

University of Bristol

Department of Historical Studies

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2012

Claire Davey

**Teacher Training in Bristol, 1892-1930: A
comparison across gender, and through time**

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Teacher Training in Bristol, 1892-1930:

A comparison across gender, and through time.



Above: Four Year Course teacher trainees, Elton House, 1927.

Dedicated to Hannah Lowery and Anna Riggs who have
the most fascinating jobs in the world.
(University of Bristol Special Collections)

Also for Neil, my Dad, my voice of reason and perspective.

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Introduction

Until 1890 the training of Elementary school teachers was a seven year-long process dominated by religiosity. In an attempt to remove teacher training from ecclesiastical control a number of female-only Day Training Colleges (DTCs) were set up across the UK; Bristol's Day Training College for Women (DTCW) opened in 1892 as part of this movement. Following on from suggestions made in the Cross Commission of 1888, the Balfour Education Act of 1902 enabled local authorities to financially support Secondary schools, and subsequently teacher training; Bristol's Day Training College for Men (DTCM) was formed in 1905 as a direct consequence.¹ In 1910 these DTCs were incorporated into the University of Bristol to form a Teacher Training Department, alongside the Secondary Training Department; in 1919 this was then transformed into the Department of Education (see Flowcharts 1-4). This paper will discuss the extent to which the women who studied and worked at these institutions had gendered experiences.

Three lines of enquiry have been established with which to approach this multi-faceted investigation: it must be ascertained whether female trainees had different experiences to their male counterparts, and whether these experiences were uniform across all the females who studied at these institutions — transcendent of courses and time. Subsequently, analysis will be extended to their tutors in order to establish whether their experiences as tutors were determined by gender between 1892 and 1930.

In so doing, this study will contribute to broader historical debate; it will demonstrate that feminism was not a prerequisite in the higher education of females, and that 'her-story' — in comparison to gender history — is incapable of uncovering the true experiences of women. This paper will highlight that in order to progress from these limiting constructs, and truly understand the role of gender within higher education, one must diverge from writing histories of female students in isolation; they must be

¹ D. Humphreys, 'The Education and Training of Teachers' in *The University and the Bristol Area* (pamphlet), p 41-43.

analysed in conjunction with their male counterparts. The study will also document some alternative experiences of the First World War and its aftermath; it will explore the impact of war on those who studied and worked within these institutions. Henceforth, long-term post-war trends that were determined in this period will be accounted for, such as the expansion of teacher training. Therefore, while this study is specific in its primary objective — the assessment of gendered experiences at Bristol's teacher training institutions — the resulting research paper will additionally contribute towards a broader understanding of these central themes.

Carol Dyhouse's *No Distinction of Sex?: Women in British universities 1870-1939* is currently the most comprehensive 'her-story' of women within higher education during this period; she has drawn comparisons between the experiences of female students and staff at twenty-one universities across the UK in an attempt to reinstate women in the history of universities. Anecdotes and events from different institutions have been patched together to create the appearance of a unified movement in female participation.² In doing so, Dyhouse aims to synthesise feminist interpretations of separation and difference. She identifies the early period (1892-1914) as having been pioneered by those who believed in the education of women, offering a separate alternative to men's education, societies and accommodation. Dyhouse proposes that in the later period (1910-1930) this 'difference' was embraced, protected, and maintained as a form of united female independence; she suggests that imposed separation had dissipated by 1914, and that after this time, gender segregation prevailed only in sport.³

In contrast to Dyhouse's compendium, the time and content limitations imposed upon this paper have constrained the study to Bristol's teacher training institutions. This research will re-examine the documents from which Dyhouse has drawn her conclusions about the University of Bristol, and will additionally employ sources which were unavailable in 1992 when she visited the University's archives.⁴

² C. Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?: Women in British Universities 1870-1939* (London, 1995), 14-39.

³ Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?*, 84, 190, 202, 206.

⁴ Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?*, 255-256.

Subsequently, it has provided the opportunity to explore the day-to-day experiences in greater depth and detail than are documented in *No Distinction of Sex?*. By placing these female experiences within a gender framework, alongside the experiences of their male counterparts, Dyhouse's argument — that females dominated the experience of teacher training — will be contested; this was only the case between 1892-1905 and 1914-18. Her claim that gender segregation had disappeared by 1914 will also be disputed, and instead it will be argued that separation continued beyond 1914 and into the 1920s (albeit to a lesser extent). Lastly, Dyhouse's conclusion that there were united 'feminine subcultures' will be challenged; the course, accommodation and extra-curricular activities were not 'strongly imbued with feminism'.⁵ The female students and staff did not attempt to protect or maintain gender difference, and did not foster a unifying female experience across disciplines and through time.

Ann Brooks' exploration of female university staff in *Academic Women* provides a detailed, data-focused approach that compares statistics of female and male academics across different universities. Published in 1997, this is currently the most helpful research in displaying trends through time and across the UK. However, as Brooks highlights, the 'position of women academics is more difficult to access historically'.⁶ To establish their positions and roles within the institutions we must first understand their individual, day-to-day experiences; although staff at the DTCW were graduates, and had often attended prestigious universities, they were rarely termed academics or professionals.

While I have re-visited documents that were employed by Dyhouse, the majority of my research paper analyses previously unseen sources; I am privileged to be the first historian to work with the University of Bristol Special Collections Folder DM2076. This was transferred to the University archives in October 2011 after having been stored unsystematically in the faculty of Education's basement. Held in DM2076 are personal documents relating to trainees and records produced or collected by the staff, containing extensive detail about individual students. This

⁵ Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?*, 223.

⁶ A. Brooks, *Academic Women* (Milton Keynes, 1997), 11.

paper is the first to analyse these documents to piece together a history of Bristol's teacher training institutions; it is also the first study to place the experiences of Bristol's Women's *and* Men's DTC's alongside one another.

When examining any historical source, its context and limitations must be taken into account; in doing so, it can be established how they contribute to the research, and how they are best employed to bring most value to the study. When using the personal papers of Eva Hamblin and Vera May Montacute one must be aware, that while they offer insights to the experiences of individual female trainees, they do not necessarily represent the entire student body; Eva was a Day trainee enrolled on the Two Year Course; Vera, a Four Year, Residential student; they studied in Bristol in 1915-17 and 1927-29 respectively. They cannot be assumed to epitomise the experiences of those who studied outside of these categories, and similarly they may not be representative of all the students within these (categories). Nevertheless, they do provide a personal and detailed account of the female trainees' experiences that is absent from official University documents.⁷ Similarly, carefully selected facts have been extracted from the 'reminisces' of Marian Pease to contribute to this study, because she offers an insight into the early years of Bristol's DTCW that is not documented elsewhere. Yet when drawing on these we must be mindful that they were written in hindsight, and may have been crafted with an agenda — they also remain unfinished.⁸

The government legislation, reports and circulars are useful in helping to place the experiences of Bristol's trainees and staff in context with the national guidelines and expectations. While they highlight the general principles, it is worth noting that there were exceptions to these rules; individual cases were often set before the Board of Education, and Bristol's training departments often stretched the boundaries of

⁷ University of Bristol Special Collections (henceforth 'UoBSC'): DM2076/3, Personal papers of Charlotte Jane Eva Hamblin (henceforth 'CJEH'), 1904-1918; DM2157, Personal papers of Vera May Montacute (henceforth 'VMM'), 1927-9. Please note that all sources listed henceforth with a 'DM' reference number are located at the UoBSC.

⁸ DM219, M. Pease, 'Some reminiscences of University College, Bristol', 1942.

acceptability.⁹ The DTCM Guard Book conveys how these guidelines were moulded to practicalities; it is an unofficial collection of records such as timetables, references, leaflets, correspondence, staff information and student numbers. It is less formal than a minute book and gives a greater insight into the every-day experiences of Bristol's male trainees; unfortunately there is not an equivalent for the DTCW with which comparisons can be drawn. Yet this Guard Book contributes to all three chapters; it provides information about the male academic experience, what the male trainees did after hours, and a detailed account of the staff.¹⁰

A complete record of all students, across all courses and accommodation between 1892 and 1930 does not exist. As such, data analysis in this study has been conducted from the Nominal Lists and the Women's Analyses. The conclusions drawn from the data accordingly depend on the accuracy of the entries made within these documents. When dissecting these sources, the omissions and incomplete records had to be navigated around by adopting different years' data from various sources, in order to construct a whole account. While there is the possibility of discrepancies in individual figures, the charts and graphs show distinct and accurate trends (see Appendix 1).¹¹

Lastly, a number of minute books from a variety of internal Committees and Boards have been scrutinised. These are formal, official documents which discuss the most significant matters concerning the departments. It is particularly interesting that the DTC tutors did not sit on these Committees and were only summoned to certain meetings; consequently it is questionable how much they can contribute to the understanding of every-day experiences. Despite this, Committee and Board minutes can be relied upon to have continuously documented the existence of

⁹ DM2076/9/1, Grant Regulations (henceforth 'GR'), 1922; DM2287/2/11, 'Memorandum Issued by the Council of the Association of University Teachers' (henceforth 'Memorandum'), 25th June 1920; DM2287/8/8/1, 'Circular 878: Training College Students and Military Service' from The Board of Education (henceforth 'Circular'), UoB Teacher Training Board Minutes, Volume 1 (henceforth 'TTBM1'), 2nd Dec 1914. DM2287/8/8/2, Report from HMI Miss Monkhouse (henceforth 'RMM'), Teacher Training Board Minutes, Volume 2 (henceforth 'TTBM2'), 1st May 1919

¹⁰ DM2076/4/1, Day Training College for Men Guard Book (henceforth 'DTCMGB'), 1907-1915.

¹¹ DM2076/1/1/1, Women Students: Nominal Lists (henceforth 'WSNL'), 1892-1933; DM2076/1/2, Men Students: Nominal List (henceforth 'MSNL') 1905-1957; DM2076/1/7/1, Women Students: lists and analyses (henceforth 'WSLA'), 1917/8-1923.

Bristol's teacher training; and, to have reported the most important issues. Additionally they contain correspondence with, and information about, other DTCs across the UK.¹²

A synthesis of these sources shall be employed within three chapters: 'The Students and Timetabled Hours', 'The Students After-hours' and 'The Staff'; this will facilitate thorough discussion of the sources that most effectively lend themselves to answering the initial research questions proposed. The first of these chapters, 'The Students and Time-tabled Hours', will use government legislation, lists of students, memoirs, employment contracts, and fees to determine who enrolled as trainees. Thenceforth, the chapter will investigate the gendering of courses by examining syllabuses, individual subject selections, personal lecture notes and exercise books, and official minutes. Chapter Two, 'The Students After-hours', will examine the internal DTC documents, *Magnet* and the DTCM Guard Book, and Vera's academic diary to determine whether access to, and participation in, extra-curricular activities was gendered.¹³ Official minutes, government reports, and inventories will then be analysed to ascertain the extent to which residential experiences were determined by gender.¹⁴ 'The Staff' will largely employ official Committee, Board, and Council Minutes to compare the experiences of the female tutors to their male counterparts; recruitment, job statuses, salary increases, formal grievances, and resignations were all dealt with by the University or DTC bureaucrats. It shall be questioned whether these experiences were gendered, whether they changed over time, and how they compared to their counterparts at Newcastle's Training College.

At this stage it is possible to form some preliminary hypotheses in answer to the initial research questions: The experiences of female trainees at Bristol's teacher training institutions were gendered; complete segregation and separation inevitably led to differences between the experiences of men and women. Yet we can propose that as the trainees increasingly integrated with one another, and with the university

¹² DM2287/8/9, Training College Committee Minutes (henceforth 'TCCM'), Feb 1911-June 1913; DM2287/2/1, UoB Council Minutes (henceforth 'UoBCM'), 1915-1922; DM2287/8/8, TTBM, 1913-1921.

¹³ UoBSC: *The Magnet*, Vol.1, No.3 (1898-9), 82.

¹⁴ DM506/46 and /48, DTCM Hostel Inventories (henceforth 'DTCMHI'), Dec 1911.

settlement, their experiences of study and play became less gendered. Likewise, between 1892 and 1930, the experiences of the staff became less gender-determined; the increasing professionalisation of their roles diminished distinctions between genders. These hypotheses are merely initial suggestions of broad trends — the proceeding chapters will enable us to excavate the source material and establish the real experiences.

The Students and Time-Tabled Hours

The assessment of the trainees' academic experiences will contribute to two of the opening research questions; it will begin to establish the extent to which the students at Bristol's DTCW had gendered academic experiences, and concurrently whether this was uniform across the female student body. In doing so, the academic experiences of Two Year Course students and those on the Four Year Course will be identified. This chapter will additionally compare how the academic experiences of the students on these different courses transformed over time, in relation to the 'changing status' of the institutions, between 1892 and 1930.

Regulation 18 was added to the 1918 Education Act in 1922 in order to set specific guidelines for the 'Training of Teachers'.¹⁵ Previous to this, many of the operations within DTCs were left to the discretion of the Board of Education in Whitehall. Separate permissions were sought pertaining to individual students' qualifications, accommodation, fees and subject choices.¹⁶ With regards to the Two Year Course, Regulation 18 entrenched Bristol's prevailing practice in respect of both female and male students. This course included 'a period of professional training taken concurrently with a period of academic study' for those who were 'over 18 years of age' and who had 'passed a qualifying examination'; this enabled them to access posts as Elementary (Primary) school teachers.¹⁷ Figures 1 and 2 show that between 1892 and 1914 this course was the most popular selection by *both* male and female trainees. As a proportion of their respective student bodies however, it attracted a larger percentage of women than men; Elementary teacher training was viewed by society as a female gendered profession.

