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**UNIVERSITY OF KENT AT CANTERBURY**

**Submitted for  
the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

**Annie M.A.H. Rogers and the admission of women to the University of Oxford: a study of family, society and reform in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.**

## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the career of Annie Rogers in relation to the movement for the admission of women to the University of Oxford. It shows that a family had an influence on the reform of a university and on the development of the professional class. It consists of two sections. The first part examines the intellectual and social formation of Annie Rogers' family in the Oxford context and its influence on her in the type of role she played. An account and analysis of her role in the admission of women to Oxford University, with an examination and comparison of the parts some other people played in it, forms the second, and larger part of the thesis.

Extensive research has been undertaken into a large quantity of unpublished papers of the Rogers family housed at the Bodleian Library, the British Library and elsewhere, in addition to sources at Oxford relating to Annie Rogers, and the movement for the admission of women to the University.

The history of this professional, middle-class, political, academic family runs parallel with the development of the professional middle-class, from the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth. It influenced Annie Rogers in the kind of person she became and the type of role she adopted in the campaign for the admission of women to the University of Oxford. Her particular strategies played a significant part in obtaining membership of the University for women, thereby contributing to their admittance to the professions and to senior posts within them.

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Annie M.A.H. Rogers and the admission of women to the University of Oxford: a study of family, society and reform in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

## INTRODUCTION

Strategist, tactician, stateswoman; these labels have been applied to Annie Rogers. They describe both the person and the type of role she adopted in the movement for the admission of women to the University of Oxford; a role throughout the whole period, it will be argued, that proved to be of importance in the achievement of its aim.

This thesis will examine the career of Annie Rogers in relation to the movement for the admission of women to the University of Oxford, and shows that a family had an influence on the reform of a university, and on the development of the professional class. It will consist of two sections. The first part will examine the intellectual and social formation of Annie Rogers' family in the Oxford context and its influence on her in the type of role she played. An account and analysis of her role in the admission of women to Oxford University, with an examination and comparison of the parts some other people played in it, will form the second, and larger part of the thesis.

Annie Rogers was the daughter of Professor James Edwin Thorold Rogers,<sup>1</sup> an economic historian and political economist of some repute, and of his second wife Ann Susanna Charlotte (née Reynolds). Thorold Rogers, as he came to be known, was involved in the movement for reform at the University of Oxford during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and having at first followed a clerical and academic career turned to radical liberal politics. Annie was brought up in, and lived the greater part of her life with this professional, middle-class, political, academic family.

Although the family was more academic than political, she was not herself primarily a professional academic and it will be argued that it was the reforming and political campaigning ethos of the family which influenced her life and career.

Looking at the Rogers' family background it is not difficult to see what predisposed them to reform. Thorold Rogers was born into a very large family, who experienced constant economic difficulties. Thorold's parents married at a young age and produced, over a span of twenty-seven years, twenty children of whom sixteen survived. His father was the medical practitioner for the area where they lived and he and his family not only endured their own difficulties but witnessed the deprivation and suffering of their neighbours. One of these was Richard Cobden, whose sister Emma married into the Rogers family when Thorold was aged four, and who came to influence him with his ideas for a more just society. They shared a radicalism aimed at the aristocracy. This close association with liberal politics continued into Thorold Rogers' own family and permeated Annie Rogers' life until her father's death in 1890.

In addition to the injustices in society suffered by the rural poor, Thorold Rogers experienced the inadequacies, and observed the privileges meted out to an elite class, at England's ancient university of Oxford, badly in need of reform, almost to the point of corruption; firstly as one of the educated and secondly as an educator. His daughter in turn, also gifted, was denied its benefits because of her sex. First father and later daughter developed not only a reforming instinct but the motivation to become reformers themselves, both acquiring in the process a forceful and driving personality; exactly the right ingredients for reform, and to carry this ethos with them into the struggling

young professions, and the professional classes in the Victorian era. Mrs. Rogers notes how Annie changed 'from a rather shy and retiring girl to be rather a self asserting woman taking her own line'.<sup>2</sup>

Children at first emulate their parents but later they determine not to replicate what they see as their parents' mistakes. Thorold Rogers, in his pursuit of reform sacrificed an academic career and brought hardship upon his family. Although respected as a scholar, his personality, coarse manner, extremist views and class animosity contributed to the disappointing achievements of both his academic and political careers and he died a disappointed and embittered man.<sup>3</sup> His wife, whose education had been restricted to the acquisition of accomplishments, encouraged Annie in her academic studies from an early age. Annie decided that the admittance of women to degrees at Oxford University was what she cared about most in life and would spare no effort to achieve. Imbued with her father's reforming, fighting spirit, she inherited his forceful manner but saw his sometimes brash style of operating had not ultimately been successful. Because she was a woman she could not in any case follow his methods. She therefore adopted a different strategy. Whereas Thorold revelled in the bantering of the hustings and was always spoiling for a verbal fight, Annie's maxim was 'never argue with your opponents, it only helps them to clear their minds'.<sup>4</sup>

Hampered not only by the social mores regarding attitudes to women in the period, held by both men and women, but also by the lack of professionalism or experience of university proceedings, of her female colleagues, she used her knowledge of university affairs acquired within the family, to infiltrate the university hierarchy and canvass the support of individuals. Hers was a more internal and domestic battle which proved to



be more successful than the more overt and feminist campaign at Cambridge.

Annie Rogers was one of the type of women whom Brian Harrison has described as prudent revolutionaries; who during the inter-war years campaigned and worked for reforms, not overtly aggressively as did the suffragettes for example, but by operating within the system and obeying its rules.<sup>5</sup>

The primary sources include a large quantity of previously unresearched and unpublished material on the Rogers family, including the diaries of Mrs. A.S.C. Rogers from 1837 to 1898. Some of the earlier diaries are missing but these (except for 1863) are prior to Annie's birth. The diaries contain references to Annie up to the age of forty-two. Her mother died in 1899. There are a few diaries (1854-7) of J.E.T. Rogers, and (1882-6) of his son Clement Rogers, family histories written by members of the Rogers family at the beginning of the twentieth century, correspondence, official family documents and newspaper evidence. Likewise there is a large collection of material relating to the movement for the higher education of women at Oxford; correspondence, minutes, printed documents, reminiscences, newspaper articles; some of which was collected and annotated by Annie Rogers, Bertha Johnson and Ruth Butler.<sup>6</sup> There is not much material on Annie Rogers as an adult, except in so far as it relates to her involvement in the movement for the education of women. Papers of a more personal nature might have given a further insight into her personality, private life, relationships with other people, and her ideas and intellectual development. A collection of her personal papers was, on her instructions, destroyed by her executors after her death.<sup>7</sup> Material has been gathered from the archives listed in the bibliography, oral evidence has been obtained from a few remaining people who knew her in

later life,<sup>8</sup> and the various sites connected with Annie Rogers and her family have been visited.<sup>9</sup>

Annie Rogers wrote a history of the movement for the admission of women to Oxford University entitled *Degrees by Degrees: The Story of the Admission of Oxford Women Students to Membership of the University*. As she was the sole continuous link with the movement from 1879 to 1920 she was uniquely qualified to write its history, but because her account was written from hindsight and published posthumously it must be treated with some caution. Fifty-eight years elapsed between her first involvement in the movement and her death in 1937. It is said that towards the end of her life she postponed writing the history in favour of gardening,<sup>10</sup> but as late as 1931 she was still working on it and discussing it with others. She was also advising Miss Ruth Butler (1881-1982), Secretary to the Principal of the Society of Oxford Home Students 1906-7 and Vice-Principal from 1919, who was editing a history of the Society of Oxford Home Students and had not been as involved in the movement as Annie Rogers had been or for the same length of time.<sup>11</sup> Miss Barbara E. Gwyer (1881-1974) contributed an introductory memoir to *Degrees by Degrees*. She was a former pupil of Miss Rogers, was aged fifty-seven in 1938, and Principal of St. Hugh's College at that time. Annie Rogers' brother Clement, who wrote the preface, says his sister had completed the first five chapters by 1931. They comprise Part I which covers the period 1857-1920. A long space of time therefore elapsed between the occurrence of events and Annie Rogers' recording of them. In 1931 she was aged seventy-five which would perhaps cast some degree of doubt on the reliability of her memory. On the other hand it could be said that by conferring with other people she was ensuring accuracy.

