your headmistress, Miss McRoben, I have decided to accept you as a student of this college in spite of the fact that you have not taken one of the Entrance Examinations. I must point out that there is some possibility of the course being extended to three years and I cannot say when this will come in force. You will probably received a letter about this from the secretary of the committee of management in the course of a few days.'

The importance of the headmistress' letter is stressed by the Dartford Principal. It seems that this support clinched entry for Parry, in spite of her lack of examinations.

Result of Application: After starting the course, she was offered a post at a (private) school⁵ and did not complete the college diploma.

**Case Study: Florence Myfanwy Leete
For Entry 1918**

Name	Florence Myfanwy Leete
Age	18 (Born 26. 7. 1900)
School	Liverpool College and Private School
Health	Left eye weak. Doesn't breathe through nose. Asked Miss--- to see to this. Chicken Pox, German Measles.
Certificates	Too late to take exams. Good brain capacity. Doing well Domestic Science.
Appearance	
Games	Swims, hockey XI, cricket, tennis, netball.
Remarks	Prefect, plenty of initiative. V. nice girl. Very musical, good voice, great dramatic talent . . . trained for stage . . . artistic.

Leete is an average 18 years old. She has experience of two schools, the academically oriented Liverpool College, and an unnamed private school. Some physical abilities were discovered at interview. An eye test showed her left eye was weak. She also did not breathe properly through her nose, and a member of staff was asked to solve this problem for her. She had arrived at Liverpool College 'too late to take exams.' She did have a 'good brain capacity' and was doing well in domestic science. She had a good games record, participating in a variety of sports. The summary remarks are very favourable to her. Her character was very much in her favour. She was a prefect, suggesting leadership ability. She also had 'initiative', which would stand her in good stead as a teacher. The principal considered her a 'v. nice girl' which may have meant she fitted the ideal of being 'lady-like' and feminine. She was also successful in dramatics. This student was to have no examination successes, yet she was considered favourably by the principal, and had a good interview.

Supporting Information

6th October 1917. Miss G. Anthony, (Headmistress, Liverpool College) To Miss Greene (Dartford Principal).

'I am writing to ask your advice and help with regards to one of my girls Myfanwy Leete, aged 17, who is anxious to train for physical work in a years time . . . [Arrived here] late and has not taken any qualifying examination, and I doubt if she could do so as her French is very weak. She is a girl with a fine physique, and both Miss Emerson and Miss Rodwell think she could do very well, if she were able to take up physical work. She is musical and has a beautiful voice, and for the last year has been doing some domestic

⁵ 20th December 1918. Miss Lumsby (headmistress, Bournemouth School) To Miss Greene (Dartford Principal); 'I have asked her to come here in January. She has to talk it over at home, but I think she will as she evidently wants to.'

science work. She is a very useful senior girl in her house, and we think she would have organising and stimulating capacity . . . I really think she is a girl who might do thoroughly well in physical work or I should not recommend her.'

The headmistress quickly explains Leete's lack of exam success. She arrived at the school late and there was not enough time to train her to academic standard. This negative aspect is quickly got out of the way and more positive ones brought in. Her physical appearance and prowess is developed. The names of other teachers (games mistresses) are added in support. Her character is then favourably developed in terms of her 'usefulness', 'organising' and 'stimulating abilities.' This is a sensible reference, summing up Leete's academic weakness, while praising her physical and character abilities.

7th October 1917. Miss W. M. Emerson (Housemistress, Liverpool College) To Miss Greene (Dartford Principal).

'She is very anxious to take up physical work but has no qualifying examination. In my day of course this was not an insurmountable obstacle but I rather fancy things now are of necessity much stricter. Myfanwy Leete is really a very attractive girl. I am sure she would do thoroughly well at Kingsfield. She is one of the best natured girls I have ever come across and she does anything she sets her mind to. Her games are good, above the average. Her dancing and gymnastics are thoroughly satisfactory. I think she is the second girl who would be very helpful as staff afterwards. She is very popular and a good organiser. I should so much like her to come to Kingsfield. I think you would find her satisfactory in all ways. We are hoping to send two other particularly nice girls to you in September and they would I think be an attractive trio.'

The games mistress also emphasises Leete's lack of examination success. She then develops more positive aspects in Leete's favour. Her appearance is 'attractive'. Her nature is 'good'. She is 'popular' and a good 'organiser'. Apart from these character qualities, her physical prowess is developed. She is above average at games, and has teacher potential. Two other girls also get a preview mention here.

8th October 1917. Miss Greene (Dartford Principal) To Miss G. Anthony (Headmistress, Liverpool College).

'We do not like making exceptions in our rule for entrance to this college, we are not anxious to have girls who are unable to pass even a simple examination such as the Senior Cambridge. The work here demands high intelligence, and the standard is being constantly raised, as the work advances . . . girls may occasionally have special gifts and be in some respects particularly suited for the life and yet fail to pass one of the school examinations owing to her weakness in one subject. Your recommendation naturally carries a great weight, and I shall be glad owing to that, to do what I can . . . let me have information you can respecting her school record etc. I will then interview her.'

The emphasis on Leete's examination weaknesses may have been a mistake on the part of her referees. The principal delivers a stern rebuke on the undesirability of girls without qualifications (this is rather astonishing given the records of the majority of girls at Dartford, who did not have qualifications up to this time, see Chapter 3). However the importance of the headmistresses reference is clearly emphasised. It is the reference and the school report which will lead to Leete obtaining an interview.

17th October 1917. Miss G. Anthony, (Headmistress Liverpool College) To Miss Greene (Dartford Principal).

'I do not think that Myfanwy is a girl who is lacking in brain power, but she came to us too late to take an examination, especially as in the early days before she came she was at a school where she was not made to do her best. She is working very well now, but it is too late to pull up her French to Matriculation standard. She gained a First in class last week doing specially well in the Domestic Science theoretical paper. I will send a full record of her work at the end of this term.'

The headmistress cannot resist one last justification of Leete's lack of qualifications. She blames the private school Leete went to prior to arriving at Liverpool College.

Result of Application: 'sent down' from college, December, 1918.⁶

General Conclusions

The interview procedure provides an insight into the determination of various forces to reach a satisfactory conclusion concerning the candidate's application. The importance of social class, ability to pay fees, character, parental and school teachers influence, physical appearance, and health, all played important roles in determining which candidates were suitable. The case-studies provide examples of the procedure in action. The interview was only part of the procedure. Supporting information played a subtle but important part and may not have been fully understood by the actual students. The ideal candidate seems to have come from a prosperous middle-class background. She had an outgoing, pleasant character, able to impress but not threaten. She had good health and physique. Parents who themselves came across well at interview or in writing were most useful. During interviews the best candidate remained composed and genteel while standing up to the questions asked. The micro-studies show that candidates differed in many ways from this ideal norm. Some fell short of being successful at interview. However a successful strategy involved the use of supporting information. Committed and determined parents or teachers could reward a candidate who interviewed moderately with a place at college. Therefore in reality a wide range of candidates gained entry to college. The evidence is that successful candidates were varied and heterogeneous in nature. There was no typical physical training college student.

There were always more candidates than places available at college. The interview played an important part in weeding out the poorer candidates. The interview was an important opportunity for the principal to get to know the prospective student. This was done formally by asking questions and appraising the answers. Informal observations were also made and recorded privately.

There appears to have been three types of general criteria the candidates needed to pass: experience, character and appearance. The first was the candidate's background experience. Age comes into this category. Candidates of 17 to 20 years of age formed the commonest group. This category was flexible, as seen by Brown's successful application at 32 years of age. Therefore the interview procedure was not ageist. The candidate's school was of relevance. Academic high schools may have provided the best background during this late period of study, but private schools were still all very acceptable, e.g.

⁶ A scribbled note by Miss Greene on an undated letter from Leete's mother to Miss Greene asking why she was sent down states; 'No presence, shows no sign of being a teacher. Failed in all exams.'

Butler at Queenswood. Examination certificates played an important role in the application procedure but evidence suggests those with no qualifications could still gain entry. A good educational background could mean having studied a range of subjects but not up to exam level. Practical games experience was an important factor. A wide range of 'typical' games playing experience was very important.

The aim of this factual information was to ensure the candidate had a general all round background experience. This provided a minimum of experience necessary to be considered for admittance before the interview. This information was provided on the college application form⁷. Those who were lacking in this background would not be invited for interview.

The interview was an important event in assessing the character of the student. Evidence of games playing for instance, showed ability and experience. It did not necessarily show commitment and enthusiasm to train and teach games. It was up to the candidate to show these qualities at interview. Fenwick failed to convince Miss Greene that she was enthusiastic over teaching games, only that she was enthusiastic at playing games.

The principal was also looking for signs of leadership in the candidates. This had to come from the candidate's personality, though those who were prefects or team captains had an advantage. Other characteristics looked for and recorded during the interview of candidates were decisiveness, aura, confidence, outgoing personality, good voice, initiative, and the ability to get on with others. The more successful candidates would convince the principal that they possessed enough of these qualities to be selected for entry.

Character involves an assessment of the mental qualities of candidates. The other important role of the interview was to allow the principal to assess the physical qualities of the candidate. The appearance of the candidate played a part in her eventual success or failure. Positive factors listed at the interviews were bright and pleasant, good looking, nice expression, pleasant face, good shoulders, straight posture, good complexion. The principal seems to have preferred those who could be summarised as 'nice girls' rather than sporting amazons or those who deviated from the 'feminine norm' of the period. A good dress code was necessary to supplement appearance. Appearance was difficult to alter. Students had to be judged on how they looked, and those who were favourable did not deviate too much from what the principal considered the ideal norm.

Health was also important for successful entry to college. Past diseases were noted to gain a background history of the students' well being. Tests seemed to have been carried out on eyes, and any problems such as breathing difficulties or ankle trouble noted. Robust candidates were welcomed while those who were 'weedy' were frowned upon. The more healthy the candidate the more successful she might be.

The candidate at interview at Dartford at the end of the First World War, had to show a certain level of education and schooling, though this could vary by degree. The application form allowed this information to be tabulated. All who matched the standards required might be called for interview. At the interview the candidates would be examined to see if they had a suitable character. This would be revealed from questions and answers. Appearance and health would also be assessed through observing and testing. Those who excelled over the other candidates would be offered a place at Dartford. All places were

⁷ No examples of the college application form of this period appear to have survived.

subject to a probationary period. Some candidates were offered provisional places subject to good school reports or were put on a reserve list, their entry dependant on other more favoured candidates withdrawing.

As we have seen in the case studies, supplementary information on behalf of the candidate could play as important a part as the interview itself. The three main forms of supplementary information are the students application, parental pleas, and headmistresses references.

The six students considered in the case studies show that they relied heavily on support from their headmistresses. Butler's application strategy was the only different one relying on her determined and persuasive mother.

<u>Student</u>	<u>Supporter</u>	<u>Qualities Stressed</u>
Butler:	Mother	Keen, suited for training
Brown:	Education Officer & Candidate	Experiences, conscientious
Pawle:	Headmistress & Candidate & Father	Keen
Fenwick:	Headmistress	Keen, games record
Parry:	Headmistress	Common sense, keen
Leete:	Headmistress & Housemistress	Organiser, popular

Often the candidate would get the headmistress to introduce her to the college principal first, before she applied herself. The end of school report was particularly important in making up the principal's mind. The role of the headmistress was to get the student an interview. This involved an honest appraisal from the headmistress, while stressing the candidate's good points. The headmistresses' view was always that the candidate was suitable for physical training. After the interview a follow up, supporting letter, from the headmistress was needed, if the candidate was marginal. This could turn rejection into acceptance, as with Fenwick's application.

Determined supporters like Butler's mother, or Fenwick's headmistress, could influence success or failure in the application. Having committed, letter-writing, supporters was an important weapon in the candidate's armoury.

The interview procedure was the first stage in an ongoing selection procedure designed to ensure that only the select pick of the crop achieved the coveted college diploma. Being successful at interview was no sign of ultimate success at the college. Six out of six candidates successfully gained entry to Dartford college but only two out of six successfully completed the college course and diploma.

Appendix 5: An Investigation into the Gender Stereotyping of College Principals by Their Students

Aim

This analysis looks at how the students described the gender characteristics of their principal's personality. It is a behavioural study, the aim being to see if they saw their leaders in masculine, feminine or androgynous terms: in other words to see what type of characteristics they observed by student experience. This discussion examines the descriptions (adjectives) of the principals given by students. Key descriptive words are taken from student narratives to build up a picture of how the principal was viewed by her charges. It is ascertained whether students use male or female descriptors when describing their leader. This will give an insight into whether the student perceived their leaders as exhibiting male (patriarchal) or female (matriarchal) or a mixture of both (matri-patriarchal) characteristics. The analysis also allows a comparison between student views of each leader at each college.

Method

This method is based on Bem's Sex Role Inventory.¹ The inventory allows individuals to view themselves using various adjectives termed masculine, feminine or neutral. Based on this scale, all descriptive words taken from a sample of student quotes about their principal, have been gathered and termed male, female or androgynous. By tabulating the resulting figures an answer to how students perceived their leader's personality and gender can be found. Bem's inventory was derived for a different study - society in America of the 1970s. However the descriptors labelled 'feminine' would give a very good description of the ideal Victorian lady. Where descriptors are given outside the finite list of Bem's descriptors, I have used my own discretion when labelling them. I have taken into account the Victorian/Edwardian view of such descriptors.

¹ S. L. Bem, 'The Measurement of Psychological Androgyny', Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, Vol. 42, No. 2, 1974, pp. 155-162.

Diagram 1: Bem's Sex-Role Inventory:

Reproduced from S. L. Bem, 'The Measurement of Psychological Androgyny', *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, Vol. 42, No. 2, p. 156.

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SANDRA L. BEM

TABLE 1
ITEMS ON THE MASCULINITY, FEMININITY, AND SOCIAL DESIRABILITY SCALES OF THE BSRI

Masculine items	Feminine items	Neutral items
49. Acts as a leader	31. Affectionate	51. Adaptable
46. Aggressive	5. Cheerful	36. Conceited
58. Ambitious	50. Childlike	9. Conscientious
22. Analytical	32. Compassionate	60. Conventional
13. Assertive	53. Does not use harsh language	45. Friendly
10. Athletic	35. Eager to soothe hurt feelings	15. Happy
55. Competitive	20. Feminine	3. Helpful
4. Defends own beliefs	14. Flatterable	48. Inefficient
37. Dominant	59. Gentle	24. Jealous
19. Forceful	47. Gullible	39. Likable
25. Has leadership abilities	56. Loves children	6. Moody
7. Independent	17. Loyal	21. Reliable
52. Individualistic	26. Sensitive to the needs of others	30. Secretive
31. Makes decisions easily	8. Shy	33. Sincere
40. Masculine	38. Soft spoken	42. Solemn
1. Self-reliant	23. Sympathetic	57. Tactful
34. Self-sufficient	44. Tender	12. Theatrical
16. Strong personality	29. Understanding	27. Truthful
43. Willing to take a stand	41. Warm	18. Unpredictable
28. Willing to take risks	2. Yielding	54. Unsystematic

Note. The number preceding each item reflects the position of each adjective as it actually appears on the Inventory.

Results

Table 1: Bem's Sex-Role Inventory and Miss Irene Marsh

Miss Irene Mabel Marsh, Liverpool Physical Training College		
Descriptor	Source	Gender
Motherly	Royle 1906	F
Strong		M
Humorous		N
Discussive		F
Friendly		N
Forthright		M
Enthusiastic		N
Adamant		M
Frank		M
Stubborn		N
Loving	Staff pre 1918	F
Goodliness		F
Vitality	Shaw 1915	N
Worker		M
Keeness		N
Concern		F
Maternal	Parker 1923	F

Good-natured		N
Vitality		N
Commanding		M
Humorous		N
Revolutionary		N
Insight	Nelson 1920	N
Attentive		N
Enthusiastic	Student 1921	N
Dedicated		N
Advanced		N
Irritable	Student pre 1918	N
Stubborn		N
Adamant		M
Disciplinarian		M
Compassion		F
Helpful		N
Gambler		M
Critical		M
Creative		N
Individuality		M
Fair		N
Physical	Student pre 1918	M
Vivacious		F
Determined		N
Inspiring	G-Smith 1915	M

Table 2: Bem's Sex-Role Inventory and Madame Bergman-Österberg

Madame Bergman-Österberg, Österberg Physical Training College (Hampstead and Dartford)		
Descriptor	Source	Gender
Earnest	Sturge 1891	N
Enthusiastic		N
Spirited		M
Helpful		N
Fighter	Student pre 1918	M
Belief		N
Spiritual		N
Enthusiastic		N
Forceful		M
Frank		M
Ruthless		M
Critical	Student pre 1918	M
Exacting		M

Strict		M
Understanding		F
Intolerant		M
Dominant		M
Cutting	Pagan 1894	N
Unique	Student pre 1918	N
Many sided		N
Dominating		M
Disciplinarian		M
Critical		M
Affectionate		F
Kind		N
Generous		N
Sympathetic		F
Influential		N
Unpraising		M
Insistent		M
Compassionate	Student 1911	F
Frightening		M
Sharp	Student pre 1918	M
Critical		M
Loving		F

Table 3: Bem's Sex-Role Inventory and Fraulein Wilke

Fraulein Wilke, Chelsea Physical Training College		
Descriptor	Source	Gender
Martinet	Student 1912	M
Perfectionist		M
Attentive		N
Inspiring		M
Critical	Student pre 1918	M
Judgmental		M
Eager		N
Energetic		M
Business like		M
Cheerful		N
Zeal		N
Enthusiastic		N
Broadminded	Student pre 1918	N
Democratic		N
Outspoken		M
Uncruel		N
Discussive		F

Human		N
Friendly		N
Understanding		F

Table 4: Bem's Sex-Role Inventory and Miss Margaret Stansfeld

Miss Margaret Stansfeld, Bedford Physical Training College		
Descriptor	Source	Gender
Strong	Student 1913	M
Determined		M
Sympathetic		F
Unrewarding		N
Taskmaster		M
Humorous		N
Generous	Student pre 1918	N
Kind		N
Understanding		F
Approachable		N
Strict		M
Demanding		M
Energetic	Student pre 1918	N
Leader		M
High Standards		N
Unassuming		F
Attentive		N
Sympathetic		F
Compassionate		F
Considerate		N
Enthusiastic		N
Concern		N
Generous		N
Forceful		M
Vehement		M
Prejudiced		N
Passionate		N
Generous	Student 1915	N
Unselfish		N
Human		N
Austere		N
Goodliness	Student 1918	F
Good		N
Frightening		M
Wonderful		N
Approachable		N

Broad-minded		N
Frightening	Student 1922	M
Humorous		N
Helpful		N
Strict	Student 1923	M
Frightening		M
Charming		N
Astute		N
Tough		M
Appreciative		N
Tempestuous		N
Advanced		N
Influential		N
Cruel	Student 1913	N
Unsubtle		M
Unique		N
Unrewarding		N
Perfectionist		M
Inspiring		M
Fair		N
Beneficent		N
Insulting		N
Autocratic	Student 1925	M

Table 5: Bem's Sex-Role Inventory and Miss Rhoda Anstey

Miss Rhoda Anstey, Anstey Physical Training College		
Descriptor	Source	Gender
Kindly	Impey Staff 1918	N
Goodliness		F
Many-sided		N
Dogmatic		M
Wholesome		N
Natural		N
Creative		N
Individual		M
Theosophist		N
Worldly		M
Mystical		N
Humanistic		N
Compassion		F
Benevolent		F
Feminist		M
Determined		M

Conclusion

Table 6: Total Number of Descriptors and Percentage (parentheses) of Descriptors

Principal	Male Descriptors	Female Descriptors	Neutral Descriptors
Marsh	13 (31%)	8 (19%)	21 (50%)
Österberg	18 (51%)	5 (14%)	12 (35%)
Wilke	8 (40%)	2 (10%)	10 (50%)
Stansfeld	17 (29%)	6 (10%)	34 (61%)
Anstey*	5 (31%)	3 (19%)	8 (50%)

* Due to the small number of descriptors (which are staff descriptors) obtained for Miss Anstey this data may well be unrepresentative and is included here merely for general comparison.

There is a strong dominance of male characteristics over female, though neutral descriptors dominate over all (except in Madame Österberg). These women were certainly not perceived by their students as the 'angel in the house' stereotype of Victorian society. They were androgynous in nature but exhibiting a masculine bias. (This fits in well with the matri-patriarchal model of this thesis where female leaders exhibit masculine characteristics, for their own aims.) As leaders it seems they exhibited many masculine and neutral descriptors in their every day characters but few feminine ones. Madame Österberg exhibits the most masculine character (51%) while Miss Stansfeld, rather surprisingly given her hierarchical reputation exhibits the fewest (29%), just below the far less hierarchical Miss Marsh. Of female characteristics it is Miss Stansfeld and Fraulein Wilke who exhibit the least at 10%, with Miss Marsh (and Miss Anstey) the most but only at 19%. On neutral indicators Miss Stansfeld has most at 60%. Madame Österberg has only 35% of her characteristics labelled as neutral.

The college principals exhibited conflicting signals to their students. As leaders they exhibited many characteristics, traditionally stereotyped as masculine, yet these were balanced by a whole range of other characteristics. The majority of characteristics were of a neutral description. The fewest descriptors, though still notable, were of a feminine leaning.

These women had androgynous characters when described by their students. Bem believes that androgynous characters are less limited in the range of behaviours available to them. Androgyny would have helped the principals in their dealings with the various problems of running complex institutions. However the predominance of masculine characteristics over feminine implies 'a cognitive focus on getting the job done', while the lack of feminine descriptors may indicate a lack of expressive orientation a lack of 'effective concern for the welfare of others.' This does not imply that principals did not care for their students, only that their way of showing this may have been defective. As we have seen, the hierarchical nature of the college and use of 'power over' may have been an example of this inability to exhibit feminine characteristics to their students. However we have also seen that some students at least were able to access some of the feminine characteristics principals kept hidden amongst masculine and neutral characteristics which dominated their working lives. The college principal was therefore seen by her students as

an androgynous figure, a role model for some, of a woman capable of taking on masculine characteristics and leading a complex institution.

Despite the inappropriateness of these masculine characteristics exhibited in these Victorian and Edwardian women, the students seemed to have accepted them as role-models. There seems to have been no confusion about the principal as leader. Many of the students had come across women in positions of power at other institutions. The role of 'woman leader' and its associated characteristics was acceptable. The students admired their leaders. The style of management which the students experienced involved a range of characteristics from masculine to feminine. The power of the principals and the ability to run colleges on their own lines, meant the student lived in a hierarchical, masculine-neutral environment. This environment was controlled by the behaviour of the principal.²

² For examples of how Bem's work has been used along with other sex-role models in modern day education See H. L. Gray in C. Riches and C. Morgan (Eds), Human Resource Management in Education (Milton Keynes, 1989), pp. 38-45. And, H. Gray in J. Ozga (Ed), Women in Educational Management (Oxford, 1993), pp. 106-115.