The majority of female students who enrolled on the Two Year Course were lower-middle class, young and single, and to whom teaching would provide a means of independent financial support until they married. Even by 1922 the female

¹⁵ DM2076/9/1, GR, 1922.

¹⁶ DM2287/8/8/2, Letter from Mr Milne at Board of Education, TTBM2, dated 29th Jan 1919.

¹⁷ DM2076/9/1, 'Recognised Students', GR, 1922.

experience of teacher training remained limited to those who were unmarried – this restriction did not apply to males.¹⁸ Despite this conservatism, these women were not only from local families; 1911, if applied as a typical year, demonstrates that there were only thirty-three candidates from Bristol per year.¹⁹ Figure 3 highlights the vast geographical catchment of female students between 1892 and 1914; 467 were from the Bristol/Bath region, 557 came from elsewhere in the UK, a further eleven were sent to Bristol from international locations. Indeed it appears that geographical location was less of an inhibitor for women than men; in 1910 the DTCM could boast of only four ‘foreign’ graduates.²⁰

In this year (1910), when the Colleges merged to form the Elementary Training Department, trainees were charged £10 per annum for tuition regardless of gender.²¹ When we convert this amount into 2011’s value it is equivalent to approximately £966.²² Receipts of monies paid by former female trainees Eva Hamblin (in 1917) and Vera May Montacute (in 1927) show that tuition fees proceeded to rise to £10.6.6 and £16.6.0 respectively; yet in real terms this actually represented a decrease in value.²³ Regardless, these large amounts convey why Bristol’s trainees were almost exclusively middle class previous to 1910.²⁴ Eva Hamblin was unable to afford these fees when she left school and consequently worked as an Uncertificated Assistant Mistress on a starting salary of £12 p.a.²⁵ In 1909 the implementation of Section 4 of the Education Act enabled students like Eva a chance to study at Bristol’s DTCW; in exchange for signing an Indenture with the Board of Education, which tied Eva to the teaching profession for five years, her fees were paid for by the government. Contrary to Dyhouse’s assertion that this opportunity was only available to training Secondary teachers, the Indenture states that it was open to training Elementary teachers also; this provision widened the catchment of students from

¹⁸ DM2076/9/1, ‘Recognised Students’, GR, 1922.

¹⁹ DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 28th Mar 1911.

²⁰ DM2076/4/1, DTCMGB, ‘Return relative to the employment of teachers who completed courses at the college in July 1910’, 1910-11.

²¹ DM2076/4/1, DTCMGB, Letter from Mr. Foster, dated 11th Sept 1909; for further information on comparisons between Bristol and Newcastle see: DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 7th Feb 1911.

²² <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/inflation/calculator/flash/default.aspx>

²³ DM2076/3, Receipt no. 527, CJEH, 8th Oct 1916; DM2157/1/1, Receipt no. 947, VMM, 8th Oct 1927; <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/Pages/inflation/calculator/flash/default.aspx>

²⁴ DM219, Pease, ‘Some reminisces’, 1942.

²⁵ DM2076/3, ‘Memorandum of Agreement’, CJEH, 1st Aug 1904.

different social and educational backgrounds who were subsequently able to participate academically at Bristol's DTCs.²⁶

It is undeniable that the courses were gendered to a certain extent, but the subjects studied were not dissimilar; Table 1 shows that men and women took a number of the same units (see Appendix 2). Although, it does highlight that the academic experience differed with regards to Needlework, Handwork, and Scripture, which were reserved for female students; these ultimately crowded their timetable and, in comparison to men, restricted their options. The Training Department's Chairman suggested in a report that it was the difficulty level of these subjects that was the differential between genders:

The Men students are all required to take one 'advanced' course and five 'ordinary' courses. The Women students are required to take at least four 'ordinary' courses...but it is only exceptionally that a Woman takes an 'advanced' course.²⁷

This discrepancy arose because women were typically trained to teach children as young as three years of age; men, in comparison, 'seldom' ever taught pupils under the age of nine. It is significant that the Chairman saw this as a serious concern; although 'no proposal arose out of the report' officially, this imbalance in the Course content was subsequently realigned.²⁸

There was an improvement in ability of the students that attended the DTC's, and consequently this led to specialisation and development of the Courses available to trainees, particularly the Four Year Course that had been introduced in 1911.²⁹ The first three of the Four Year Course were 'devoted wholly or mainly to study in preparation for a Degree, and the fourth...devoted wholly to professional training'.³⁰ The government made no attempt to disguise their preference for these trainees;

²⁶ Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?*, 20; DM2076/3, Copy of 'Indenture', CJEH, undated.

²⁷ DM2287/8/8/1, 'Report on Chairman's interview with Master and Mistress of Method' (henceforth 'CR'), TTBM1, 30th June 1914

²⁸ DM2287/8/8/1, CR, TTBM1, 30th June 1914; DM2076/3, 'Notes of Lesson on "Subtraction of Money"', CJEH, undated; DM2076/1/1, Fourth Year Students, WSLA, 1917.

²⁹ DM2287/8/9, Letter from Somerset Education Committee, TCCM, 26th Sept 1911; DM22877/8/9, TCCM, 28th Mar 1911; Humphreys, 'The Education and Training of Teachers', 44.

³⁰ DM2076/9/1, 'Four Year Courses', GR, 1922.

they gave more financial assistance and grants to the DTC's per Four Year student than per Two Year student.³¹ Consequently, between 1911 and 1914, the DTCM received more monetary support from the Board of Education; a greater proportion of their trainees were enrolled on the Four Year Course compared to the DTCW (see Figures 1 and 2), but females increasingly countered this inequality between 1912 and 1918 (see Figure 4). It was not only the Board of Education that encouraged this; the Mistress and Master of Method were both 'of opinion that academically the four year student [was] the better'.³² Following this consensus, the Board of Education granted permission to prioritise the admissions of Four Year students above Two Year trainees.³³ This selectivity in choosing only the best candidates for admission ultimately contributed to the professionalisation of teacher training.³⁴ Subject choices made by the female Fourth Year students of 1917 demonstrate their more advanced capabilities; the majority trained to teach Maths, Arithmetic, History, and Advanced English.³⁵ Most of these trainees subsequently taught in Secondary schools or Colleges — unlike Eva Hamblin who was only qualified for Elementary teaching.³⁶

Bristol's trainees were generally successful in obtaining employment after graduation, regardless of gender. Of the seventy-nine DTCM graduates who completed their Two Year Course in July 1910, forty-six had secured appointments or went on to further study — twenty remained unemployed.³⁷ The Four Year students had the advantage of a Bachelor's Degree *and* a Teaching Diploma to recommend them for posts in Secondary schools or Colleges; of the sixteen females who graduated with these in 1918, all obtained teaching posts or continued in education; three, obtained residential positions which earned £100 per annum; eight, secured non-residential positions at salaries between £120 and £160.³⁸

³¹ DM2287/8/8/1, TTBM1, 2nd Dec 1914.

³² DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 24th Jan 1912.

³³ DM2287/8/8/2, TTBM2, 19th Jan 1916.

³⁴ DM2076/9/1, 'Four Year Courses: Admission', GR, 1922.

³⁵ DM2076/1/1, Fourth Year Students, WSLA, 1917.

³⁶ DM2287/8/8/2, TTBM2, 4th Jul 1916.

³⁷ DM2076/4/1, 'Employment of Teachers who Completed Courses at the College in July 1910', DTCMGB, 1910.

³⁸ DM2287/8/8/2, Letter from DTCW staff to Registrar (henceforth 'DTCW Letter'), TTBM2, dated 19th Mar 1919.

Such a promising future was not implicit for male students during this period; the careers of many trainees were 'unfortunately compromised' by Military Service and subsequent health issues.³⁹ Even if they escaped injury, Military Service created a disjointed and unstable academic experience; it was not uncommon for male trainees to take up to eight years to complete their courses.⁴⁰ This was not necessarily by choice either; they were actively encouraged to enlist by the Registrar and Master of Method. It was suggested 'that they take immediate steps in the matter', and those who did not were forced to justify their reasoning.⁴¹

By the time many had returned from active service the Board of Education's policies regarding ex-servicemen had been established and enabled students to continue their training, but this had not been assured initially. Between July and December 1914, the government deemed it impossible 'to lay down any general principles' and were unable to guarantee that the grants would be paid for the students who had left the DTCM for active service.⁴² Circular 878 ('Training College Students and Military Service') was distributed in December 1914 and offered a multitude of options for returning students, some of which granted ex-servicemen the qualification of Certified Teacher without examination — depending on how much training they had completed prior to their military service.⁴³ Ultimately this meant that many male students of this period were fast-tracked into the teaching profession, without having undergone the academic pressure that their female counterparts had been subjected to.

The DTCM fulfilled the Board's wishes to remain open during the war, but they reserved 'the right to vary, at any time during the session, the curriculum either by the omission of subjects...included or otherwise'.⁴⁴ The reduction in male staff became so extreme that the Department had little choice but to adapt the course as early as September 1914. Two Year students were expected to 'take the place of

³⁹ DM2076/1/3/1, Testimonial of Mr L.C. Crichton, 26th May 1920.

⁴⁰ DM2076/1/3/1, Testimonial of Mr A.M. Bromley, 19th Jan 1920.

⁴¹ DM2287/8/8/1, TTBM1, 2nd Dec 1914; DM2287/8/8/2, TTBM2, 9th Feb 1916, and 8th March 1916.

⁴² DM2287/8/8/1, 'Circular', TTBM1, 2nd Dec 1914; DM2287/2/1/1, UoBCM, 2nd July 1915.

⁴³ DM2287/8/8/1, 'Circular', TTBM1, 2nd Dec 1914.

⁴⁴ DM2287/8/8/2, TTBM2, 8th March 1916.

teachers of the Bristol Elementary Schools who were absent on service. In the second and third terms the Master of Method proposed to give these students a curtailed theoretical course and increase their private reading'.⁴⁵ However, as can be seen by Table 2 and Figure 5, there were not many students remaining in the Men's division to be effected by these changes; forty-three, in 1915 and by March 1916 nine of these were already in the army — more were due to follow.

The rapid decline of entrants between 1913 and 1917 was unique to men; as Figure 6 displays, such a fall in student participation was not mirrored by the female student body. The Women's division received 'far more applications than there were vacancies to fill' and subsequently expanded intake to reach 135 students in 1917; women made use of the war-time situation to expand access to the academic experience.⁴⁶ The female distribution across courses also altered (see Figure 4); in 1912 the Two Year Course had been a preferred choice for females, by 1916 this trend had curtailed and numbers on the courses had levelled. Despite this growth and transformation, the work of the Women's division proceeded as usual, syllabuses and courses remained unaffected.⁴⁷

In summary, between 1892 and 1930, the academic experiences of Bristol's female trainees were not significantly gendered. Figure 5 and 6 demonstrate that the levels of female participation were similar to that of males and similarly followed an upward trend in numbers. Government legislation and DTCW priorities ensured that women were able to access this experience; state financial assistance meant that women were no longer restricted by their family's income and as such it opened this academic opportunity to a wider spectrum of women. The Two Year Course facilitated gender differentials to a larger extent than the Four Year Course; the male and female trainees of the Two Year Course were effectively educated in separate institutions. Consequently, the Mistress and Master of Method had a unique form of control over their education, one which was out-dated and gendered. The shift towards the Four Year Course loosened this segregation because they were

⁴⁵ DM2287/8/8/2, TTBM2, 16th Sept 1914.

⁴⁶ DM2287/2/1/1, UoBCM, 14th July 1916, and 12th Oct 1917.

⁴⁷ DM2287/2/1/1, UoBCM, 2nd Feb 1917.

predominantly educated within mixed-gender, University-run classes. The war was a unique and powerful force in accelerating this transition and expanded opportunities for females. However, while women were increasingly able to encounter an academic experience unshaped by gender, participation in the alternative side to university life may have been more restricted. Extra-curricular activities and accommodation were not necessarily widely accessible to both genders between 1892 and 1930, and the extent to which women were involved in university life after-hours may not have been uniform across time and all female trainees. In order to formulate accurate conclusions to the research questions, the next chapter will examine the after-hours experiences of Bristol's trainees.

The Students After-hours

This second chapter will explore whether all female trainees at Bristol's DTCW had an active social life beyond the classroom, and whether this was comparable to those experienced by male students after-hours; it will also examine the students that resided in the hostels and the conditions experienced within this accommodation. This will establish whether another dimension of university life was gendered, and whether all females had the same experiences. It must also be noted that the course and extracurricular/accommodation were connected; particularly once demand for admissions rocketed, course and gender greatly determined the students' experiences after-hours.