*Degrees by Degrees* contains amendments which were made after Annie Rogers' death in 1937 and before

publication in 1938. It is possible that others in addition to Ruth Butler, Barbara Gwyer and Clement Rogers were involved in what are described as 'verbal or minor alterations' which were made to it. Clement Rogers thanks Ruth Butler 'for valuable help in making useful suggestions and supplying missing details to the story' and refers to 'many other of my sister's friends who helped her but are unknown to me except from their pencilled comments made on the manuscript when they read it'.<sup>12</sup> Some events have been glossed over; for example the dispute between the Halls and the AEW in the 1880s and 1890s, and the tutors' attitude to Annie Rogers over the Women's Delegacy in 1910. There are also a few minor inaccuracies.<sup>13</sup> It could be said that as other people had a hand in it, the book did not fall victim to her subjectivity. On the other hand, it could also be said that it was affected by the subjectivity of others. In other words it could have been 'censored'.

A 'personal account' written by Annie Rogers was destroyed by Ruth Butler after Annie Rogers' death. Clement Rogers commented (in an undated letter) to Miss Butler 'of course you were right in destroying the "personal account"'.<sup>14</sup>

Her method was always to write out everything in full as she thought it and then to weed and weed and erase and erase. She would have destroyed it herself when no longer wanted for the "brief and restrained account".<sup>14</sup>

It is not clear as to what this account refers but it shows the kind of action to which some material has been subjected, by Annie Rogers and others.

However, the writer of this thesis has exercised caution and borne all these factors in mind. Evidence for events described in *Degrees by Degrees*, and of other matters referred to, have been substantiated and supplemented by recourse to the extensive and comprehensive archival material available.

A useful contemporary source, on which Annie Rogers gave information and advice to its editor, is Butler, R.F. and M.H. Prichard (eds) *The Society of Oxford Home Students - Retrospects & Recollections, 1879-1921, I*, (Oxford: The Oxonian Press, printed for private circulation [1930]). This includes a history of the SOHS contributed by Annie Rogers and a contribution from Bertha Johnson (Secretary of the AEW 1883-94 and Principal of the SOHS 1893-21) and others, and was printed during Annie Rogers' lifetime. Histories of the women's colleges have also been valuable.

This thesis is the only research in depth so far to be carried out on the Rogers family and on the life and work of Annie Rogers. Entries on Annie Rogers in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and in *The Biographical Dictionary of British Feminists* by Olive Banks are of course brief and rely mainly on secondary sources; that is Rogers, *Degrees and Degrees*, Vera Brittain, *The Women at Oxford: A Fragment of History*, obituaries and the memoir referred to above by B.E. Gwyer.

One of the benefits of a biographical approach to history is that the examination of a person's life can give a more illuminating and sharply focused portrayal of historical events than is possible by an investigation and analysis merely of the events and circumstances. Biography also has a psychological aspect in that it contributes to the study of the human species, and points to the way in which important movements or events can be catalysed, guided or moulded by the idiosyncrasies as well as actions of the individuals involved. Individual biographies can be pieced together to give a fuller picture, from varying aspects, of a particular movement or period in history; or of the same person by different authors. There are different emphases according to the political and social environment pertaining at the time a biography is written.

No historical writing can be entirely objective but a writer who uses a biographical approach to history must be particularly careful not to use an over-subjective approach. The temptation to empathize and sympathize with the subject in order to fill in or flesh out the gaps in the material available must be resisted. To a large extent the real woman, the personal life of Annie Rogers, is hidden amongst the evidence of her work for the movement for women's education, and yet it was her personality, her intellectual talent, her childhood and life experience which provided the motivation for that work. By studying the life and career of Annie Rogers in relation to the admission of women to the University of Oxford it can be shown how factors in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which influenced Annie Rogers, also influenced the manner in which the movement for the education of women at Oxford evolved.

- 1 The Rogers family were related by marriage to the ancient family of Thorold of Marston, Lincolnshire. Bodleian. MSS.Eng.lett.c.344(1327).
- 2 A.S.C. Rogers, *Diary*, summary 1886, Bodleian, MSS.Eng.misc.f.482.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 1890, MSS.Eng.misc.f.486; Bertram Rogers, *Rogers Family History*, Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 9; Alon Kadish, *Historians, Economists, and Economic History* (London, 1989), pp.19,34,40,64-72; Alon Kadish, *The Oxford Economists in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1982); Christopher Harvie, *The Lights of Liberalism: University Liberals and the Challenge of Democracy 1860-1886* (London, 1976), p.224.
- 4 Annie M.A.H. Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees: The Story of the Admission of Oxford Women Students to Membership of the University* (London, 1938), p.84nl.
- 5 Brian Harrison, *Prudent Revolutionaries: Portraits of British Feminists between the Wars* (Oxford, 1987).
- 6 R.F. Butler arranged the archive collection at St. Anne's in 1952, using a notebook of Annie Rogers. St. Anne's, G1/1.
- 7 Interview, Dr. M.A.T. Rogers (nephew of Annie Rogers), Ramsden, Oxford, 30th September 1991.
- 8 *Ibid.*; Dr. Marjorie Reeves, Oxford, 18 November 1992.
- 9 For example, Portchester Castle; the village and church of West Meon and the house in which J.E.T. Rogers and his family lived and where medical members of the family practised; the graves of the members of the Rogers and Cobden families; the houses in which Annie Rogers lived, and other locations in Oxford.
- 10 B.E. Gwyer, *Oxford Magazine*, 18 November 1937, p.183.
- 11 St. Anne's, correspondence, Johnson Collection, J3/1.
- 12 C.F. Rogers, 'Preface', in Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.vii.
- 13 For example, the boy who was eventually given the exhibition at Worcester instead of Annie Rogers is stated to have been the sixth on the list whereas *The Times* on two separate occasions states he

(W.J. Salter) was the fifth on the list and there is no subsequent correction. Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.5; *The Times*, 25 August 1873, p.4, 17 October 1873, p.8. Other discrepancies are mainly details in footnotes.

- 14 C. Rogers to R. Butler [undated] St. Anne's, Rogers Collection, R8/2.

## SECTION I

### Chapter 1

#### The Family

In considering Annie Rogers' role in the admission of women to the University of Oxford it is necessary to examine her family background to ascertain what contribution this would have made to her motivation and to the kind of role she adopted. The influence upon her of her family would have been of particular importance since 'through the nineteenth century the family was central to the economic, religious, social and emotional life of the middle-class',<sup>1</sup> of which the Rogers family were a part.

The roots of the reforming zeal of Annie and her father can be traced to her grandfather and his family at the end of the eighteenth century, and the path of its progression in the Rogers family up to the early twentieth century runs concurrently with the growth of professionalism and the rise of the professions; developments of significant importance in this period.

Harold Perkin has identified a class of people which he has described as 'the Forgotten Middle-Class'.<sup>2</sup> These men, who were public officials, lawyers, writers and journalists, doctors, professors and lecturers, Perkin says, played a role which was proportionately of greater importance than their number and had 'enough in common to support a separate social ideal which had a profound effect upon the rest of society'.<sup>3</sup> This professional section of the middle-class played a dual role. Not only did it produce 'most of the social thinkers who supplied the concepts and terminology in which the three major classes, the landed aristocracy, the capitalist entrepreneurs and the manual workers thought about themselves and achieved class consciousness', but it also



yielded the critics and reformers of the worst ills of industrial society.<sup>4</sup> The Rogers family fall within this category. The male members of the family, from circa 1700 to circa 1900, were professional men; of the army, navy and the church, but chiefly of the medical profession. Professor Rogers' father, George Vining Rogers born in 1777 at Droxford, was a country medical practitioner, the youngest son of William Rogers, a surgeon. Thorold Rogers was a professor, writer, lecturer and clergyman, and seven of his siblings were medical practitioners, three went into commerce, one into the church and another became a mariner. In the next generation one of Thorold Rogers' sons was a lawyer and public official, one a professor, another a doctor, his youngest son was a clergyman and tutor, while his daughter Annie became a tutor and educationist. As members of this important and far-reaching 'forgotten middle-class' the Rogers family therefore influenced society, and birth into this family influenced Annie. An examination first of her father's background will show how this affected him and in turn how he influenced Annie in the kind of person she became and the type of role she played in the movement for the education of women; secondly, and perhaps to a lesser extent, that of her mother; and thirdly her life with her siblings within the family.