Appendix 6: Rules in Force at Victorian/Edwardian Homes, Schools and Colleges

Table 1: Rules and Gender Bias

Rule	M/ F/N	Location	Source
Cleanliness	N	Home	A. J. Jackson, <u>The Middle Classes</u> , p. 220.
Punctuality	N	“	“
Tidiness	N	“	“
Obedience	N	“	“
Eating up	N	“	“
Sitting up Straight	N	“	“
Etiquette	N	“	“
Good Manners	N	“	“
Use of Slang	N	Cheltenham Ladies’ College	G. Avery, <u>Best Type of Girl</u> , p. 278.
Unlady-like Expressions	F	“	“
No coughing	N	Badminton	p. 220.
No hot water baths	N	“	“
Punctuality	N	Unnamed Teacher Training College	p. 280
Slamming doors	N	“	“
Entering Dining Hall	N	“	“
Words ‘Awful, Jolly’	N	“	“
Using surnames Unnecessarily	N	“	“
No kissing except on birthdays	F	“	“
When to remove gloves	F	St Mary’s Wantage	“
Number of words used to say good-night	N	“	“
Parental permission to walk home with friends	F	North London Collegiate School	“
No talking in work hours	N	“	A. K. Clarke, <u>A History of Cheltenham</u> , p. 80.
Walking with left hand behind back	F	Norwich H. S.	“
Seated with both hands behind back for posture	F	“	“
Processions-rulers and blocks in one hand, eyes front	F	City of Cardiff H. S.	“
No entering dorm cubicles of others	N	“	J. N. Burstall, <u>Public Schools</u> , p. 234.
Silence in dorms	N	“	“

Rule	M/ F/N	Location	Source
Fixed period for conversations when in bed	N	“	“
No unnecessary ornament	F	North London Collegiate School	M. V. Hughes, <u>A London Girl of the Eighties</u> , p. 23
Put hand up to speak	N	“	“
‘Please’ at end of sentence	N	“	“
No broken needles on floor	N	“	p. 26
Each book covered in different colour	N	“	“
No pen to be brought to school	N	“	“
Forbidden to get wet on way to school	F	“	“
Do not walk more than three to a row	N	“	“
Can not drop pencil box	N	“	“
Must hang boot-bags by more than one loop	N	“	“
Do not run down stairs	N	“	“
Enter building by small door not main one	F	Manchester University	M. Tylecote, <u>The Education of Women at Manchester University</u> , p. 33.
Professors to usher out of lecture room and escort	F	“	“
Take reserved front row seats in mixed lectures	F	“	“
No entry to library	F	“	“
Hats and jackets to be worn in public	F	“	“
Specific hours for town visits	N	Derby College	H. Barnes, <u>Training Colleges</u> , p. 87.
Study forbidden on Sunday	N	Bishop’s Stortford College	Barnes, p. 28.
Residential students not to mix with Day students	N	Bedford [London]	M. J. Tuke, <u>History of Bedford College for Women</u> .
Not ride bicycle in streets	F	Newnham	J. S. Gibert, ‘Women at the English Civic Universities’, PhD.
Wear gloves and hats in town	F	“	“
Chaperoned when boating on river (Married lady or	F	“	“

Rule	M/ F/N	Location	Source
teacher)			
Curfew	N	“	“
Chaperone for male classmates, professors and brothers	F	“	“
Visitors limited	N	“	“
No talking after lights out	N	Roedean	D. E. De Zouche, <u>Roedean School</u> , p. 83
No boxes in bedrooms	N	“	
Address using surname	N	Chelsea	I. Webb, <u>The History of Chelsea P. T. C.</u> PhD. p. 89
Saluting	M	“	C. C. P. E. Magazine, 1920, p. 20
Not allowed in each others bedrooms	F	Dartford	Randall, <u>Odd Jottings</u> , 1911.
Two baths a week	N	“	M. B. O. Mag, 1981, p. 33.
Bowing to Madame	N	“	“
Not allowed into Dartford (Later allowed in pairs)	F	“	“
3 or more students together when out of college	F	“	“
No lying on stomach in field	F	“	Letters, Clarke 1910
No pins in college clothes	F	“	“
No bobbed hair	F	“	Hilton, p. 29.
Cold bug-run around track	M	“	“
No late leave	N	Liverpool	L. P. T. C. Mag, 1975, p. 16.
No short hair	F	“	Roberts, 1924.
Skirt and hat when in public	F	Bedford	Spafford, 1908. .
Lights out 10. 30 p. m.	N	“	B. P. T. C Mag, 1975, p. 32.
No late leave	N	“	“
No Week-ends away	N	“	“

Out of the 72 rules covered:

26 (36%) forced a female (F) sex-role behaviour.

44 (61%) were neutral (N)

2 (3%) forced a male (M) sex-role behaviour

Appendix 7: Rules and Regulations: The Bones of Hierarchy

All the colleges had rules and regulations for the students to follow and it seems that rules increased as the institutions established themselves and principals became clearer on the college product they wished to produce. The moulding process became more defined and this meant providing guidelines for the students to follow. The exact regulations were provided by the individual principal, but all the colleges and indeed schools were constrained by the patriarchal society around the institutions. The principal was in *loco parentis* and had to guard and take responsibility for the students in the absence of their parents. Rules and regulations helped give substance to this process.

All girls' institutions to some extent threatened the order of patriarchal society and its icon the 'angel in the house.' To protect themselves from censure they adopted the typical institutional defence of 'double conformity.' This desire to appear lady-like was if anything heightened at the physical training colleges due to the robust training involved, which was seen as unlady-like by many parts of society. This meant that lady-like behaviour was insisted on, and to achieve and control it, rules and regulations and the reinforcement of these rules had also to be insisted on.¹ The extent of these rules was not limited to the Victorian period. Rules similar to those in the disciplined college of Madame, were in use at Bedford after the second world war; some continued into the 1960s.

Each college, though constrained by society's prejudices, went to differing lengths to achieve acceptance, depending on each principal's desire.² At school, students would have grown accustomed to obeying a whole selection of rules based on the whim of each headmistress.³ These forms of control are prime examples of 'power over.' This typically male form of power use can (and has been) used by women leaders when it has suited them.⁴ The female role models in Victorian secondary education had already embraced this form of hierarchical control. The college principals may have had little choice but to take on this well-tested form of hierarchical power and use it for their own ends. Also while Madame and Miss Stansfeld used this institutional weapon in its pure form, other principals especially Miss Marsh and Miss Anstey, used a mixture of 'power over' and 'power to'⁵ methods derived from their more democratic characters. The use of 'power over' can be called pre-feminist⁶ however as will be shown later⁷ the students still benefited

¹ See Appendices 6 and 7 for types of rules and regulations and for an investigation of whether they showed gender bias.

² S. Burstall, *Public School for Girls*, p. 243. Advises; 'It is generally recognised that rules should be few, and well kept; all rules should be anxiously revised from time to time.'

³ J. E. Harrison, *Reminiscences of A Student's Life* (London, 1925), p. 36; 'There was an odd rule throughout the college that no girl might buy a book. It sprang from Miss Beale's horror of what she called "undigested knowledge."'

⁴ M. P. Ryan, 'The Power of Women's Networks: A Case Study of Female Moral Reform in Ante-bellum America', *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 1, 1979, p. 66; 'If women are a force in history, if they make their own history, then we must also face the possibility that females have participated in creating and reproducing the less-sanguine aspects of the gender system.' And, p. 83; 'It should be clear, at any rate, that not every species of women's social and historical power merits our applause. It is the use of that power which concerns feminists.'

⁵ J. Rowlands, 'Empowerment Examined', p. 102, sees 'power to' as increasing one's ability to resist and challenge 'power over'. 'Power to' leads to the empowerment of the student.

⁶ E. Freedman, 'Separatism as a Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism 1870-1930', *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 5, Fall, 1979. p. 527; 'Women's culture can remain "pre-feminist" as in the case of

from its application in later years. Therefore 'proto-feminist' might be a better term for its particular application in physical training colleges of this period. This form of power is no less common amongst women today.⁸

The hierarchical rules were willingly accepted by some students once they had been around long enough to be called tradition. An example is seen at Chelsea: Wallace-Smith (Chelsea, 1920):

One of our oldest and most unique *customs* is that of saluting. It seems to have existed from the earliest days and I think is peculiar to our college. The *law* is that the first time each day that any Junior meets Senior whether in college or out of it, she shall salute her by raising her right arm to her head. The seniors return the salute in the same fashion. The staff however, do not do it in the customary way. Theirs is the privilege of merely graciously inclining the head towards the saluting student. During the days of the war we were careful to make this method of saluting one another as inconspicuous as possible, as we had no wish to be accused of 'aping the military.' That is no reason, however, why it should fall into the limbo of forgotten things, and before going any further we should like to make it clear that anyone entering College *must be prepared to abide by its traditions*, whether they object to them personally or not. It goes without saying that these traditions have no innate harm in them, or we would not expect them to be kept [all my italics].⁹

Sometimes instead of being strongly locked into the hierarchical structure, rules were hidden and ambiguous: Randall (Dartford, 1911) states that 'Students were allowed to run anywhere inside as well as outside but woe betide a student involved in an incident.'¹⁰

What were the benefits to students of a hierarchical power structure, evidenced by strict rules and regulations? These rules acted as signposts giving the student safe passage through college, on the way to achieving her goal of access to the world of work and economic independence.¹¹ The matri-patriarchal sphere was bolstered by these rules and gave protection to the 'good student' from adverse comment from outside. With all the students following the rules, a 'moral community'¹² was produced. Sisterly bonds were

some nineteenth century female reform associations that valued women's identity as moral guardians but did not criticise the status quo...Women's culture can also become reactionary; for instance when women join together under the control of an anti-feminist leadership.'

⁷ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of types of power and control.

⁸ H. Lensky, 'Power and Play: Gender and Sexuality Issues in Sport and Physical Activity', International Review Journal of Sociology of Sport, Vol. 25, 1990, pp. 240-241. In her examination of abuse of power by women over women states, 'There are unfortunately female coaches who treat female athletes in equally controlling and manipulative ways.'

⁹ (C), M. Wallace Smith, Chelsea College of Physical Education Magazine, No. 1, 1920, p. 20.

¹⁰ (D), J. Randall, *Odd Jottings* 1911.

¹¹ See G. L. Fox, "'Nice Girl' Social Control of Women Through A Value Construct', Signs, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1977, p. 186, and her views on institutional rules, costs and benefits; 'Failure to comply to the norms is solely the fault of the individual woman...normative control guarantees to those women who comply with its demands safe passage in the world . . . women benefit . . . tap into a social reservoir of protectiveness and shelter that is extended to nice women . . . It keeps women out of harms way. But there are hidden costs to normative control . . . personal freedom.'

¹² For a detailed analysis of a moral community see R. Rogers, 'Schools, Discipline and Community: Diary Writing and Schoolgirl Culture in Late-Nineteenth Century France', Women's History Review, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1995. Rules controlled students behaviour but also instilled a shared sense of values. In Rogers' examination the rules transmitted feminine but not necessarily domestic values, particularly the virtues of obedience, selflessness and interdependence. French schoolgirl, Eugenie, believed in the moral

created from common experience and adherence to the institutions norms. A shared sense of values arose which would bind the students together after graduation, through networks and the old student' associations. Most important at the time, it ensured acceptance by the principal and the institution. Other values which resulted included; obedience, selflessness, and interdependence, which may not have been learnt elsewhere (in the family home).

There was a price to pay from the resulting negative characteristics of rules and regulations: individuality was suppressed, a typical result of 'power over.' However as we have seen at Dartford, individuality was not extinguished within the strict hierarchical environment. Freedom of expression was probably greater at Anstey, Liverpool, and Chelsea colleges. Other effects on the students would be varying amounts of fear, feelings of failure, powerlessness, and submissive obedience, caused by having to obey rigid rules without question. It also tended to lead to a rigid hierarchical society where individual student needs and differences went unrecognised.

Rules and regulations were an important part of the hierarchical pyramidal structure of the institutions. They provide known examples of the operation of 'power over' in the colleges. Failure to obey the rules led, as we have previously seen to censure, punishment or removal. The rules were an important part of the moulding process which produced the ideal student product. They both constrained and guided the diverse group of students towards their ultimate goal.

values of the school and the sense of community these rulers formed but she did not respond passively to the ways the rules were interpreted. Protest could exist.

Appendix 8: A Representation of the Structure of College Culture and Its Place Within Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Society

To examine the student experience with other members of the college community a model has been created to show the power structure of the institution. This gives an insight into how relationships and identities were guided by institutional power. The model relates specifically to a situation where women have power over other women in an institutional environment. The model leads to an examination of principal and staff inter-relationships. A particular examination is made into student resistance to authority on an individual and group basis. This study of power leads to an analysis of the ultimate penalty; that of being 'sent down' from college due to failure to meet the social or academic demands required. Types of student 'failure' are considered alongside the operation of a system which incorporated removal of students as a natural part of the selection procedure for ensuring only those suitable obtained the diploma.

Was the College Social System a Rare Example of a Matriarchy?

The colleges were at this time highly unusual institutions in that they were run by women for women. Men had no input into their daily running, and were almost excluded physically from the college environs. This makes the social organisation of the colleges unusual. It would seem that here, if anywhere, was the opportunity to run a society on matriarchal principles.¹ One definition of Matriarchy is: 'any social organisation based on female power.'²

The college principal would therefore be the matriarch; be it Madame Osterberg, Margaret Stansfeld, Irene Marsh, Fraulein Wilke or Rhoda Anstey. All the principals were female and had total control over the institutions they had privately created.³ They tended to be autocratic in varying degrees. Below them in authority, they installed female members of staff. Many of these women were themselves autocratic in varying degrees, but all were held in sway by the power and authority of their particular leader.⁴ Therefore female power indeed ruled these institutions. The definition of Matriarchy needs further specification: 'The literal meaning refers to the rule of the mother as head of the family.'⁵

Many references are made to the 'College Family' and how colleges were run on Family lines.⁶ The college principal was sometimes seen as mother of her family. Some

¹ It is arguable whether any matriarchal societies have ever existed. Female institutions themselves were rare, the most enduring through history being religious orders. As we shall see an institution composed of females is not necessarily a matriarchy.

² W. Jarry and J. Jarry, *Collins Dictionary of Sociology* (London, 1991), p. 384.

³ Madame Osterberg in S. Fletcher, *Women First* p. 181; 'She had the greatest advantage of being left alone . . . the whole work being carried out as she thought' and Margaret Stansfeld also in Fletcher, p. 57; 'Effectively for over forty years she was accountable to no one.'

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66., Fletcher notes how at Bedford the staff were kept under strict control, 'Miss Stansfeld, living long into the twentieth century, and amazingly responsive . . . to developments in her profession, never lost the habit of keeping in leading-strings, those who were designed to be leaders.' And, p. 69, on Miss Stansfeld's choosing of her staff from former Bedford students; 'And some she had indeed called to Lansdowne Road much as a matriarch might summon her children to the family hearth as need arose.'

⁵ W. Jarry, *Collins Dictionary of Sociology*, p. 384.

⁶ See Chapter 5 for my detailed development of the theory of familism as related to the physical training colleges. The role of Familism within college society is mentioned in the works of most modern day researchers including: J. Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports*, p. 78; 'The idealisation of the role of the woman in the family was a central feature of the

colleges introduced socialising roles such as 'Mothering', to copy the home life of the typical middle-class home.⁷ This made the transition from home life to college life easier. The old students' associations are seen as extended college families.⁸

Matriarchies have important female orientated aims; to be female focused and centred. Certainly the colleges existed to train and educate young women to obtain qualifications and experience that would allow them to take up a profession. This gave them the opportunity of earning an income, which would give them economic and social freedom, at a time when work for middle-class women was non-existent, restricted, or frowned upon. The very nature and purpose of the institution meant it had to be female focused, and as men were excluded, female orientated and centred. The colleges were spheres of female power, culture, and values. Therefore these unique institutions had achieved some important elements of a true matriarchal society.

The Hierarchical College Pyramid

A matriarchy is not a mirror image of a patriarchy: in that unlike a patriarchy, where men have power, the matriarchy is based on far more egalitarian principles and is characterised by: 'equality, lack of hierarchy and living in harmony with the environment'.⁹

This does not seem the case for the women's colleges which were based on a hierarchical, pyramidal structure. At the peak of this pyramid was the principal, who had total authority invested in her. In general these women were characterised by dignity and authority, and could if they wished be ruthless to any who diverged from their wishes.¹⁰

Next in the hierarchy came the staff, who were to varying extents, capable of severity or cruelty to those beneath them.¹¹ The staff enjoyed what privileges came their way within the community. They rigidly carried out the orders of their leaders and few dared deviate. Beneath them in standing came the senior students who had proved themselves capable of living up to the demands and ideals of college. They had earned

version of feminism associated with the women's physical education profession.' And, S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 57, in regard to Margaret Stansfeld, 'She was also a mother-figure- not at all in the style of Miss Anstey, who brought in children off the street to dance and sing in her "pixie class" and even adopted some of her own, but in the way of teaching the student family.' And, J. A. Mangan, 'Social Construction of Victorian Femininity: Emancipation, Education and Exercise', International Journal of the History of Sport, Vol. 6, (1), 1989, p. 6; 'The theory and practice of familism in the colleges; states Hargreaves, reproduced the structure and morality of the patriarchal bourgeois family and reinforced conventional sexual divisions in society.'

⁷ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the senior student role of 'mothering' within the institution.

⁸ See Chapter 9 for a discussion of the role of 'old students' associations. S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 68; 'There was above all devotion to Miss Stansfeld, who as one decade succeeded another, seemed to be immortal. If the college was her family, the old students formed her extended family'. And, E. Edwards, 'Educational Institutions or Extended Families? The Reconstruction of Gender in Women's Colleges in the Late-Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', Gender and Education, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1990, p. 20; 'Old Students' Association the metaphor of the extended family became a powerful discourse for pioneering the corporate identity of the college.'

⁹ M. Mann, The Macmillan Student Encyclopaedia of Sociology (London, 1983), p. 225.

¹⁰ E. Edwards, 'Alice Havergal Skillicorn, Principal of Homerton Teacher Training College 1935-60', Women's History Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1992, p. 117; 'Principals' success in their public roles, however, depended above all else on their ability to wield a masculine authority over the communities they served.' And, in Madame Osterberg's case, K. E. McCrone, Sport and Physical Emancipation of English Women 1870-1914, p. 108; 'A natural dictator and uncompromising perfectionist.'

¹¹ At Bedford in particular, staff could appear to be cruel at times. However students had different views on each member of staff. Students still had respect for those staff they might fear.

greater privileges than the juniors, who formed the base of the pyramid. In their early days at college the juniors were on probation and could be 'sent down.'¹²

The college social structure was based on this pyramidal hierarchy. Even within the groups there were hierarchies; between those good at games and those good at study, captains of teams and teams, team and non-team players, new staff and old staff, and public school and grammar school girls.

The source of power in the pyramid was concentrated at the apex, with the principal. This meant that the flow of communication and authority was down the pyramid. At the base of the pyramid, juniors had no authority or formal power. They received orders and guidance from all of the groups above them. The juniors were at least in their early days, on probation and of low status. There was no power or communication flowing up the pyramid hierarchy from them; they did as they were told. The seniors had proved themselves worthy of college and its expectations, and had obtained certain privileges and authority. Most of this however was directed into controlling the juniors. The role of the seniors was to provide examples of the 'good student' which the juniors would strive to emulate.

The staff controlled the entire student body in its day to day living. Some were said to have their favourites from amongst the students who would gain their ear.¹³ They would listen to chosen students such as year heads, and team captains. In general, however, their authority took no account of the students below them. The principals were the fount of all power and authority within the colleges. The colleges only existed because of this power and authority. The apex of the pyramid therefore represents the source of the existence of the institution. Without the principal, no college, or college culture would exist. Therefore the college organisation can be said to resemble to some extent, a patriarchy.

The Matri-Patriarchy

This cannot be a patriarchy in its true sense, which is: 'a system of social relations in which men as a class have power over women as a class.'¹⁴

And: 'Patriarchy is a social system in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women.'¹⁵

These two definitions cannot apply as women are in charge of the system, not men. I will therefore introduce a possible definition of the term 'matri-patriarchy', where the above definitions become: 'a system of social relations in which women as a (ruling) class have power over other women as a (ruled) class.'

And: 'matri-Patriarchy is a social system in which women dominate, oppress, and exploit (other) women.'

Is this a more correct representation of what was happening within the colleges? Certainly the principals dominated over all the other women, staff and students, within the colleges. There was no pretence of equality. There were not any real examples of equality elsewhere in Victorian society during the whole period, which could have served as a role

¹² See later in this chapter and Chapter 3 for examples of student experiences of being 'sent down' at the colleges.

¹³ Being good at a sport taught by a particular member of staff was a useful way of getting the favour of a member of staff.

¹⁴ M. Mann, *The Macmillan Student Encyclopaedia of Sociology*, p. 279.

¹⁵ W. Outhwaite and T. Bottomore, *The Blackwell Dictionary of Social Thought* (London, 1995), p. 449.

model.¹⁶ The colleges were theirs and they did what they wanted with them. These women did indeed dominate, for they were dominating characters.

Did they oppress? A reasonable number of students at some colleges did find their experience oppressive due to the high expectations and attitudes of staff. This kind of voice got louder from those at college after the period of this study, when society had relaxed its expectations of female behaviour, but the colleges had not.

Were the students exploited? This is more difficult to define as we must take into account why the students would be exploited and for what reasons. Certainly college came first, before any individual. Anyone who let college down, even with good personal reasons, was liable to be 'sent down.' True exploitation would depend on the motives of the principal. If college was a vessel for educating young women for careers in a society which preferred women not to work, then the means could be said to justify the ends, at least for those who were successful. Harsh treatment and high expectations could well be acceptable, given the economic liberation of the student at the successful completion of her course. Those who were labelled failures, a high proportion in the early years, may well have felt exploited and let down. Most of those who were successful did not feel this way; indeed many copied the forms of human management they had learned at college for their own teaching.

The method of training and life style imposed on the students therefore does not seem exploitive because it led to an ultimate empowerment for the successful students who formed the majority of the college experience. Only if a better way of reaching the same goal was available could this experience be termed exploitive. Given the total lack of alternative cultures and role models in Victorian and Edwardian England, it does seem the principals offered a 'cruel to be kind' processing. This moulding process enhanced young women's future lifestyles and gave them a crucial choice between being supported by family or husband, and supporting themselves in a profession.

The principals must have taken into account their own reputations as heads of colleges and as respectable women. They may have enjoyed the benefits a hierarchical structure gave them in increasing their worth as individuals, and perhaps because it made life easier, and they enjoyed the use of power.¹⁷ Overall, however, the conditions within the college were not unusual compared to other lifestyles available in society and though at times it was mentally hard, students were a lot better off than in some alternative experiences of work and life in contemporary Victorian and Edwardian society.

The aims of the principals were the opposite of patriarchal societies where, 'it made the subordinate female role into a desired cultural goal for women.'¹⁸

The subordination of the students appeared to be a deliberate *short term* goal within the college society. Paradoxically the *long term* aim was to produce physical training teachers able to make their own way in society. These women gained more opportunities

¹⁶ There were other all-female institutions such as schools, colleges, settlement houses and nursing homes. However, Madame Osterberg's experiences were mainly of Sweden, and the later college principals, Anstey and Stansfeld, may have been influenced by their Swedish mentor.

¹⁷ S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 5, ponders that 'Far too little attention has been paid to the way in which Madame Osterberg deliberately harnessed this phenomenon (emancipation of women through physical education) to her own ends.'

¹⁸ S. Weitz, *Sex Roles: Biological, Psychological and Social Foundations* (New York, 1977), p. 128.

than were available to earlier Mid-Victorian women.¹⁹ The colleges were producing women who were likely to fulfil themselves outside the home.²⁰

In true patriarchal societies there are key effects on women.²¹ *Women provide a cheap expendable pool of labour*: this was not the aim of the college principals as they were creating a pool of professional careerists on professional salaries.²² *Women perform unpaid domestic labour*: domesticity was not encouraged at the college, where work, practical and theory, took up all of the time available. *Society increases their dependence on men; increases male control*: men were absent from the college community and by being given economic power, the successful students were being given the opportunity to live lives without dependence on men. *Society benefits and assists male workers*: the physical training profession was created and run by females for females. It was a 'separate sphere', and had no benefit for male workers. Indeed it replaced male army drill instructors who were training school girls.²³

The physical training colleges were therefore not a benefit to patriarchal society. They existed within that society, but separately in spheres of female control.

Therefore the matri-patriarchy existed at physical training colleges as a social situation where women held power and authority over other women.²⁴ Here they dominated, oppressed, moulded, and empowered young women to take their place within patriarchal society. In other words, authoritative women used and adapted patriarchal methods to give young women economic and social power. This was within a society which disapproved of such power, but could not prevent its application in the form of a professional teaching career for many of these young women.²⁵

The Area of Patriarchal Society

The effects of patriarchal society began outside the boundary of college influence where matri-patriarchal rule ended. Here Victorian societies, values, and constraints influenced and controlled the students. This boundary was not physical. Clearly the students were under the strict control of the principal and staff within the college environs. This control also existed when the student was cycling to school, or on the playing fields through expected standards of behaviour and dress,²⁶ and any student seen out of college behaving in an inappropriate manner would be disciplined. The boundary was not fixed, so that as time went on students were allowed more freedom in society. The boundary of college influence shrank as the institution lost responsibility for student behaviour outside

¹⁹ K. E. McCrone, Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, p. 7; 'On the whole the world of the early and mid-Victorian lady was an indoor and sedentary one.'

²⁰ See Chapter 9 for student after-college experiences.

²¹ This list is taken from O. Mayes, Sociology in Focus: Gender (London, 1986), p. 57.

²² K. E. McCrone, Sport and the Physical Emancipation of Women, p. 106; 'At a time when rewarding and well paying careers for middle-class women were still relatively few, and the demand for physical training instructors greatly exceeded the supply, candidates were attracted by the virtual guarantee of employment at the relatively handsome salary of at least £100 a year.'

²³ S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 31; 'For Madame Osterberg, banishing the sergeant seemed to be not only a duty to Ling, but also in some measure a duty to women.'

²⁴ See Appendix 5 for how the students perceived their leaders to have androgynous personalities exhibiting male and female characteristics.