It is evident that female trainees participated in extra-curricular events early in the DTCW's existence; an 1898 issue of *Magnet* (the University's internal magazine) reported that the 'Day Training College students had their full share of gaieties'. Miss Pease organised multiple 'soirees' that boasted music, dancing and games — some of which were hosted in her own home. Miss Pease was fundamental in the orchestration of not only the women's schooling but their social lives too; her house, 8 Oakfield Grove, was central in their experiences after-hours.⁴⁸ Yet these women were not limited to gender-specific hobbies; the DTCW rented its own tennis courts and hockey pitch, and invited the University club to practice on several occasions. Vera's academic diary shows that Hockey, Cricket and Tennis remained popular at Bristol's DTCW in 1929 (see Figures 7 and 8); sports practice and tournaments were prominent features of her experience within the Department. She took full advantage of what the University had to offer and got involved with dramatics, dancing, festivals and union meetings.⁴⁹ By this time however, the amalgamation into the Department of Education had led to an expansion of opportunities for the female trainees; while women had broken social barriers to extra-curricular activities previous to this, it was only after 1920 that women were able to more fully engage with University life. This

⁴⁸ UoBSC: *Magnet*, Vol.1 (1898-9), 82.

⁴⁹ DM2157/1/2, University of Bristol Academic Diary, VMM, 1928-9.

was also encouraged and augmented by the rise in number of Four Year students who were more closely tied with the University.⁵⁰

The DTCM also maintained a self-sufficient community in the early years — separate to the DTCW and the University. Mr. Foster's pedantic record-keeping has provided a great deal of evidence to suggest that the DTCM was very organised, professional and public in arranging extra-curricular activities. The creation of the 'Old What Nots' Association' formed a network of past and current students; funded by subscriptions, the Association organised an annual event to bring alumni back to the DTCM. This entailed a cricket match between current and old students, followed by a dinner and smoking concert — newsletters conveyed information throughout the year. Furthermore, dramatic performances with all male casts took place on a regular basis, in addition to well-attended, public concerts by their choir and orchestra. As was the case with Miss Pease and the DTCW, the Master of Method was fundamental in the organisation and promotion of his students' extra-curricular activities.⁵¹

Alongside organising after-hours socials, Miss Pease also provided accommodation for twelve trainees within her own home; she voluntarily covered the cost of their board with her own salary and only terminated this arrangement once she retired in 1912. Lodgings began as a list of recognised/approved families with whom female students could stay during their studies, and by 1923 there were three hostels for approximately one-hundred women.⁵² While male trainees were permitted by the Authorities to find lodgings other than those provided by the College or family, women were still denied this option in 1918.⁵³ It was perhaps for this reason that the women's hostels were such a controversial issue, in comparison; the number of hostel places had to be taken into consideration when enrolling women because the DTCW had a responsibility to provide them with supervised accommodation. Yet the

⁵⁰ DM2287/2/1/3, UoBCM, 23rd June 1922; DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 28th March 1911; DM2287/8/8/2, RMM, TTBM2, 1st May 1919.

⁵¹ DM2076/4/1, DTCMGB, 1910/11.

⁵² Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?*, 21; DM2076/1/7, 'Hostel Analysis', WSLA, 1922/23.

⁵³ DM2076/9/1, 'Residence', GR, 1922.

DTCM was able to admit men regardless of their residential needs and consequently there are very few references to the men's hostels in the official discourse.

In piecing data together from a range of sources however, several conclusions can be drawn. Figure 9 confirms that the University Council's decision to move towards compulsory residence significantly altered the proportions of Day and Resident trainees at the DTCW.⁵⁴ The line graph shows that prior to 1917 Day trainees had dominated the DTCW, but between 1917 and 1923 the number of Residents increased substantially; in 1910 there were merely fifty-two women who stayed in hostels, but by 1922 117 chose to board whilst studying. Day trainees still remained steady in numbers, and maintained a considerable percentage of the student body throughout this period. To further excavate the female experience, Figure 10 shows a cross analysis of female Day and Residential students, and the Four Year and Two Year Course students, between 1917 and 1923. A strong majority of Four Year Course students stayed in the hostels, whereas Two Year students were predominantly Day trainees. This relationship became increasingly entrenched over time; by 1921 Four Year admissions were given priority with regards to accommodation places.⁵⁵ Figure 11 suggests that even a unified experience *between* the Resident trainees was absent; Two Year trainees were confined to their own hostel, Belgrave Road, whereas Four Year students were distributed relatively evenly across the Elton Road and Priory Road hostels.

Between 1910 and 1915, the men's hostels (5&7 Percival Road and 42 Canynge Road) provided accommodation for sixty students and rarely had spare capacity.⁵⁶ The women's hostels catered for approximately the same number of residential students during this time frame, hence male and female trainees had the same access to, and provision of, this experience.⁵⁷ However, the reduction of male students during the war years meant that these properties were either closed or used for alternative purposes; in 1916/17 the remaining fourteen residential trainees lodged at Edgecumbe Hall, and this further decreased to eleven in 1917-18. The fall

⁵⁴ DM2287/2/1/3, UoBCM, 23rd June 1922.

⁵⁵ DM2287/2/1/2, UoBCM, 6th Dec 1918.

⁵⁶ DM506/46 and /48, DTCMHI, Dec 1911.

⁵⁷ DM2287/8/9, Report from Director (henceforth 'DR'), TCCM, 14th June 1911.

in numbers of male students and the absence of the official Housemasters resulted in skewed, absent figures for the remainder of this period.⁵⁸

Aside from this irregularity, the different hostels (for men, women, Four Year and Two Year students) were united in their rules and restrictions; the hostels kept to a regimented timetable for meals and study, and left just thirty minutes per evening for free time — ‘bed time’ was at 10pm.⁵⁹ The Housemaster/mistress kept discipline and order over the students, servants, and often between the two!⁶⁰ We can establish that every minute of the students’ days, whether male or female, was monitored and organised by the Department; ‘every available hour [was] used up’, by the time the students had completed their work they had ‘no leisure left’.⁶¹ Even if they had been given more free time, there was ‘insufficient accommodation for quiet study, thoughtful or restful recreation’; as many as seven women shared one bedroom in order to provide a hostel place for all those who required one.⁶² Overcrowding was a particular issue within the women’s hostels and was frequently highlighted as a problem by the Board of Education.⁶³ In order for the Department to receive government financial support for Residential students, the hostels were subject to the regular scrutiny of HM Inspectors; if they were thought to fall below an acceptable standard, they were threatened with closure.⁶⁴ Regardless of this risk, and despite several cautions, it was not until 1921 that these warnings were heeded. Plans had been made to improve the hostels, but due to financial considerations these were reduced to cover the minimum requirements to remain operational.⁶⁵

The conditions of these hostels were so dire that some students felt that ‘undue profit [was] being made’ at their financial expense and, of their academic experience. ‘In spite of the bad weather and numerous cases of influenza’ there were often no fires lit in the hostels; waves of illness regularly spread through the hostels, and residents

⁵⁸ DM2287/8/8/1, TTBM1, 13th May 1914; DM2287/2/1/1, UoBCM, 14th July 1916, 12th Oct 1917.

⁵⁹ DM2076/4/2, ‘DTCM Rules and Regulations’, DTCMGB, 1907; DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 15th Nov 1911.

⁶⁰ DM2287/8/9, DR, TCCM, 14th June 1911; DM2287/8/8/1, TTBM1, 16th Sept 1914; DM2287/8/8/1, Letter from Percival Road (henceforth ‘PR Letter’), dated 7th March 1915.

⁶¹ DM2287/8/8/1, Report from Geraldine Hodgson, TTBM1, 13th May 1914.

⁶² DM2287/8/8/2, RMM, TTBM2, 1st May 1919.

⁶³ DM2287/8/8/2, RMM, TTBM2, 1st May 1919.

⁶⁴ DM2287/8/8/3, TTBM3, 26th April 1921.

⁶⁵ DM2287/8/8/3, TTBM3, 29th Jan 1920, 26th April 1921; DM2287/2/1/3, UoBCM, 20th Oct 1922.

were sent home for a week in order to prevent escalation, which consequently severely disrupted their studies. Mr. Hinton, a resident trainee, applied for 'permission to leave the hostel and to reside in private lodgings during the remainder of his course, on the grounds that the conditions obtaining in the hostel seriously' hindered his work and the food supplied was 'unsatisfactory'. Mr. Hinton was not alone (among men or women) in his abhorrent experience of the accommodation; hostel residents were not adverse to submitting complaints. During the pressures of war-time rationing, students at Percival Road were forced to supplement their food by purchasing items from outside the house due to the 'lack of both quantity and quality of the food' provided. It was acknowledged in response to this complaint that the male residents were being fed inadequately for those in full-time study, and prevented them from fully engaging in university life.⁶⁶

Despite this, the men benefitted from the stability provided by the continuous tenancy of Percival Road and Canynge Hall. In comparison the residential experiences of the women were extremely disjointed, they were forced to move amongst numerous properties between 1910 and 1930.⁶⁷ A female trainee rarely returned to the same hostel after the summer vacation, and consequently this prompted nine students to sign a petition 'against the continual change of hostels for women students of the Teachers' Training Department'.⁶⁸ This may not have been such a contentious issue had the interiors been comfortable; unfortunately this was not the case. At a basic level, they could not 'even be considered really healthy and clean'; poor ventilation was highlighted in 1911 but had not been resolved by 1919, and had consequently led to damp. The women's accommodation was 'almost entirely bare of carpets, linoleum and curtains', and in dire need of fresh paint and wallpaper. In a hostel for twenty-seven trainees, there were only two baths (situated in the basement).⁶⁹ Hostels were created with the intention of providing a stress-free environment in

⁶⁶ DM2287/8/8/1, Letter from G.W. Hinton, TTBM1, 13th May 1914; DM2287/8/9, DR, TCCM, 14th June 1911; DM2287/8/8/1, PR Letter, dated 7th March 1915; DM2287/8/8/2, TTBM2, 12th Dec 1917; DM2287/2/1/2, UoBCM, 17th May 1918.

⁶⁷ DM2287/2/1/2, UoBCM, 10th Oct 1919, 19th Mar 1920; DM2287/2/1/3, UoBCM, 8th Oct 1920, 20th Oct 1922.

⁶⁸ DM2287/8/8/3, TTBM3, 31st May 1921.

⁶⁹ DM2287/8/9, DR, TCCM, 14th June 1911; DM2287/8/8/2, RMM, TTBM2, 1st May 1919.

which trainees could dedicate their time to study, yet the experience outlined above does not reflect this.⁷⁰

In contrast to these disturbing conditions, the men's hostels were considerably more aesthetically pleasing; the inventories for Percival Road and Canynge Road suggest that more care was taken to provide the men with comfortable accommodation. Percival Road boasted a fully furnished living room, multiple studies, a spare room, and pictures hanging on the walls. Additionally Canynge Road offered each resident their own bedside rug alongside the use of a communal Dressing Room and a Smoke Room.⁷¹ It seems that aside from war-time grievances, the men's hostels were deemed to be of an acceptable standard; they were certainly less contested than the women's hostels (by HM Inspectors).

One can conclude from this chapter that Bristol's male and female trainees both had access to a broad range of experiences outside academia. While these extra-curricular activities did not particularly entrench gender difference, men's and women's experiences were largely kept separate. However, the growth in numbers of Four Year trainees facilitated integration with the wider student body; this expansion of access and participation in university life enabled the experiences of male and female trainees to coincide. It has additionally been established that the hostels were not dominated by either gender; a similar provision of accommodation was made for men and women. Although access to a residential experience was not gendered, the experience of men's hostels was of greater quality than the conditions suffered in the women's hostels. Having dissected the female student body by course and residency, one is able to conclude that Residents were predominantly Four Year students; while Day students remained relatively stable in numbers, they had higher representation amongst Two Year trainees. Yet the extent to which women had a gendered or unified experience at Bristol's DTCW was considerably dependent on the staff; particularly, the Mistress and Master of Method. The experiences of the trainees cannot be assessed in isolation from those of the tutors; the staff shaped, moulded and influenced the extent to which women had access to, and participated

⁷⁰ Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex?*, 91-2.

⁷¹ DM506/46 and /48, DTCMHI, Dec 1911.

in, university life. For this reason, the next chapter will proceed to examine the extent to which the experiences of the male and female staff were affected by gender, and henceforth whether this affected their students.

The Staff

Once again, because the DTCs were run as separate entities, there is a great disparity between the information available about the male staff compared to that of the female staff; while Miss Pease left the staffing information and documentation to her superiors, Mr Foster kept records for his own College. As such, a deeper insight into the qualifications, experiences, salaries, and responsibilities of the DTCM's staff is possible (see Flowcharts 1 and 2). Despite this limitation, this chapter will attempt to piece together and compare the experiences of the men and women who taught within these institutions. Through the excavation of their social, educational and professional backgrounds, it will establish who these tutors were. Having determined what they each brought to the teacher training experience, it will then ascertain whether they had gendered experiences as employees, in terms of salary and status, and how the above cumulatively affected the trainees' experiences. In addition, comparisons shall be drawn between the staff's experiences at Bristol's Colleges and those from Newcastle's DTC; this should help to determine whether the experiences of Bristol's staff were representative of all men and women who taught Teacher Training.