Annie Rogers' grandfather, George Vining Rogers, at the age of eighteen years became an army surgeon in the Navy and Military Hospital at Portchester, probably having charge of the French prisoners housed in Portchester Castle. He obtained a qualification of the Apothecaries Hall, and was certified<sup>5</sup> as having attended the lectures of the surgeon Sir Astley Cooper.<sup>6</sup> It was becoming increasingly common at the turn of the century for medical men to possess the qualifications of both apothecaries and surgeons. In 1806 it was reported that diplomas were being too freely issued, particularly in order to meet the increased demand for medical men during the Napoleonic

wars, and that a large number of men were thus able more easily to enter the profession.<sup>7</sup> This may have occurred in the case of George Rogers.

At the time of his entry into medical practice its three branches, physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, were regulated in London by their three corporate bodies, but in the provinces they were almost entirely uncontrolled. Physicians were usually of high standing, graduates of Oxford, Cambridge or Edinburgh, practising in London and amongst the wealthy elsewhere. Such a person was Henry Revell Reynolds (1745-1811) who was the great-grandfather of Thorold Rogers' second wife, Ann Susanna Charlotte Reynolds; her family possessed the gold watch given to him by George III whose physician he was for some fourteen years.<sup>8</sup> Members of succeeding generations of the Reynolds family became physicians. Surgeons were classed as craftsmen and as such held a lower status in society and were therefore not deemed to be 'gentlemen'. Apothecaries usually came from the shop-keeping strata of the community, and their connection with trade similarly precluded them from acceptance as gentlemen. The majority of apothecaries were, by the mid-eighteenth century, acting as general practitioners of medicine, particularly in the countryside, and to the poor and lower middle-class, who could not afford the high fees charged by physicians. Apothecaries prescribed and supplied medicines and also practised surgery. Many apothecaries began the practice of obtaining the licence of the College of Surgeons after its establishment in 1800 so that by 1815 the new class of surgeon-apothecaries was 'the most numerous part of the Profession in Town and Country'.<sup>9</sup> With the growth in population during the nineteenth century, apothecaries became medical attendants to the middle-classes, and druggists or chemists increasingly came to minister to the lower classes.

With apothecaries being seen by physicians as uneducated and encroaching on their preserves, and with chemists performing the dispensing services of apothecaries and even prescribing directly to the populace, demands were made for parliamentary legislation for protection and control in the interests of both the profession and the public.<sup>10</sup> *The Apothecaries Act of 1815*, which is seen as an important reforming measure, was enacted after a great deal of conflict amongst the would-be reformers and the various interested groups, and following several previous attempts to reform the education and practice of the medical profession. S.W.F. Holloway takes the view that it did not, however, raise the status of medical practitioners, and was so inadequately framed that its interpretation was often left to the courts, who decreed that under the terms of the Act persons wishing to practise legally as general practitioners were obliged to undergo the five-year apprenticeship leading to the licentiateship of the Society of Apothecaries, thus annexing many highly qualified medical men to a trade rather than a profession, and leaving the physicians on their more exalted plane. He believes that the connection of the apothecary with trade, and the surgeon with the craftsman, prevented both from acceptance as 'gentlemen' and was a crucial factor in deterring the well-educated and highly qualified from becoming general practitioners; nor did the Act protect the public from the dangerous ministrations of unqualified practitioners.<sup>11</sup> The Act favoured the apothecaries in that it gave that body the sole legal right to examine and license students, to practise medicine and to sue for unpaid bills not only for medicine but also for attendance, thus confirming a status not only higher than that of mere prescribing, but also of the other branches of the profession who were consequently obliged to obtain the qualifications of that Society even though they held higher or equal credentials.<sup>12</sup>

It was not until 1858 with the passing of the *Medical Registration Act* that apothecaries and surgeons ascended from their station of tradesmen and craftsmen to join the ranks of physicians in 'a unified medical profession',<sup>13</sup> and became 'gentlemen' so that by the time Bertram Rogers, the third generation of the Rogers family, (Annie's brother) was practising, they had become 'general practitioners'.<sup>14</sup> By 1893 Bertram Mitford Heron Rogers had qualified as a Bachelor of Arts and Doctor of Medicine at the University of Oxford, and of University College, London. He was a member of the Royal College of Surgeons and a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians,<sup>15</sup> and had conjoined the separate social classifications of his paternal and maternal grandfathers. Together with the Reynolds family these three generations of the Rogers family were part of the development of the medical profession and of the evolution of the general practitioner.

After working as an army surgeon, George Vining Rogers later practised at Bishops Waltham and then settled in West Meon in Hampshire around 1805, where he remained for the rest of his life. When aged twenty-two he married in 1799 Mary Ann Blyth of Alverstoke,<sup>16</sup> who was a few months under sixteen years of age and still attending a school at Basingstoke.<sup>17</sup> She was the daughter of a naval petty officer and according to family tradition she is believed, although still at school, to have already formed an attachment to another admirer which resulted in a duel and 'a runaway match' with G.V. Rogers,<sup>18</sup> thus thwarting customary betrothal rituals of the time which had been established to prevent marriages occurring prior to the mid-twenties and the establishment of the husband's trade or career.<sup>19</sup>

Their means were slender and despite the eventual establishment of an extensive and lucrative practice, reputed in George Rogers' later life to be worth at best

nearly two thousand pounds per annum, the sixteen surviving children of some twenty born to this couple, of whom thirteen were boys, were a severe drain on their earlier resources;<sup>20</sup> and the family's position was aggravated by the economic conditions of the time. There stands in the village of West Meon a memorial to perpetuate the memory of George Vining Rogers and his wife Mary Ann Rogers 'who resided the greater part of their lives in West Meon and who in that place by unwearied industry and constant self-denial brought up a family of sixteen children'.<sup>21</sup> That they were far from being a typical family is supported by Davidoff and Hall who cite the average age of a mother at the birth of the first child as being 27.3 years,<sup>22</sup> and Michael Anderson who shows a peak of 5.7 to 6.2 children born to each married woman who was born between 1771-1831.<sup>23</sup> Their early marriage, sparse resources, their limited education and inexperienced, unsophisticated rural and insular way of life in a small, remote country village, without the assistance of influential friends, was said to have been disadvantageous to the establishment of the future careers of their children.<sup>24</sup> Their eldest child (male) was aged twenty-seven at the time of their youngest child's birth, and the somewhat uninhibited manner of the upbringing, in a comparatively small house, of this large family of thirteen boys and only three girls,<sup>25</sup> described by Julian and Bertram Rogers, could be said to have resulted in a lack of the finesse and social decorum expected in middle-class society of the period.

The influence of this upbringing seemed to follow through into the boys' adulthood and may have put them at odds with the new ethos of charity and genteel manners which had established itself among the upper and middle classes by the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup> Francis Slaughter Rogers (1811-1886), who succeeded to his father's medical practice, after training at Middlesex Hospital, is described as 'an eccentric character' and

'rough and uncouth in many ways'.<sup>27</sup> Similar comments were made at Oxford of his younger brother Thorold, born 1823. As an undergraduate he was described as a 'loud dominating rapid talker, deluging his company with a shower-bath of Greek choruses' who 'so frightened men, in fact, that he could find no College to take him as a Fellow;'<sup>28</sup> a fellowship being the usual route into a university career after graduating. He may, however, have been disadvantaged by the practice of virtually all fellowships being given to men who came from certain schools or localities, or who were descended from the founder of the college.<sup>29</sup> He was probably also disadvantaged by his membership of a hall rather than a college. Halls rarely appointed their students to fellowships and colleges looked after their own men.<sup>30</sup> Thorold Rogers said that 'Nothing, in short, was more characterized by dishonesty and jobbing than Oxford fellowship elections before the Act of 1854' when in some cases even undergraduates were elected to fellowships for life.<sup>31</sup> 'Thorold Rogers ... was and looked a son of thunder'.<sup>32</sup> He was nicknamed 'the gorilla of Beaumont Street'<sup>33</sup> where he and his own family later lived. However a tenderer side to Thorold Rogers' character is revealed by his care for his students, his gathering of wild flowers whilst on walks with his nephew Julian whom he was educating,<sup>34</sup> his grieving over the death of his pet bird,<sup>35</sup> his writing of fairy stories<sup>36</sup> (this became a mode between 1840 and 1875),<sup>37</sup> and walking in his garden for an hour with his two weeks old baby daughter Annie.<sup>38</sup> He remorsefully confessed to whipping a servant.<sup>39</sup> Later in life Rogers was described as coarse and profane, but politically moral, an ardent patriot, actively kind, ursine, an unequalled story-teller and clever epigrammatist,<sup>40</sup> with a 'Rabelaisian sense of humour and a pretty caustic wit'.<sup>41</sup> These characteristics he was to utilise as a political speaker, when tales were recounted of his encounters and repartee with hecklers,<sup>42</sup> and as a reformer within the University. He was sympathetic and

supportive to the needy. When a Member of Parliament, he organized a collection in the House of Commons 'in his forcible way' for a clever girl at Somerville who was having to leave after two years for lack of funds. She later became a professor.<sup>43</sup>