²⁵ P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800 (London, 1979), p. 139; 'In opening the way for a respectable career the colleges fitted in well with the movement of women's emancipation.'

²⁶ See Chapter 7 for a discussion of the significance and role of college uniform and dress.

of college. At the time in question, 1885-1918, the boundary was rigid and buttressed by strict rules and etiquette; decided on one side by college and, on the other, by society.²⁷

Within college, students were largely protected from this society. The staff all lived in, and led very insular lives. Only the principal had any real contact with the society at large, which is why only the pinnacle of the pyramid actually touches the society boundary. It was here that the battle between the principal's desire to provide a unique training environment for empowering young women for physical training work, came up against the constraining desires of Victorian and Edwardian society.²⁸ It was the battle fought here between the pioneering force of the principal and the more conservative force of society which decided the boundary of college culture and what went on within that boundary.

The outcome of this battle of wills was always a compromise. Expectations of dress, discipline, behaviour, and freedoms were all affected by this meeting between what the principal wanted for her girls, and what society was prepared to tolerate. The stronger the will of the principal, the greater the diameter of the matri-patriarchy circle of influence. No principal dared deviate too far from the desires of society.²⁹ This was because the principal needed society's approval for her college and sphere of influence to exist. If she lost general approval, the sphere of influence would 'burst' and it, and her college, could cease to exist. The stricter the views on how young women should behave, the lower the deviation from that norm and the smaller therefore the diameter of the matri-patriarchy sphere of influence. The relaxation of constraints on women at the end of the century allowed these spheres of influence to be created and developed.

On some occasions the students were allowed to leave the influence of the college sphere to travel to other circles of influence, e.g. schools, shops, swimming pool or cafe. To do this meant entering the domain of patriarchal society where more conservative expectations of female behaviour and appearance operated. Students who were used to wearing gym slips in college had to dress in full uniform, including ankle length dress and boater.³⁰ At Bedford this happened even if going from one house to the next in Lansdowne Road. Behaviour had to be immaculate, as this not only reflected on the individual, but more importantly on the college. Parts of the society they were passing through were not just disapproving but hostile, and less than perfect behaviour would harm the college's standing and influence. This would reduce the authority of the principal and her ability to maintain her sphere of matri-patriarchal influence.

Overall the colleges were run on matri-patriarchal principles. This involved using a hierarchical power structure to produce empowered young women capable of gaining economic freedom within Victorian and Edwardian society. I have envisaged this

²⁷ See Appendices 6 and 7 for a detailed analysis of college rules and their meanings.

²⁸ Compromise rather than revolution was the mode of operation of the principals, J. A. Mangan, 'The Social Construct of Victorian femininity', p. 5; 'Feminist reformers did not reject the predominant conceptual schemes of Victorian society, they modified them.'

²⁹ S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 65; 'Miss Stansfeld no more than Emily Davies could ignore the opinion of conventional society.' And, J. Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, p. 85; 'The physical education specialists challenged some features of dominant ideology - notably attitudes to the female body - but were in general conservative about wider social and political issues.' And, E. Edwards, 'The Culture of Femininity in Women's Teacher training Colleges', p. 284; 'The principal and staff were concerned above all else to maintain the respectability of their institutions and therefore to ensure that conditions were such that no breath of scandal could touch them.'

³⁰ See Chapter 7 for a discussion of the role and significance of uniform.

hierarchical pyramid as existing within a sphere of matri-patriarchal influence. The sphere itself existed within the patriarchal society or 'universe'. These spheres were only created due to the pioneering spirit and leadership qualities of the women who created them.

Appendix 9: Examples of Descriptions of ‘Home Familism’ and ‘College Familism’ Within Schools and Colleges in Victorian and Edwardian Britain

Some schools and colleges exhibited certain aspects of ‘home familism’ or ‘college familism.’ The following table summarises and categorises comments of biographers on the type of familistic strategy carried out by principals and headmistresses within their institutions.

Table 1: Examples of Familistic Descriptions of Victorian and Edwardian College Principals

Headmistress/Principal	Home Familism	College Familism	Source
1. A. Ottley, Headmistress, Worcester High School, 1883-1912	‘opposed awarding prizes for achievements, preferring to reward students for diligence.’		J. S. Pederson, ‘Some Victorian Headmistresses: A Conservative tradition of Social Reform,’ <u>Victorian Studies</u> , Summer, 1981, p. 469.
2. A. Ottley	‘home is the first place for the fulfilment of our vocation to be saints.’		Ibid., p. 484.
3. A. Ottley & D. Beale: Cheltenham Ladies College principal 1858-1906	‘persisted in regarding the moral spirit in which students undertook their work as more important than the quality of their achievements.’		Ibid., p. 469.
4. D. Beale	‘Through adaptation rather than imitation, Miss Beale aimed to furnish girls with as sound and balanced religious, intellectual and physical training in a manner that would magnify rather than threaten their womanhood.’		K. E. McCrone in: J. A. Mangan & R. J. Park, <u>From Fair Sex to Feminism: Sport and the Socialisation of Women in the Industrial and Post-industrial Eras</u> , p. 107.
5. D. Beale	‘Had a conservative if elevated conception of dutiful womanhood.’		K. E. McCrone, <u>Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women 1870-1914</u> , p. 81
6. D. Beale		‘Viewed educational reform as a means of preparing women, especially single women for an expanded social role.’	Pederson, p. 469.
7. F. M. Buss & D. Beale		‘Both believed that girls were capable of as great intellectual achievement	P. C. MacIntosh, <u>Physical Education in England Since 1800</u> ,

Headmistress/Principal	Home Familism	College Familism	Source
		as boys and to a great extent their schools were counterparts of boys' schools.'	p. 128.
8. F. M. Buss: Headmistress, North London Collegiate School. 1850-1895		'Her particular aim was to produce middle-class girls of limited means with an education which would minimise social graduations and develop morals, character and intellect.'	Ibid.
9. J. Clough: Principal Newnham College 1871-1892	'She elected to work within the established gendered social structure to achieve her goals.'		M. P. Gallant, 'Against the Odds: Anne Jemima Clough and Women's Education in England,' <u>History of Education</u> , Vol. 26, No. 2, 1997, p. 145
10. J. Clough	'She spent her life struggling to improve women's education but always in ways that were non-threatening to the acknowledged patriarchal power structure. And not only did she have no desire to challenge that power structure, she actively worked within it to achieve her ends.'		Ibid., p. 162.
11. M. Allen, Principal, Homerton College, 1903-1935		'Masculine political strategy and the feminine tactics which she sometimes employed to carry out this strategy showed clearly the conflicting discourses of her dual gender role.'	E. Edwards, 'Educational Institutions or Extended families? The reconstruction of Gender in Women's Colleges in the late-Nineteenth and Early twentieth Centuries,' <u>Gender and Education</u> , Vol. 2, No. 1, 1990, p. 23.
12. S. E. Davies: Founder of Hitchin College and Secretary of Girton College 1882-1904		""My idea of the college"" she wrote ""is that of a society not a family.""	S. Fletcher, <u>Women First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education</u> , p. 57.
13. L. Faithful, Principal Cheltenham Ladies College 1906	'She never challenged women's secondary role in public and private life.'		K. E. McCrone, p. 85.
14. D. & M. Lawrence (sisters), Joint		'The whole approach of the two headmistresses is	S. Fletcher, p. 33.

Headmistress/Principal	Home Familism	College Familism	Source
Headmistresses, Roedean School. 1885		redolent of the "civic" values and "public" spirit of the new girls' schools. In contrast to the domestic values of the family-like school of earlier days.'	
15. E. Wordsworth: Principal Lady Margaret Hall 1878-1909	'a mild mannered and conservative woman who did not share Emily Davies' view on women's rights or their needs to follow the same academic programmes as men.'		K. E. McCrone, p. 40.
16. E. Wordsworth	'urged students to cultivate womanliness and put marriage high on the list of desirable careers.'		Ibid.
17. M. Shaw-Lefevre, Principal, Somerville Hall 1879	'shared Elisabeth Wordsworth's views on the necessity of impeccably lady like behaviour and on the health - producing combination of study and physical recreation.'		Ibid., p. 44.
18. M. Shaw-Lefevre	'Her tact, moderation and unqualified womanliness, were a great help in disarming the hostile criticism that was directed against women's higher education and in laying secure foundations for the hall.'		Ibid., p. 44.
19. L. H. M. Soulsby, Headmistress, Oxford High School, 1887- 1897	'deplored over-busy women who were too occupied with public affairs to tend to their families.'		J. S. Pederson, p. 484.

Appendix 10: Two Qualitative Measurements of Empowerment and Powerlessness at Bedford Physical Training College

Empowerment Measurement 1

Based on an expansion of ideas contained in J. A. Conger, 'Leadership: The Art of Empowering Others,' The Academy of Management EXECUTIVE, Vol. 3, 1989, pp. 17-24.

Conger defines Empowerment as 'The act of strengthening an individuals beliefs in his or her sense of effectiveness. In essence, then, empowerment is not simply a set of external actions; it is a process of changing the internal beliefs of people' (p. 18).

Belief and effectiveness can be ascertained from student experience in physical training colleges. At Bedford, students were part of the most hierarchical physical training college. They were trained to a high standard, and set high standards. Those who came to the college during its Edwardian period would have had to adapt quickly to this demanding environment. They would have to accept new beliefs and reach new standards. Feelings of power and powerlessness would play a crucial part in their lives at college and in success or failure there.

'We know from psychology that individuals feel they can adequately cope with environmental demands - that is, situations, events, and people they confront. They feel powerless when they are unable to cope with these demands.' Conger, (p. 18).

The environment in question here, is life within the community of Bedford college. Students' feelings of power and powerlessness within this environment can be ascertained from their recorded experiences therein. How students coped with the demands of college will ascertain whether they were empowered by the institutional environment.

Conger provides a list of Context Factors leading to a potential state of powerlessness. This list can be used to provide a qualitative guide to powerlessness and empowerment. By comparing each organisational factor to life within the Bedford institution an idea of how powerless or powerful the students felt can be ascertained.

The Context Factors Related to Student Experience at Bedford Physical Training College

1. Significant Organisational Changes/Transitions

Colleges were fairly constant in their attitudes and organisational structure during the period. Bedford was under the control of Miss Stansfeld throughout this period. The main change was the gradual increase in student numbers. This increase may have caused a rethink of staff attitudes on a year by year basis but for students who were there for only two years, numbers would have seemed fairly constant. Therefore there was little or no disempowering effects from organisational changes or traditions. The main form of powerlessness occurred with those students whose presenting culture caused problems with their adapting to college life upon arrival.

2. Start-up Ventures

This commercial factor would have had no bearing on the student experience at private colleges.

3. Excessive competitive pressures

Conger implies competition between firms. The colleges were not necessarily in competition with each other as demand always exceeded supply during this period. However competition between students could be intense. Standards were high and those who failed to compete successfully could be removed from college. All students were essentially in competition with each other, both in getting into college and in staying there to complete the course. Those who could not compete with the skills and characters of top students may well have felt powerlessness.

4. Impersonal bureaucratic climate

The top-down hierarchical nature of the colleges was most intense at Bedford. Rules, regulations, and tradition restricted initiative and discretion for students. 'Power over' led to little personal freedom for students.

5. Poor communications and limited network-forming systems

Bedford students did form relationships laterally within their own set. The hierarchical nature of the college meant communication and network forming was prevented vertically up the hierarchical pyramid. Those in authority were somewhat unapproachable. Students, especially juniors, were constrained by these barriers.

6. Highly Centralised Organisational resources

Hierarchical colleges like Bedford had power centralised with the principal and even staff had limited control of resources. Students had none.

Supervisory Style

7. Authoritarian (High Control)

All colleges had authoritarians in charge. Bedford had the ultimate authoritarian in charge.

8. Negativism (emphasis on failure)

Some Bedford students found the fear of failure overwhelming. This may have been less at the liberal colleges. Staff at Bedford frequently criticised failure.

9. Lack of reason for actions/consequences

In hierarchical situations the use of 'power over' can lead to victims feeling aggrieved or perceiving themselves as failures. This was certainly the case at Bedford.

Reward System

10. Noncontingency (Arbitrary reward allocations)

Certainly reward for work well done was difficult to come by at Bedford. This was not used by staff as a tool to empower. Success was expected and taken as the norm. Failure

led to verbal abuse and perhaps removal. The reward system to many students was non-empowering as it was unattainable.

11. Low incentive value of rewards

Actually achieving a reward was well valued by students at Bedford. To achieve a reward guaranteed the student status and made removal from college less likely. The few who achieved such recognition received a boost to their morale and status, an empowering experience. The incentive was based on the value of the reward not the difficulty in achieving it.

12. Lack of competence based rewards

Skill at games and theory was valued. Rewards were difficult to come by from staff. But self-fulfilment through being picked for teams, winning matches and passing exams were widely available. Competence was valued, and measurable through these achievements.

13. Lack of innovation-based rewards

In a hierarchical community, authority says what is expected and what should be done to achieve goals. Innovation is frowned upon as divergence from the norm. This was the case at Bedford where students followed strict procedures. Innovation was frowned upon by those who knew best.

Job Design

14. Lack of role clarity

Hierarchical environments define roles clearly. The main problem for students was when they were newly arrived and did not understand their roles or what was expected of them. The problem after that was to achieve the goals their roles expected of them. Clarity was not a problem, they were told what their role was and the high expectations expected of them.

15. Lack of training and technical support

Bedford, which prided itself as an elite college, provided training by physical education experts. The college quickly grew, providing back up facilities, with appropriate specialist help. These facilities supported the students' attempts to achieve success at Bedford and were therefore 'power adding' rather than 'power taking'.

16. Unrealistic goals

A common criticism of Bedford college was the staff's demanding and sometimes unrealistic expectations.

17. Lack of appropriate authority/discretion

Junior Students locked into the hierarchical pyramid at Bedford had no authority and not much discretion. Senior students had more control (over juniors) and had a little discretion to deal with matters rather than bother staff. They were, however, locked into the hierarchical expectations of the college ethos.

18. Low Task Variety

Students undertook a variety of tasks during their course. Social tasks also changed when they became seniors. This led to a varying and skill giving environment which must have increased their academic and social knowledge.

19. Limited participation in programmes, meetings, and decisions that have a direct impact on job performance

Students at Bedford had no input into programmes, meetings and decisions affecting their work. They were completely powerless.

20. Lack of appropriate/necessary resources

The college was well stocked with resources such as a gymnasium and equipment. Socially and domestically the rooms of residence were adequate and gradually expanded throughout the period. These resources helped the student achieve academic success and provided a comfortable residential background for the period.

21. Lack of net-working forming opportunities

Inter-set opportunities for meeting and helping each other were aided by the room sharing, residential system. The hierarchical barriers to forming friendships with seniors effectively banished any equality of relationships here.

22. Highly established work routines

The college time-table provided a regular routine for students to undertake in achieving their goals. This routine may well have been necessary for these students to achieve eventual economic empowerment as highly trained Physical educators. The lack of variety on an evening when social life was isolating and indeed rare, may well have restricted social development.

23. Too many rules and guidelines

Rules were strict at Bedford and the students were highly regulated. Some rules were somewhat eccentric. All rules were at the whim of the principal Miss Stansfeld. Authoritarian control and the use of 'power over' were the backbone of life at Bedford.

24. Low Advancement opportunities

Students moved on a conveyor belt at Bedford; juniors became seniors, seniors left to become professional workers. Advancement meant achieving each grade. Failure meant being removed from college and not becoming a professional. The majority achieved their goals and acted as role models for those who followed. Therefore the advancement structure provided encouragement by emulation, and ultimate empowerment.

25. Lack of meaningful goals and tasks

Success at college was the overall goal of each student. Emulating Miss Stansfeld in even small ways were the goals of some students. The appealing nature of the goals at Bedford encouraged students to succeed and empower themselves.

26. Limited contact with senior management

The hierarchical nature of the college meant some preferred not to meet senior staff as they were afraid of them. The residential nature of college meant one could not avoid meeting them. Meaningful contact was limited due to the hierarchical superiority of such staff and their rather critical way of viewing students.

Table 1: A Summary of Context Factors and Their Effects on Empowerment at Bedford Physical Training College

- ✓ Empowering effect
- ✗ Disempowering effect

Factors of Powerlessness	Junior Student Experience	Senior Student Experience
Organisational Factors		
Significant Organisational changes	✗	✓
Excessive competitive pressures	✗	✗
Impersonal Bureaucratic climate	✗	✗
Poor Communications and limited network-forming systems	✗	✗
Highly centralised organisational resources	✗	✗
Supervisory Style		
Authoritarian (high control)	✗	✗
Negativism (emphasis on failure)	✗	✗
Lack of reason for actions/consequences	✗	✗
Reward Systems		
Noncontingency (arbitrary reward allocation)	✗	✗
Low incentive value of rewards	✓	✓
Lack of competence-based rewards	✓	✓
Lack of innovation-based rewards	✗	✗
Job Design		
Lack of role clarity	✓	✓
Lack of training and technical support	✓	✓
Unrealistic goals	✗	✗
Lack of appropriate authority/discretion	✗	✓
Low task variety	✓	✓
Ltd. participation in programmes, meetings and decisions . . . impact[ing] on job performance	✗	✗
Lack of appropriate/necessary resources	✓	✓

Factors of Powerlessness	Junior Student Experience	Senior Student Experience
Lack of networking -forming opportunities	✗	✗
Highly established work routines	✗	✗
Too many rules and guidelines	✗	✗
Low advancement opportunities	✓	✓
Lack of meaningful goals/tasks	✓	✓
Limited contact with senior management	✗	✗

Negative factors leading to feelings of powerlessness dominated the student lives at Bedford. This was by a factor of 2:1 for the juniors and by 3:2 for the seniors. Therefore the students at Bedford were not being empowered by a wide range of institutional factors. The situation of the seniors had improved somewhat compared to their lives as juniors.

Organisational factors: (4.5 ✗ disempowering factors to 0.5 ✓ empowering factors) operated to create feelings of powerlessness amongst the students. Seniors were slightly less vulnerable because their presenting culture had adapted to organisational requirements.

Supervisory style: (3 ✗ to 0 ✓)

was offered in the hierarchical form of 'power over.' This reinforced feelings of helplessness, emphasising feelings of failure and inadequacy, rather than encouraging.

Reward Systems: (2 ✗ to 2 ✓)

were more equitable in providing an area where students could achieve and gain status. The reward system remained flawed and difficult to achieve.

Job Design: (6.5 ✗ to 6.5 ✓)

was challenging to those who were committed to their training and desire to become physical educators. Reaching goals was not helped by unrealistic expectations and unsympathetic hierarchical regulation.

Qualitative analysis suggests that the **Organisational factors** and **Supervisory styles** of Bedford college were highly disempowering. The hierarchical environment encouraged dependency and submission. This was due to power being held at the top of the hierarchical pyramid with the principal, and to a lesser extent with staff. Students were left with little room to develop initiative and discretion. Students would feel powerless within this system.

Reward systems and **Job design** were more subtle, incorporating elements of 'power adding' as well as 'power taking.' The reward system contained elements which did reward initiative, competence and innovation. However too much of these character development factors were frowned upon. Student job design at the college was interesting and varied. The students' participation in these events was distorted by excessive regulation and expectations beyond the capability of the average student.

It appears that student participation within the Bedford institutional environment tended to lead to conditions of powerlessness especially during the junior year. This analysis suggests that students were not empowered during the course at Bedford. However evidence in Chapter 9 shows that when students left Bedford college some at

least felt great achievement and confidence. Conger is essentially stating that ‘power to’ leads to empowerment while ‘power over’ does not. Later in this appendix a determination of whether ‘power over’ can also lead to true empowerment will be considered.

A Note on the other Colleges

The other colleges were less authoritarian, though by degrees only. Liverpool for instance, would certainly show greater elements of power enhancing factors amongst Conger’s Context Factors. This is due to the more outwardly caring nature of Irene Marsh. Therefore other colleges’ institutional factors might lead to a more empowering process than at Bedford. As we shall see Bedford students left college as empowered as other colleges’ students. Therefore Chapter 9 explores other ingredients leading to empowerment outside of Conger’s Context Factors.

Empowerment Measurement 2

C. M. Rodwell, ‘An Analysis of the Concept of Empowerment’, Journal of Advanced Nursing, Vol. 23, February, 1996, pp. 305-313.

Rodwell analyses the concept of Empowerment in relation to nursing. She gives a qualitative guide to what constitutes Empowerment. She defines Empowerment as ‘a process of transferring power and includes the development of a positive self-esteem and recognition of the worth of self and others.’ (p. 307).

Rodwell gives a list of Related Concepts which comprise ‘Empowerment.’ These can be related to student experience in physical training colleges to give a qualitative measure of student empowerment at Bedford and Liverpool Colleges.

Table 2: Student Experience of Rodwell’s Empowerment Concepts

Concept of Empowerment	Junior Student Experience	Senior Student Experience
Autonomy	None	Limited
Responsibility	None	Some
Accountability	None	None
Power	None	None
Choice	None	None
Advocacy	None	None
Motivation	Good	Good
Authority	None	Some

Autonomy: students at Bedford and Liverpool had no self-government where relationships with staff were concerned. Senior students at both colleges had certain privileges, but little free-will.

Responsibility: junior students were not trusted with any authority. Senior students at both colleges were responsible for guiding juniors.

Accountability: though all students were held accountable for their actions, they lived in a controlled environment.

Power: students in the colleges had little or no power. Their ability to act and do was controlled by staff.

Choice: students at Bedford and Liverpool had little choice. They were told what was expected of them and had to achieve it. Even at liberal Liverpool, little room for divergence from the norm was given.

Advocacy: again the hierarchical nature of college education meant students had little or no freedom to speak out for themselves or against the system.

Motivation: students who were committed to physical education and the desire to be trained had plenty of motivation especially given the high standards expected.

Authority: juniors had no authority. Seniors had authority over juniors.

Results show that for junior students seven out of eight empowering concepts were denied to them. Therefore they had an extremely limited access to empowering factors within the college matri-patriarchy.

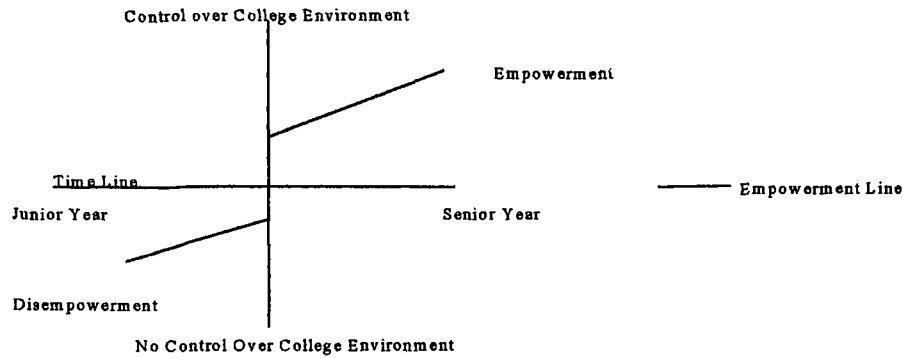
Senior students only had four out of eight empowering concepts denied to them. They were able to access four out of eight concepts to some extent. Rodwell's analysis suggests senior students had more access to empowering, than junior students. Junior students lived in a powerless environment. Interestingly Liverpool students would have fared little better in this general survey of empowerment unlike in Conger's survey.

The Growth of Student Empowerment in Physical Training Colleges

From the analysis above, graphs can be drawn, showing a line of empowerment. Student empowerment increased through time spent at college. At Bedford, junior students were in a powerless environment so empowerment grew at a slow rate. Seniors immediately gained a hierarchically superior status, and access to more empowering factors, this gave a sudden boost to their empowerment. Self-esteem and confidence arose through the achieving of senior status, hence the disjointed appearance of the empowerment line.

Graph 1:

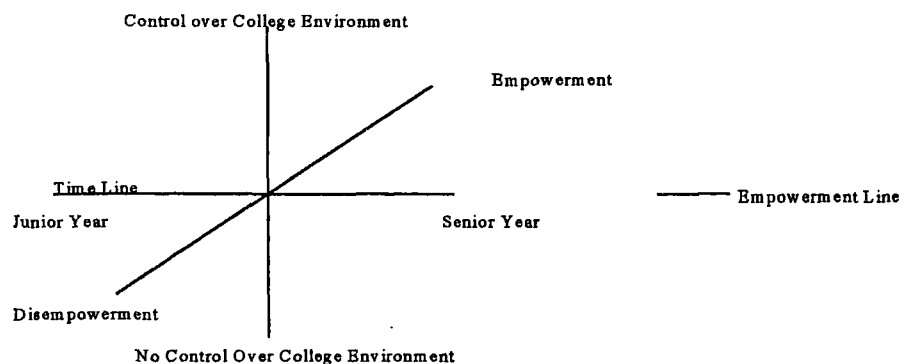
The Growth of Empowerment: The Bedford Method



Liverpool college was less hierarchical and students were open to empowering factors earlier. The movement from junior to senior was a much smoother process and continued the steady accumulation of status and self-esteem. Therefore the empowerment line at Liverpool is continuous and rises much smoother than at Bedford.