Flowcharts 1 and 2 illustrate that there were double the number of female Assistant Lecturers than their male counterparts; at least six in Bristol's DTCW were part-time, whereas all the male tutors worked full-time. Due to the qualifications and experience of the females employed, they were unable to teach more than one or two subjects, and consequently could not be employed on a full-time basis. Indeed, Flowchart 1 confirms that Miss Pease's male counterpart was more educated; Foster completed his undergraduate and postgraduate study at Oxford University — even his Assistants had more formal qualifications than the first Mistress of Method. From this it is evident that in 1911, Bristol's male tutors were expected to be of higher calibre than their female counterparts. Subsequently we could infer that, in 1911, Bristol's female students received a less-professional, inferior experience of training than the men. This trend did alter over time, and from 1911 onwards it was more typical for women to be employed full-time; female tutors increasingly possessed a broad educational background which was equal to that of men. For instance, Miss Mullock

had obtained a Bachelor's degree from Manchester prior to training and consequently outshone her predecessor's qualifications (see Flow Chart 2). The academic superiority of the male staff dissipated as teacher training became increasingly integrated with the University and its grading system. Particularly of interest (and controversy) was the appointment of Dr Helen Wodehouse in 1919; she was appointed as the Principal of the Department ahead of other male applicants — including Mr. Foster. Female staff began to experience the benefits of their comparable education and professional backgrounds.⁷²

In 1911, Newcastle's Training College had a similar number of students (200) to Bristol's Training Department (250), and both had equal proportions of male and female trainees. In numerical terms it would appear that the staff at Bristol's Department had a lighter workload; the teaching was spread between fourteen key members of staff, whereas Newcastle's staff coped as a team of seven.⁷³ However, as shown in Flowchart 1, none of the tutors in Bristol's DTCM did less than a forty-two hour week, Greenall took the largest share at sixty-eight hours per week. One can establish from this that classes at Bristol's DTCM were smaller than those at other DTCs, and while they demanded more commitment from the staff, they encouraged greater interaction and communication between teacher and student; 'formal lectures [were] reduced to a minimum and in the case of more advanced classes [they were] largely displaced by discussion and by criticism'.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, it does appear from Flowchart 1 that the working day of the male staff was dominated by admin and non-contact hours rather than teaching.

It is not possible to contrast these responsibilities with those of all the female staff, but if Miss Wright and Miss Young are used as examples we can ascertain that they dedicated more of their time to teaching than their male counterparts (see Flowcharts 1 and 2). By 1911 the Committee began to question 'how far the administrative work of the Training Colleges and Hostels might be placed in other hands than that of the Teaching Staff'. Until Dr Cook was appointed in 1912 to

⁷² DM2287/2/1/2, UoBCM, 11th July 1919.

⁷³ DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 7th Feb 1911.

⁷⁴ DM2287/8/8/1, Report from Mr. Foster, TTBM1, 13th May 1914.

complete these tasks, it was the responsibility of the individual housemistresses/masters to administer the hostels, and the food, servants and students within them.⁷⁵ This supports the assessment that the roles of the staff at Bristol's DTCs became increasingly professionalised and academic.

This professionalisation did not mean that they had fewer demands placed upon them; as staff resigned or were called for Military Service, replacements were not always sought; on multiple occasions the remaining staff were expected to take on the extra workload or combine job roles.⁷⁶ The war was a difficult time for the staff of the Men's division; being the only male staff member who had not been called up for Service (due to medical reasons), Mr. Childs had no choice but to become acting Master of Method. Between 1916 and 1919, Childs single-handedly taught all the male trainees for very little recognition (financial or otherwise). Despite his achievements, his salary remained below fifty percent of Mr Foster's and was only significantly increased in 1920.⁷⁷ Once Foster returned after three years' active service, Childs resumed his position as Assistant Lecturer (see Flowchart 4); it was not only the female lecturers that were prevented from moving up the career ladder and pay grades.

War additionally moulded the experiences of the female staff during this period; as Figure 6 displays, the Women's division enrolled increasingly more students between 1914 and 1919, and yet no further staff members were recruited to aid with this influx due to the restriction of government funds. The personal lives of the female staff did not remain unaffected either; Mrs Ward, the needlework tutor, was a war-widow, and joined the Department in order to make ends meet and support herself. War-time experiences of the teaching staff were those of extremes however; they were not necessarily typical of the day-to-day experiences prior to this period, but they provide a framework from which one can understand their experiences in the post-war period.

⁷⁵ DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 7th Feb 1911.

⁷⁶ DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 9th May 1911; DM2287/8/8/2, TTBM2, 13th June 1917.

⁷⁷ DM2287/2/1/1, UoBCM, 2nd Feb 1917; DM2287/2/1/2, UoBCM, 21st March 1919.

The appointment of Miss Wodehouse in 1919, as Principal of the Department of Education, was partly an attempt to merge these differences in teaching and staffing, to co-ordinate the work between a cohesive body of staff.⁷⁸ An Inspector reported that her appointment was necessary to 'keep the work alive'; while the existing staff were competent, they lacked the 'force and incisiveness' needed — the staff and teaching methods had remained stagnant since 1911.⁷⁹ It is debatable how much progress was made by Wodehouse in bringing together the Men's and Women's divisions due to the prevailing stubbornness of Mullock and Foster. However, she was the first female Professor at the University, and this appointment by Council commanded greater respect internally and externally for the Department of Education and its students. This direct involvement by the University leadership signalled a greater integration of teacher training into the institution; the trainees were henceforth viewed as equals to other degree students within the University.

It was acknowledged during the 1919 inspection that the salaries of the staff were 'inadequate' and 'not sufficiently high' enough for a University department.⁸⁰ While the Department had officially been placed under the remit of the University, its salaries seemed to be suspended in 1911, and consequently the experiences of the staff were dominated by a battle for higher pay.⁸¹ Despite Mr. Foster's salary being higher than his contemporaries', between 1892 and 1919 he made repeated attempts to secure a pay rise, and ultimately did not receive a salary increase until he returned from war in 1919.⁸² Similarly, female Assistant Tutors were frequent petitioners for more money and appealed to the Boards on multiple occasions; they were held at pay grades far below those that their experience commanded (see Figure 13), and this motivated many resignations.⁸³ Although, compared to Newcastle's DTC staff, Bristol tutors were agreeably paid (see Figure 12); the absence of a Professor at Bristol, in 1911, resulted in higher wages for the Mistress

⁷⁸ DM2287/8/8/1, TTBM1, 13th May 1914.

⁷⁹ DM2287/8/8/2, RMM, TTBM2, 1st May 1919.

⁸⁰ DM2287/8/8/2, RMM, TTBM2, 1st May 1919.

⁸¹ DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 8th Dec 1910, 14th June 1911, 24th Jan 1912, 23rd June 1912.

⁸² DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 8th Dec 1910, 14th June 1911; DM2287/8/8/1, TTBM1, 12th Nov 1913; DM2287/2/1/2, UoBCM, 16th May 1919.

⁸³ DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 8th Dec 1910, 9th May 1911, 24th Jan 1912, 23rd June 1912; DM2287/8/8/2, DTCW Letter, TTBM2, dated 19th Mar 1919; DM2287/2/1/2, UoBCM, 25th June 1920; DM2287/2/1/3, UoBCM, 5th Nov 1920.

and Master of Method. However, the bar-chart does suggest that the average wage for a Female Assistant Tutor was not only lower at Bristol than at Newcastle, but that Bristol maintained a larger wage differential between male and female staff at this level. Figure 13 suggests that by 1920 this still persisted; more women than men were below the expected salary and grade for someone of their experience, even after the salary and grading changes of 1919/20. The chart conveys that the female staff members were less valued than males who held the same positions; this disparity in earnings ultimately gendered the experiences of the staff within Bristol's Department of Education. While there were gender differentials in salaries, a Memorandum issued by the Council of the Association of University Teachers in 1920 confirmed that 'unsatisfactory' salaries were typical across both genders and in Training Departments across the country. Additionally, it emphasised that the 'remuneration of the male and female non-professorial teachers' did not ensure 'reasonable conditions of life and work'; it no longer corresponded to 'the character of the educational work and responsibilities assigned to them respectively.'⁸⁴

In terms of qualifications and respect, the tutors' experiences were greatly gendered during the early years of Bristol's DTCs; female staff were less formally educated and were viewed as sub-standard academics as a result, but integration with the University increasingly equalised the status of the male and female tutors. Surprisingly this had little impact upon salaries which remained a persistently contentious issue; they failed to reflect the change in roles and responsibilities, and ultimately remained gendered between 1892 and 1930. Contrastingly, roles and responsibilities remained largely un-prescribed by gender; aside from the separation of genders within staff and students, females did not hold inferior or less-important positions than their male counterparts. The increasing dominance of the Four Year Course professionalised and equalised the experiences of the staff in parallel to the trainees; the experiences of staff and students were inextricably linked. Therefore it is important to bring these two groups together within the conclusion and consider how their experiences encompass a wider significance.

⁸⁴ DM2287/2/11, Memorandum, 25th June 1920, 170-173.

Conclusion

In order to synthesise the arguments drawn from across the three chapters and provide a framework from which to answer the three initial research questions, the following time brackets shall be adopted: 1892-1904, 1905-1913, 1914-1918 and 1919-1930; the extent to which female students and staff had gendered experiences depends on when they worked or studied at Bristol's Teacher Training institutions.

Between 1892 and 1904, Elementary teacher training in Bristol was offered exclusively to women; the DTCW was the only institution offering such training, and consequently gendered this form of higher education in favour of women — men had no access during this period. Due to the absence of choice with regards to course and accommodation, all female trainees had a standardised and uniform experience at the DTCW. After-hours extra-curricular activities were numerous and often organised to incorporate all of the trainees, suggesting that the academic and after-hours experiences were shared between the women. This female institution and culture meant that only female tutors were employed. The DTCW provided a living, not just a job; the unmarried tutors dedicated their days, evenings and weekends to their students. These were newly-founded and unique opportunities for female academics, and while they may not have been termed as such by the University, they had no male counterparts to be compared to. It was a gendered experience in favour of women.

The establishment of Bristol's DTCM in 1905 offered the experience of teacher training to male students and staff. The difference in syllabuses for the male and female trainees meant that their academic experiences were gendered; women were given less subject choices due to their needlework commitments, and therefore the female students and staff were viewed as the men's academic inferiors. The development of 'Degree Courses' and the introduction of the Four Year Course toward the end of this period subsequently meant that the females were no longer united in their academic experiences at the DTCW; the trainees were divided across academic ability, subjects, and teaching facilities. This diversification in courses also had an impact upon their wider experience; the introduction of hostel accommodation

meant that the extent to which females participated after-hours was dependent on whether they were a Day or Resident trainee. Gender vastly affected the accommodation that trainees were subjected to, and these early hostels (for men and women) came to shape the after-hours experiences of trainees until the late 1920s. During this period, gender segregation was still extensive and consequently meant that the experiences of trainees were inherently gendered; men and women both participated in activities after-hours, but amongst those of their own gender, and within the confines of their DTC community. This gendered experiences in favour of male students and staff, and only began to decline with the rise in prominence of the Four Year Course (and their subsequent, increased integration with the University), which occurred in the later time brackets.

This gendered experience was realigned in favour of women between 1914 and 1918; the war radically mitigated men's participation in teacher training, students and staff alike. While women were affected by this event, the most drastic impact was felt within the Men's division; admissions depleted, syllabuses were altered, rations were inadequate, staff were called up and Mr Childs was left to cope with the sole burden of the Men's department. Although the DTCW and DTCM officially merged in 1910, this claim to unity was not mirrored in practice; the experiences of staff and students fundamentally altered according to gender, and World War One significantly entrenched this.

After the chaos and upheaval of war, the period of 1919-1930 attempted to redress the balance. Professor Wodehouse was appointed as Principal of the Department of Education with the aim of standardising the academic and extra-curricular experiences of males and females. This distinct incorporation to the University of Bristol encouraged the prioritisation of Four Year students and greater integration with the rest of the University settlement — it professionalised the Department. Consequently, by the mid-1920s, after the immediate post-war effects, the students and staff received a less gendered and less divided experience of teacher training.

However, these conclusions must be placed within a wider context in order to show the broader significance of this paper. For the reason that World War One set its own trend with regards to gendering experiences between 1914 and 1918, this research has illustrated the profound impacts of war upon those in higher education. Perhaps most expectedly, staffing and admissions of the Men's division fell considerably due to Military Service. Yet there were more veiled effects of war, upon students and staff, which hampered their every-day lives; accommodation and teaching facilities were remanded by the War Office, and rationing restricted the food and heating available in hostels. The remaining staff were heavily imposed upon and forced to cover for their absent colleagues, often for no compensation; the government and university had no funds to pay for substitute staff because salaries were still being paid to those in Service. Additionally, there was no money to support pay increases and so the value of salaries plummeted, mitigated with pitiful war bonuses. The post-war years continued to cause upheaval for those in higher education; Circular 878 ensured that universities would honour the grants and places of those who had enrolled before they were called up, and subsequently caused severe overcrowding of the Men's division in the post-war period.⁸⁵ The dire financial situation of the country additionally meant that government grants were withdrawn from projects for new accommodation — architects' plans were scrapped and hostels remained stagnant in the 19th Century. While such severe consequences of war are perhaps not representative of those experienced across the UK, this study has contributed to the history of the relationship between the First World War, the University of Bristol, and the wider system of higher education.

This study has additionally shown that assumptions of feminist strategies and stereotypes have little standing within the history of female participation in higher education. Anderson proposes that women who studied at Higher Education institutions had 'strong feminist views' because 'choosing to go to college meant leaving home, rejecting family values in favour of an independent career'.⁸⁶ Using Bristol's DTCW as a case study, it has been established that this was not the case for the majority of female trainees, at least not openly so; there is very little evidence to

⁸⁵ DM2287/8/8/1, 'Circular', TTBM1, 2nd Dec 1914.