The somewhat underprivileged type of upbringing of George V. Rogers' family seems to have produced several men of a reforming zeal. Another son, Joseph (1820-1889) who studied medicine under Mr. Mayor at the Middlesex Hospital in 1840, became the noted Poor Law reformer, having been medical officer to the Strand Workhouse 1856-68, and of Westminster Infirmary 1872. He was founder and president of the Poor Law Medical Officers' Association, and like his younger brother Thorold his reforming zeal earned him unpopularity and removal from official positions. He was described by his nephew, Thorold's son Bertram, as 'a grim person of rather quick temper, but who must have had a great deal of character to carry out the reforms he did'.<sup>44</sup> Their elder brother John, born 1801, who practised as a medical man at Droxford, married in 1827 Emma Cobden, sister of Richard Cobden with whom Thorold became a close friend. Thorold Rogers, born four years earlier, was from an early age under his influence. This association combined with his upbringing had a marked effect on Thorold. Besides providing motivation for reform, the disadvantages against which he had to struggle probably helped to formulate his forceful character. Similarly with his daughter, Annie, who perhaps not only inherited and was influenced by her father's personality, but was schooled by her struggle against disadvantages of a different kind, as will be seen.

Heavy sacrifices were often imposed on members of large families reared in tight financial circumstances.<sup>45</sup> Thorold Rogers was the eleventh son and fourteenth child of the sixteen surviving, therefore he was probably a beneficiary of the sacrifices made by the others. They

also assisted him. For example his brother Francis who was twelve years older was instrumental in his going to Oxford University. Thorold is said to have had the best education of the sixteen children. He in turn assisted his younger brother Richard, removing him from an apprenticeship to a chemist and taking him to Oxford to be educated, where he was later ordained. Richard subsequently paid the cost of the medical training of Thorold's son Bertram who looked on Richard as a second father. Richard maintained a close contact with Thorold and his children and left them much of his property.<sup>46</sup>

Returning to Annie Rogers' father, James Edwin Thorold Rogers and his brothers firstly attended a school at Bishops Waltham as weekly boarders, and then at Southampton where he rose to be head boy and where it is thought his father was educated. He left school at around the age of sixteen and was placed in the office of a London publisher named Workburn, but left at his own request after a few weeks. He became a student at King's College, London, and due to the influence of his elder brother Francis (then aged thirty-two) was sent to Oxford University,<sup>47</sup> where he matriculated at Magdalen Hall in 1843 and took a first in Greats in 1846. King's College at this time was often treated as a stepping-stone to Oxford or Cambridge, enabling men to acquire the education they had lacked for admission.<sup>48</sup> Thorold, writing in 1860 in praise of King's College, said

'It affords a convenient opportunity for employing a year or two of time between leaving school and entry at the university, and it gives much the same instruction as that at the best Oxford and Cambridge colleges. I can only say, for my own part, that the advantages I derived from a year and a half's study at King's College were larger and more suggestive than any which I ever procured from academical instruction'.<sup>49</sup>

Thorold Rogers circumvented what was then the normal route to an Oxford degree, in that he was neither the son of an aristocrat, or landowner with a 'great house', nor



did he attend one of the principal public schools. In the nineteenth century going to Oxford and Cambridge was part of an upper middle-class social code. It was almost preferable not to attend university at all than to attend any other; a code that became more important at a time when society was undergoing considerable change. Students were not students but 'gentlemen' and the term gradually came to be applied not only to the aristocracy or landed class but to the middle classes and members of certain professions, as these groups became larger and more powerful, as in the case of the medical profession discussed above. Hugh Kearney defines socially acceptable professions as the established church, law, medicine, the army, the Indian and the higher civil service, 'banking and "the city"' and politics, but entrance to them was still by way of a public school and an Oxford or Cambridge degree.<sup>50</sup> A titled and landed hierarchy gradually gave way to a class structure as the basis of society. In the Matriculation Register of the University Thorold Rogers' father, a surgeon-apothecary or medical practitioner, is described as a 'gent.' in 1843.<sup>51</sup>

After graduating at Magdalen Hall, Oxford as a Bachelor of Arts with a first class degree in *literae humaniores* in 1846, and a Master of Arts in 1849, as was customary for men embarking on an academic career he took holy orders and was ordained a deacon, by Samuel Wilberforce Bishop of Oxford.<sup>52</sup> Oxford dons were at the beginning of the nineteenth century primarily members of the ecclesiastical profession, rather than professional university teachers, but by the end of the century and after four university commissions (1850-2, 1854-8, 1871-3 and 1877-81), they were members of a burgeoning secular academic profession.<sup>53</sup> After obtaining a college fellowship, for which celibacy and ordination were generally required, they were usually offered a country parish living some ten or fifteen years later,<sup>54</sup> but Thorold's career did not follow this pattern, as will be

seen. His life and career were inextricably bound up in the later nineteenth century conflicts between church and state, secularization and religion, university tradition and reform, and liberal political philosophy and social reform.

He entered the Anglican church at a time of turmoil, particularly in Oxford. For example, an extreme Tractarian William George Ward, fellow of Balliol College, theologian and philosopher, had been stripped of his degrees in 1845 for his views and strong praise of the Roman Catholic Church, which he entered the same year. Ward was an ardent disciple of John Henry Newman, fellow of Oriel and later vicar of St. Mary's Oxford, who was the leading light of the Oxford Movement that sought to restore mediaeval spirituality to the Church of England and had a deep influence on the religious life of the country. Newman converted to Roman Catholicism one month after Ward. Renn Dickson Hampden, another fellow of Oriel and Principal of St. Mary's Hall Oxford, but a broad churchman, received violent (but unsuccessful) opposition from the Tractarians to his appointment as Regius Professor of Divinity in 1837 and to his bishopric of Hereford in 1847.<sup>55</sup>

Said to have been 'an ardent high-churchman',<sup>56</sup> Rogers ministered diligently as a curate of St. Paul's Oxford (a church popular with followers of the Tractarians)<sup>57</sup> from 1848 to 1851 and voluntarily as assistant curate of Headington, Oxford from 1854 to 1858, until being given a stipendiary licence as curate to that parish in 1859.<sup>58</sup> Contemporaneously with this clerical work he became a private tutor; a custom dating back to the middle ages whereby tutors taught 'simply by virtue of their degree',<sup>59</sup> which constituted a licence to teach and of which a very large number of graduates resident in Oxford availed themselves.<sup>60</sup> Private coaches, as they were called, owed their existence to the examination statutes

of 1800 which instituted honours examinations in *Literae Humaniores*; and to the upgrading of requirements for the bachelor of arts, or ordinary 'pass degree', from the aural ritual of reciting answers to standard questions. Both of these reforms created the need for more university teachers.<sup>61</sup>

Thorold Rogers was not only handicapped by his upbringing but he was also a victim of the inequity and inadequacy of conditions existing within the University of Oxford. During 'the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the University was the object of violent and diverse public criticisms'.<sup>62</sup> Tuition was so inadequate in the first half of the nineteenth century (and reforms in the examination system after the Royal Commission of 1850-54 had aggravated the problem) that men wishing to obtain honours degrees were obliged to seek coaching from private tutors, 'selfless martyrs' as they have been called, who toiled for moderate fees without any of the benefits of the college tutors who were 'endowed, protected and recognized, but still discontented';<sup>63</sup> Rogers, writing in 1860, said college tutors were also poorly paid and usually unmarried.<sup>64</sup>

W.R. Ward believed the standard of teaching of the fellows and college tutors was often low, partly because of the broad spectrum they had to cover, and that private tutors 'flourished upon their failings and were indispensable for distinction in the schools'.<sup>65</sup> Rogers attributed the poor quality of tuition to the low educational standard of entrants and the practice of college tutors restricting their level of teaching to that of the least educated, which in turn meant that the professorial teaching was largely ineffective. 'The better the college lecture is, the more need is there for private instruction'.<sup>66</sup>