Graph 2:

The Growth of Empowerment: The Liverpool Method



All colleges were hierarchical in nature but some were more hierarchical than others. Those with a smooth transition from junior to senior, and where seniors were more approachable and nurturing, had a smooth rise in the growth of empowerment. Anstey and Liverpool fit into this category. Those more hierarchical colleges, Dartford and Bedford, had a slow growth in empowerment at first, as students struggled to adapt to organisational expectations. The feelings of overcoming high expectations upon entry into the senior year

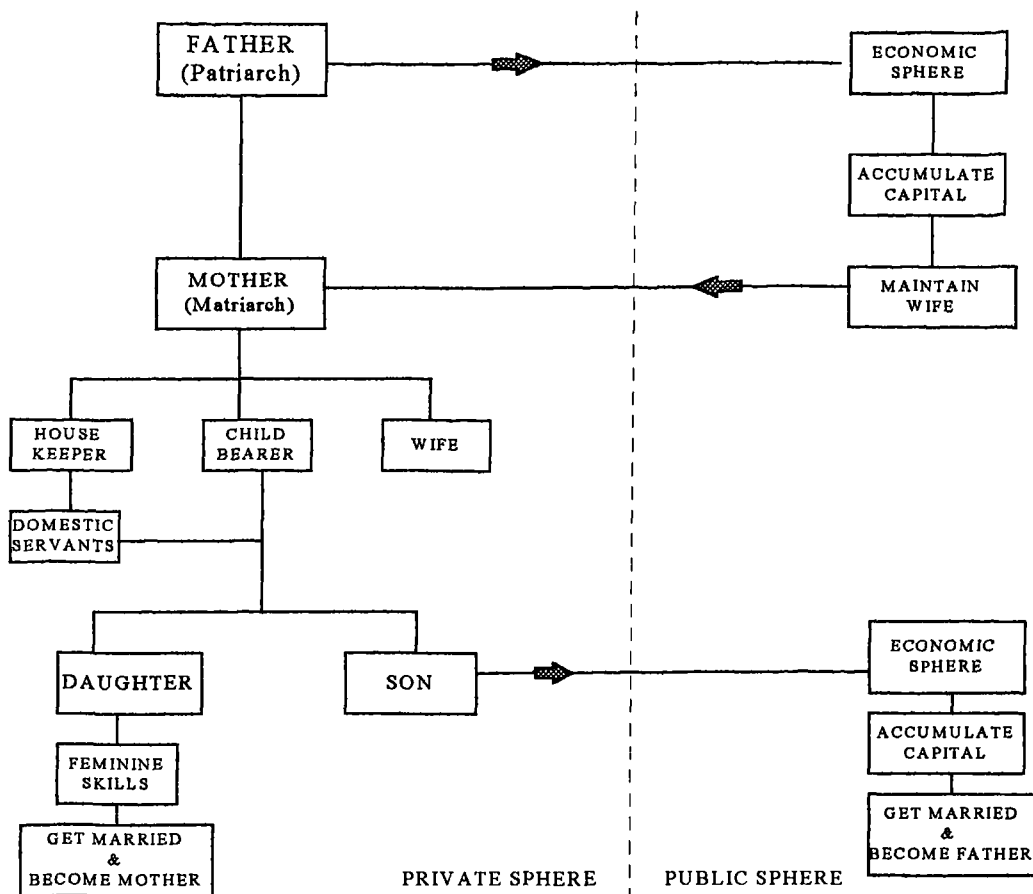
boosted feelings of empowerment and led to a shift in the empowerment line upwards. Chelsea college was hierarchical like Dartford and Bedford, yet offered a prominent mothering system. It therefore appears as intermediate between the two extremes.

Appendix 11: The Community Structure of 'Home Familism' and 'College Familism'

The Family Structure of 'Home Familism'

Below is a flow diagram showing the hierarchical and social divisions of a typical Victorian middle-class family. This is based on an interpretation of Hargreaves' 'respectable family' as developed in her article Victorian Familism and the Formative Years of Female Sport, in: J. A. Mangan and R. J. Park (Eds), *From Fair Sex to Feminism: Sport and the Socialisation of Women in the Industrial and Pre-industrial Eras*, (1987), pp. 130-138. The diagram shows how the functioning of the family system leads to a natural environment for the development of 'home familism.'

Diagram 1: The Family System and Home Familism



The flow diagram is an interpretation of Hargreaves' 'natural unit' or 'respectable family' of the 1880s. It shows the hierarchical division of this 'typical family.' The father is the head of the household (the patriarch) He has access to the public sphere and world of work. His economic power determines his ability to look after his wife and children. His success is evidenced by 'conspicuous consumption'; his ability to clothe, feed and provide a suitable home for his wife and children.

The mother (the matriarch) is limited to the private sphere. Her role is to nurture and care for her children, be a good wife, and organise the home and servants. This function diminished as senior servants became affordable. The children have different roles

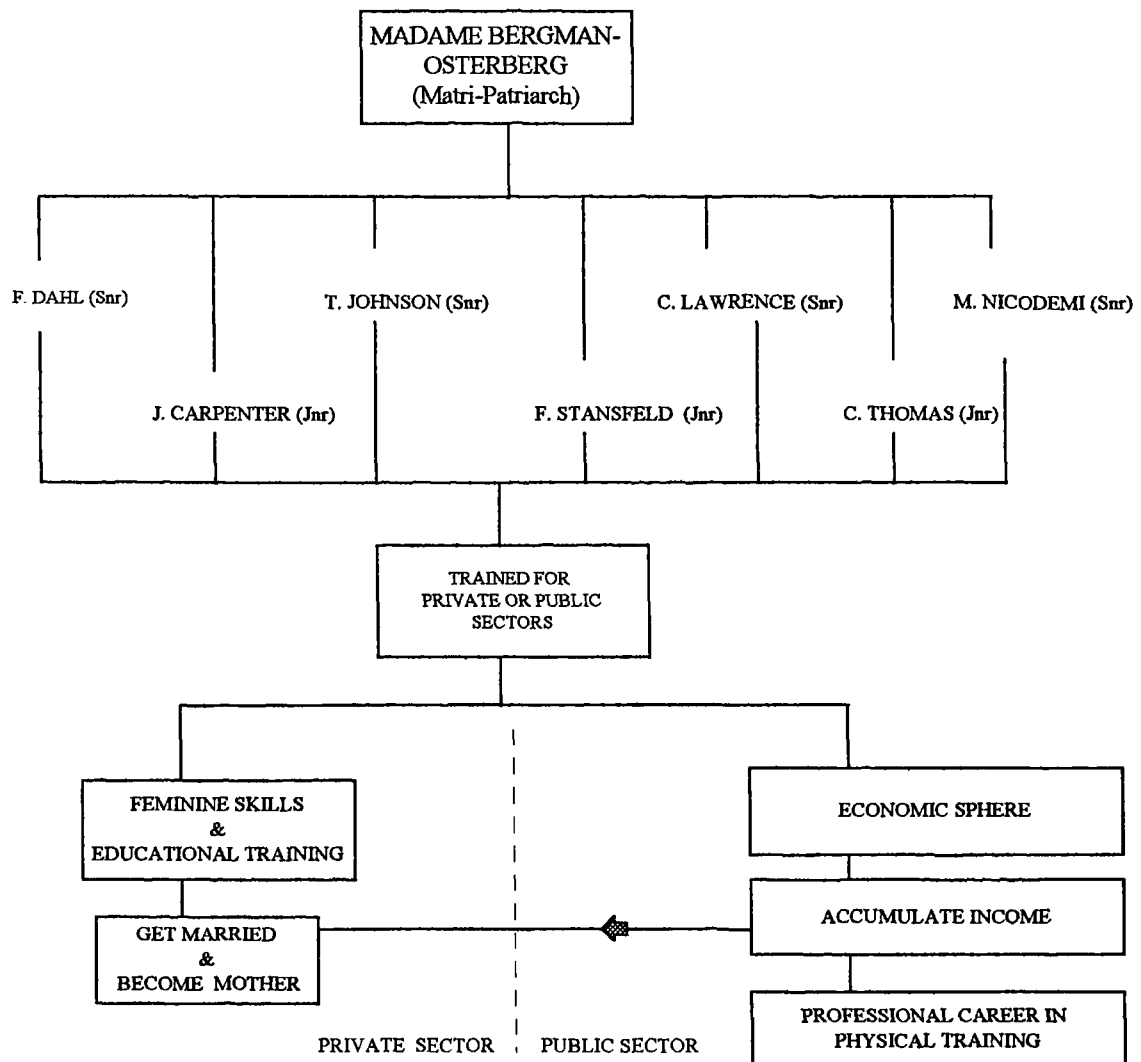
and expectations (the children have been kept down to two for clarity, though Victorian families were usually much bigger).

The boys go to school and then enter the economic sphere, here they accumulate capital and eventually become fathers themselves. The girls stay in the private sphere. They may have a governess or go to a private school to learn lady-like behaviour. Later they get married and become wives and mothers. The family structure is self-perpetuating and non-empowering. It is the original environment for the practice of 'home familism.'

The College Structure of 'College Familism' (Hampstead Physical Training College 1887)

This flow diagram is an interpretation of Hargreaves' comments on physical training college structure in nineteenth century England, in *From Fair Sex to Feminism*, pp. 138-142. The community structure of Hampstead Physical Training College has been superimposed on the construct. This type of college environment is the typical site of 'college familism.'

Diagram 2: The College System and College Familism



Madame is head of the household, replacing both father and mother as head of the community (the matri-patriarch). There were no other members of staff at this time. The college community otherwise consisted of four seniors and three juniors, a typical size for a Victorian family.

The main difference between the site of 'home familism' and this site of 'college familism' is *choice*. The students are trained to enter *either* the public or private sphere. Those who do not seek a professional career learn feminine skills similar to those learnt under 'home familism.' These skills are enhanced by the educational training the college provides. The students therefore become better wives and mothers. Those who so choose can enter the economic sphere. Here they accumulate enough income to look after themselves within a middle-class lifestyle. Some can still choose to give up professional work and get married. Others can spend their entire lives in a professional career.' 'College familism' gave choice to nineteenth century women. It was therefore empowering, despite the more conservative elements of 'home familism' it incorporated.

Appendix 12: College Familism in Practice: A View from Liverpool Physical Training College

Familism was particularly strong at Liverpool where the supportive and caring side of the community is much commented on.¹ Royle reveals the familistic structure; 'There was in those Bedford Street days, a unique quality of fellowship among members of the College. For Miss Marsh, the College was home and so the staff became, not employees, but personal friends, while the students were regarded as members of a large family.'² Royle's description fails to capture the undoubted hierarchical structure imposed on the college communities, even at Liverpool. 'Friends' were under the absolute control of Miss Marsh and they in turn controlled the college 'family.'

This is revealed in the next passage; 'Miss Marsh stood rather in the light of a mother to us all . . . I was treated more like a younger sister.'³ A famous member of the staff who was also a student said: 'we were like a happy family, went everywhere together and she gave us all such confidence that we never minded tackling anything.'⁴ The unnamed staff-student considers herself a younger sister, someone of status albeit junior. Miss Marsh as the mother figure⁵ provides confidence (empowerment) directly to her staff as well as her students. This empowering method is clearly in the form of 'power to.'

This mother figure image was clearly accepted by the students who often give recollections of her with matriarchal similes, 'She was almost never referred to as "Miss Marsh" it was always "Mums."'⁶ Parker (Liverpool, 1923) states, 'To me, she was already a maternal figure and she was affectionately known as "Mums.'⁷ And Hodson (Liverpool, 1918) adds 'Miss Marsh, Miss Henderson, and Miss Bryant to us were always Mums, Kay and Brie.'⁸

Staff-student inter-relationships were seen as operating on the familistic level. The students themselves adopted familistic procedures in their own interactions. Looking back a Liverpool old student believes that 'With all this strangeness we should have been extremely apprehensive and even unhappy, but for the friendliness of the older students. Thank goodness for the family system.'⁹

¹ The familistic structure was commented on at all the colleges. In reference to staff recruitment; S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 69, states; 'And some she had indeed called to Lansdowne Road much as a matriarch might summon her children to the family hearth as need arose.' Familism had longevity, S. Fletcher, *Women First*, p. 57; 'There were many other changes...but none of them, not even the effect of two wars, greatly altered the "feel" of Bedford, which was essentially that of a family.' And, p. 5; 'The atmosphere of Anstey College in the thirties, has been linked to that of a family and Miss Squire was the mother (and there was no *father*).'

² M. H. Royle, *Liverpool Physical Training College* p. 47.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Each college principal had their own matri-patriarchal image. At Bedford, Miss Stansfeld 'was just our chief; wrote one looking back. She was also a mother-figure-not at all in the style of Miss Anstey, who brought in children off the street to dance and sing in her "pixie class" and even adapted some of her own, but in the way of teaching the student family', in S. Fletcher, *Women First*, pp. 56-57.

⁶ M. H. Royle, *Liverpool Physical Training College*, p. 47.

⁷ (L), *Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine*, 1975, p. 15.

⁸ (L), *Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine*, 1960, p. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Seniors looked after juniors as if they were younger sisters. They provided reassurance and guidance to the younger members of the family. This helped create an environment where empowering factors could be more easily assimilated.

Liverpool's type of 'college familism' caused flows of 'power to' to run parallel to flows of 'power over' down the hierarchical pyramid. This strengthened the structure of the pyramid and the community. The college hierarchical pyramid could be an empowering environment.

'Environmental Familism'

Miss Marsh reinforced her brand of 'college familism' with 'environmental familism.' This term is used to describe the visual efforts principals used to create a home-like environment. Royle states that, 'Miss Marsh's College "family" was complete even to garden and pets, for at first she had a cat, Tommy, which sat on her desk while she worked, later came three frisky canine characters named Dodger, Demon and Dock, and eventually budgerigars came into the picture as well.'¹⁰ This domestic background provided a softer environment for the college inhabitants. The principal could be seen as a private individual rather than a public principal. This enhanced the mother-like qualities of Miss Marsh.

The college urban environment was also used to create a home-like atmosphere; 'Even though there were only paved yards at Bedford Street, the beds were always bright with flowers, one member of the staff recalled that before term started, Miss Marsh always went to market for pansies and lobelias so that they should be at their best when the students returned.'¹¹ The addition of flowers made the college that little bit more home-like. There was also a class-based motive; 'paved yards' give connotations of an urban working-class environment, flowers helped bring an element of middle-class gentility to the college home.

Staff were expected to lend a hand in creating this home like environment; 'She expected her staff to lend a hand whatever the task, domestic or otherwise. Each term we returned to College a week before the students to help prepare their rooms, airing beds, shifting furniture, painting etc., etc. Looking back on it I think it may have fostered a spirit of goodwill and fellowship amongst staff. We resented it, but we got some fun out of it too.'¹² This process further enhanced the feeling that college was a family of students and staff in a home-like environment.

¹⁰ M. H. Royle, *Liverpool Physical Training College*, p. 47.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹² (L), *Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine*, 1975, p. 17.

Appendix 13: The Changing Face of ‘College Familism’

College was not a static concept during the period 1885-1918. The college institution changed its composition throughout this period. Beginning with a true familistic environment the colleges usually quickly changed into a more corporate structure. Students who attended Hampstead Physical Training College in 1887 found a social and hierarchical environment very different from those attending Dartford College in 1917. A number of factors changed the structure of the college community and the form of ‘college familism’ therein. These included;

The Rise of Student Numbers

Student numbers quickly rose at the colleges. Bedford started with thirteen students in 1903 by 1917 they had fifty one. Chelsea began with nine in 1898 and had sixty by 1912. Madame trained only one student in 1886, by 1895 that figure was twenty three. Therefore students were increasingly finding themselves in an impersonal environment due to rising numbers of their peers.

The Rise of Staff Numbers

The colleges started off with just the principal as teacher and administrator (at Bedford, Miss Stansfeld had Miss Roberts to help). As student numbers increased it quickly became important to introduce full time staff to deal with the rise in numbers and to provide specialist training. A new layer was being attached to the college hierarchical pyramid .

Rules and Regulations

As institutions developed in size the principal began to lose contact with students. To bind college together with common goals, rules and regulations were introduced. These were operated on an increasingly impersonal basis. The principal did not have time to keep an eye on each student individually, therefore strict rules on behaviour operated instead. senior students began to take on supervisory roles over the juniors.

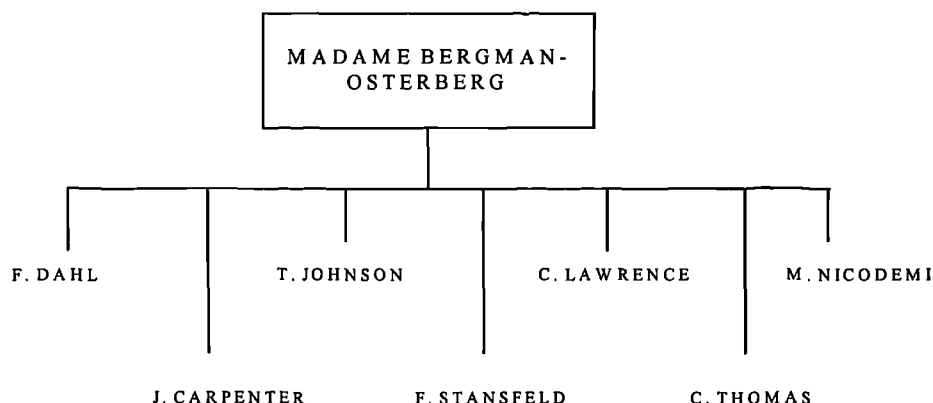
Environmental Familism

The college environments changed. Under-used buildings quickly became full. New ones were added or an entirely new site was found. Anstey went from Leasowes to Erdington, Liverpool from Bedford Street to Barkhill, Hampstead to Dartford. Chelsea stayed put until after the Second World War. Bedford remained where it was.

These factors combined to provide a changing and developing environment throughout this expansion period of the colleges. This meant student experience was gradually changing throughout. Student Sets a few years apart went to institutions that were subtly different in social and hierarchic terms. Their experiences of the type of ‘college familism’ present within the institution would therefore have been different.

An Example of the Changing Familistic Experience at Hampstead, and Dartford Physical Training College(s). From the Family Phase to the Corporate Phase

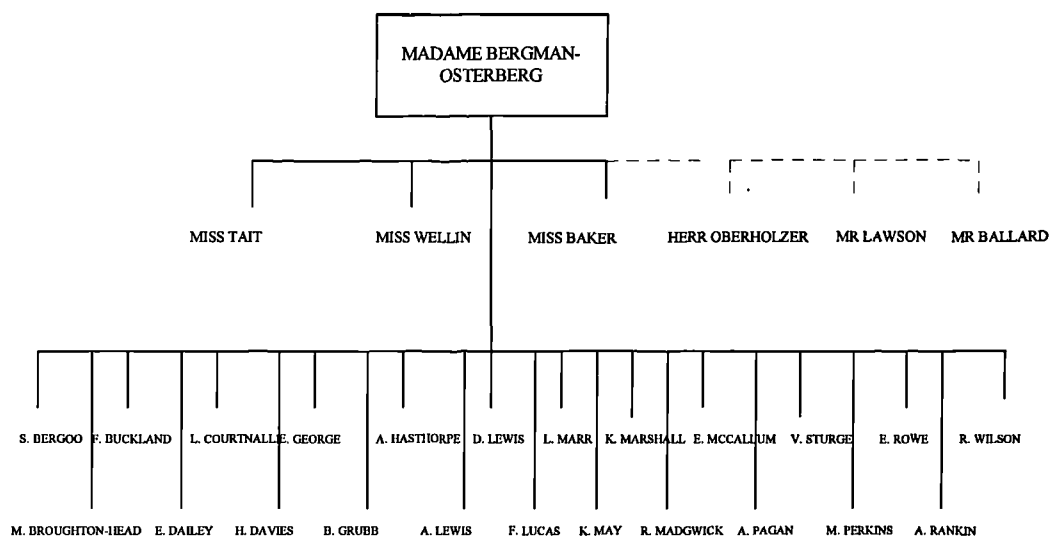
Diagram 1: Hampstead Physical Training College 1887 (The Family Phase)



Two years after Madame had established her college she was still the sole authority within her community. Her student family consisted of four senior students and three juniors. Senior student N. Nicodemi had everyday contact with her matri-patriarch. She had three peers who she was with for most or all of each term. The three juniors would also be in direct contact with her, joining in with games, classes and social events. Each person in the community would interact personally with the others. Madame would guide each student personally. Very little use of 'power over' would be necessary in this close community. This is a strong familistic set up.¹

¹ Most educational institutions for women seemed to go through such an evolutionary phase. Life was more relaxed within such 'family' structures. D. E. De Zouche, *Roedean School 1885-1955*, p. 32; 'For a number of years the younger sisters [staff] were not addressed as "Miss." The whole community was friendly, informal, lively.' And, p. 37; 'A clear impression is given today by the records and recollections of the schools first period, when its "family" character was strongest, of greater liberty, more free time, wider latitude for individual choice, than are found prevailing during part at least of the Founders "later years."' C. Crunden, *A History of Anstey College of Physical Education*, p. 4. Anstey college seems to have had a long 'family phase'. 'College life in general would seem to have had an air of easy formality about it. The number of students taken in was small, averaging only eight girls in each year between 1899 and 1910 and ten to eleven girls between 1911 and 1919. It was a small closely knit community, for apart from one or two visiting lecturers...all staff and students were resident.'

Diagram 2: Hampstead Physical Training College 1893 (The Intermediate Phase)



Six years further on the location was the same but there had now been major hierarchical and social changes. A new hierarchical layer had appeared within the college pyramid. Madame had recruited specialist staff to deal with the rise in student numbers. Three permanent staff lived in, while three part-time specialists also contributed to training. Student numbers had increased rapidly.

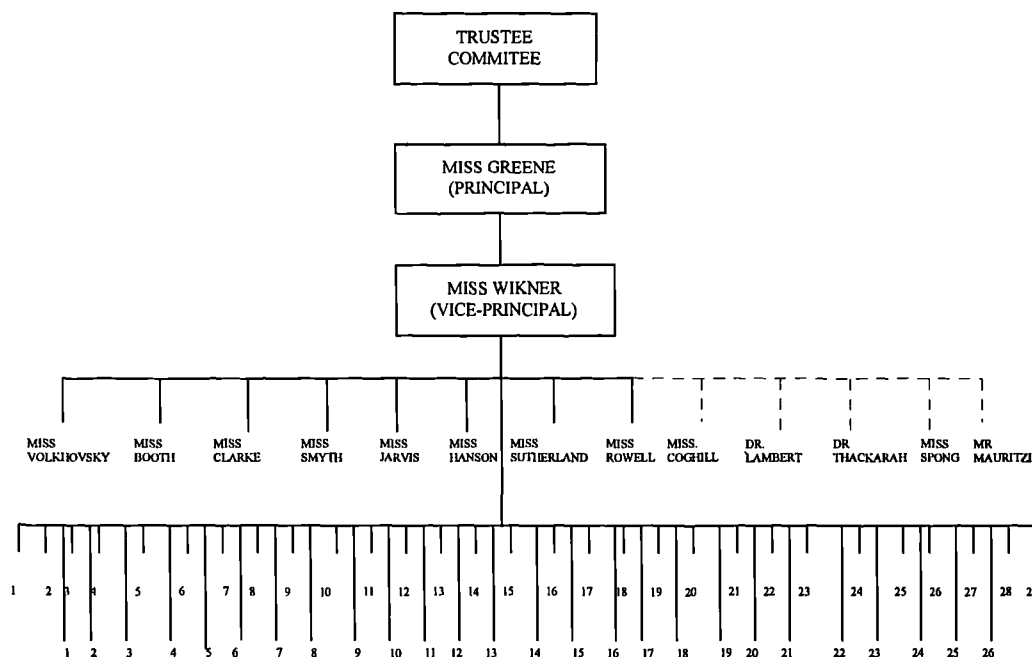
Junior student Anna Pagan had ten peers and twelve seniors with her. While she knew all the juniors by name having worked and lived as a social unit with them, the seniors were more distant figures and were treated with respect and appropriate deference. Pagan had particular friends within the group which she favoured, such as M. Perkins, others like her room-mate Bessie Grubb took more getting used to (though they were to become life-long friends). Pagan had certain staff members she preferred over others.