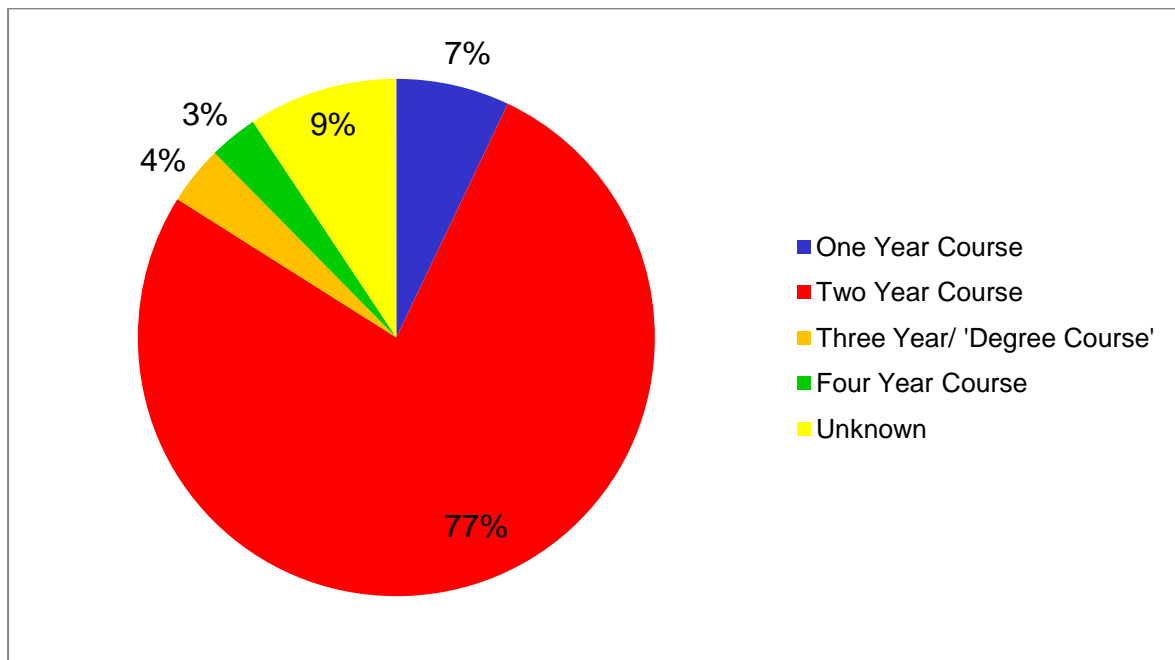
⁸⁶ R. Anderson, *Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800* (Basingstoke, 1992), 56.

suggest that the female experiences at Bristol's DTCW were fuelled or enhanced by feminist ideology. If the experiences of women are examined in isolation it encourages the historian to make conclusions of female solidarity, despite the absence of substantial evidence. This research has shown that the experiences of women in higher education cannot be understood or analysed without comparison to their male counterparts; one cannot label an experience 'female' if the 'male' alternative is unknown. As such, gender studies are more effective in aiding understanding, particularly within higher education where the experiences of men and women were not unconnected.

This study has placed the male and female experiences of Bristol's Teacher Training institutions side by side to provide the first detailed account of its staff and students. It has demonstrated that there is a great deal more to be uncovered about Day Training Colleges across the UK, and the role of gender within higher education. It has shown the historical value of reviewing previously-analysed sources, in an attempt to uncover the real experiences and challenge unsubstantiated feminist assumptions. More specifically however, this study has been the first to share the history documented within the DM2076 collection and, most excitingly, it now awaits further exploration.

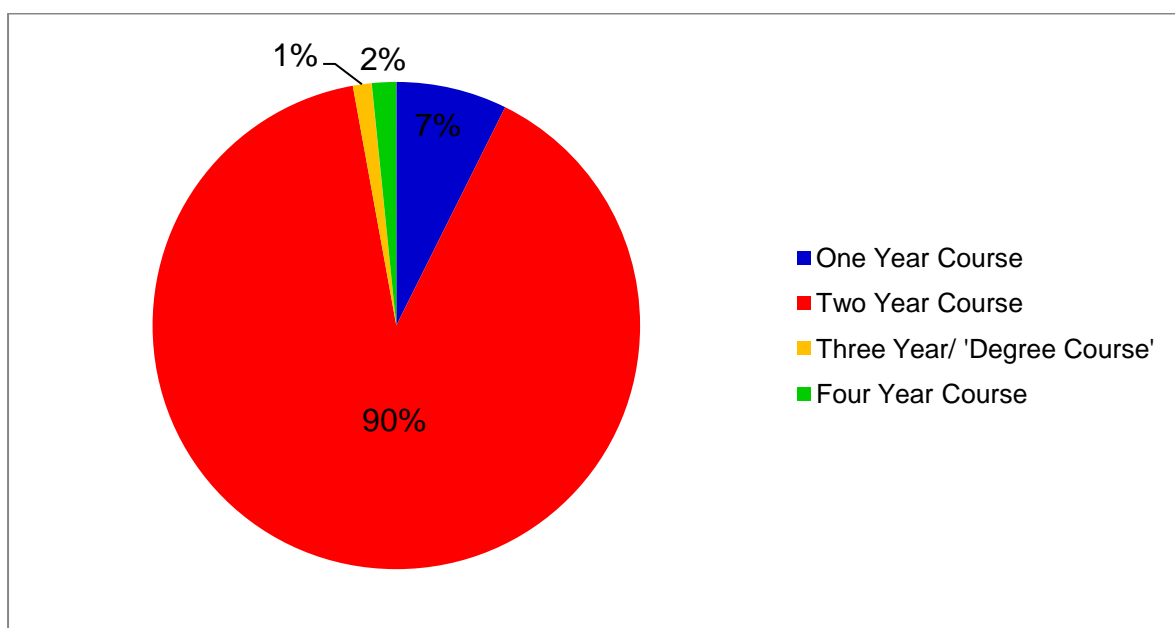
Appendix 1

Figure 1: Percentage of the male student body on each Course, 1905-1914.



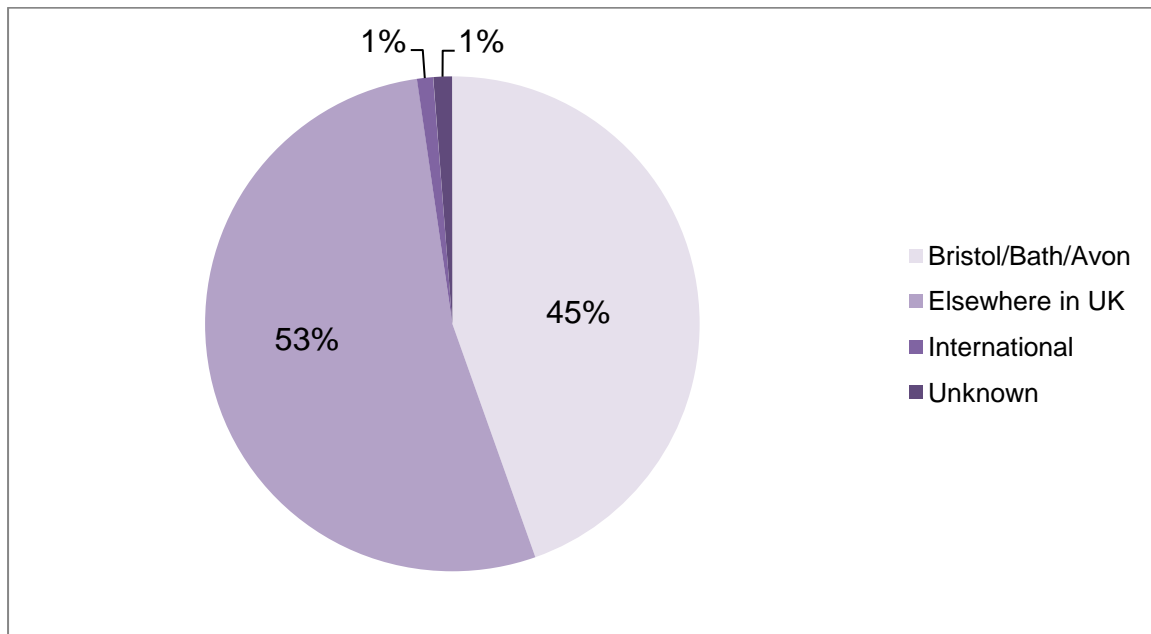
Source: UoBSC: DM2076/1/2, MSNL, 1905-1914.

Figure 2: Percentage of the female student body on each Course, 1892-1914.



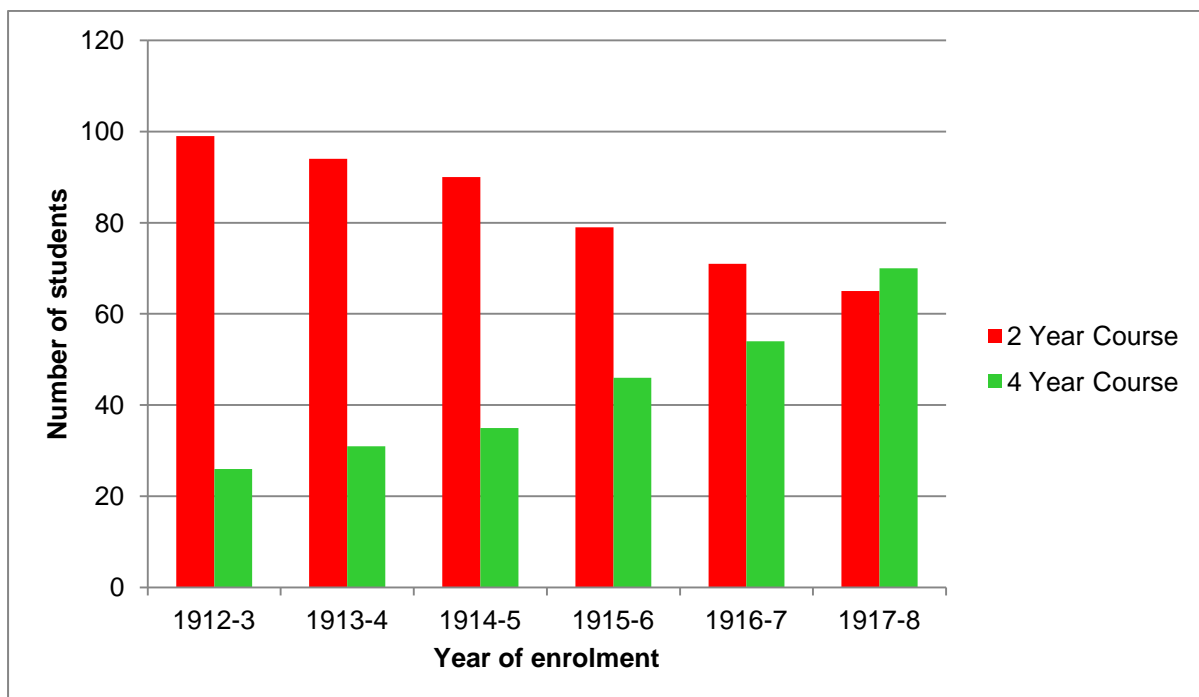
Source: UoBSC: DM2076/1/1/1, WSNL, 1892-1914.

Figure 3: Home locations of female students, 1892-1914.



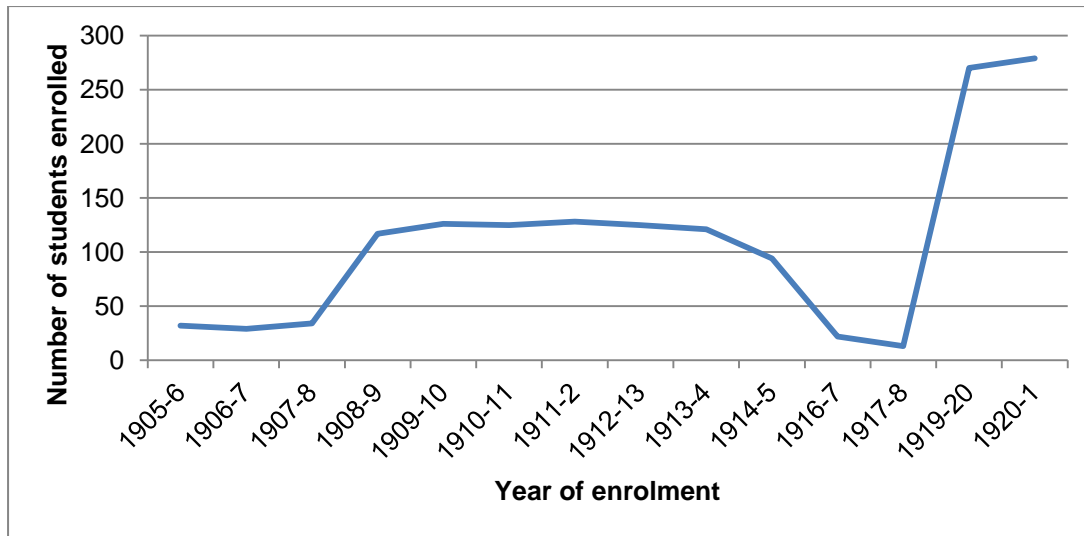
Source: UoBSC: DM2076/1/1/1, WSNL, 1892-1914.

Figure 4: Total female enrolments, 1912-1918: Course split.