Coaching tutors had usually been awarded 'firsts' but had no formal status within the university; they were often non-academic members of Congregation (the legislative assembly of the University) and also resident M.A.s who did not hold academic offices. They valued the opportunity of coaching as it was 'the only permanent business open to married residents',<sup>67</sup> but did not see it as a life career because of its uncertain nature. Apart from his membership of Magdalen Hall Thorold Rogers, therefore, had no formal connection with the University until being granted examinerships by the Vice-Chancellor to whom he had applied<sup>68</sup> and in whose gift they were, in 1856 when the Vice-Chancellor called on him with the offer.<sup>69</sup> Private tutors were said to have on average five to six pupils a day each for one hour's tuition, but the more celebrated classics tutors would attract ten to twelve men.<sup>70</sup>

Thorold Rogers taught classics and philosophy. He was a popular tutor coaching individually up to thirteen men a day,<sup>71</sup> and in spite of his forceful, aggressive reputation he showed a pastorally caring attitude towards his pupils. He arranged their lodgings, acquired furniture for their rooms and sympathised with those who were 'plucked'.<sup>72</sup> He records as one of his heaviest weeks for lectures delivering thirty-seven in one week, and earning £20.<sup>73</sup> Coaching tutors received in the 1840s between £7 to £14 per pupil per term.<sup>74</sup> Between 1850 and 1855 he had coached ninety-seven men,<sup>75</sup> and by 1861 had taught some 400 private pupils since the beginning of his residence in Oxford.<sup>76</sup> His holidays were spent in the company of reading parties<sup>77</sup> and in spite of his heavy workload he was frequently 'Suffering from want of money which is in a manner incredible in the present aspect of my affairs'.<sup>78</sup> T.H. Green (1836-1882), the philosopher, also found coaching consumed too much time and produced little money.<sup>79</sup> Rogers' men were tardy in paying fees and as soon as he received money, so he paid one of his

creditors, who were frequently pressing for payment. With some financial assistance from his father-in-law (H.R. Reynolds) he recorded at the end of December 1855 a balance over fees received and bills paid of £10.<sup>80</sup>

Early in 1855 Rogers, being now married, became increasingly concerned about his income and career. The number of his pupils fluctuated and his wife's health required frequent medical attention. A letter from his mother in 1856 congratulating him on the birth of Annie bears testimony to current economic conditions:

'I am sorry to hear you are not so busy as usual. I suppose the times have something to do with it income tax and the high price of evry article of provision prevents persons sending their sons to Oxford should we have Peace things will improve'.<sup>81</sup>

Private tuition was required only periodically and was interspersed with long intervals.<sup>82</sup> This insecurity of income and absence of official status was why coaching was usually confined to young graduates and not viewed as a permanent career.<sup>83</sup> Calculating his term's work at £130,<sup>84</sup> he considered parish work, or school teaching. He enquired about a Magdalen professorship, his wife approached influential friends regarding a vacant proctorship and his father-in-law also tried to find him employment.<sup>85</sup> By April things had improved; further pupils had materialised. He was ordained a priest in December 1856<sup>86</sup> and held a stipendiary curate's licence for Headington Parish from March 1859.<sup>87</sup>

Amidst his busy teaching of classics Thorold acquired an interest in political economy, a fashionable subject of the time, and he established a successful Political Economy Club in Oxford.<sup>88</sup> In 1857 he stood for a political science professorship at Oxford, but despite much canvassing for support he failed to get elected, coming second out of three candidates.<sup>89</sup> However in 1859 he was appointed the first Tooke Professor of statistics and economic science at King's College, London, which he remained until his death. He was able to combine this

work with his commitments at Oxford by travelling one day a week to lecture in London, where he also lectured on history at Mr. Wren's 'coaching' establishment at Bayswater.<sup>90</sup> In 1872 Wren asked him to give lectures for his pupils reading for the India Civil Service.<sup>91</sup> Rogers' son Bertram remembered Friday 'was a marked day for us as children, as we had breakfast at 8. in order that he might catch the 9. train to London'.<sup>92</sup>

He involved himself in the affairs of the University aligning himself with the liberals and reform. Dissatisfaction with Oxford and Cambridge in the first half of the nineteenth century led to a series of reforms. Under the *University Reform Act* of 1854 a set of reforms was instituted including a new constitution, a reconstructed Congregation, the Hebdomadal Council, more fellowships open to laymen, revised college statutes and emoluments, and the establishment of new honours schools. In spite of these improvements there was much opposition to reform from conservative elements, of which Thorold Rogers became a 'belligerent critic'.<sup>93</sup> For example, to avoid government legislation the heads of houses had produced their own scheme but this was defeated in Convocation on 24th February 1854 after Thorold Rogers, in a speech he had worked on until 3.30 a.m. that morning, opposed it, 'with no small applause',<sup>94</sup> attacking 'the heads for producing a hastily botched scheme parts of which were only twenty-four hours old'.<sup>95</sup> The function of the heads of the colleges was, according to Thorold Rogers, 'to reign rather than govern'.<sup>96</sup> To the headship of Oriel was appended a canonry of Rochester and the rectory of Purleigh. Edward Hawkins (1789-1882) who had held the position of Provost of Oriel for forty-six years, referred on one occasion in Congregation to 'the very arduous duties of a College Head'.

'Thorold Rogers caused great merriment by saying that he had no very great idea of what the Provost's duties were but that he would cheerfully discharge them for half the Provost's salary. "It was the right thing to say, but it needed a brigand to say it", commented the

moral philosopher Daniel Wilson in an aside to those sitting around him'.<sup>97</sup>

The report of the Financial Commission of 1871 was later to cause a public outcry when it showed endowment income of the university and the colleges largely benefitting heads and fellows of colleges with comparatively little assigned for educational purposes. It was the students' fees that mainly covered payments to college tutors and lecturers.<sup>98</sup>

In Congregation (the legislative body of the University, which by this Act had been reconstituted to include all resident members of Convocation, the latter being the full gathering of masters of arts whose names appeared on the college registers), Thorold Rogers spoke about the Examinership and private tutors, after Benjamin Jowett (Master of Balliol) had first raised the matter in June 1857.<sup>99</sup> On another occasion in 1874 when King's College sought affiliation with Oxford, Rogers seconded Jowett's proposal in favour of accepting King's propositions.<sup>100</sup> Jowett was a leading reformer of the University and Rogers was in accord with his concern to bring Oxford education into line with what would better equip future statesmen, leaders of commerce, and the professions. Rogers lauded the standard of education and Jowett's achievements at Balliol College.<sup>101</sup> The same month (June 1857) Rogers was elected by the Vice-Chancellor and another onto the Delegacy of Local examinations,<sup>102</sup> also referred to around this period as 'middle-class examinations'.<sup>103</sup> They conferred the title 'Associate of Arts' upon boys usually educated at grammar schools and the examinations were opened to girls in 1870, followed by examinations similar to those for undergraduates for women aged eighteen or over. Ward says that 'after a triumph by Thorold Rogers' daughter, this scheme led inevitably to pressure for the admission of women to the university examinations proper',<sup>104</sup> as will be recounted in a following chapter. Rogers' own early education must have influenced his involvement in grammar

schools. He declared that as the chief working member of the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board, travelling throughout the country as an examiner, 'I know more about schools than most men in England'.<sup>105</sup>

In 1865 Rogers was one of a liberal committee chaired by Goldwin Smith (Regius Professor of Modern History), which considered 'the possibility of university extension by the affiliation of other places of liberal education';<sup>106</sup> for example King's College, London. Two years later a paper Rogers read on educational endowments to the British Association at Dundee 'led to a good deal of controversy, ridiculing the situation in which enormous endowments were consumed in educating a handful of men who paid their own way'.<sup>107</sup> Having been elected Drummond Professor of Political Economy in 1862, Rogers failed to obtain re-election in 1867 due to his involvement in both liberal politics and reform of the University teaching and management; as a consequence of his actions a conservative faction successfully conspired to oust him.<sup>108</sup> He clashed with Liddon (appointed godfather to his son Arthur in 1864) and the high-church party in 1871 by opposing in Convocation the granting of the degree of doctor of civil law to Professor J.J. Ignaz von Dollinger, church historian at Munich. Dollinger was in favour of the establishment of a liberal wing of the Catholic church and after becoming increasingly critical of papal and Roman influence he was excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church in 1871 because of his opposition to the doctrine of papal infallibility, but he continued to work for reunion between Churches.<sup>109</sup> The Oxford liberals were determined the University should not condone any notion of the doctrine of infallibility residing within the church.<sup>110</sup> The Vatican Council's unyielding definition of papal infallibility, in 1870, set against a background of growing secularisation and agnosticism was certain to cause unsettlement amongst even Catholic liberal minds.<sup>111</sup> With the passing of the University Tests Act in 1871