Madame was sometimes a distant authoritative figure, who used various rules and regulations to control the students.² Some of her displays of ‘power over’ were alarming. Meal times were less cosy than Nicodemi’s day, when the seven students met around one small table. Madame now calls down the long table. Students were not exclusively taught by Madame who became more of a background administrator rather than a front line educator. The college environment was becoming rather crowded. The move to spacious Dartford would come soon.³

² The intermediate phase saw a change in the community structure and college atmosphere. ‘Power over’ in its crude form began to predominate, rules and regulations became the norm. This phase appeared in high schools of the period. G. Avery, *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls’ Independent Schools*, p. 233; ‘The informality and family atmosphere which many schools retained long after the early years precluded absolutism. But at the high schools, after the pioneering days were over, the newly appointed principal found herself in control of a large organisation where her word was law to a staff who desperately needed their jobs and to girls who expected authoritarianism.’

³ The actual switch from Hampstead to Dartford in 1885 resulted in two college sites existing for a short period of time. The nature of the ‘college familism’ at each site differed; ‘In Hampstead traditional views were still strong and out of consideration for public appearance . . . At Dartford the life was much freer.’ (D), M. B. O. Magazine, 1936, p. 21.

Diagram 3: Dartford Physical Training College 1917 (The Corporate Phase)



Twenty four years have gone by. Madame died in 1915. She left her college to a group of trustees charged with ensuring that general running of the college would continue to follow her beliefs and aims. Miss Greene was the third Dartford Principal. She had a vice-principal and eight full time residential staff plus five non-residential staff. Student numbers stood at 55 (not including those who started the course and who were sent down.)⁴

Lilla Butler was one of 26 juniors. There were many seniors whom she did not know, except perhaps by sight. Even some of the juniors belonged to different social groupings whom she rarely saw outside of work. Butler had her own group of junior friends and room-mates, who she preferred to socialise with in the limited recreation time. To some of the staff she was known personally, others were more remote with her. Miss Greene was a distant authoritative figure who did not deal with most of the minor matters of day to day living, though she was concerned with Butler's general ability to reach the high standards expected. Hierarchical divisions were strong between seniors and juniors and were made stronger by the large numbers of students.

Life at urban Hampstead was forgotten except for visits of old students and retired staff (Nicodemi left college thirty years previously.) The college site was rural in nature. The war years also imposed their own form of atmosphere; austerity and helping the war effort in small ways, formed a continuous background to college life.⁵ The college now had

⁴ The increase in student numbers was small compared to the increase in school pupils during the period. G. Avery, *The Best Type of Girl*, p. 223, Miss Harriet Morant Jones joined Notting Hill High School aged forty; 'She was an able woman who had her own school in Guernsey, but she was no scholar. At Notting Hill to begin with, it would have been very little different from such a private establishment; she had one assistant and ten children and taught most subjects herself (arithmetic excepted). But when she left in 1900 the school had four hundred pupils and some twenty teachers, and a record of high academic achievement.'

⁵ Institutional accounts covering the first world war often mention the particular restraints and atmosphere of the time. At Roedean the sound of guns firing could be heard over the wind. D. E. De Zouche, *Roedean School*, p. 75; 'but no more can be attempted here than a brief record of the ways or some of the ways - in which the war's impact, inescapable by anyone in the country, made itself felt in the life of the school.'

a more corporate look to it. The college hierarchical structure was far more complex than in the days of early Hampstead.⁶

These examples show that 'college familism' occurred in differing social and hierarchical environments. The true familistic days were brief indeed. The increase in number of inhabitants led to a more corporate atmosphere. As changes occurred, there were continual alterations in the familistic experience of the differing Sets of students. No two groups of students experienced an identical familistic environment. 'College familism' therefore had many faces.

⁶ Other institutions evolved in the same way; E. Bailey, Lady Margaret Hall: A Short History, p. 93; 'I think L. M. H. would stand first of all for a community...It is true that L. M. H. has always possessed the corporate spirit to a very special degree.'

Appendix 14: The Growth of College Accommodation

Miss Anstey brought with her three residential students to form only the second physical training college in the country. In 1907 she moved her college north of Birmingham to Yew Tree House, near Erdington. Anstey always had an out of town location and like Dartford it was isolated and in the countryside.

Fraulein had arrived in England from Prussia in 1885. She trained in physical training at the London, Stempel Gymnasium. Later she joined the South Western Polytechnic (Chelsea Polytechnic) in 1896. Two years later she founded Chelsea College of Physical Education, as part of the polytechnic Day College for women, specialising in teaching women's gymnastics. The facilities were owned by the polytechnic. Buildings were shared by male and female students. The college existed within the overall polytechnic structure.¹ When the college was first opened, 'There was only one gymnasium which the women physical training college students had to share with the men's and boy's classes taken by Sergeant Jones'²

Liverpool had an inner city site. Irene Marsh had been trained, and worked in the Liverpool Gymnasium of Mr Alexander. In 1897 she was made Physical Director for Ladies at the gymnasium. With increasing number of students Miss Marsh decided to train assistants to help her. Miss Marsh was well aware of the current trend in physical education, both in this country and abroad, 'but she had such strong personal convictions on the subject by this time, that she felt she would only be satisfied by girls she trained herself.'³

She had her own private training room at the gymnasium and for a time did her job as director and trained her helpers, however she quickly tired of this, 'Living at home, Irene had been able to save a big proportion of her salary and to launch her project. She had about £100, with this she rented a house at 110 Bedford Street, Liverpool.'⁴ This was in 1900. As with all the physical training colleges, success and expansion followed, 'In a few years numbers had grown so much that Miss Marsh bought a house on the opposite side of Bedford Street where 50 students could be accommodated . . . In 1907 a second and afterwards a third house round the corner in Huskisson Street were added and, the expansion temporarily over, the college settled down to establish itself.'⁵ Liverpool therefore was situated in an urban environment with a number of nearby buildings which provided a nucleus for the college.⁶

¹ Chelsea was similar to many other non physical training colleges which began life with inadequate and primitive facilities. It took time, money and success to expand facilities. See M. J. Tuke, History of Bedford College For Women 1849-1937 (Oxford, 1973), p. 278; 'There was no study, no common room, no dining room, no general meeting place. This lack was partially met when the second house was added in 1860 and a room set apart as a study. But this room was reserved for work and talking there was prohibited. The pupils still had no room for social intercourse or where they might eat in comfort. When the College came to be housed in York Place the Central Hall provided a general meeting-place for students. A students' Common Room proper was arranged in 1893.'

² I. Webb, The History of Chelsea College of Physical Education: With Special Reference to Curriculum Development 1898-1973, PhD, Leicester, 1977, p. 70.

³ M. H. Royle, Liverpool Physical Training College, p. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶ It was not until 1921 that Liverpool broke away from its inner city location to Aigburth on the outskirts of the city. Here it had a campus and room to expand into the surrounding fields.

In 1903 Bedford college was set up at 37 Lansdowne Road, a smart suburban part of Bedford. Expansion occurred gradually along the road as houses became available and funds allowed. By 1911 three houses had been purchased, and by 1928 ten houses mostly along Lansdowne Road were owned. These well built, multi-storied houses, had large secluded gardens, in a quiet 'respectable' area of town.

Appendix 15: Other Types of College Room

The principals were always juggling resources to alter and create rooms to meet the needs of the students, 'Madame was always planning: within the house, the newest equipment: in the gardens, glass-houses pulled down, new-cloakrooms, staff cottages; later, new house-wings, new gymnasium, enlarged playing fields; always growth.'¹ Having started with a country house built for family residence Madame spent much time trying to adapt the residence into the ideal training establishment. She seems to have enjoyed the challenge:

Madame enjoyed the activity for the structural alterations. In the Easter holidays especially, she reverted to some private life. Study "B" was in a day changed with rugs, pottery, and flowers, to a dining room, untouched by the general spring cleaning. Plans were put into action. Builders, workmen, gardeners, were interviewed, work personally superintended, and domestic details reorganised *to meet the increasing difficulties of growing numbers in an old-fashioned house* [my italics].²

This final comment hints at the problems all the colleges had having inherited non-purpose built accommodation. Decisions could be made very quickly. Students might leave at the end of term and come back to find a new building or a change in a room's function: 'The Old Stable was pulled down and was built up to a gymnastics hall.'³ And 'Mrs Bergman-Österberg had arrived home a few days before the start of term and she had left her bedroom for students and she had the balcony room that term.'⁴

At Liverpool, 'There was a social room for study, a gym for classes and Irene's private room for lectures.'⁵ The social room had been added to the Liverpool Gymnasium in November 1904. This social room held great importance in the community structure of college. It was a place where students could come together in a group, without staff supervision. Sometimes it would be used for quiet study, at other times for talking, or games. It was a physical space which allowed students to gather as a private group without staff supervision. At Chelsea, 'Domina personally furnished the rest-room, except for the carpet which was a gift from Colonel Fox.'⁶ Where space was at a premium the provision of a room where students could work or relax with each other, played a prime role in creating common identity and community.

Chelsea with its shared accommodation, had to start at a lower base, as far as building accommodation was concerned. Expansion took time. Eventually 'the accommodation for professional studies was improved and as the number of students increased to 45 by 1902 so the class room accommodation was extended. The Governors of the polytechnic, acquired the lease of St Margaret's Lodge in 1903. The rooms were

¹ (D), A. Bromham, 'In Commemoration of Madame Bergman-Österberg, Founder of Bergman-Österberg Physical Training College 1885-1935.'

² Ibid.

³ (D), J. Alma, 'Memories From Kingsfield, England 1898-1909,' p. 202.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ M. H. Royle, *Liverpool Physical Training College*, pp. 27-28.

⁶ I. M. Webb, 'A History of Chelsea College', p. 74.

used by the students of the *Gymnastic Teacher Training College* for lectures including *Medical Gymnastics*.⁷

Having the use of their own lecture rooms and not having to share with men must have been a major step forward for the identity of the college institution. The other colleges, except early Liverpool, never had to experience this problem. At Chelsea, 'When the college was first opened, within the polytechnic there was only one gymnasium which the women Physical Training Students had to share with the men's and boy's classes taken by Sergeant Jones . . . accommodation for the women P. T. students was limited and primitive. Dorrette had to share a small dressing-room with Sergeant Jones and the students shared a rest room with women students from other polytechnic departments.'⁸ This was hardly conducive to creating a separate identity for the college or its students. Nevertheless progress was steady and 'in March 1904 a new hall, cloakroom with modern facilities, an ante-room and a class room were opened and for the first time the students of the Physical Training College had their own lecture-room.'⁹

Liverpool college consisted of 30 big bedrooms 'and 13 other rooms, including studies and lecture rooms, Social Room, Library, Dining hall, Drawing room, Fencing room, Massage room and Gymnasiums.'¹⁰ These figures show how important residence was to the structure of the college institution. Over three quarters of the rooms at the college were put aside as bedrooms.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁰ (L), *Liverpool Physical Training College Report*, 1915, p. 2.

Appendix 16: The Geographic Location of Homes of Dartford Students 1901-1906 and 1912-1913

Aim

To find out whether there is any distribution pattern of the parental homes of Dartford Students. Was recruitment of Dartford students localised in specific areas or general across the country and abroad.

Source

'Register of Students 1900-1914.'

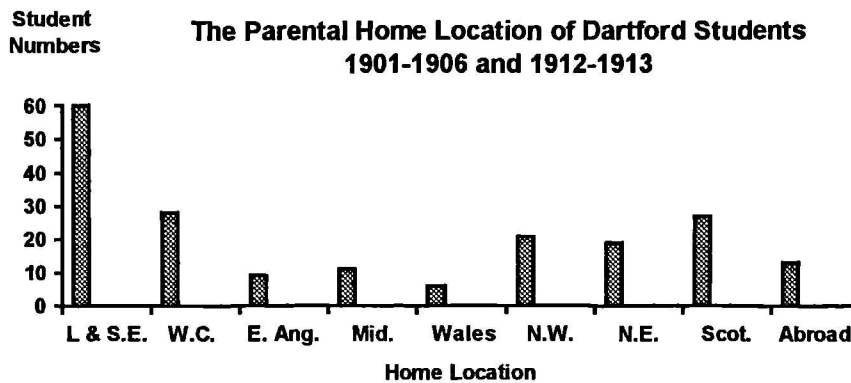
Method

Collect statistics from the 'Register of Students 1900-1914' book, held in Dartford Archives. This book contains a section on the home addresses of parents. A total sample of 194 students were involved.

Table 1: Home location of Dartford Students 1901-1906 and 1912-1913

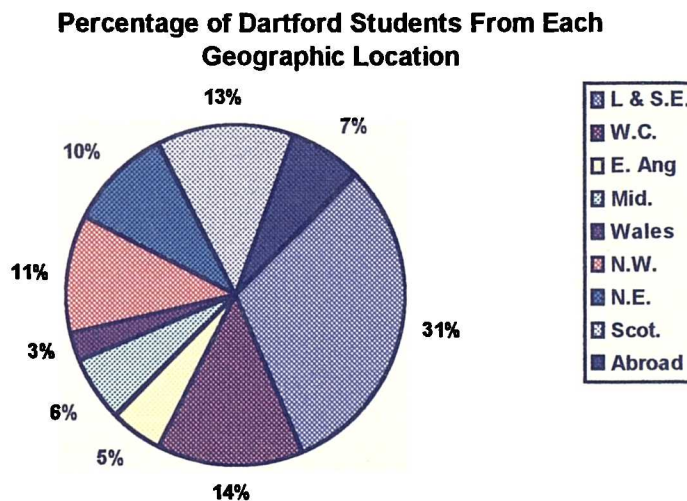
Home Location	Total Students	Percentage of Students
London & South East	60	31
West Country	28	14
East Anglia	9	5
Midlands	11	6
Wales	6	3
North West	21	11
North East	19	10
Scotland	27	13
Abroad	13	7

Graph 1



L & S. E.	London and South East
W. C.	West Country
E. Ang.	East Anglia
Mid.	Midlands
Wales.	Wales
N. W.	North West England
N. E.	North East England
Scot.	Scotland
Abroad.	Outside of Britain

Graph 2



Results

The students' parental homes are fairly well distributed. Not unnaturally the greatest area of student recruitment is from London and the South East. Dartford College is located in this region. The high population of the area is probably the main reason for the 31% of students coming from this location. There are signs that the area's importance was falling: as student numbers stay steady at nine or ten students from 1903 to 1906, but have

fallen to seven and four in 1912 and 1913. The West Country has a steady input into each set of two to six students (none in 1902). This forms an average of 14% of the total sample. The Midlands is under represented with only 11 students during the whole period (6% of the total). Why this is so, given the towns and cities in this area is not clear. East Anglia, and Wales contribute nine students (5%) and six students (3%), respectively. There were no students with Welsh homes until 1912, when five of the total six students arrived at college. North-West England and North-East England contribute 21 and 19 students respectively, still only 10-11% each, of the total numbers. Scotland has 27 students, 13% of the total, but 11 of these arrive in Set 1913. Most of these are based in Edinburgh. 13 students come from abroad: three from Sweden, three from Australia, and one from each of Finland, Poland, Rome, Singapore, Russia, Holland, and South Africa.

Conclusion

Dartford College attracted students from all parts of the country and certain parts of the world. The greater number were local to London and the South East. However these numbered only one in three of all the students. The college was composed of a diversified group of students with distributed parental homes. The lack of students from the Midlands is unexplainable, unless the college was not well known in this area, or colleges near the Midlands, i.e. Anstey and Bedford, out-competed Dartford here. Wales and Scotland increased in numbers towards the end of the decade, at the expense of London and the South East. These may be trends showing the college was gaining prestige in these areas, or actively recruiting, as possibly in Edinburgh, for Set 1913. They may however be just random fluctuations in the recruitment for that year. The effect of geographic location may be negated by students finding out about the college from their school which could have been in a different region (for school boarders). The information does show that the college was accessible by students from a wide geographic area including abroad. Therefore the college's influence was not limited to local recruitment, it was national in nature.

Appendix 17: Food at Physical Training Colleges

Given the active natures of the college students food played an important part in providing the energy to achieve their working aims.¹ Madame is reported by Pagan (Hampstead, 1894) as saying 'Eat vell my girls eat vell but do not be glootiness [sic].'² Pagan recalls the meals of the day: 'We are called at 7. 15!! Then cold baths, then letters or work till 8. 30. Then we have porridge and huge helpings of everything . . . Dinner at 1. 30 very large . . . Tea is at 6. Silent study from 7-9. Then supper and bed as soon as you like.'³ Regular meals were provided in usually adequate amounts. Madame describes the diet:

Plenty of wholesome food' said Madame: 'Plenty of fruit and vegetables, meat three times a day, and a properly regulated scale of diet which includes all the necessary flesh and bone forming ingredients. I am opposed to the drinking of much tea, and especially of strong tea. Any wine or beer? No; what should they want with either if they are strong healthy girls: as I insist that they shall be . . . At one o'clock we have dinner - a good substantial meal of three courses - soup, meat, and pudding . . . At six they have tea.'⁴

This diet was probably more healthy than the average Victorian diet, which consisted of considerable quantities of stodgy and starchy food laced with fat and sugar.⁵

Students describe the actual standard of the food and have differing memories: 'The food was good. All the domestics were Swedish and there was never any second helpings . . . apart from the normal meals, we used to have Roses Lime Juice and a hard Captains biscuit just before bedtime.'⁶ Another student found the 'Food was not very interesting . . . augmented by welcome parcels from home.'⁷ And Hodson (Liverpool, 1918) states, 'I still don't know quite how we got through all the food we had at tea-time. We supplied our own tuck at tea-time and we had the most amazing collection of things.'⁸ Hadley, (Bedford, 1905) remembers, 'our delicious meals in that little tiny dining room headed by fruit salad on Sundays.'⁹ The food served at all the colleges, was usually remembered as filling, and very adequate for active young women.

However a report from Chelsea during the war years shows that later students may not have been so lucky as the earlier ones:

¹ S. Burstall, *Public Schools for Girls*, p. 237, describes nutrition at girls schools which students might have experienced; 'Diet - three main meals a day, with a very light mid-morning lunch, and supper before bedtime are the rule. In one school special importance is attached to alterations in weather, e.g. in bitterly cold weather each child has a small cup of hot soup (or milk) during the morning; in very hot weather the mid-day meal is modified. Several headmistresses lay stress on the importance of providing fruit as often as possible. Fresh vegetables, and such things as cress, lettuce, etc., are found very valuable.'

² (D), Pagan 1894, Letter to Unknown.

³ (D), Pagan, 1894, Letter to Mother 28th of October, 1892.

⁴ (D), *Winther's Magazine* 11th of November, 1893, p. 28.

⁵ A. J. Jackson, *The Middle Classes 1900-1950*, p. 95.

⁶ (D), Bergman Österberg Union Magazine, 1985 p. 28.

⁷ (D), Bergman Österberg Union Magazine, 1983, p. 17.

⁸ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine, 1960, p. 8.

⁹ (B), Questionnaires, Hadley, 1905.

During the year 1918 the food scarcity in London was really serious, and the college students worked under great disadvantage. The Chelsea communal kitchen was situated in Manor Street, and it was a common sight at 1 o'clock to meet students and staff returning from the kitchen carrying bowls of soup and packages containing slabs of unappetising grey-looking suet pudding, which fare was preferable to anything that could be obtained in the Refreshment Room in those days . . . In order to supplement the scant-food ration of 1918 the staff took turns in making large quantities of Glaxo, which was sold to the students each morning at 11 o'clock. "Glaxo Duty" consisted of putting on an enormous kettle to boil in the kitchen of the Domestic Economy Department, of whisking bowls of Glaxo until it frothed, and of having mugs of hot Glaxo ready for hungry students by 10.50 a.m.¹⁰

This shortage of food affected society as a whole. The middle-class felt a moral pressure to make sacrifices encouraged further by high prices and food shortages. 'Breakfasts were simplified, the number of courses at lunch and dinner reduced, and in some families a light evening supper replaced the more formal dinner ritual altogether.'¹¹ The larger college society in its urban environment would have suffered as much as any middle class family.

A few years later in Dartford war shortages were still affecting the students:

We had got over the stage of being perpetually hungry, although the food had been good on the whole in spite of post war shortages. We had mangle but enough of everything and I really do not remember much about it except for suet puddings . . . and lovely fat sausages on Sunday mornings which got us to breakfast; fruit cakes and apples and oranges for supper on Sunday nights and nice buns and awful cocoa in the covered way at morning break. Juniors had to take cocoa to their seniors' rooms at 9 p.m. if requested, and breakfast in bed on Sundays, if they so wished.¹²

Therefore it is important to remember that students at various time in each college history were subject to differing constraints. Later students may have accepted being hungry as part of college life, while earlier students were more adequately fed. Anstey students were fed a diet of 'vege and fish. It is in fact the only vegetarian physical culture college in existence.'¹³ Cultural control continued after the meal, 'As part of Miss Anstey's rather alternative way of life everyone had to rest in their rooms for an hour after lunch every day.'¹⁴

¹⁰ (C), 'Interview with Fraulein, Gymnastic Teachers Training College,' Reprinted from Women at Home, 1898, pp. 18-19.

¹¹ A. J. Jackson, The Middle Classes, p. 99.

¹² (D), 'College in my Day 1921-24', Bergman-Österberg Union Magazine, 1981, p. 29. This reflected the ritual in affluent middle-class homes of morning tea being brought into the families' bedrooms by the maid. This college ritual enforced the student hierarchy; senior above junior.

¹³ C. Crunden, A History of Anstey College of Physical Education, p. 6.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Appendix 18: Timetables, Anstey 1918 and Bedford 1910

ANSTEY.
College Timetables 1918 # 87
WINTER 1918

A.M.	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
9.0	S. Kinesiology J. Gymnastics	9 to 10 Home Nursing Home Nursing	Pathology Voice Culture	Medicals Gymnastics	Hygiene Gymnastics	9 to 10 Mass Drill and Gym. Crit. Class
9-11	S. Gymnastics J. Anatomy	10 to 10.30 Tables	Gymnastics Voice Culture	Gymnastics Hygiene	Gymnastics Anatomy	10 to 10.20 Vaulting Vaulting
10.30	S. Physiology J. Folk Dancing	Gymnastics Medicals	Medicals Gymnastics	Physiology Commanding	Theory of Games Commanding	Folk Dancing and Criticism Class
11.15	S. Folk Dancing J. Hygiene	Medicals Gymnastics	Side Practice Medicals	Netball Netball	Side Practice Side Practice	Psychology Medicals
12.0	S. Clinic J. Tables	Clinic Physiology	Clinic Kinesiology	Clinic Netball	Clinic Theory of Games	Clinic Physiology
P.M. 2.30	S. Lacrosse J. Lacrosse	Elementary School Teaching	Lacrosse Lacrosse	Elementary School Teaching	Hockey Hockey	Matches Matches
4.20	S. Clinic J.	Clinic 4.30 to 5.30 Univ. Anatomy	Clinic	Clinic	Clinic	
	S. J.			6 to 6.30 Anatomy	5.30 to 6.15 Dancing	
6.40	S. Club Classes J.	Club Classes	Dancing	Club Classes Dancing	Dancing	

S — Seniors J — Juniors

Bedford Physical Training College Time Table. 1910 H.M.P. NUM

	MORNING					AFTERNOON		
	8.30-9.30	9.30-10.30	10.30-11.30	11.30-12.30	12.30-1.30	2.30-4	5-6	6-7
SUNDAY	Anatomy (Hours)	Gymnastics	Games		Medicals	Games + Tables	Patience	Vaulting
TUESDAY	8.30-9 Swimming Practice	9-10 Gymnastics	10-11 Medicals	11.20-1 Dancing		2.30-4 Games + Tables	5-6 Patience	6-7 Anatomy
WEDNESDAY	8.30-9 Swimming Practice	9-10 Physiology	10-11 Gymnastics	11.20-12.30 Anatomy	12.30-1.30 Medicals	2.30-4 Games	5-6 Patience	6-7 Dancing Class
THURSDAY	8.30-9 Swimming Practice	9-10 Gymnastics	10-12.30 Games		12.30 Medicals	2.30-4 Games + Tables	5-6 Patience	6-7 Hygiene Swimming Practice
FRIDAY	8.30-9 Swimming Practice	9-10 Gymnastics	10-12.30 Games		12.30-1.30 Anatomy	2.30-4 Games	4.30-6 Ambulance Practice	6-7 Vaulting
SATURDAY	9-8 Gymnastics 8.30 Swimming	9-10 Physiology	10.30-11.30 Exercises Games	11.30-12.30 Medicals	12.30-1.30 Criticism			

THEORY OF MOVEMENTS IN GYMNASTICS.