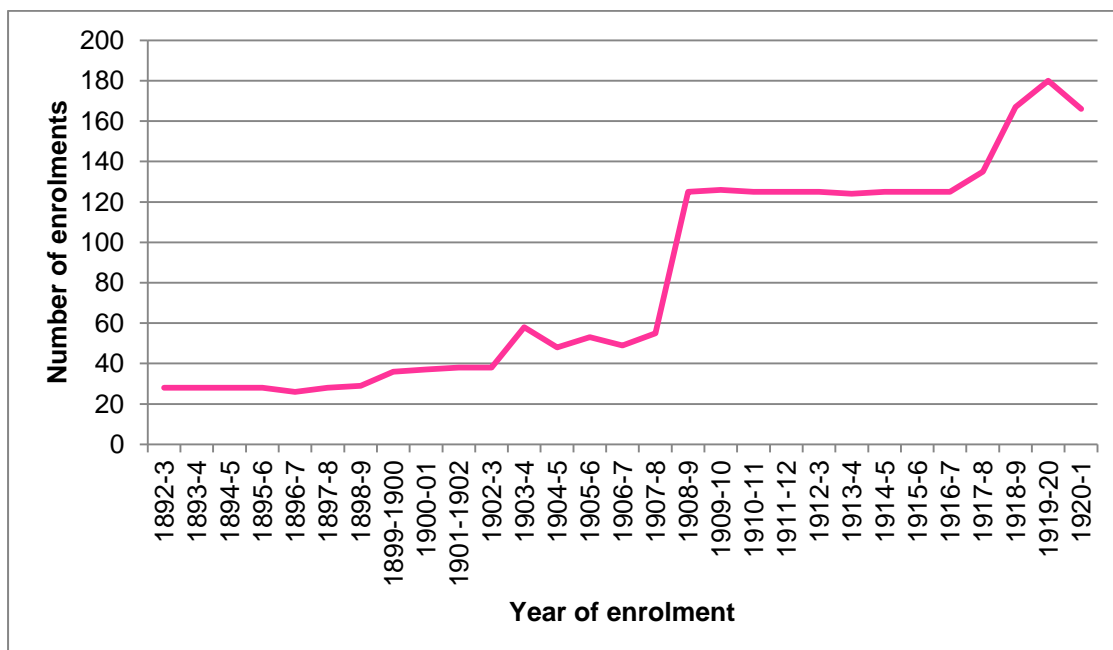
Source: UoBSC: DM2076/1/7/1, WSLA, 1917-8; DM2287/2/1/1, UoBCM, 2nd Feb 1917; DM2287/2/1/1, UoBCM, 12th Oct 1917; DM2287/2/1/2, UoBCM, 6th Dec 1918; DM2287/8/8/1, TTBM1, 7th Oct 1914, 10th Feb 1915,

Figure 5: Total number of male enrolments, 1905-1921.



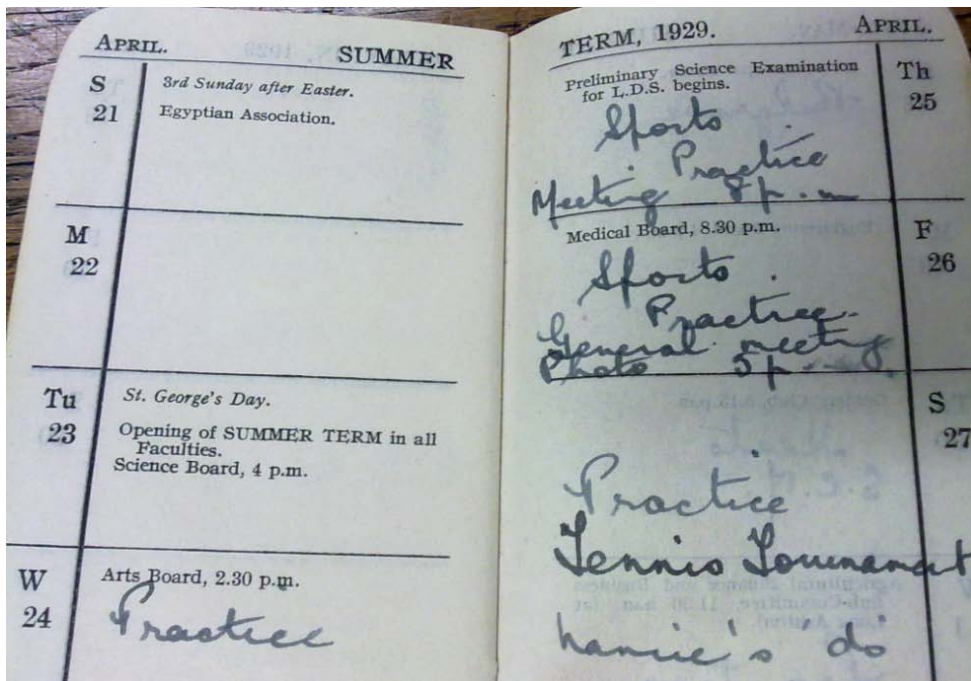
Sources: UoBSC: DM2076/1/2, MSNL, 1905-1914; DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 7th Feb 1911; DM2287/8/8/2, TTBM2, 5th May 1916, 29th Oct 1919; DM2076/4/1, DTCMGB, 'Examination results', 1907-8; DM2076/4/1, 'Class Lists', 1910-11, 1912-13, 1913-14; DM2287/2/1/1, UoBCM, 3rd Dec 1915, 14th July 1916, 2nd Feb 1917, 12th Oct 1917; DM2287/2/1/2, UoBCM, 6th Dec 1918. DM2287/2/1/3, UoBCM, 5th Nov, 1920; DM2287/8/8/1, TTBM1, 7th Oct 1914, 10th Feb 1915.

Figure 6: Total number of female enrolments, 1892-1921.



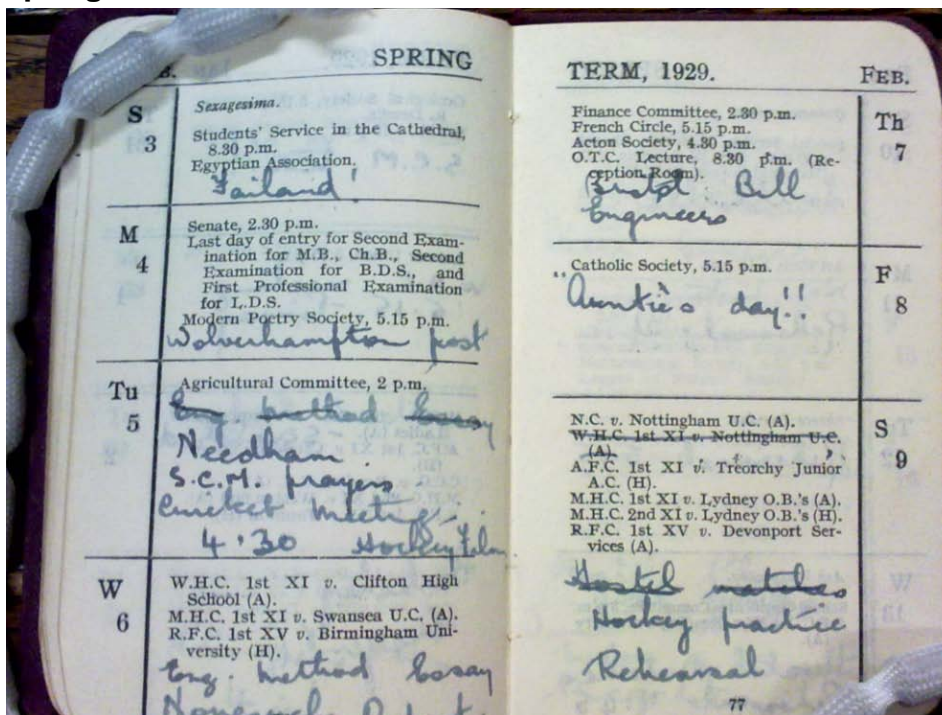
Sources: UoBSC: DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 7th Feb 1911, 28th Mar 1911, 14th June 1911; DM2287/8/8/2, TTBM2, 29th Oct 1919; DM219, Pease, 'Some reminiscences', 1942; DM2287/2/1/1, UoBCM, 14th July 1916, 2nd Feb 1917, 12th Oct 1917; DM2287/2/1/2, 6th Dec 1918; DM2287/2/1/3, UoBCM, 5th Nov, 1920, 20th Oct 1922; DM2287/8/8/1, TTBM1, 7th Oct 1914, 10th Feb 1915; DM2076/1/1/1, WSNL, 1892-1914; DM2076/1/7/1, WSLA, 1917-23.

Figure 7: Academic Diary of Vera May Montacute: Extra-curricular activities in Summer Term 1928-9.



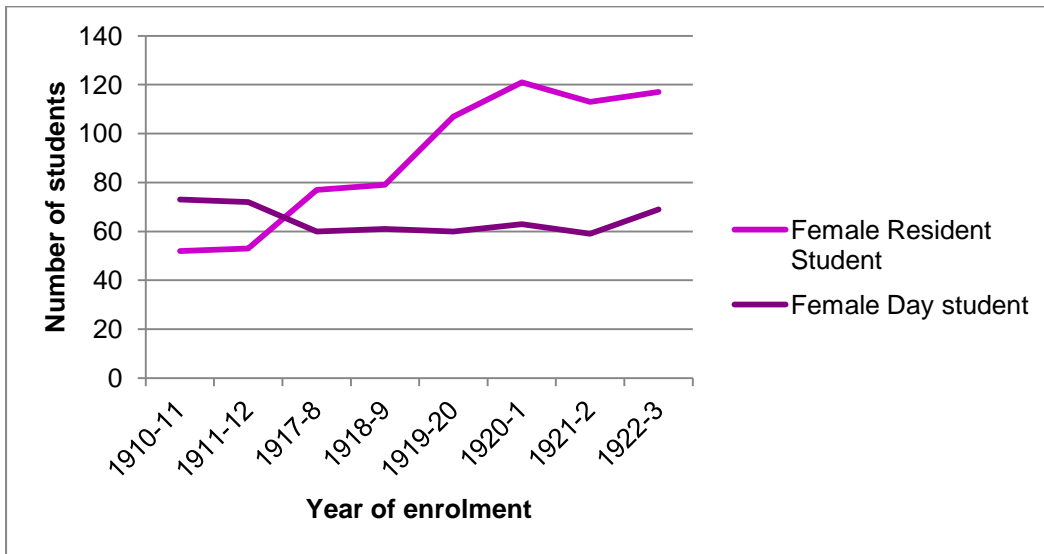
Source: UoBSC: DM2157, University of Bristol Academic Diary, VMM, 1928-9.

Figure 8: Academic Diary of Vera May Montacute: Extra-curricular activities in Spring Term 1928-9.



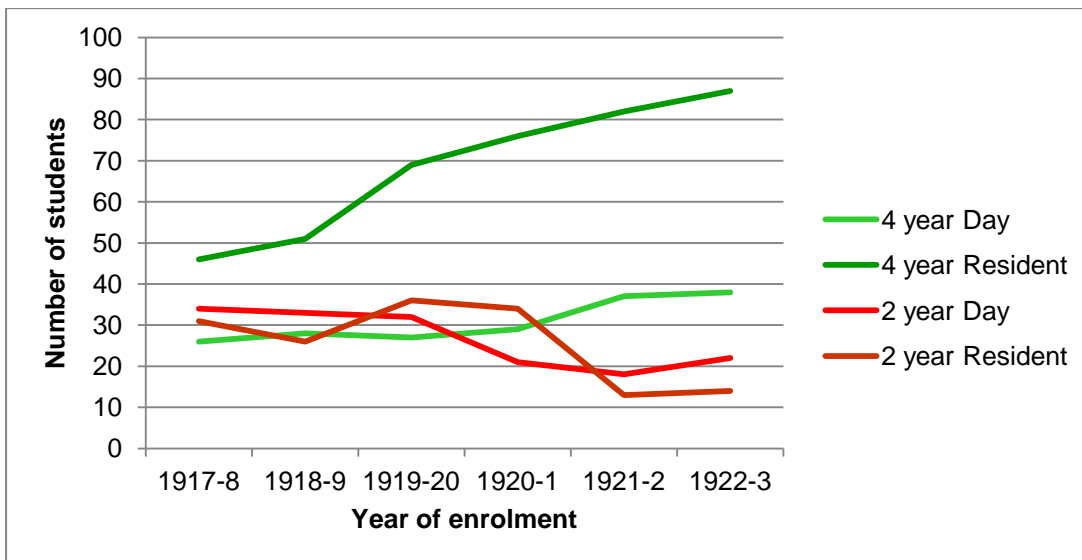
Source: UoBSC: DM2157, University of Bristol Academic Diary, VMM, 1928-9.

Figure 9: Total female enrolments, 1910-1922-3: Residential and Day trainee split.