Oxford University was by then no longer exclusively Anglican and Rogers was supported by Oxford Roman Catholics who feared that Liddon was creating trouble in their church.<sup>112</sup>

Rogers, in voicing liberal opposition to the new Foundation Statute of 1871 by which Keble College became part of the University, reiterated his renunciation of the high-church party to which he had once belonged. He

'called upon Convocation to remember that he now pledged himself to oppose the introduction of any sectarian institution whether Dissenting, Buddhist or Mahomedan, equally with Keble College'.<sup>113</sup>

Professor Rogers had been chiefly instrumental in initiating the enactment of the *Clerical Disabilities Relief Bill* in 1870 by which clergymen could resign their clerical orders,<sup>114</sup> and had been the first man to take advantage of it. Although as a curate, of a high-church persuasion, he had worked conscientiously in his parishes, it is said that, disliking ritualism, he became disillusioned with the Tractarians and that 'the bent of his mind and temperament was decidedly anti-clerical'.<sup>115</sup> He had held no ecclesiastical office since the early eighteen sixties,<sup>116</sup> and had rarely used his clerical title. By virtue of the *House of Commons (Clergy Disqualification) Act (1801)* clergymen were prohibited from becoming members of parliament;<sup>117</sup> neither could they act as jurors or magistrates. Thorold Rogers was strongly opposed to privilege; such opposition was part of the political radical philosophy. He suggested to Gladstone in 1868 that this *Disqualification Act* should be repealed on the grounds that it encouraged 'the active hostility or the indifference of the clergy, in social ecclesiastical political reforms' and forced them into 'a caste' or 'trades union', particularly at a time when they felt threatened by the University Tests Bill and were alarmed over the growing secularisation of the University and society.<sup>118</sup>

He declared to 'have no personal feeling in the matter, other than the sense of an absurd and unjust disability' and that 'what little political influence I may possess I can use just as well in my present position as I could in any other'.<sup>119</sup> On the 10th August 1870, the very next day following the enactment of the *Clerical Disqualification Act* on the 9th, however, in which he had been involved in the negotiations, he resigned his clerical orders, the first man to do so.<sup>120</sup> His son Bertram said it was his father's ambition to get into parliament.<sup>121</sup> In 1869 and again in 1872 he received tentative invitations to stand for parliament, and did so in 1874 as a Liberal candidate for Scarborough but was not elected. His motivation for the Act may have been underlyingly political. The question arises as to whether, like Mrs. Humphry Ward's clergyman character *Robert Elsmere*,<sup>122</sup> he may have lost his faith. The Bill had originally contained a clause allowing a reversal of the original relinquishment should there be a second change of mind. A clergyman could thus have relinquished his holy orders to seek election as a member of Parliament, but had he been unsuccessful he could then have returned to an ecclesiastical appointment. A person having lost his faith would perhaps not envisage regaining it. In the event the House of Lords rejected this proviso and the House of Commons voted to retain this amendment, some members fearing that the Bill would otherwise be defeated, the Bill having been in transition through Parliament from February to August.<sup>123</sup> The Act was under discussion concurrently with, and just predated, the Universities Tests Act (1871) which rendered a declaration of religious belief unnecessary for holders of degrees other than divinity and opened the door to the secularization of university tuition.<sup>124</sup> It is difficult to determine Rogers' religious belief or lack of belief. His published writings on religious subjects after 1865, when he ceased to hold ecclesiastical office, do not show a loss of faith.<sup>125</sup> On the other hand, whilst Mrs. Rogers

makes frequent references to attendances at church of herself and other members of the family, and in their adult years disappointment at the loss of faith of two of her sons, there is a noticeable lack of allusion to her husband in this connection. On Christmas Day 1883 she records 'Annie, I & the 4 dear Boys went to 7 o'clock Celebration. Thank God for this & may he grant that we all go again some day'. This remark could be construed as a reference to her husband's lack of attendance at church. On the day he died prayers for him were said in every Oxford church, and immediately on his death Mrs. Rogers and Annie read the Commendatory prayer 'so his soul was commended unto his merciful Father's hands'. His funeral service at Worcester College was conducted by the Provost in keeping with 'the proper honours due to a Professor of the University'.<sup>126</sup>

The likeliest motive in the 1870s for Thorold's promotion and hasty utilisation of the *Clerical Disabilities Relief Act* appears to be his intention to stand for parliament, particularly as few other clergy took advantage of it.<sup>127</sup> Moreover his political convictions and activities, the loss of academic posts (for example the Drummond Professorship and his appointment at the Wren coaching establishment referred to earlier), his disappointment at the failure of the University to publish his *Aristotle Dictionary* on which he had expended a vast amount of time, and his obvious enjoyment of the cut and thrust of politics would have further impelled him in that direction. Another Oxford Liberal to resign his holy orders under the Act and enter parliament was Arthur H.D. Acland, who became member of parliament for Rotherham division in 1885.

Having for fourteen years from 1860 energetically engaged in political activity, proving to be a capable, competent, effectual speaker,<sup>128</sup> and having stood for parliament for Scarborough in 1874, without success,

Professor Rogers was elected in April 1880 as a Liberal Member to represent, with Arthur Cohen, Q.C., the Borough of Southwark with a '1500 majority. The citizens received him with an ovation and took him to the Liberal Hall', his wife recorded.<sup>129</sup>

Thorold Rogers had come under the influence of radical political views from an early age, having become Richard Cobden's brother-in-law at the age of four years. Both men originated from West Sussex, and the bodies of their parents lie in the same churchyard at West Meon.<sup>130</sup> Cobden was born near Heyshott in 1804, Thorold Rogers at West Meon in 1823 where Cobden's parents had settled with their family, having been forced to sell their farm. Both families and their neighbours experienced straitened circumstances at the fall in the price of corn around 1813. Cobden recalled returning later to his family home and finding former play-fellows reduced to 'the rank of labourers', and some of them 'even working on the roads'.<sup>131</sup> Being a son of the local medical practitioner, Thorold would have witnessed the deprivation of the rural poor and this, in addition to his own parents' hardship, would have fuelled his radical convictions and the opinions of his brothers. Writing of his brother Joseph, the Poor Law reformer, he said

'my brother made no secret of his political opinions, and never omitted any opportunity of inculcating them. He belonged, as all his brothers did, to the advanced Liberal party'.<sup>132</sup>

The friendship of Richard Cobden and Thorold Rogers continued into the next generation with their own families. Cobden stayed with Thorold Rogers in December 1853 after the death of the latter's first wife the previous February, and during the time of his second marriage, when family visits were exchanged between Droxford and Midhurst, where the Cobdens settled, and the Rogers' home at Oxford.<sup>133</sup> Jane Cobden recalls riding over the South Downs with Thorold Rogers, who was often at

Droxford,<sup>134</sup> where his brother John practised medicine, later accompanied by Annie<sup>135</sup> who was therefore, like her father, exposed to radical liberal views from an early age (seven years). Cobden left his slippers and night shirt behind at Oxford<sup>136</sup> and Rogers' young daughter Annie's crop had to be sent on to her from Midhurst.<sup>137</sup> On Cobden's death his daughter Nelly entreated Rogers to come and view his body; 'Will you come and see the last of our darling?...We think you are not coming. He would have liked it,'<sup>138</sup> and Rogers preached at the funeral service. Mrs. Cobden later turned to him for advice<sup>139</sup> and Nelly sought his aid in their 'miserably and uncomfortable settled' state.<sup>140</sup> Thorold Rogers was said to be devoted to Cobden and after his death always wore a locket containing his hair until his own death when it was bequeathed to the Ashmolean Museum.<sup>141</sup>

Throughout his life Cobden had corresponded with Rogers not only on family matters but on the subjects of political economy, political personalities and political situations.<sup>142</sup> They deplored the iniquitous state of landowning legislators, whereby this relatively small proportion of the population possessed all the power, property and comfort of the rural world compared with the very large number of 'those who really are denied almost every advantage which this age enjoys over the days of the "Saxons"'.<sup>143</sup> They admired democracy and economic conditions in America, which Thorold Rogers visited at least twice and in 1887 was elected by the American Economic Association as an honorary member, the first among foreign economists.<sup>144</sup> They shared a mutual antipathy towards the aristocracy and the House of Lords. Bertram Rogers, whilst an undergraduate, recounted to his mother an occasion when his father and Annie were invited to dine with the Master of Balliol to meet M. Fawcett and Lord Ramsey. He commented 'Annie was taken down by Lord Southdown or someone of that sort, for a wonder Papa did not rage at lords'.<sup>145</sup>