SECOND PROFESSIONAL YEAR.

- 1.—The effect of physical exercise on the functions of the organs of the body.
- 2.—Forces and levers applied to the movements of the body: Arrangement in the body to alter the direction of the muscle power.
- 3.—*Muscles*: Irritability, contractility, elasticity and tone. Nervous impulses and contractions. Antagonistic muscle work. How to influence the length of a muscle (tone). How to calculate the strength of a muscle and the degree of contraction. Different kinds of muscle work—concentric, eccentric and static—analysed with regard to circulation and exertion. Muscular fatigue.
- 4.—Movements analysed as regards direction, velocity, extent and exertion.
- 5.—Gymnastic exercises and positions analysed with special consideration to muscle work the cause of the usual mistakes, and the way to prevent and to correct these mistakes.
- 6.—Selection of gymnastic exercises with reference to the physical and corporal peculiarities at the different periods of the child's development.

PHYSIOLOGY.

SYLLABUS.

General build of the body. Position, form, structure and function of the principal organs. Structure, properties and functions of the blood and lymph. The general arrangement of the circulatory system. Structure and physiology of the heart and blood vessels. The lymphatic system. Influence of muscular exercise upon the circulatory system. The relationships and structure of the respiratory organs. The physiology of the various respiratory movements. Tissue respiration. Changes in air and blood. Muscular exercise in relation to respiration. The digestive system. Relationships, structure and physiology of the digestive organs. The chemistry of the food stuffs and of the digestive processes. Absorption of digested food. The production of energy. Heat production and regulation of temperature. Excretion. Structure and physiology of the skin and kidneys. Chemistry and significance of the excreted products. Influence of muscular exercise upon excretion. Animal mechanics, levers. Ciliary and astenoid movement. Structure and physiology of the various forms of muscle. Fatigue. Standing, walking, etc. General relationships of the nervous system. Structure and physiology of the brain and spinal cord. Nerve cells and nerve fibres. Reflex and voluntary actions. Functions and distribution of the cranial and spinal nerves. The Senses. The skin as a sense organ. The physiology of taste and smell. Structure of the eyeball. Physiology of vision. Structure and physiology of the ear. The Larynx. Production of the voice and speech. The Practical Physiology will include—
 A.—The examination of tissues and organs microscopically and by dissection.
 B.—Exercises dealing with the chemistry of foods, the digestive processes, blood, etc.
 C.—Exercises in the use of the physiology apparatus, the Cardiograph, Sphygmograph, Ophthalmoscope, Stethoscope, Clinical Thermometer, Dynamometer, etc.

ANATOMY

FIRST YEAR LECTURES.

The general structure and disposition of the bones, joints and principal muscles.

SECOND YEAR LECTURES.

The body considered as a living machine. The general principles of its construction and the adaptation of the various organs to the function they fulfil. The forces moulding the body during growth and the effects of modifications in their nature and direction whether intentional or accidental in origin.

THIRD YEAR LECTURES.

ANATOMY OF DEFORMITIES AND APPLICATION OF MASSAGE AND REMEDIAL GYMNASTICS TO DEFORMITIES AND DISEASED CONDITIONS.

Deformities—Congenital. Acquired. Secondary. Peculiarities of skeletal growth. Conditions causing arrested development of bones: Rickets. Infantile Paralysis. Malnutrition. Diseases and deformities treated by Remedial Gymnastics. Myopathy. Lordosis. Scoliosis. "Flat Back." Examination of patient exercises. Remedial treatment. Limitations and dangers. Commoner deformities of lower limb: club-foot, flat-foot. Injuries, fractures, sprains. Synovitis of joints and tendon sheaths. Diseases of General Nutrition, Anæmia, Rheumatism, Constipation, Neurasthenia and Hysteria, etc.

Construction of Remedial Gymnastic Tables.

THEORY OF EDUCATIONAL GYMNASTICS.

FIRST PROFESSIONAL YEAR.

- 1.—History of Swedish gymnastics.
- 2.—Classification of gymnastics.
- 3.—Description of position and exercises.
- 4.—Progression of exercises.
- 5.—Construction of gymnastic tables.
- 6.—Method of instruction and class management.

PHYSICAL TRAINING COLLEGE.

HYGIENE.

SYLLABUS.—FIRST YEAR.

- AIR.**—The composition and impurities of air. The amount of air necessary for an individual under varying conditions of rest and exercise. The principles of ventilation by natural and artificial means.
- WATER.**—Composition and impurities of water. Water supplies. Sources of contamination. Household supplies.
- SEWAGE.**—The disposal of refuse and sewage.
- HOUSING.**—General principles of house construction. Soils and Sites. The usual arrangements of drains, closets, sinks and baths. Heating. Lighting.
- PREVENTION OF DISEASE.**—The nature of micro-organisms. Paths of infection. Disinfection.
- PERSONAL HYGIENE.**—Cleanliness. Clothing. Sleep. Rest and exercise.

SECOND YEAR.

- FOOD AND DIET.**—The nature, uses and abuses of food stuffs. Calculation and use of diet tables. Variation in quality and quantity at different ages. Excretion. Effects of improper and insufficient food supply. Food diseases.
- ANIMAL HEAT.**—Body temperature and its maintenance. Practical applications in food and clothing.
- SKELETON.**—Common abnormalities. Rickets. Scoliosis. Lordosis. Kyphosis. Causation of deformities through faulty attitudes. School desks. Effects of physical exercises on curvatures.
- CARDIO VASCULAR SYSTEM.**—Abnormalities. Signs of cardiac strain.
- RESPIRATORY SYSTEM.**—Modification of lung substance and of thorax by abnormalities and disease. Nasal and buccal respiration. Adenoids. Signs, symptoms and causes of chronic want of ventilation of blood.
- NERVOUS SYSTEM.**—Function. Structure and growth of Brain. Spinal Cord. Motor and sensory nerves. The reflex arc. Reflex actions at birth, during life. Fundamental and accessory movements in development of child. Hughlings Jackson's three level theory. Educational significance and its bearings on methods of education at different stages of development. Mentally deficient children. Physically defective. Educational methods and limitations.
- SPECIAL SENSES.**—Common sensations. Muscular sense.
- VISION.**—Accommodation. Myopia. Hypermetropia. Effects of defective vision. Spectacles. School furniture, books and lighting of work. Eye strain. Headaches. Vision testing.
- HEARING.**—Mechanics of auditory apparatus. Connection with throat. Discharging ears. Deafness.
- MUSCULAR SYSTEM.**—Muscular action. Chemistry. Removal of waste products. Muscle contractibility. How maintained. Muscle sense. Its importance in Physical training.
- FATIGUE.**—Muscular. Nervous. Practical applications in arrangements of work and time tables. Speech. Reading. Writing. Methods of teaching and learning.
- PERSONAL HEALTH AND HYGIENE.**—Nutrition. Diet. Exercise. Excretion. Habits. Nervous. Phlegmatic and precocious types of children.
- INFECTIVE DISEASES.**—Micro-organisms. Infection. Toxin and antitoxins. Vaccination. Immunity. Protection against infectious diseases. General sanitation. Personal resistance. Infectious diseases of school life. Precautions. Isolation. Notification. School closure and readmittance. Brief outline of symptoms of common infectious diseases. Disinfection and disinfectants; general and personal. Parasitic diseases. School inspection; its aim and objects. Methods.

Appendix 20: The Significance of the College Uniform

All colleges had their own uniforms and sports wear which students were expected to rigorously adhere to.¹ Clothing information was sent to prospective students well in advance. At Chelsea 'the cost of the necessary outfit amounts to about £10. The tailor and shoemaker attend at the beginning of each session to take measurements.'²

Uniforms had been worn by students who had attended schools prior to college, though there was still an element of novelty and excitement for everyone.³ Anstey students in 1907 recall their feelings on being presented with their college uniforms. Getting used to one's uniform could take time; 'Monday brought a new source of shyness with our first appearance in tunics, but this quickly wore off and was replaced by a delightful sense of freedom and a reluctance to change them for any other kind of dress.'⁴ The uniforms provided a new identity and opportunity; 'The joy of it all was the new sense of freedom in the gym tunic, but even this was tempered by a certain amount of self-consciousness caused by the unusual sight of our own legs.'⁵ Students came from a middle-class environment where restrictive clothing was the norm and the corset essential.⁶

The uniqueness of the new college uniform had an immediate effect on the student: Rowlatt (Bedford, 1910) 'arrived and was immediately confronted with the other students trying on or dressing up in dark blue very rich knitted woollen jerseys, tight fitting buttoned from neck to well below the waist and longish knickers to match - also long leggings with elastic under the instep and shaped to go over the knee, and worn when cycling to the field for games.'⁷ This could be quite a formal occasion: Young (Bedford, 1905) states, 'We also had a dress parade and met for the first time our dark navy blue

¹ The college uniform and sports wear had numerous functions. The uniform visibly identified the student as belonging to the college. M. Pointon, 'Factors Influencing the Participation of Women and Girls in Physical Education, Physical Recreation and Sport in Great Britain During the Period 1850-1920', History of Education Society Bulletin, Vol. 24, Autumn, 1979, p. 54, considers the history of the sports uniform 'which in large measure resulted from the establishment of an organisational structure for games, requiring teams to be able to distinguish themselves from one-another and to identify as one unit.'

² (C), South Western Polytechnic Institute 1914-15 Prospectus: Physical Training College.

³ For a discussion of the symbolism of women's clothes in Victorian and Edwardian Britain see H. E. Roberts, 'The Exquisite Slave: The Role of Clothes in the Making of the Victorian Woman,' Signs, Vol. 2, Spring, 1977, pp. 554-569. Roberts sees clothing as part of the middle-class female's way of attracting a suitable husband, a primary concern of such women. This produced 'narcissistic proclivities', p. 566. This in turn led to, 'The Clothing of the Victorian woman clearly projected the message of willingness to conform to the submissive masochistic pattern, but dress also helped mould female behaviour to the role of the "exquisite slave", p. 557. See also H. Lensky, Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality (Toronto, 1986), p. 21, and pp. 60-61. For the effects of the development of clothes on women's sports see J. Phillips & P. Phillips, 'History From Below: Women's Underwear and the Rise of Women's Sport', Journal of Popular Culture, Vol. 27, No. 2, Fall, 1993, pp. 129-148. And, J. Park, 'Sport, Dress Reform and the Emancipation of Women in Victorian England: A Reappraisal', International Journal of the History of Sport, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1989, pp. 10-29.

⁴ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine 1907, p. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ H. E. Roberts 'The Exquisite Slave', p. 565; 'Wearing corsets also came to be seen as a moral imperative. The uncorseted woman was in danger of being accused of loose morals.' M. Pointon, 'Factors Influencing the Participation of Women and girls in Physical Education', p. 48, for non-college women 'The corset was to prove a strong and persistent adversary, for women began to rely on its shape holding qualities and were loathe to dress without it.'

⁷ (B), Questionnaires, Rowlatt, 1910.

machine knitted tights and jersey and white skirts, yellow silk ties and blue and gold hat bands. The final two garments were harsh and rather uncomfortable.⁸

Early students and visitors to Dartford made positive comments on the clothes they saw;⁹ 'Each was wearing the quaint and convenient dress designed by Madame herself. It looked so easy and comfortable, with the short skirt reaching only to the knee, and the apron like bodice worn over a white skirt. No stays restricted the movement of the girls, and no hats were worn on their heads.'¹⁰ And, 'professors and pupils alike go bareheaded, no matter how inclement the weather may be. The wearing of the uniform is also obligatory. It consisted of a sort of loose-fitting blouse of dark blue cloth, with a pleated kilt of similar material falling to the knees, black woollen stockings; and low tan shoes, corsets, or any substitute, therefore, strictly taboo. In this costume, unless it is actually raining, the girls spend practically the entire day in the open air.'¹¹

Appropriate gym wear for physical activity was another matter and was considered unacceptable by some elements of Victorian patriarchal society. Marshall (Hampstead, 1893) describes, 'In the gymnasium, blue jerseys embroidered with "S" for Seniors and "J" for Juniors and tailor made gym knickers topped by brief wrap-over skirts called "decencies" were worn. For apparatus work the decencies were discarded.'¹²

Pagan recalls the arrival of her own uniform: 'My new tunic came last night and I am so proud.'¹³ Pagan also acted as Madame's model when it arrived: 'Madame is wearing out my shoe leather in trotting me up and down stairs to show my costume off as the hem is being altered. She wants it to be adopted at schools.'¹⁴ Marshall, a senior student of

⁸ (B), Questionnaires, Young. And: M. H. Royle, Liverpool Physical Training College, p. 28; 'The students wore blue blazers piped with the college colours - navy blue, green and tangerine - with a badge on the pocket. In winter blue top coats were worn and hat bands, ties and scarves of the college colours.' M. Pointon, 'Factors influencing the Participation of Women and Girls in Physical Education,' p. 52; 'It was not until after the Great War that women's legs came out of hiding.'

⁹ Such comments are sympathetic and supportive. Outside of the sphere of college control and influence women were subject to more negative remarks. J. Park, 'Sport, Dress Reform,' p. 21; 'The irrationality of women's sporting costume was a subject for jest rather than for serious concern.' Such sports wear had to meet the approval of the visitor or passer by. P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, p. 132; 'Special precautions had to be taken so that the dress worn for playing games did not excite the attention by any eccentricity.'

¹⁰ S. C. Mitford, 'A Physical Culture in Kent', The Girls Realm, April, 1899, p. 551.

¹¹ (D), 'The Most Curious School in the World: Where Girls are Taught To Play', Answers, 24th of April, 1897. Bedford sports dress is described by: (B), Questionnaires, Scott, 1907; 'We played all games in long blue skirts, 6-8 inches from the ground, and never came outside the college gates in tunics. We wore stiff straw hats, with the blue and yellow band and these hats had to be worn even going from house to house. The garment that some of us really disliked was the navy blue skin tight jersey with a turn down collar which we wore in the winter.' (B), Questionnaires, Wicksteed, 1907; 'For games we wore short-skirts six inches off the ground - and white flannel blouses. We did gymnastics in three pleat tunics with blue jerseys in winter and crackley white blouses with ill fitting collars and ties in summer, and at all times thick woven tights and black stockings with or without "smiles" between the two.' Winter wear provided more warmth; (B), Questionnaires, Graham, 1910; 'In winter we wore dark blue sweaters over tunics which reached practically to our knees. Our knuckles wore knitted woollen ones and our black stockings were woollen too. In the summer we wore white blouses and I think they were also woollen. Collars attached to them. None of these garments were taken off either for gymnastics or dancing. If there was a dancing practice after dinner we were allowed to wear what we called "pretty" blouses with our tunics. those who played hockey for the county had to wear stiff starched collars and their skirts were 6 or 7 inches from the ground.'

¹² Ibid.

¹³ (D), Letters, H. Pagan to A. Pagan, 8th of June, 1902.

¹⁴ (D), Letters, A. Pagan to Louise, 16th of November, 1892.

Pagan's recalls: 'In those days the tunic had brass buttons down the front, we wore long dresses for the dancing class. Madame designed the present tunic which she showed at a dress reform meeting. It was then introduced at college and the students wore it for all classes.'¹⁵

Rules on dress and uniform were rigorously enforced, Bedford students in particular remember the strict rules applied; Evans (Bedford, 1906) recalls, 'Living in no. 29 we had to go by the road to no. 37 and we always had to put on a skirt over our tunics and a hat on our head - woe betide us if we did not.'¹⁶

Bedford students were constantly under surveillance; Rowlatt (Bedford, 1910) remembers that 'It was the rule to wear hat, gloves and skirt over the tunic when cycling out to teach or play games. We were watched like a hawk by Miss Roberts and once, only once, I heard her firm, deep voice call from the window before I reached the road:- "Miss Rowlatt - where are your gloves?"'¹⁷ Further distances involved just as much care and attention to clothing: Graham (Bedford, 1910) recounts, 'We also had to struggle into one, [dress] generally in great haste, before mounting our bicycles and setting out for teaching in one of the schools.'¹⁸ And, during World War One: 'We had to wear skirts and hats to walk down to No. 5 Dynover Road (I can't remember whether jackets and gloves were included).'

At Dartford rules applied to minor clothing adjustments, Napier-Clarke (Dartford, 1910) remembers that 'Students were asked to wear "invincible hair nets" when practising out of doors for an out of door dramatisation. "For those students [Madame] (looking at me) who cannot control their hair."¹⁹ Small differences in Napier-Clarke's clothing were also noted; 'A pin I had used when I found a hook had come off at my neck, had broke. I was told pins were not used in college.'²⁰

Inside Bedford college when more informal wear was allowed inspections still occurred: Colwill (Bedford, 1915) remembers an event with Miss Stansfeld, "[Miss Colwill, that blouse you're wearing, is it a bought blouse or home made?" [Colwill's reply], (Faltering voice), "I made it myself." [Miss Stansfeld], "Yes, yes I thought so it looks like it yes." That was the end of blouse it hadn't passed muster.'²¹ Uniforms were expected to be well treated and kept hung up: Graham (Bedford, 1910) commenting on

¹⁵ (D), Letters, K. Marshall to J. May, undated.

¹⁶ (B), Questionnaires, Evans, 1906. Many students comment on this very important rule including; (B), Questionnaires, Squires, 1917; 'putting skirts on to go across from one's house to the gymnasium even from 37.' (B), Questionnaires, Spafford, 1910; 'We were never allowed to go into the road without a skirt over our tunics even and we had to wear a hat - so we used to hold our hats over our heads so as not to spoil our hair do.' (B), Questionnaires, Wicksteed, 1907; 'Shirts down to our ankles always had to be worn - only on under our tunics - to pass from 29-37 Lansdowne Road. A distance which in our time covered the range of official residences. Hats must be worn . . . We thought these hats very smart and we liked to wear them and show where we belonged. Hard sailor hats with the college hat band round them, the wider the brim the smarter the hat and we each had our own views on the correct angle for wear - the whole range didn't cover more than about ten degrees and we wore them in season and out.' (B), Haldane Questionnaires, 1908; 'In our days legs were indecent things to show, and when coming from No. 29 to 37, we had to put a skirt on. Our trouble was:- shall I put the skirt over my tunic and spoil the pleats or do I put it under my tunic and look a sight!'

¹⁷ (B), Questionnaires, Rowlatt, 1910.

¹⁸ (B), Questionnaires, Graham 1910.

¹⁹ (D), Letters, Napier-Clarke to J. May. 1st of June, 1965.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ (B), Oral Tapes, Colwill, 1915.

untidiness, states 'The said skirts were confiscated by Miss Roberts if found on the floor of the cloakroom and put in the drawing room waste paper basket. I know my skirt had spent many a quiet hour in that W. P. T. B. [Women's Physical Training Basket].'²²

²² (B), Questionnaires, Anonymous, W. W. I. Student.

Appendix 21: Teaching Practice Observations

Source: Teaching Practice Mark Book, Chelsea Archives.

These observations and marks were made by Fraulein Wilke in 1907. The students attended two schools and were marked on personal performance and teaching performance.

School: Madison Gardens, 12th of June, 1907

Marks: Personal Performance 30. Teaching 70. Total Marks 100.

- 27-40-67. good carriage, fair command, right convictions, bright, vigorous.
- 25-25-50. makes a muddle of jumping, dull slow, uncertain, unable to get work done properly.
- 25-10-35. questions well answered, dull, no idea how to command.
- 24-20-44. very nervous, slow, good voice, no convictions, gets fearfully muddled.
- 25-30-55. gets very muddled, dull voice, slow uncertain, very weak indeed.
- 25-30-55. questions not well answered, fair voice, very uncertain, very weak indeed.
- 25-32-57. good voice and commands, no convictions.
- 25-30-55. doleful voice, lack of vitality, bad commands, weak dull.
- 25-40-65. questions well answered, dull voice, sure of herself, good conviction. commands, attempts convictions.
- 25-35-60. bad carriage, slow, doleful voice, no convictions
- 25-40-65. bad carriage, fair commands, bright vigorous.
- 25-30-55. fair commands, questions fairly, well answered, very slow, no convictions.
- 25-40-65. very good common sense, good commands, good grip, vigorous.
- 25-40-65. questions well answered, good commands, slow but vigorous.
- 25-20-45. good voice, thoughtless work, does not see any mistakes at all, does not know anything.

School: Commercial Street, 15th of June, 1907

- 25-35-60. questions fairly well answered, good voice, vigorous, bad carriage, no convictions.
- 25-40-65. questions well answered, bright, quite fair command, convictions poor.
- 25-30-55. marching and running not well explained, dull voice, bad carriage, commands fair, dull slow.
- 25-35-60. questions very fair, bad carriage, good voice, good commands, but quite fair.
- 25-35-60. questions not well answered, good commands.
- 25-40-65. questions well answered, bright, good commands, sympathetic.
- 25-30-55. bright, sympathetic progression, not understood, commanding very badly.
- 25-35-60. quite good answers, good commands, convictions poor.
- 25-30-55. questions not well answered, slow, bad voice, spiritless, dull.
- 25-30-55. questions not well answered, good commands, illustrates badly, rigorous.
- 25-40-65. questions not well answered, good voice, good presence and good commands.
- 25-30-55. questions not well answered, marching very badly, no convictions, commanding good.

- 25-35-60. good voice, manner, good personality, running and bends badly explained.
- 26-40-66. good common sense answers, good voice, good careful explanation, slow but thorough, dull.
- 25-30-55. questions not well answered, commands fair, bad carriage, bending wrongly taught.
- 25-35-60. sympathetic, good voice, good commands.
- 25-30-55. questions not well answered, doleful voice, good commands.
- 25-35-60. good sensible answers, vigorous, good commands.

Summary

The marks for personal performance remain constant. As every student but two (26 and 27 marks) got 25 marks this suggests a uniform personal ability. Given Fraulein's admission policy, those students who gained access to college and stayed the course would tend to be of a similar personal standard. It is teaching performance which therefore divides the students. These scores range from 10 - 40 out of 70 marks. 10 corresponds to 'dull, no idea how to command.' The lowest total score is 35% by the same student. The highest score is 67% and corresponds to 'good carriage, fair command, right convictions, bright vigorous.'

Clearly a confident personality able to cope with varying situations, combined with good teaching ability was deemed most desirable for success. Less confident, 'dull' personalities were considered poor performers. However only three students obtained less than 50% of the marks out of 33 students on teaching practice. There is no exact indication of what Fraulein herself considered a good score to be.

Appendix 22: Marriage Rates of Physical Training College Students

Table 1: Marriage Rate of Dartford Old Students 1886-1914: Taken From Ling Association Register of Gymnastics 1922

A very high proportion of Dartford graduates were members of the association.

Set	Total Number of Old Students in Ling Association in 1922	Number of Married Old Students in 1922 who were Members of the Ling Association	Percentage of Married Old Students in 1922 who were Members of the Ling Assn.
1886	1	0	0
1887	4	0	0
1888	2	0	0
1889	0	0	0
1890	0	0	0
1891	3	1	33
1892	4	1	25
1893	9	4	44
1894	11	7	64
1895	10	5	50
1896	10	4	40
1897	10	6	60
1898	12	7	58
1899	11	5	45
1900	12	2	17
1901	17	9	53
1902	14	9	64
1903	16	9	56
1904	16	9	56
1905	19	7	37
1906	26	7	27
1907	23	10	44
1908	27	12	44
1909	28	16	57
1910	25	12	48
1911	27	16	59
1912	23	8	35
1913	26	7	27
1914	32	11	34
1915	23	7	30
1916	26	3	12
1917	24	4	17
Total	491	155	40

This data shows early Dartford sets were small in number and the old students did not marry (1886-1889 has seven students none of whom marry). The highest marriage rates belong to set 1894, (64%), 1897, (60%), and 1902, (64%). Lowest marriage rate sets apart from the earliest ones, are the most recent, 1916 with (12%). Set 1900 and 1917 have only 17% married.

This data shows marriage rates vary from set to set (except at the beginning and the end of the range of sets). The data shows a more mature distribution than the Bedford data for 1914. Overall four in ten old students who were members of the Ling Association were married in 1922.

Table 2: Marriage Rates of Chelsea Old Students 1900-1917: Taken From Chelsea Physical Training Magazine Report 1922

Set	Total Number of Students in Old Students' Association in 1922	Number of Married Old Students in 1922 who were Members of the Old Students' Association	Percentage of Married Old Students in 1922 who were Members of the Old Students' Association
1900	3	0	0
1901	0	0	0
1902	4	1	25
1903	4	2	50
1904	6	3	50
1905	6	3	50
1906	8	3	38
1907	9	4	44
1908	9	1	11
1909	4	0	0
1910	5	1	20
1911	3	0	0
1912	12	3	25
1913	12	1	8
1914	9	0	0
1915	12	1	8
1916	14	3	21
1917	16	1	6
Total	136	27	20

The data for 1922 shows Chelsea to have a marriage rate similar to Bedford's and lower than Dartford's. Highest rates are for sets 1903, 1904 and 1905 where one in two students are married. Most sets have low rates. Sets 1900, 1901, 1909, 1911, and 1914, have no recorded marriages.