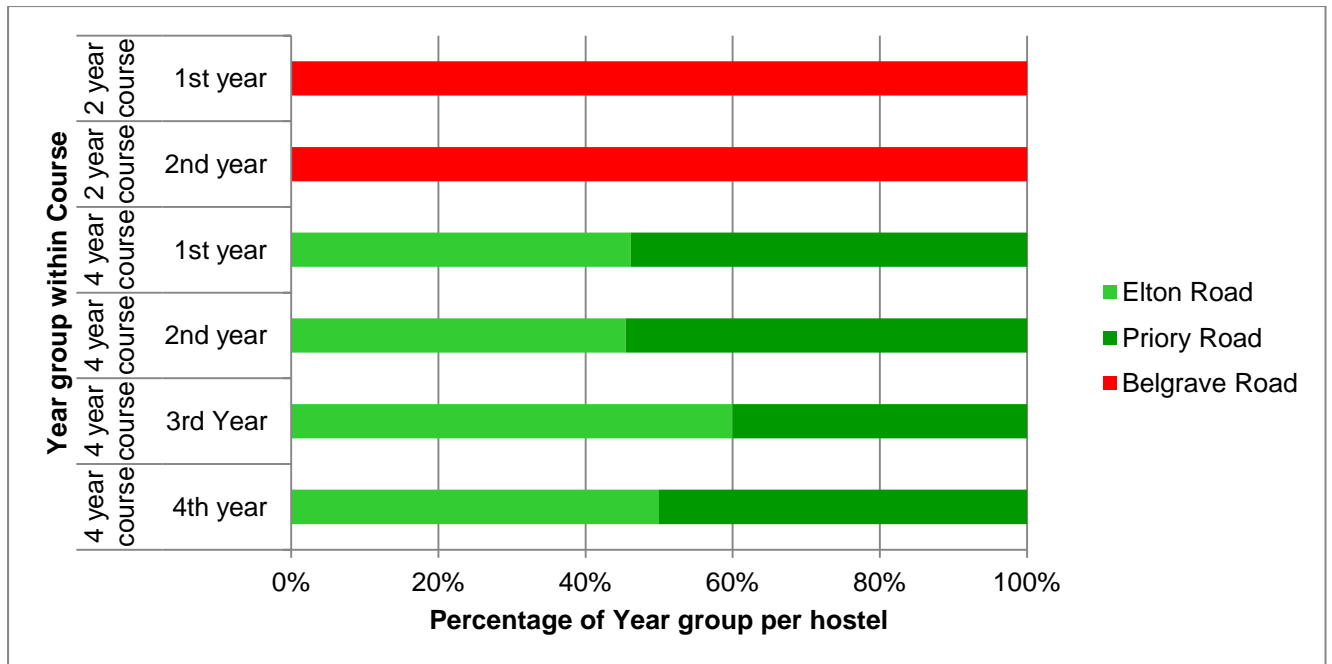
Sources: UoBSC: DM2076/1/7/1, WSLA, 1917-23; DM2287/8/9, DR, TCCM, 14th June 1911; DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 15th Nov 1911; DM2287/2/1/1, UoBCM, 12th Oct 1917; DM2287/2/1/2, UoBCM, 6th Dec 1918; DM2287/2/1/3, UoBCM, 20th Oct 1922.

Figure 10: Cross analysis between female Residential/Day trainees and 4 Year/2 Year Course, 1917-1922-3.



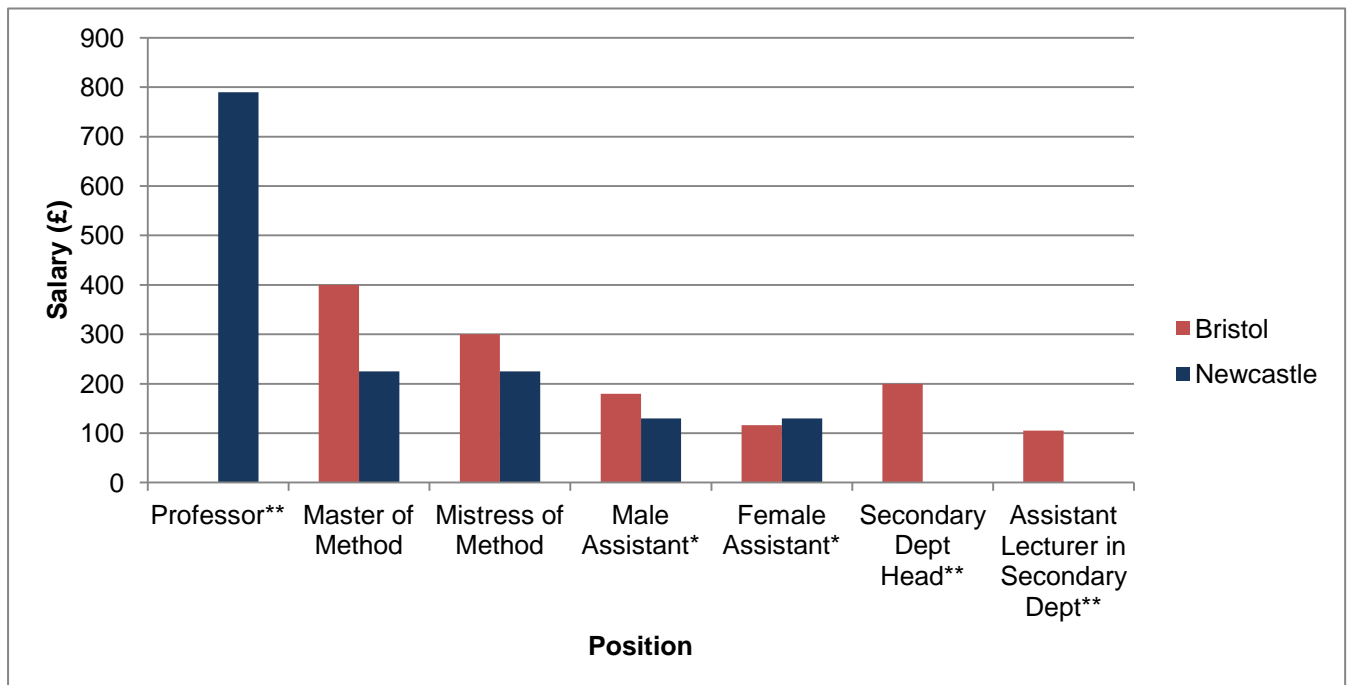
Sources: UoBSC: DM2076/1/7/1, WSLA, 1917-1922-3; DM2287/8/9, DR, TCCM, 14th June 1911; DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 7th Feb 1911, 28th Mar 1911, 14th June 1911, 15th Nov 1911; DM2287/8/8/1, TTBM1, 7th Oct 1914, 10th Feb 1915; DM2287/8/8/2, TTBM2, 29th Oct 1919; DM2076/1/1/1, WSNL, 1892-1914; DM2287/2/1/1, UoBCM, 14th July 1916, 2nd Feb 1917; 12th Oct 1917; DM2287/2/1/2, UoBCM, 6th Dec 1918; DM2287/2/1/3, UoBCM, 5th Nov, 1920, 20th Oct 1922; DM219, Pease, 'Some reminiscences', 1942.

Figure 11: Distribution of female trainees across women’s hostels, 1917-8.



Source: UoBSC: DM2076/1/7/1, WSLA, 1917-1922/3.

Figure 12: Staff salaries at Newcastle’s and Bristol’s Day Training Colleges in 1911.

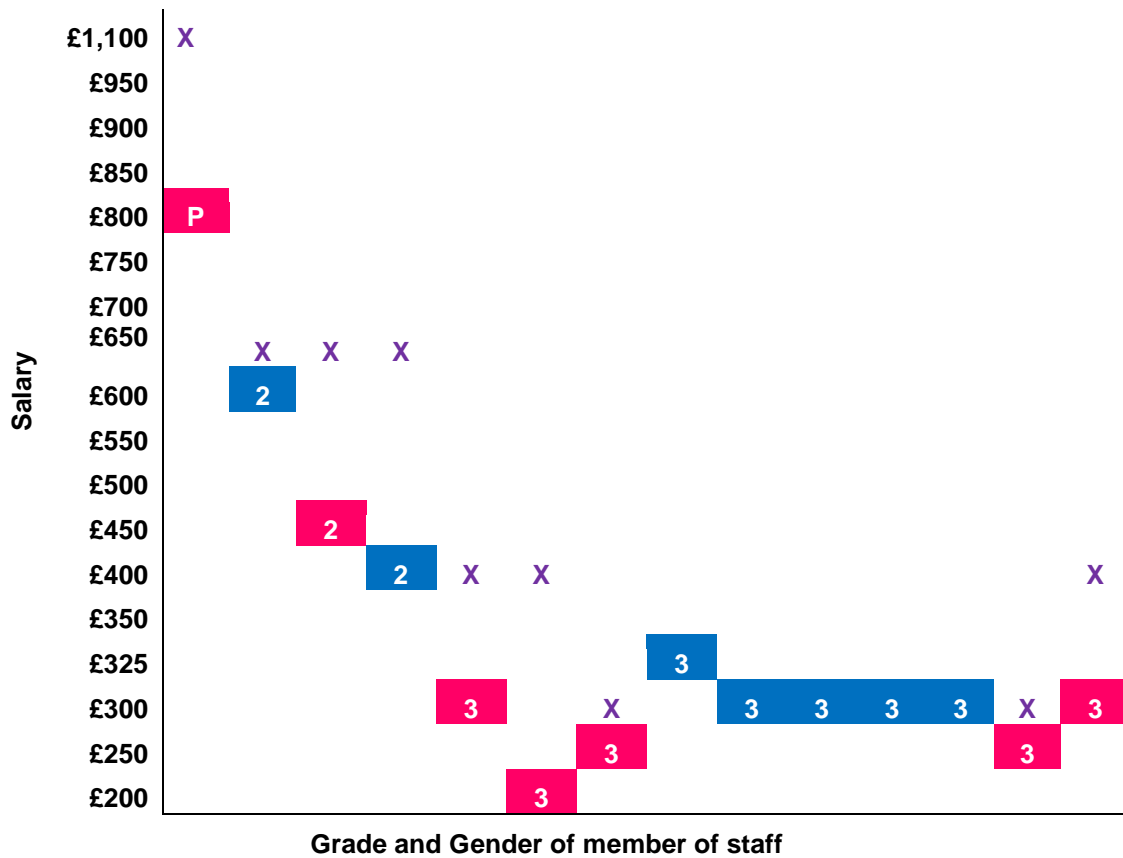




* This is an average of the salaries received by said gender in the respective Day Training College.

** These roles were specific to the particular Day Training College.

Source: UoBSC: DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 7th Feb 1911.

Figure 13: Cross analysis of staff in 1920: salary, gender, and grade.



Key	
Male	
Female	
Professorial Staff	P
Grade 2	2
Grade 3	3
What the salary should have been for an academic of their position/experience	X

Sources: UoBSC: DM2287/2/11, 'Memorandum', 25th June 1920; DM2287/8/8/2, TTBM2, 10th Feb 1920, DM2287/2/1/1, UoBCM, 16th May 1919, 19th March 1920, 14th May 1920, 25th June 1920; DM2287/2/1/3, UoBCM, 5th Nov 1920, 18th Mar 1921.

Appendix 2

Table 1: Authorised subject choices for Two Year Course students

Men and women	Men only	Women only
English	One foreign language	Needlework
History	One of: Geography or History.	Handwork
Mathematics	One of: Maths, Chemistry, Biology, Botony, Physics.	Scripture
General Elementary Science	One of: Maths, Chemistry, Biology, Botony, Physics.	One choice from: Maths, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, Physiology, Latin, French.
Psychology		
Hygiene		

Source: UoBSC: DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 20th June 1911.

Table 2: Military Service status of 1915/6 male trainees.

	Totals	Rejected/Underage/Exempted	Applying for/received postponement	In the Armed Forces	Unknown
Four Year students					
1st year	3	3			
2nd year	2	2			
3rd	2	1		1	
4th	4	1	2	1	
Two Year students					
1st year	10	2	4	3	1
2 nd year	21	6	11	4	
One year student	1		1		
Totals	43	15	18	9	1

Source: UoBSC: DM2287/8/8/2, TTBM2, 5th May 1916.

Flow Chart 1: DTCM Staff of 1909 - Hierarchy, Experience, and Responsibilities.

Bristol's Day Training College for Men

Mr T.S. Foster

Master of Method, salary: £400 p.a.

Degree: Classical Exhibitions, Oxford MA

Diploma: Oxford

Experience:

- Assistant Master, Epsom College, 3.5 yrs
- Tutor and Lecturer in Classics, History, and Philosophy, St Johns Training College-Battersea, 1.5yrs
- Master of Method, Bristol DTCM, 4 yrs

Responsibilities: (56 hours per week in total)

- ✓ 6hrs of lectures and classes
- ✓ 8hrs of tuition and support
- ✓ 32 hrs of administration
- ✓ 10hrs of marking/corrections

Mr A.G. Widgery

Assistant Tutor, salary: £120 p.a.
(resident)

Responsibilities: (56hrs p.w.)

- ✓ 7 hrs of lectures and classes
- ✓ 19 hrs of tuition and support
- ✓ 17 hrs of administration
- ✓ 13 hrs of marking/correction

Mr R.S. Varley

Assistant Tutor, salary: £150 p.a.

Responsibilities: (42 hrs p.w.)

- ✓ 5 hrs of lectures and classes
- ✓ 18hrs of tuition
- ✓ 4 hrs of administration
- ✓ 15 hrs of marking/correction

Mr C.E. Greenall

Assistant Tutor, salary: £160 p.a. (resident)

Degree: BSc, Victoria

Diploma: University College, Liverpool

Experience:

- Travelled Germany and France
- Fluent in German and French
- Assistant Teacher in Liverpool, 5yrs
- Head Assistant to evening school, Liverpool, 5yrs
- Recognised as a special teacher for technical instruction
- Assistant Tutor, Bristol DTCM, 4 years

Responsibilities: (68hrs p.w.)

- ✓ 6hrs lectures and classes
- ✓ 18hrs of tuition and support
- ✓ 28hrs of administration
- ✓ 15hrs of marking/correction

Mr H. Williams

Assistant Tutor, salary: £200 p.a.