Rogers had little patience with the powers-that-be but was very concerned about the ordinary man.<sup>146</sup> For example when he was a member of Parliament he received a letter from five labourers from Pendleton. 'We all know you as a Poor Man's Friend', they wrote, asking his advice as to how to go about demanding an increase in wages from their masters to bring them into line with amounts paid in other counties.<sup>147</sup> In 1862 during a time of deprivation amongst workers in the cotton industry Thorold Rogers began to support a family in the Manchester area for a month, and his encouragement to others to do likewise resulted in his example being extensively imitated, although Cobden commented that Thorold had made the mistake of revealing the whereabouts of this family which caused curiosity and jealousy in the area.<sup>148</sup> Thorold was pleased at the prospect, in 1865, of adding 'nearly a thousand workmen to the population' of Oxford when he

'achieved a successful bit of local diplomacy in the shape of a sort of commercial treaty between the Town Council in Oxford and the G.W. Railway whom I have got to bring their carriage manufactory to the town'.<sup>149</sup>

The proposal was welcomed by the city and a few University men but failed to materialize when opposed by Professor Goldwin Smith and a majority in the University.<sup>150</sup> Not only was Thorold Rogers concerned to improve the lot of the ordinary man, advocating universal male suffrage, but he worked for the promotion of higher education for women and supported women's enfranchisement, as will be seen in the following chapter.

Rogers and Goldwin Smith attempted to persuade Cobden, and John Bright with whom Rogers was also friendly, to speak in Parliament on university affairs (for example the Tests Act) but they were reluctant initially to do so because of their scanty knowledge of university matters, although they agreed to participate once the subject had been launched by more knowledgeable Members.<sup>151</sup>

Whilst Cobden thought highly of Rogers' knowledge and opinions, and more than once offered or gave him testimonials for positions in the church and as a political economist, 'There is no man I could more conscientiously recommend than yourself for any thing that you choose to put your hand to',<sup>152</sup> Rogers' articles and letters in the *Star* and other publications were submitted first to Cobden who often advised a reduction in tone:

'Be temperate in the concluding sentence of your letters. You sometimes wind up very ferociously.'<sup>153</sup>

'Is not the conclusion where hereditary rank is implied to be inimical to the human race rather too strong for weak stomachs? I can digest it, but to some it will smack of 1789. We shall have to come to such talk, but at present our comfortable middle-classes have no idea of making war on feudalism. On the contrary they are busy at the Herald's Office hunting up coats of arms for Brown, Jones and Robinson!'<sup>154</sup>

Rogers believed in republicanism.<sup>155</sup> However Cobden concurred with Rogers' statement that the condition of our rural population 'has no parallel in the civilised portions of the earth' and felt 'such truths must be reiterated'.<sup>156</sup>

Thorold Rogers appears often to have been too brash or 'radical' for Cobden, particularly regarding their mutual opposition to the aristocracy. Mrs. Rogers, too, thought her husband 'sometimes too ready to think the worst of people'.<sup>157</sup> Nevertheless, despite irascible tendencies in Rogers, Cobden thought highly of him.

'I am a great advocate of culture of every kind, and I say, where you can find men who, in addition to profound classical learning, like Professor Goldwin Smith or Professor Rogers, of Oxford, have a vast knowledge of modern affairs, and who, as well as scholars, a vast superiority over me, and I bow to these men with reverence for their superior advantages.'<sup>158</sup>

Goldwin Smith, described by Engel as a 'liberal',<sup>159</sup> seems to have won perhaps higher esteem from Cobden with whom he corresponded and talked, sometimes in conjunction with Rogers. On a letter of Goldwin Smith in the *Daily*

*News on Colonies*, Cobden commented 'I have rarely seen such comprehensive round common sense so tersely written. There is a democratic aim cleverly masked in the letter'.<sup>160</sup> Christopher Harvie sees Cobden's recognition of the right of the university liberals to 'mediate between culture and the forces of social change' as the beginning of the effective cohesion of the university liberal movement.<sup>161</sup>

Rogers corresponded with W.E. Gladstone from 1854<sup>162</sup> for more than thirty years on subjects including the *Clerical Disabilities Bill*, already mentioned,<sup>163</sup> university reform,<sup>164</sup> the growing system of married tutors of which they disapproved,<sup>165</sup> Irish Emigration, and on Rogers' trip to America, when Gladstone hoped Rogers would 'make a careful study of social America, about which we know so little and ought to know so much'.<sup>166</sup> Expressing concern in 1881 regarding the unsatisfactory position of higher education in England, the likely detrimental action of the Oxford Commission to the interests of the grammar schools and Oxford University, and to the relationship between the grammar schools and that University, Rogers indicated that the government was ill-informed on educational matters. It appeared that these important affairs were 'distributed between the Privy Council, the Home Office, the Charity Commission and the Civil Service Commission', and he pointed out that in other countries there was a Minister of Education.<sup>167</sup> On Rogers' parliamentary defeat in 1886 Gladstone wrote to express regret, said he had contributed much to Parliament and asked if he could write in a popular form an account of the Irish Union. 'Bright himself is in a state of crass ignorance on the whole subject, and is I am afraid too old to learn'.<sup>168</sup>

Having represented Southwark from 1880-85, after the redistribution of parliamentary seats Rogers was elected in 1885 to represent the Bermondsey division, but in



supporting Gladstone's Irish Home Rule policy he lost his seat at the general election in July 1886. The blame for this he laid entirely on Bright who had not supported the scheme and had thereby caused abstentions amongst many of Rogers' supporters.<sup>169</sup> Rogers had begun his time in parliament by being called to order during his maiden speech,<sup>170</sup> but thereafter took little part in the debates apart from moving a recommendation, which was successfully carried, that local rates should be divided between owner and occupier.<sup>171</sup> Two years after his parliamentary career ended he was re-elected in 1888 to the Drummond professorship at Oxford, which he had lost in 1868.

Mrs. Rogers had been commenting on the health of her husband in the late 1880s. In 1888:

'Dear J still retains his great vigour of mind and perseverance in hard work and has written and published several books this year. His health is remarkably good tho' he looks old and white.'<sup>172</sup>

In 1889 Mrs. Rogers thought: 'JETR a good deal broken by a severe cold he had in the winter - and much aged. He is grown quite thin and stoops so much and always. I feel very uneasy about him.'<sup>173</sup> He died the following year, it is thought from a type of malarial fever, which he contracted whilst in Colorado, where he had been fraudulently duped into investing in a silver mine.<sup>174</sup> Mrs. Rogers records how the University was very kind at his death but the Liberal Party for whom he had 'worked and sacrificed so much scarcely took any notice'. 'The National Liberal Club however raised a memorial to him and founded a special department of the library in his honor and bought a portrait of him painted by Margaret Fletcher for the library.'<sup>175</sup>

'Poor Thorold Rogers! What a broken, mistaken, embittered career was his!' was a comment made at his funeral.<sup>176</sup> He is acknowledged to have been an eminent economic historian, chiefly remembered for his *History of Agriculture and Prices*,<sup>177</sup> and in his day was respected as

a scholar. His academic and political careers were clouded by the outspoken expression of his strong radical (even republican) political views, his coarse manner and humour, impatience and class animosity. He was an academic politician but possessed an empathy and oratorical ability to relate easily with the working class. Yet he was not a great success in parliament; 'professors seldom are, but when he spoke on historical matters he was always listened to with respect and interest', observed his son Bertram who sometimes accompanied him to the House of Commons.<sup>178</sup>

He is said to have been embittered from the start of his career by his failure to obtain a fellowship, and to have been 'a man of wonderful ability, but was soured by his want of success'.<sup>179</sup> Other disappointments were the deaths of his pretty first wife (whose portrait he kept hung in his drawing room), and of his eldest son in tragic circumstances, his loss of the Drummond Professorship and the resultant hardship for his family, the refusal of the University to publish his Aristotle Dictionary on which he had expended a great deal of time, and his failure to gain under Gladstone a government post or safe parliamentary seat.<sup>180</sup>