Table 3: Marriage Rates of Anstey Old Students 1898-1909: Taken From Anstey Physical Training College Magazine Report 1909

Set	Total number of Students in Old Students' Association in 1909	Number of Married Old Students in 1909 who were Members of the Old Students' Association	Percentage of Married Old Students in 1909 who were members of the Old Students' Association
1898	1	1	100
1899	1	0	0
1900	0	0	0
1901	6	1	17
1902	6	1	17
1903	7	3	43
1904	10	0	0
1905	7	1	14
1906	9	1	11
1907	8	0	0
1908	6	1	17
1909	8	0	0
Total	49	9	13

The Anstey data shows a marriage rate of 13% for all students in the sample and is slightly lower compared with Bedford and Chelsea data.

Table 4: Marriage Rates of Liverpool Old Students 1900-1914: Taken From Liverpool Physical Training College Report 1945

Set	Total Number of Old Students in Old Students' Association in 1945	Number of Married Old Students in 1945 who were in Old Students' Association	Percentage of married Old Students in 1945 who were in Old Students' Association
1900	0	0	0
1902	0	0	0
1903	1	1	100
1904	2	0	0
1905	1	0	0
1906	1	0	0
1907	3	2	67
1908	2	0	0
1909	4	2	50
1910	0	0	0

Set	Total Number of Old Students in Old Students' Association in 1945	Number of Married Old Students in 1945 who were in Old Students' Association	Percentage of married Old Students in 1945 who were in Old Students' Association
1911	5	2	40
1912	3	1	33
1913	2	0	0
1914	4	3	75
Total	28	11	39

This sample includes only a small percentage of the original members of each set. Therefore the data may be unrepresentative. The figure of 39% married is very similar to data from Bedford in 1945.

Appendix 23: Marriage Rates of all Old Students (including Non-Physical Training College Students)

Table 1: A Summary of Marriage Rates from Contemporary College and Population Sources

Source Group	Percentage Married (rounded up to nearest percent)	Data Source
Physical Training Colleges:		
Bedford Sets 1905-1914	18	1914 B.P.E.O.S.A. Report
Bedford Sets 1905-1914	52	1945 B.P.E.O.S.A. Report
Dartford Sets 1885-1918	32	1922 Ling Register of Gymnastic Teachers
Chelsea Sets 1898-1913	17	1913 C.P.T.C. Magazine
Chelsea Sets 1898-1911	10	1911 C.P.T.C. Magazine
Chelsea Sets 1898-1914	20	1922 C.P.T.C.
Liverpool Sets 1900-1914	39	1945 L.P.T.C. Magazine
Anstey Sets 1898-1909	18	1909 A.P.T.C. Magazine
Dartford: Sets 1885 - 1897	8	1898 Prospectus
Cambridge/Oxford/Dublin Colleges: to 1893		
Somerville	17	1893, A. M. Gordon, pp. 955-957.
Newnham	23	
Holloway	4	
Girton (Total)	13	
Girton (pass degrees)	38	
Alexandra (Dublin)	10	
Total (includes above and Alexandra and L. M. H. colleges)	14	Ibid., p. 958.
Lady Margaret Hall	25	J. N. Burstyn, p. 148.
Girton (first 41 students)	39	
Glasgow University:		
Sets 1894-1899	40	1914, S. Hamilton, p. 400.
Sets 1900-1904	31	1914
Sets 1905-1909	15	1914
Sets 1910-1914	1	1914
Sets 1894-1914	12	1914
Sets 1894-1909	19	1914
Sets 1894-1914	29	1924
Medical graduates 1894-	51	Ibid., p. 406

Source Group	Percentage Married (rounded up to nearest percent)	Data Source
1914		
1901 Census Scotland:		
Total Population	30	S. Hamilton, p. 402.
Females over 15 years	44	
Females 15-45 years	42	
1911 Census Scotland:		
Total Population	31	
Females over 15 years	45	
1901 Census England and Wales:		
Middle-class Females aged 25	29	B. L. Hutchins, p. 258.
Middle-class Females aged 35	39	
Middle-class Females aged 45-55	50	
Middle-class Females aged 20+	60	
All Females aged 25	66	
All Females aged 35	82	
All Females aged 45-55	86	
All Females aged 20+	70	

Sources:

A. M. Gordon, 'The After Careers of University Educated Women', Nineteenth Century, Vol. 38, 1895.

J. N. Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood, 1980.

S. Hamilton, Women and the Scottish Universities Circa 1869-1939: A Social History, PhD, University of Edinburgh, 1987.

B. L. Hutchins, 'Higher Education and Marriage', The English Woman, Vol. XVIII, 1913.

Appendix 24: Old Student Employment Rates

Table 1: A Summary of Employment Rates From Contemporary College Statistics

Institution	Percentage Employed	Data Source
Bedford 1914	Total Working 66% Total Working (-Married) 81%	Derived from Bedford Physical Education Old Students' Association Report 1914
Anstey 1909	Total Working 69% Total Working (-Married) 80%	Derived from Anstey Physical Training College Magazine 1909
Chelsea 1911	Total Working 56% Total working (-Married) 63%	Derived from Chelsea Physical Training College Magazine 1911
Chelsea 1914	Total Working 55% Total Working (-Married) 66%	Derived from Chelsea Physical Training College Magazine 1914
Cambridge/Oxford University Colleges 1893		
Newnham	Total Working 66% Total Working (-Married) 85%	Derived from Gordon, pp. 956-957.
Girton	Total Working 40% Total Working (-Married) 47%	
Somerville	Total Working 44% Total working (-Married) 53%	
Holloway	Total Working 37% (61% of accounted for total) Total Working (-Married) 38%	
Alexandra	Total Working 70% Total Working (-Married) 78%	
Average of the above University colleges plus Alexandra and L.M.H.	Total Working 47% Total Working (-Married) 55%	
Manchester University 1923		
Sets 1896-1900	Total Working 80%	Derived from Gibert, p. 190.
1900-1907	Total Working 84%	
1908-1923	Total Working 89%	

Total Working = the percentage of students in each set or range of sets who were employed at the time of the compilation of statistics.

Total Working (-Married) = the percentage of students in each set or range of sets who were employed and unmarried at the time of compilation of the statistics. In the physical training college samples, the figures for Bedford and Anstey are limited to those students who were members of the old students' associations (i.e. nearly 100% of the total old students for Bedford).

Sources:

A. M. Gordon, 'The After Careers of University Educated Women', Nineteenth Century, Vol. 38, 1895.

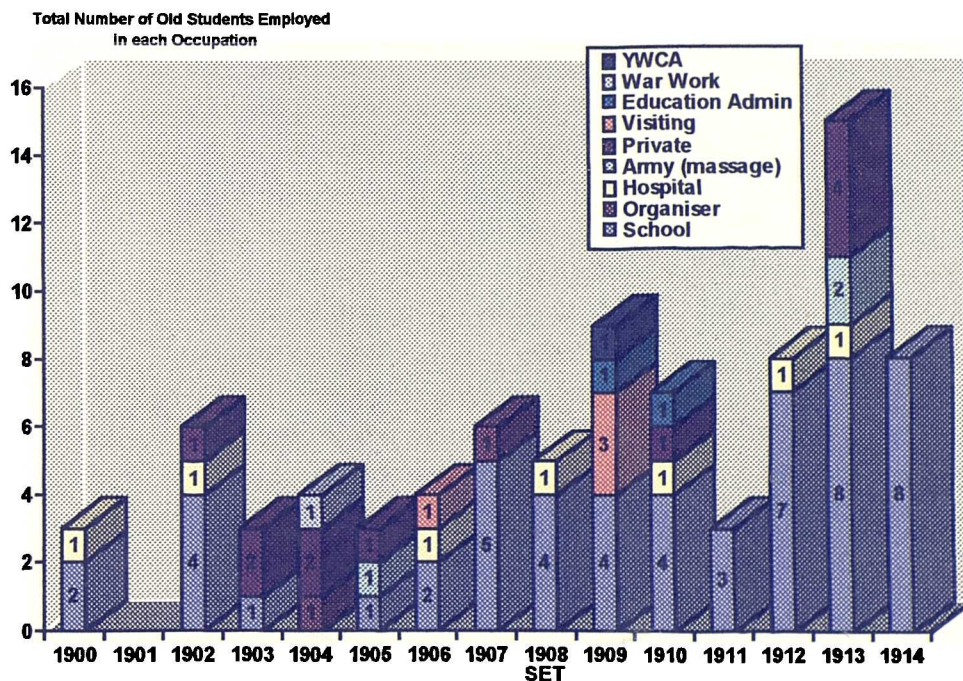
J. S. Gibert, *Women at the English Civic Universities: 1869-1939*, PhD, University of North Carolina, 1988.

Appendix 25: Types of Old Student Employment

Table 1: Type of Employment of Chelsea Old Students by Year Group in 1916

Set	School	Organiser	Hospital	Army (massage)	Private	Visiting	Education	War Work	YWCA
1900	2		1						
1901									
1902	4		1		1				
1903	1				2				
1904		1			2			1	
1905	1			1	1				
1906	2		1			1			
1907	5	1							
1908	4		1						
1909	4					3	1		1
1910	4		1		1		1		
1911	3								
1912	7		1						
1913	8		1	2	4				
1914	8								
Total	53	2	7	3	11	4	2	1	1

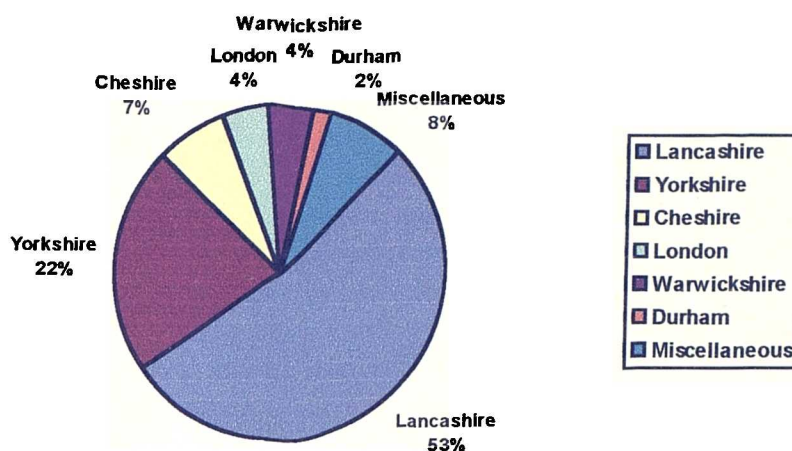
Graph: 1: Number of Chelsea Old Students Employed in Various Occupations in 1916



53 out of 84 old students (63%) were teaching in 1916.

Appendix 26: Regional Employment of Old Students

Graph 1: Showing Percentage of Edge Hill Old Students (non-graduates) Employed in Each Region upon Leaving College 1891-1912¹



The data relates to the first job destination of sets 1888-1912, rather than where they were located in 1912. Seventy five percent, three in four old students, were teaching in Lancashire and Yorkshire. This is not the distribution of a national institution like Bedford but more of a regional specialisation. Many of the teachers remained in Liverpool itself. The Board of Education for 1912-13 laments 'Many students, especially women students, desire to obtain posts in or near their homes, and hesitate to accept appointments in some unfamiliar or distant parts of the country.'² The principal Miss Hale complains, 'It is regretted that seven have felt obliged to accept appointments as uncertified teachers rather than go out of Liverpool.'³ Edge Hill students came largely from the local area and remained in the local area. Bedford Students came from nation-wide (see Chapter 3) and worked nation-wide.

When graduates from Edge Hill are considered from 1888-1912 (96 in all), there is a trend for slightly greater dispersion. Lancashire and Yorkshire still accommodate six in ten old students. Most of these students, 91 out of 96 known, are in teaching (including three H. M. Inspectors.) Edge Hill graduates were still regionally based. They were little seen outside of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire and London. 21% remained in Liverpool itself.

¹ Taken from figures in F. A. Montgomery, Edge Hill University College: A History 1885-1997 (London, 1997), p. 22.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Appendix 27: The Role of the Old Students' Associations

Loyalty to principal and college continued long after the old student had left college. In many cases the link between old student and college was broken only by death. The desire for old students to remain in contact with college is exemplified by the old students' association. These associations were common to each college.¹ Old students therefore formed an 'extended family,'² who remained members of college long after the fleeting period of college training was over.

In the 'family phase' of college development, old student loyalty was encouraged on an informal basis by the principals. Spafford (Bedford, 1908) states, 'Later when I was an old student, I remember Miss Stansfeld's warm welcome to me to visit College often - a welcome she will have given to many old students - "come as often as you can, stay as long as you can and come without notice" (what warmer welcome from our college principal could one have!)'³ And at Chelsea, 'On Sunday afternoons she [Fraulein] was at home in her flat to any old student who cared to visit.'⁴ At early Dartford, 'It has always been the practice of the Physical Training College to keep as far as possible in touch with old students. The removal of the college to Dartford Heath is a suitable opportunity for ex-students paying us a visit in the coming summer.'⁵ It will give us great pleasure to renew acquaintance with them and to confer on subjects interesting to gymnasts. We hope that as many as possible will avail themselves of our invitation to spend July 22nd, 23rd and 24th at their *alma mater*.⁶

As student numbers increased, this informal loyalty began to take up a lot of the principals' time. At Liverpool, 'In spite of many diversions, Miss Marsh always spent about four hours a day at her desk, working on college business or - more often - writing to her old students who by now were scattered in every corner of the globe.'⁷

Old students had a wish to return to their college, and principals encouraged them to do so. As old student numbers increased and colleges entered the 'institutional phase' of their development, a more formal loyalty was encouraged. At Dartford this process was student led. A group of old students decided to create a formal institution called The Ling Association.⁸ It was established in 1899 at Hampstead by some of the earliest students. Its

¹ S. Fletcher *Women First*, p. 68; 'Senior students almost invariably joined the old students' association. This very powerful Victorian device for forwarding the interests of schools and colleges had soon been taken up by women.'

² Ibid. 'There was above all devotion to Miss Stansfeld, who as one decade succeeded another, seemed to be immortal. If the college was her family, the old students formed her extended family.'

³ (B), Questionnaires, Spafford, 1908.

⁴ I. Webb *The History of Chelsea College of Physical Education: With Special Reference to Curriculum Development 1898-1973*. PhD, University of Leicester, 1977, pp. 45-46.

⁵ An early example of old students/pupils coming together is given in D. E. De Zouche, *Roedean School*, p. 164; "'The founders" sense of unity in their school might be deducted from the first school magazines . . . for 1889 past and present girls are given together in one list of eighty-nine names . . . The Old Girls had their first special paragraph in the summer of 1891 when besides two Tripos, the names were recorded of those who came down for the annual cricket match "and at supper" delivered eloquent speeches.'

⁶ (D), Dartford Physical Training College Magazine 1895-96, p. 11.

⁷ M. H. Royle, *Liverpool Physical Training College*, p. 51.

⁸ For a detailed discussion of the early years of this association see: Y. Moyses, 'A Brief Outline of Some Activities of the Ling Physical Education Association, Part 1, 1889-1918', *Journal of Physical Education*, Vol. XLI, 1949 pp. 31-43. The association was the first to try and provide a general standard for physical education students to achieve. In 1902 Anstey students became automatically eligible for membership. In

aims were 'to associate all fully trained gymnastic teachers, to keep a register and to arrange conferences, holiday courses, etc. In other words to recentralise the spreading work inaugurated by this college and later reinforced by other colleges on similar lines.'⁹ This would directly link Dartford Old Students with their college and their profession.¹⁰

Ideally Madame Österberg would have been president but:

Irate at the actions of her old students, she sent a letter to the secretary expressing her disapproval and in 1900 Madame founded a rival organisation, "The Bergman-Österberg Union of Trained Gymnastic Teachers." She refused to co-operate with the Ling Association, in anyway, for the rest of her life. Anyone applying for membership must have been trained by Madame or at the Royal Central Gymnastic Institution, Stockholm.¹¹

It seems that Madame did not like her students going ahead and organising independent organisations, even with her being made head afterwards. She preferred to create and control her own: 'To facilitate exchange of old students' news the Bergman-Österberg Union was informally founded in 1902. As Madame took great personal interest in this it was not until 1916, a year after her death, that the union became formalised with a president and committee. One of the early actions of the B. O. U. was to investigate a benefit fund for old students in financial difficulties due to illness.'¹² Madame preferred an informal institution and kept it that way. Her old students desired a more formal structure and acted quickly to institutionalise it after her death.

At Chelsea, student loyalty again set proceedings in motion: 'Chelsea College of Physical Training Old Students' Association was informally started in 1900 by the first nine students who gained diplomas with the idea of keeping in touch with one another . . . formally founded in May 28th 1904, with Domina as president.'¹³ In this case Fraulein was pleased to accept the post of president. At Liverpool Miss Marsh was also pleased; 'first let me say how glad I am that you have formed the association of past students. Long may it live and grow stronger and bigger and more useful to every one of you, as I am sure it will do.'¹⁴

The stated objects of the Chelsea association were:

'To form an organised and independent body of trained gymnastic teachers.

To keep in touch with educational development by means of weekly meetings and lectures.

To forward the cause of Physical Training in England.'¹⁵

1906 the association granted its own diploma which non-Dartford and Anstey students needed for membership. In 1906 Bedford graduates were recognised. Chelsea is not mentioned under automatic entry until 1915. Liverpool gets no mention during this period.

⁹ (D), Kingsfield Book of Remembrance.

¹⁰ The loyalty of Old Roedeans' and the important role of a school association are shown in D. E. De Zouche, *Roedean School 1885-1955*, p. 165; 'The first membership of the O. R. A. when it was formed in 1900 was 153. Thereafter it grew in numbers, slowly at first but steadily, to become at length not only a fellowship offering its members great interest and pleasure but an effective instrument for collective action and a mighty source of strength and support for the school in its role of over three thousand O. R.'s scattered over the earth.'

¹¹ I. Webb, pp. 98-99, *Swedish Physical Educationalists*.

¹² (D), Kingsfield Book of Remembrance.

¹³ I. Webb, *A History of Chelsea College of Physical Education*, pp. 106-107.

¹⁴ (L), *Liverpool Physical Training College Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1916, p. 1.

¹⁵ I. Webb, *A History of Chelsea College of Physical Education*, pp. 106-107.

The Chelsea association quickly became more formal: A ruling structure was derived; 'The committee was formed by the Country and Town members and each was responsible for a group of old students with the aim of collecting ideas and views on special matters.'¹⁶

Communication between members was facilitated: 'In 1909 the Annual leaflet was published to record "home events" for circulation amongst members only.'¹⁷ Domina realised that such formal links between the old students was now necessary:

'Dorette welcomed the leaflet as a means of communication; she commented, 214 students had already been successfully trained and individual personal correspondence was no longer possible.'¹⁸ The leaflet became a magazine in 1920.

The old students' association fulfilled the old students' desire to keep in contact with fellow members scattered over the country. News and updates were provided. It helped form a unified professional group of women bound by college training and vocation. This helped forward the 'cause' of training and professionalism.

There were also other phenomena associated with this type of organisation; perhaps the most remembered was the coming together of the old student body in the college reunion.¹⁹ In the 'family phase' of college development such reunions were quite informal. At Chelsea they were called 'At Home's' after the middle-class ritual of young women inviting other women around for tea. Old students were always welcome to return to college; 'if any of you feel rusty or disheartened come back to the college for a week and it will refresh and stimulate you to new and better efforts'²⁰ said Dorette at an 'At Home' on the 3rd June, 1910.

This quickly took on more formal status, with annual reunions and holiday courses. At Dartford, 'The old students are invited to a refresher course at the end of July, when the best methods in usual and medical gymnastics are demonstrated.'²¹ These meetings were not only for old companions to meet up and talk, new educational ideas were discussed and performed. 'The holiday courses had an established pattern of gymnastics, dancing, medical and cultural lectures and continued to be popular. In 1912, 8th-13th September, 50 members of the Association participated in the Holiday Course.' However sometimes old student interest could be lacking; 'Why weren't more of you at the reunion? Our

¹⁶ (C), Chelsea Physical Training College Magazine 1919, p. 9.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ The reunion was a feature common to many education institutions and took some organising: A. K. Clarke, A History of Cheltenham Ladies College 1853-1953 (London, 1953), p. 60; 'Very successful reunions took place during the Wait-Week of alternative years, to which all former students are cordially invited. Large numbers attended, and many are accommodated for a night or two in the college or at lodgings in town.' At Lincoln Teacher Training College: Board of Education, The Training of Women Teachers of Secondary Schools: A Series of Statements from the Institutions Concerned (London, 1912), p. 121; 'Last year a very successful reunion of past and present students took place . . . as a means of developing and maintaining a healthy *esprit de corps* among those trained in college.' And, Bishop's Stortford p. 37; 'But the event of the year is the "anniversary", which is usually kept in November. Some of the old students are invited to tea at 6. 30 on Friday evening in the training room, which they have prettily decorated. At half-past nine there is an excellent supper...on the following morning there is a celebration of Holy Communion for the staff and former students.'

²⁰ I. Webb, A History of Chelsea College of Physical Education, p. 61.

²¹ Bergquist Worishofen, 'Swedish Gymnastics at Home and Abroad', Svenska Gymnastika, 1907.

principal must have felt sad to think that out of all the students she had trained, only 16 responded to her invitation to Erdington. [Bemoaned] One of the Old Ladies.²²

However those who went to the early Anstey reunions certainly enjoyed the experience of meeting old comrades and their leader Miss Anstey. The following poem from 1909 gives a brief summary of the experience of work and play of thirty old students.

Each Madder Than The Last.

I sing our late reunion,
Revival of the past;
And thirty happy Ansteyites
Each madder than the last

Behold us that summers eve
Assembling thick and fast;
Miss Anstey there to greet us all
Each kindlier than the last.

'Tis good to talk 'til twelve at night
About one's well-spent past!
While candid friends let full home truths
Each plainer than the last.

But morning comes, and work begins;
The moments now fly fast
In class and lecture, dance and gym.,
Each livelier than the last.

Too soon, too soon, the tale is told.
Too soon the die is cast!
the mid-day train engulfs us all
Each sadder than the last.

Now envy us, ye absent ones,
Yet be not too down cast
There's many a meeting yet to be,
Each merrier than the last. K. R. S.²³

The coming together of the old student body was an opportunity for their leader to inspire and give guidance:²⁴

²² (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine 1910, p. 23.

²³ (A), Anstey Physical Training College Magazine 1919, pp. 9-10.