Degree: Latin and Greek (Wales BA), Classics (Canterbury MA)

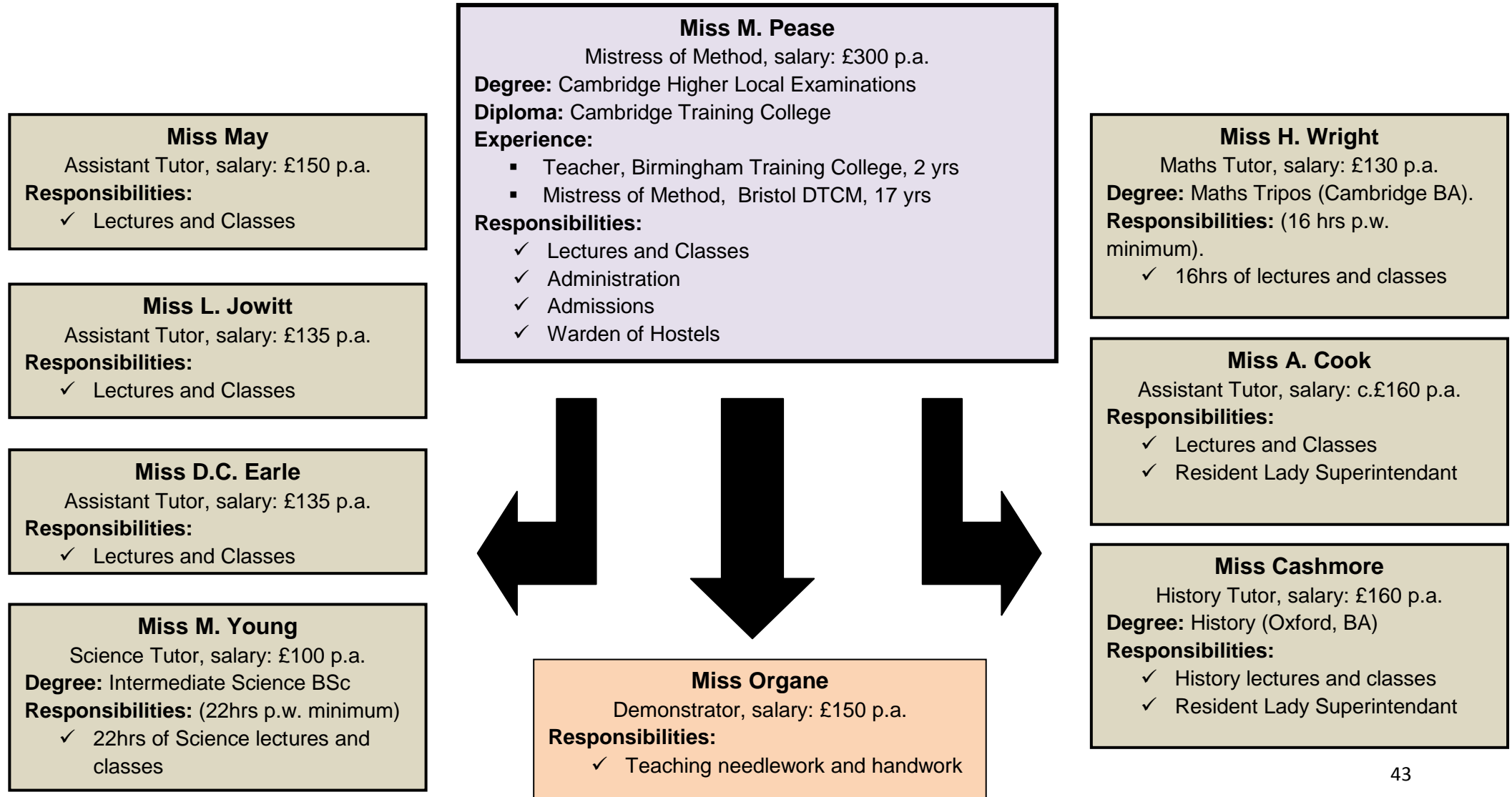
Diploma: France

Experience:

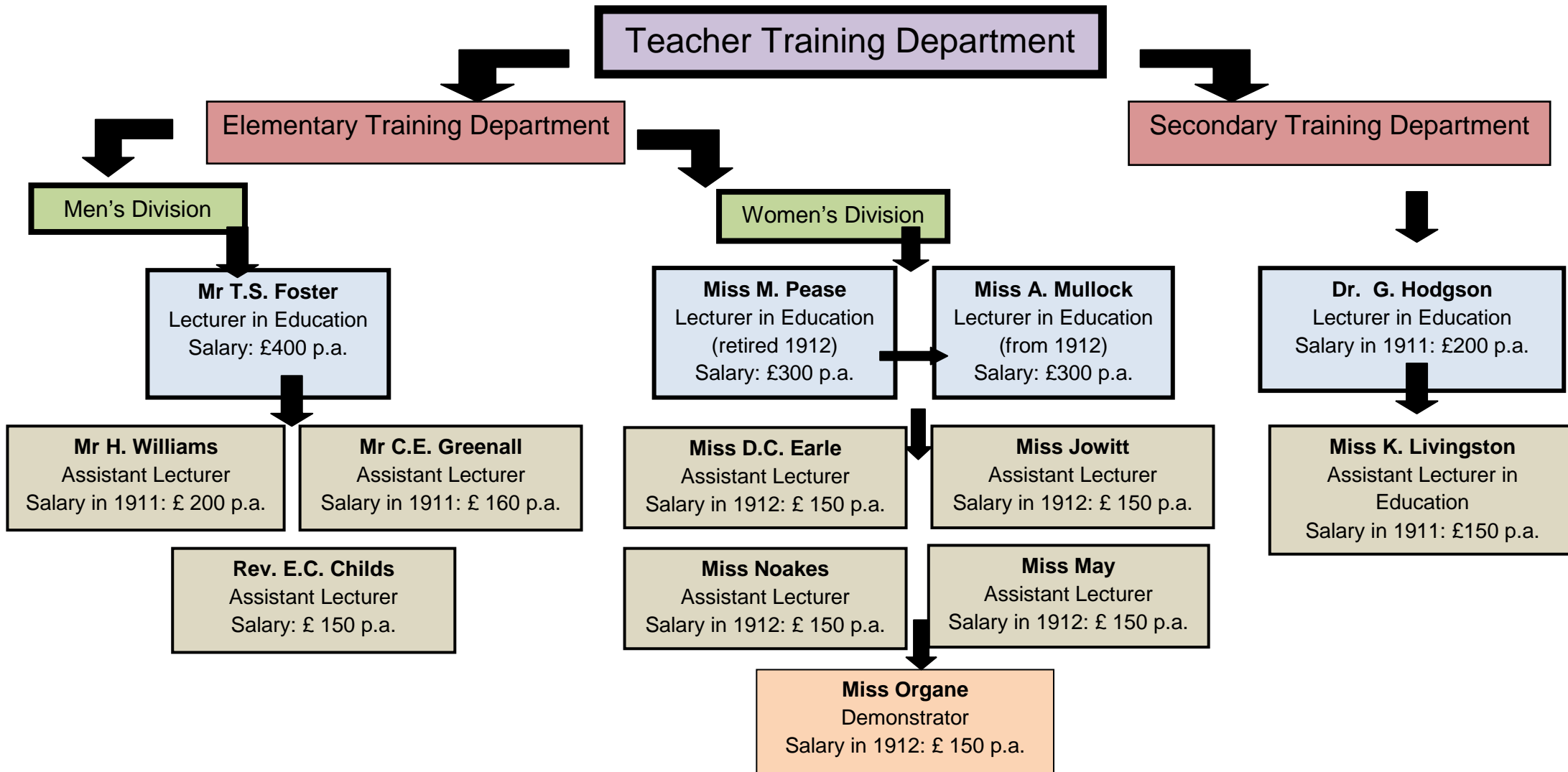
- Assistant Master, English school in Brittany, 2.5yrs
- Tutor and Lecturer in English and History, Bangor College, 2.5yrs
- Lecturer in History, University College Wales, 1 yr
- Assistant Tutor, Bristol DTCM, 1 year

Responsibilities: (46 hrs p.w.)

- ✓ 2hrs of lectures and classes
- ✓ 18hrs of tuition and support
- ✓ 6hrs of administration
- ✓ 20hrs of marking/correction

Flow Chart 2: DTCW Staff of 1911 - Hierarchy, Experience, and Responsibilities.**Bristol's Day Training College for Women**

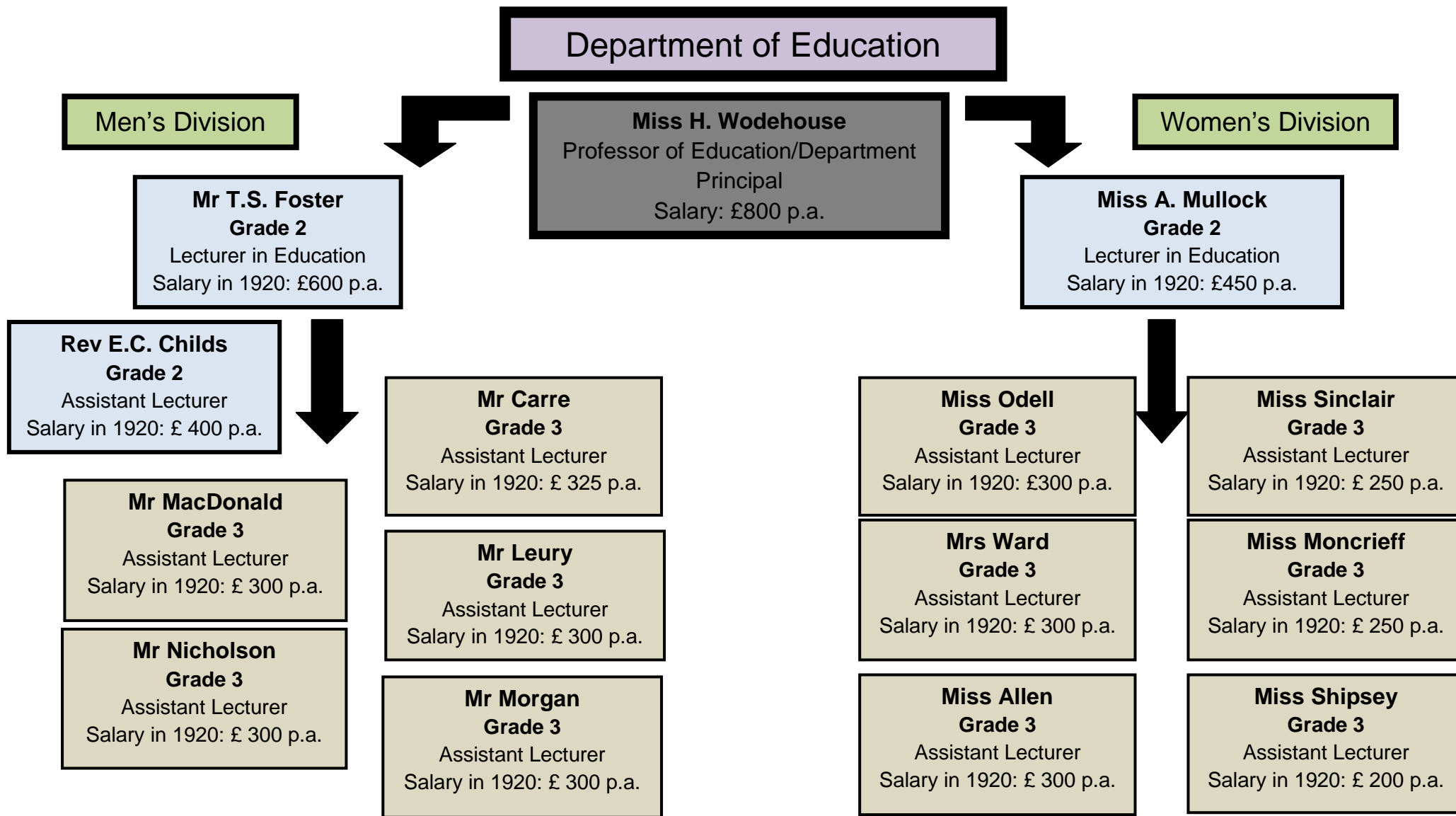
Flow Chart 3: Teacher Training Department Staff of 1911-1916 – Hierarchy and Salaries.



Sources: UoBSC: DM2287/8/9, TCCM, 8th Dec 1910, 7th Feb 1911, 9th May 1911, 8th May 1912, 23rd June 1912; DM2076/4/1, 'Statement relative to the Academic status and Professional experience of the staff of the Bristol Day Training College for Men', DTCMGB, 1908.

For further information about the work of the Secondary Training Department see UoBSC: DM2287/8/8/1, TTBM1, 13th May 1914; for further information about the conflict between Dr Hodgson and her superiors see: UoBSC: DM506/40, University College Bristol: Secondary Training Department Minutes, 18th Dec 1905-14th May 1907. Reports written by Mr Foster, Miss Mullock and Dr Hodgson stating their reasons for maintaining separate divisions and rejecting proposals of inter-departmental collaboration can be found at: UoBSC: DM2287/8/8/1, TTBM1, 13th May 1914.

Flow Chart 4: Department of Education Staff of 1919-1928 – Hierarchy and Salaries.



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