²⁴ Giving guidance to old students may have been considered in a similar light to that of the headmistress of The Mount School, York: G. Avery, The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls' Independent Schools, p. 221; 'and most headmistresses would have considered it part of their duty to give guidance in post-school behaviour: She spoke to us chiefly about our clothes - how not to be extravagant and yet not to neglect our

On the occasion of the 21st birthday of the College celebrated on the 8th of November 1919, Domina recalled its birth in October 1898. She also spoke of its difficulties and joys to the 200 past and present students and the principal and staff who met in the hall to share in the celebrations. Later an old student was moved to write. Surely her stirring words roused in each one of us a greater love of college, a keener desire for its advancement, perhaps a scarcely realised wish to serve in our turn. Through her unquenchable fervour Domina has highlighted a spark and fanned it into flame - is it not the duty of all Chelsea students, both past and present, to see that fire never dies out.²⁵

For the chosen few a more individual invitation could be made; 'Invitations to join college educational visits were extended to old students. On 15th June, 1910. Dorette Wilke wrote to Miss Salisbury (Chelsea, 1906) with an invitation, "Have you heard that, we are going to take part in the Paris Hygiene Congress? Do come and join us, it will be such fun! . . . do come we want some old girls - Miss Turton is coming. We alone are representing England" . . . It was an extremely successful and interesting occasion.'²⁶

The main role of the old students' association was to give a feeling of continuity. Marriage and dropping out of professional work was not seen as failure by the associations: Wicksteed (Dartford , 1907) comments that 'to us the 3rd set, belongs the glory of the very first "college grandchild", Reul Maas-dorp, also Miss Hall from Heidelberg now has a son and daughter which she once told me are "the only real accomplishments" of her life.'²⁷

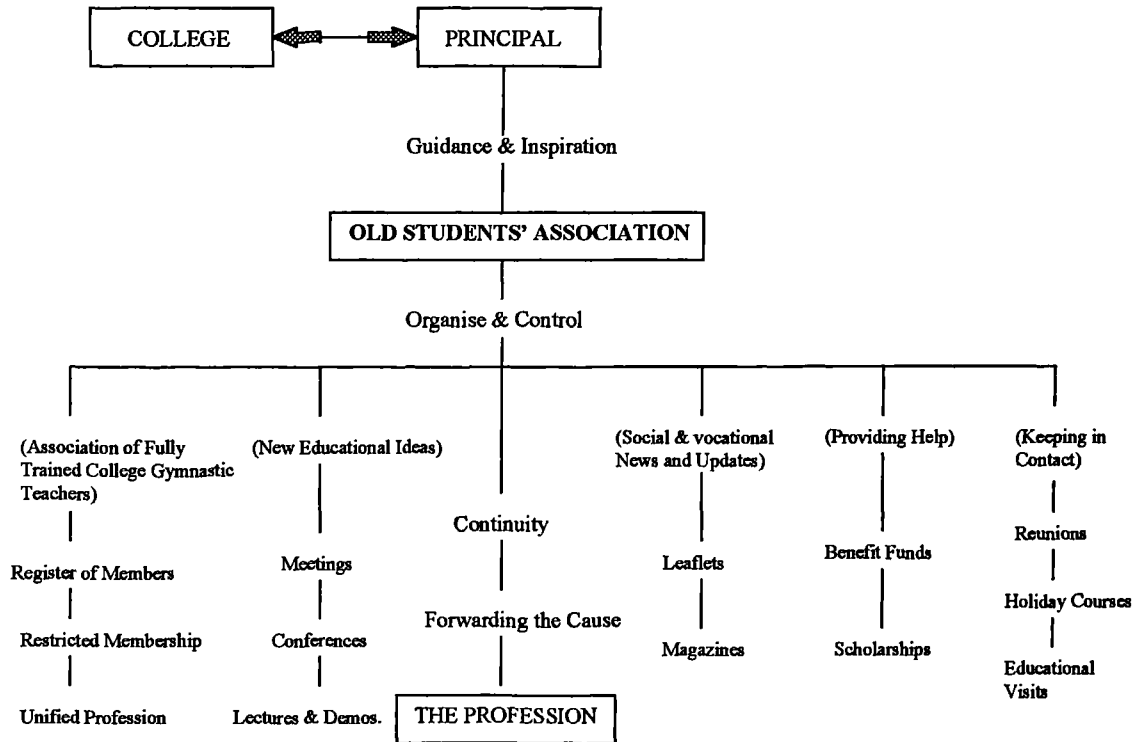
appearance. She said that those of us who were going to the university would be tempted chiefly by the latter, and those of us at home by the former.'

²⁵ I. Webb, A History of Chelsea College of Physical Education, p. 62.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 143

²⁷ (D), Letters, Wicksteed, 1907.

Diagram 1: The Structure and Functions of the Old Students' Associations



The Old Students' Association provided an important link between college and profession. The diagram shows the important role played by the principal (who was usually president of the O.S.A.) in bringing this about. The O. S. A. spanned the gap between the college sphere of influence and the patriarchal society around it. Through the association ideas flowed in and out of college and society. Its ultimate aims were to provide continuity of commitment between college and students and to forward the cause of physical training to which all members were committed.

Appendix 28: Careers of Individual Old Students

This is a list of known appointments of Old Students quoted in this Dissertation. Information is taken from the membership lists of the old student magazines. In some cases little or no records are mentioned of some old students.

Rhoda Anstey (Hampstead 1885)

Hygiene Home for Delicate Women and Girls (constipation and gout). Moved to Somerset 1897. Principal and Founder of Anstey Physical Training College

Muriel Bartlett (Bedford 1920)

The Maynard School, Exeter. Exmouth and Okehampton Secondary Schools.

Bayley, (Dartford)

Muriel Birnie (Dartford, 1913)

(Harris)

Anna Broman (Dartford 1911)

M. M. Brown (Dartford 1918)

Education Offices Sheffield.

V. A. Brown (Dartford 1910)

Roedean.

Lilla Butler (Dartford 1918)

Freda Colwell (Bedford 1915)

Bedford P. T. C.

Jeannie Cuthill, (Bedford 1905)

Institute Motherwell, Married Pre-1914 (Webb).

Davies (Anstey 1912)

(Samson) Staff at Anstey 1918-1920. Married 1920. Large physiotherapy practice. Later part time hospital work.

Molly Evans (Bedford 1906)

Wallesley High School. George Watson's Ladies' College. Bedford Boys Modern School.

Aileen Farr (Bedford 1918)

Married (Carr).

May Fountain (Chelsea 1908)

Headmistress 1929-1945. Principal Chelsea Physical Training College 1945-1950.

Margaret Graham (Bedford 1910)

Sidcot Friends' School. Ackworth School. Queen Mary's High School, Walsall.

Bessie Grubb (Hampstead 1894)

1894 Mount School York. Miss Baker in Leicester and classes in Derby, Nottingham, Ashby, Market Harborough, Loughborough and medical work. Married (Flavell) moved to Canada.

Gummer (Dartford 1919)

1919 Swedish Gymnasium Hampstead.

Ida Hadley (Bedford 1905)

Bedford P. T. C.

Harding (Chelsea 1906)

Christine Hodson (Liverpool 1923)

First appointment in Belfast. Ten years lecturing at Liverpool Physical training College. 38 years at Ancotes Hospital Manchester. Co-founder of School of Physiotherapy.

Principal of School. Added P. E to remedial work of hospital. Honorary Fellowship for outstanding services to physiotherapy. Editor of Liverpool Old Students magazine from 1915. 1974 part time lecturer at Ancotes Hospital. Girl Guides, Manchester County extension Secretary, Public Relations Officer for Manchester Branch of C. S. P. and Vice-Chairperson.

Hyden (Dartford 1914)

Physiotherapist. Lecturing in pottery and Spanish. Worthing Hospital.

E. Adair Impey (Dartford 1898)

Helped found Ling Association. Lectured at Anstey, Chelsea and Dunfermline Physical training colleges. Editor of Journal of Physical Education and School Hygiene. Married an Editor, family and social work. President of Birmingham and District P. E. A. Girls High School Walsall for gymnastics and factory girls.

E. M. Lowe (Anstey 1914)

(Oldfield) Marshall Miss Franks Training College for Kindergarten Teachers. St George's Training College Edinburgh and outside classes.

Lucas (Chelsea 1903)

(Bloomfield), 1913 Goldsmith's Institute, New Cross. Married and emigrated to New Zealand. Joined Physical Training Department in New Zealand.

C. MacNee (Dartford 1911)

(Gellatly) Girls Grammar School.

D. Meakin (Chelsea 1912)

Alderman Newton Girls' School. Secondary School Ipswich. St Thomas's Hospital Massage Department.

Jean Millington (Dartford 1907)

Jordanhill College.

Emily Napier-Clarke. (Dartford 1910)

Own gymnasium and private work and gym classes and remedial massage and school connections.

Mary Neild (Bedford 1907) Newlands High School for Girls, Hull. Hull Secondary School.

N. Nicodemi (Hampstead 1887)

Cheltenham College, Stockholm, Medical gymnasium. Opened medical gymnasium practice in London.

Enid O'Dwyer (Anstey 1911)

Anstey Physical Training College 1917-44. Secretary of A.O.S.A. until 1947 and treasurer. 'A prop and stay of college in discipline and standard of work for 27 years.' (Miss Squires, 1947 Report, p. 17.)

A. Pagan (Hampstead 1894)

(Leebody). Assistant in Glasgow Gymnastics. House keeping course in domestic Economy School. Teaching in girls' private school and voluntary classes to mill girls.

H. Pagan (Dartford 1902)

Jeannie Parker (Liverpool 1923)

Haberdasher Askes' School 1945-1960.

Dorothy Payne (Bedford 1905)

Private Practice, Sutton.

Frances Perkins (Hampstead 1894)

High School Ipswich. Merchant Tailors' School for Girls, Liverpool. St Felix School, Southwold.

Molly Petit (Bedford 1905)

Bedford P. T. C.

Randall (Dartford 1911)

Organiser Education Office Huddersfield.

E. C. W. Rankin (Dartford 1905)

Matron in massage and hygiene. Gave up teaching after motorcycle accident. Mary Erskine School. Edinburgh Castle physiotherapy with military patients and First World War patients.

Edna Rigby (Bedford 1918)

Greenway School Tiverton. Nottingham High School & Private work. Northampton School for Girls. King Edward VI Girls Grammar School, Lincs.

Marjorie Roberts (Liverpool 1924)

O. M. Roberts (Chelsea 1917)

St Katherine's Training College.

Helen Rowlatt (Bedford 1910)

Assistant to Freda Stansfeld. Then lecturer at Bedford P. T. C.

May Hilton Royle (Liverpool 1906)

1945 Seaford Ladies College, 1960 coaching in two schools, 1962, Part-time hockey and tennis in Brighton. 1970 coaching and hockey administration 1971 part time coaching at G.L.C. Sports Centre, Ewell. 1974 nursing older sister and president of Sussex County Hockey Association. Visiting teacher in 4 schools. Selecting county and territorial teams. Games coaching. 1976 county hockey affairs.

Margaret Salt (Dartford 1916)

Norwich High School.

Kathleen Scott (Bedford 1907)

Meg Graftey Smith (Liverpool 1906)

1927-45 Malvern - Clarendon School. Large massage practice. W. V. S. and other civic duties. 1960 Chairperson of A.S.A. Education Committee. R.L.S.S. Commonwealth Conference.

Phyllis Spafford (Bedford 1908)

Bolton High School. George Watson's Ladies College. Froebel Institute. Ling Association Bedford P. T. C. Principal

Ruth Squire (Bedford 1915)

St David's Grammar School Berkhamstead. Anstey Physical Training College. Principal.

Margaret Stansfeld (Hampstead 1886)

Bedford High School and work in Leicester and London. Bedford Physical Training College Principal 1903-1945.

E. Stevenson (Dartford 1892)

Highbury High School Physical training club work and private pupils.

Vida Sturge (Hampstead 1893)

Swedish Gymnasium in Sheffield. Collegiate School, Port Elisabeth specialising in cricket and hockey. All Saints Convent, St. Albans.

M. Wallace-Smith (Chelsea 1920)

Burlington High School.

Honora Wicksteed (Bedford 1907)

East Ham Secondary School & Private Work.

Freda Young (Bedford 1905)

Heathcote School, London. Dame Alice Owen Girls' School.

Many of the old students quoted in these chapters were committed teachers. Some worked throughout their working lives. Some became principals of physical training colleges. Others worked for a while before getting married. A few went back to paid employment when societal attitudes to married women working changed. All had differing careers and experiences. They were all bound by physical training college experience and loyalty to their institution. Their willingness to have their thoughts recorded in archive and book, have allowed their memories of Victorian and Edwardian physical education to be heard and interpreted in the preceding chapters.

Appendix 29: The Background to Old Student Marriage Rates

The decisions made by old students on whether to marry or not, were affected by certain parameters:

Occupation

The data shows that the type of employment, i.e. teaching, played a part. Teachers tended to have a low marriage rate compared for instance with doctors. Physical education teachers like all other female teachers had to give up their jobs and careers upon getting married.¹ Hamilton suggests 'the propensity of the teaching profession to perpetuate a spinster profession is one which had significant bearing on marriage trends. The choice of teaching meant delaying marriage or remaining a spinster.'² Hutchins states: 'there is no station in life (save that of a nun) so inimical to marriage as that of a resident teacher in a girls' school owing to the very restricted opportunities of meeting men afforded by this way of life.'³

Teaching therefore provided an environment which discouraged opportunity for marriage. The sometimes unwritten rule (but always acted upon) that a woman left her job upon marriage applied to all standards of teaching.⁴ Therefore physical training college students were aware that they must choose between marriage and career. Those who chose career were removed from the marriage market. Available data back up this observation (see Appendix 23). Glasgow University had 12% of its graduates married by 1914, (see Appendix 23) many were teachers. However 51% of its female medical graduates were married. It was not expected that a female doctor give up her post upon marriage and this encouraged a higher marriage rate.

Social Class

As seen in Chapter 3, the students at physical training colleges belonged to the middle-class. Hutchins states that 'it should be born in mind in studying the position of the college woman that she belongs to, and her position and prospects in life are largely determined by, the conditions of a class in which the prospect of marriage is small.'⁵ Hutchins' data show that those women living on their own means, i.e. middle-class women, had a much lower marriage rate than women in general. Using The 1901 Census for England and Wales (see Appendix 23) she found that 60.2% of propertied women

¹ Figures derived from the 1911 Census Returns in E. J. Morley, Women Workers in Seven Professions: A Survey of their Economic Conditions and Prospects (London, 1914), p. 317, show that of 187,283 school teachers 6.3% were married, therefore a limited number of married women, perhaps with certain skills or working for a particularly relaxed educational authority, were allowed to continue working. Madame Österberg herself was an example of a married worker.

² S. Hamilton, Women and the Scottish Universities Circa 1869-1939, A Social History, PhD, University of Edinburgh, 1987, p. 400.

³ B. L. Hutchins, 'Higher Education and Marriage', The English Woman, Vol. XVIII, 1913, pp. 259-260.

⁴ For Scotland: see C. Adams, Teaching a Celibate Profession: The Marriage Bar in Scotland 1915-1940, M. Ed. B.U. 1987. Reaction to marriage varied from authority to authority. Women might be dismissed, moved to temporary posts or supply posts. at first there was little protest despite the largely unwritten rules involved. By 1914; 'There is adverse comment on the economically unsound, unjust and racially dangerous tendency in many salaried professions to enforce upon women resignation on marriage.' E. J. Morley, Women Workers in Seven Professions: A Survey of their Economic Conditions and Prospects, p. xv. The English and Welsh experience of the marriage bar remains to be written.

⁵ B. L. Hutchins, 'Higher Education and Marriage', p. 259.

aged 20+ were married as opposed to 70% of all females. She concluded that college women had an average marriage rate of two thirds of that of all women her own age, but that college women had a marriage rate not much below that of their own class.⁶

Gordon also noted: 'the percentage of marriages among less highly educated women is greater than among university trained maidens.'⁷ This phenomena may have been due to changes in the role of the middle-class young woman; 'many had no function in the home. They were not needed to help with housework since maids were employed to do it. Supervision of the servants was the mother's task . . . unmarried daughters were the first to revolt against the ideal set for them by society.'⁸

The attitudes of parents had also changed; 'by the last decades of the nineteenth century, some parents were willing for their daughters to find a paid occupation until they married, to relieve their fathers or brothers from the financial burden of their support.'⁹ Some girls chose independence and work to marriage. Indeed Gordon interpreted her statistics as suggesting 'that they do not lead one to the conclusion that marriage is desired or attained by the majority of very highly educated women.'¹⁰ Physical training college women were supported by their parents through college, this suggests they came from a home environment where independent behaviour and vocational training was acceptable.

Higher Education

Gordon comments on the benefits college education gave the students: 'the wider interests, the larger outlook on life which students gain in their college life, and the trained intelligence which they can bring to bear on their work, whatever it is, are of unspeakable value in any sphere, small or large.'¹¹

These benefits tended to make the expectations and restrictions of Victorian marriage less desirable; 'heroes are scarce, and the average man who proposes marriage to the average girl can at best offer her no wider prospect than a round of careful housekeeping, motherhood, and thrift; and it must be doubted if, taking all things into consideration, a university training is adapted for developing these homely and prosaic virtues.'¹²

Collet suggested that 'they regard marriage as a possible, but not very probable, termination of their working career; but for all practical purposes relegate the thought to the unfrequented corners of their minds.'¹³ As Gordon added: the evidence does suggest that, 'if a mother sends her daughter to one of the universities she is more likely to become a teacher than a wife. Moreover it is a question if the kind of training that girls receive at these universities does not, on the whole, make them inclined to look upon the, prospect of married life as a rather dull and unintellectual career.'¹⁴ Physical training college students, having got used to vocational training and an alternative life style, would think hard before giving up their newly empowered status.

⁶ Ibid., p. 258.

⁷ A. M. Gordon, 'The After Careers of University Educated Women', *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 38, 1895, p. 960.

⁸ J. N. Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*, p. 134.

⁹ Ibid., p. 135.

¹⁰ A. M. Gordon, 'The After Careers of University Educated Women', p. 960.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ C. E. Collet, 'Prospects of Marriage for Women', *Nineteenth Century*, 31st April, 1882, p. 548.

¹⁴ A. M. Gordon, 'The After Careers of University Educated Women', p. 960.

Level of degree pass also produced differing marriage rates, even within the same college. At Girton (see Appendix 23) 14% of all graduates were married by 1893. However 38% of students with the lower, Pass degree were married.

Delayed Marriage

College careers led to delayed marriages: 'the training college experience was so popular because it allowed girls to hedge their bets; some women would teach until their retirement on marriage, whilst those who from either choice or necessity, did not marry, were equipped to pursue a satisfying career.'¹⁵ Hutchins comments 'that delaying marriage till the age of twenty-one or more, but makes no difference in the proportion who ultimately marry.'¹⁶ The data analysed for physical training colleges confirms this rise in marriage rates against time left college.

Attitudes to Marriage

A change in attitudes towards marriage had been underway in late-Victorian Britain. Male attitudes were favouring more educated women; 'the modern young man shows a shrewd tendency to acquire in his wife not so much one of those engaging zoological specimens, as a young person who will be able to pay the weekly bills and help him substantially in his career.'¹⁷ This may have helped old students seeking marriage, however female attitudes to marriage had also changed:

Formerly girls married in order to gain their social liberty; now, they more often remain single to bring about that desirable consummation. If young and pleasing women are permitted by public opinion to go to college, to live alone, to travel, to have a profession, to belong to a club, to give parties, to read and discuss whatsoever seems good to them, and to go to theatres without masculine escort, they have most of the privileges - and several others thrown in - for which the girl of twenty or thirty years ago was ready to barter herself to the first suitor who offered himself and the shelter of his name.¹⁸

The freedom of remaining unmarried and keeping the empowerment they had gained through college experience provided an effective barrier to marriage. Those who did seek marriage were becoming more selective, and this in itself would have delayed or prevented the event; 'we have changed our ideals, and that if it is somewhat of an exaggeration to say that women are ceasing to marry, it is certain that indiscriminate marrying has, to a certain extent gone out.'¹⁹

Demographic factors

Changes in population were making middle-class female marriage more difficult; 'more boys than girls died young; more men than women emigrated to the colonies; many young men found careers in the army, the navy, or the colonies which kept them away

¹⁵ E. Edwards, 'The Culture of Femininity in Women's Teacher Training Colleges 1900-1950', History of Education, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1993, pp. 285-6.

¹⁶ B. L. Hutchins, 'Higher Education and Marriage', p. 262.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

from England for a number of years, perhaps for life.’²⁰ Dixon writing on living standards and emigration warned: ‘this middle class recklessness has brought, in this generation, its own Nemesis: an enormous number of young men who are obliged to seek a living in India, Africa, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; a still larger number of young women who have to stay at home and *partly earn their own livelihood* [my italics].’²¹ Victorian and Edwardian physical training students were of marriageable age, when men, particularly suitable middle-class men, were becoming scarcer.

Economic Factors

The standard of living for the middle-classes was rising ‘and it became customary for young men to postpone marriage until they had accumulated sufficient capital or were earning sufficient income to provide homes for their wives equivalent to the home they were leaving.’²² Collet provides a word of economic advice to parents; ‘if only the relatives of these girls could realise that at least one-half of them will never be married, and that of the others many will not marry for several years after leaving school, that there is no means of predicting which of them will be married, and that any of them may have to support, not only themselves all their lives but a nurse as well in old age.’²³ Therefore many physical training college students would by necessity have to support themselves perhaps indefinitely.

²⁰ J. N. Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood (London, 1980), p. 35.

²¹ E. H. Dixon, ‘Why Women are Ceasing to Marry?’, The Humanitarian, Vol. 14, 1899, p. 393.

²² J. N. Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood, p. 35.

²³ C. E. Collet, ‘Prospects of Marriage For Women’, p. 551.

Appendix 30: Employment Rates and Occupations

The Job Prospects¹

The good prospects involved in training to be a physical education teacher were well promoted throughout the period. Madame as early as 1891 promised that teaching was 'an excellent career for girls - regarded even only from the material side, for I stipulate that none of them shall take less than £100 per year, and many who are gifted and clever receive more.'² In 1894, Hampstead students found that 'work is guaranteed to pupils on their obtaining their certificates at the end of their two years' course, when examinations are held. It is very seldom that work and salary of £100 can be guaranteed at the end of a course of training.'³

Fifteen years later Madame commented; 'the demand for teachers who have undergone a scientific physical training at this college remains steady, and is more likely to increase than decrease, since in the future there must be fuller recognition of the fact that harmonious development embraces the physical side of our nature as well as the mental and moral. Students are usually engaged some time before the completion of their college course. Salaries range from £100 per annum upwards.'⁴

In 1917 Chelsea students were told, 'physical training is one of the most lucrative professions which a woman can take up since a student, after three years' training, can obtain with ease a post beginning at £100 or £120 per annum, and most of the students obtain posts before leaving.'⁵ Two years later, Liverpool students found:

The commencing salary (resident) is about £60 or more. Much depends on qualifications and also age. An older student can take a more responsible post at a higher salary, and after some experience in teaching every mistress can expect a steady increase, or start again in another post at £100 resident. Non resident posts usually start with £140 to £150, rising to £330. Also students can work up private connections and make very good incomes, coaching games, teaching Drill and Dancing, taking remedial cases and giving massage. Very much depends on the locality selected and the personality of the teacher.⁶

This later description may imply that a more competitive market might be in place than earlier. However in 1921 'Miss Marsh cannot train enough for the schools that ask for them. The fact that an applicant for a post as games mistress, teacher etc., has passed through the Liverpool college, is now generally recognised as a guarantee of efficacy, and

¹ For a review of working-class wages see E. Cadbury, M. Cecile Matheson and G. Shann, Women's Work and Wages: A Phase of life in an Industrial City (London, 1908). Women above twenty one years could expect on average, ten shillings a week and a man eighteen shillings a week. Physical training college graduates could expect about two pounds a week. For general views and studies on women and employment during this era see J. Humphries, Women and Paid Work, pp. 85-105, in J. Purvis (ed), Women's History: Britain 1850-1945 (London, 1995). And C. Dyhouse, Feminism and the Family in England 1880-1939 (London, 1989), pp. 54-103.

² (D), Mme Bergman-Österberg, Professional Women Upon the Professions 1891: The Teaching of Physical Exercise.

³ 'Women's Work', The Hospital Nursing Supplement, August 11th, 1894.

⁴ (D), Madame Bergman-Österberg Physical Training College Prospectus 1908-09.

⁵ (C), Chelsea Physical Training College Prospectus 1916-17, p. 6.

⁶ (L), Liverpool Physical Training College Prospectus 1919, p. 12.

the work actually done fully confirms that opinion.⁷ The market for Dartford students of 1924 had certainly changed as a student recalls, 'jobs were not at all plentiful but I think the 32 of us who finished all acquired something.'⁸

However teachers' pay did not rise during the period under study. Though physical education provided a good wage compared to the few other careers open to women, it provided barely enough income for teachers to fund an independent middle-class lifestyle; 'the young high school mistress generally relied on free board and lodging at home in the holidays and would have lived close to the bone without it. Her independence was never luxurious.'⁹

Meakin (Chelsea, 1912) comments on the inequality of the college diploma compared to the graduate degree and the resulting wage differential; 'our 3 year Diploma was the first step in the fight for recognition as a Degree. We were paid on a non-graduate scale and it was many years before I received a salary with extra for special responsibility. I started teaching at £92 per annum, non-resident, which was considered good.'¹⁰

Successful college students had access to a growing market where demand exceeded supply. At the end of the Edwardian era the first signs of a tightening of the market was occurring. The wages offered to these students were sufficient to appear attractive to girls with limited economic opportunity. However they did not allow too affluent a lifestyle. Middle-class male wages were generally higher so women taking economic considerations into account might find marriage an attractive alternative.

⁷ (L), Liverpool A. P. S. Magazine, Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 2. 1921.

⁸ (D), 'College in My Day 1921-24', Dartford Physical Training College Magazine, p. 29.

⁹ S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 82, quoted from C. Collet, The Economic Position of Educated Working Women, (1890), pp. 72-73.

¹⁰ I. Webb, The History of Chelsea Physical Training College, p. 160. S. Fletcher, Women First, p. 174, quotes Clara Collet, The Economic Position of Educated Working Women, as stating; Wages were at £105-£120 per annum for non-graduate teachers, rising slowly to £140-£150 per annum for the Cambridge graduate women.

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