Thorold Rogers is notable as being one of a group of liberal intellectuals of the 1860s to 1890s, mainly from the two ancient universities, who sought to create a more widely democratic government by the injection of intellectual men into a parliament which for years had been dominated by the landowning, industrial and leisured classes. This radical intelligentsia aimed to break the monopoly of these vested interests by the extension of the franchise. Their ideas were expressed, in 1867, during the struggle for the Reform Bill in *Essays on Reform* and *Questions for a Reformed Parliament*. Thorold Rogers contributed a chapter on Bribery to the latter. These men associated with politicians, lawyers, educational

reformers, historians, philosophers, economists, and civil servants, and were themselves to become authoritative public figures.<sup>181</sup>

Christopher Harvie believes that the involvement of the liberal academics in the simultaneous academic crisis and political crisis of the time was of 'great importance for the evolution of modern British politics', and their achievement was 'the assimilation by the English upper middle class of the new vocabulary of political democracy, and the coordination of the endowed institutions of higher education with the new national politics'.<sup>182</sup> Their political success was short-lived however; 'long-term changes in education, politics and society, strengthening both the old governing class and new proletarian organisations, diminished their influence on policy'.<sup>183</sup> The latter part of Rogers' career mirrors in some respects the individual experiences which others suffered as a consequence of membership of this group; in subsequent isolation from the Liberal party, impediment to their careers, and mixed feelings of pride and disillusionment at the outcome of their aspirations.<sup>184</sup> Rogers' sense of disappointment at the outcome of his career cannot therefore be attributed entirely to his own particular actions and personality.

Thorold Rogers often referred to the great sacrifices he had made and the disappointments and persecution he had endured. He worked for the Liberal party for forty years and 'For these labours I have had to undergo heavier sacrifices than perhaps any other man living',<sup>185</sup> which would have reflected on his family, as described below. Such sacrifices, combined with the manner in which Thorold Rogers conducted his life and career would have made a great impression on Annie, the highly intelligent, eldest child and only daughter.

Turning now to a study of the background of Annie Rogers' mother, Ann Susanna Charlotte Reynolds, this reveals a sharp contrast with that of her father. Born the 26th August 1828, the daughter of the solicitor to the Treasury, she had come from a comfortable London home first at 25 Berners Street and then in Upper Harley Street where she lived a life of easy domesticity in the milieu typical of that described by writers on the 'separate spheres' theory, referred to below, until her marriage to Thorold Rogers at the age of twenty-six,<sup>186</sup> as his second wife. His first wife, Anna Peskett to whom he was devoted,<sup>187</sup> was the daughter of William Peskett a surgeon; a further link with the medical profession. She had died childless on 3rd February 1853, just over two years after their marriage on 9th December 1850 at Petersfield.

Ann Reynolds' childhood was typical of an upper middle-class girl in the 1830s. Whilst her brother Henry was sent away to school, her education was primarily centred on leisure and the acquisition of accomplishments. Her diary of 1837 at the age of nine hints at a life of under-activity and boredom, with such comments as 'Did not go anywhere', 'Did not go out all day' recurring frequently; although child diarists tend to be selective in their comments. She attended church regularly on Sundays (sometimes twice) at All Souls and noted the preacher and subject, learnt the collect and gospel and worked on her 'questions', as other children of the period, and by the age of eleven was attending a day school and a Sunday School. On 10th July 1837 she recorded seeing Queen Victoria going in state to Buckingham Palace, following the King's burial on the 8th. She visited her grandparents in Wimpole Street and other relations, attended a dancing academy in Hanover Square, had French and music lessons, and three different governesses in one year. The first seems to have been untrained and unsuited to the work and not of the servant class, but the others more didactically minded;

illustrating what Michael Sanderson<sup>188</sup> and others have shown that becoming a governess was the only way of earning a living open to women above the working-classes, and that they lacked proper training, and were often themselves only educated in accomplishments. The family stayed at Hastings, St. Leonards and in 1839 France, where they engaged for their daughter a French mistress and a drawing master. At the age of eleven Ann Reynolds received an allowance of ten shillings and sixpence a month and attended balls, retiring at 3.30 a.m., and parties, retiring to bed 'when the gentlemen come up'.<sup>189</sup> Up to the date of her marriage she recorded a life of leisurely domesticity spent in the family home.

Her life is an example of the 'separate spheres' theory outlined by Dorothy Thompson that there developed in the nineteenth century a middle-class ideology of two spheres of activity; a public, rough, competitive male world and a private female world of home and family imbued with the morality of personal relationships and Christian values.<sup>190</sup> D. Gorham and J.S. Pedersen, however, believe this theory to be problematic in that many approved behavioural patterns and codes, such as self-discipline and 'routinized forms of organization' were accepted as the norm in both spheres.<sup>191</sup> This is of course true but nevertheless Mrs. Rogers' upbringing falls clearly into the separate spheres theory, although she began to react against it in the bringing up of her own children, particularly in the education of her daughter Annie, as will be shown.

She is said to have met Thorold Rogers at Felpham while he was staying in the Bognor area in 1854 with a reading party.<sup>192</sup> Later the same year Thorold made plans to return with a reading party and arranged with Ann Reynolds' sister Eleanor and her husband, the Revd. C. Wollaston, for meetings to take place in their home at Felpham, and after a short courtship they were married on

14th December the same year at All Souls Church, Marylebone.<sup>193</sup> Thus again Thorold Rogers continued links with the medical profession through members of Ann Reynolds' family; although the Reynolds were physicians and thus in a more exalted category than were the Rogers, as we have seen.

After a week long honeymoon at St. Leonards, Thorold Rogers took his new bride to the small house he had acquired at 4 Wellington Place, Oxford where he cultivated the garden himself, planting a wide variety of fruit and vegetables. Her new home, which she had not previously seen, doubtless contrasted sharply with her father's home in Upper Harley Street and on arriving 'she seemed sad and dispirited' and her husband 'found no money'.<sup>194</sup> Married to a man with a small and uncertain income and no secure occupation, she recounted a life of anxiety and hard work, of financial problems, of paying creditors, and of bringing up six children and educating them to a high standard. When the children were young she assisted in their education, by teaching them English and French, acquired a sewing machine and made their clothes,<sup>195</sup> and entertained her husband's academic and political colleagues; more frequently after she and Annie had attended a course of cookery lessons.<sup>196</sup> N.G. Annan has noted that reformers of the ancient universities were apt to sacrifice other things in the singleminded pursuit of their goals and that it was fortunate for them that their wives had been reared in the art of self-sacrifice; wives were often excluded from the intellectual liberation their husbands pioneered.<sup>197</sup> As will be shown, Mrs. Rogers was an example of what Davidoff and Hall have described as women 'servicing' public men; men who were 'serviced by wives, daughters, sisters and female servants'.<sup>198</sup> She recorded a typical day in her life:

'Specimen of how I spend a day.  
Up about twenty - seven. Called Annie and Arfie [Arthur]. - [word illegible] about 10 past 8 after breakfast and household arrangements hurried off to cathedral. Just got there in time Mr. Robartes

chaplain. Then to market to buy fish and one or two other places and home by 11.30. Looked over some things of the boys and mended Arfie's knickerbockers. In my room till about 1. Dinner at 1.30. Soup, cold mutton and hash. Cake. After dinner wrote a few notes and then Annie and I went out to pay visits. Went to see the new rooms for the G.P.S. Called on Miss Argles, not at home. Miss Botomsley for the first time and Annie went out to Somerville and I called on Mrs. J. Edwardes and I came in a tram as it came on to pour. Made tea when I got home. Only J[ames] and Arfie to it. Leonard gone to chemistry laboratory. Mrs. Thomson came in for a few minutes, read ... lying on the sofa as my feet ached very much after walking. Tea dinner at 7., fish and cold beef, sago pudding. Annie to the Pattisons about a Women's Providence Meeting.'<sup>199</sup>

In the 1850s married tutors were few and their scale of entertaining was probably under pressure in order to equal that of professors and heads of houses, with whom Oxford was at that time sufficiently democratic for them to be acquainted.<sup>200</sup> However by the 1870s when married tutors were more numerous and marriage was permitted to some fellows, a simple style of entertaining evolved amongst the young married tutors and their wives. Mrs. Humphry Ward, the novelist and wife of a tutor of Brasenose College, describes how in spite of a shortage of money they all decorated their houses with Morris wallpapers and gave 'simple and short' dinner-parties.<sup>201</sup>

'We were all comparatively poor, we were acquainted with one another's pecuniary position, and there was no desire for pretence, to do everything as prettily and simply as possible, and at the moderate cost, was our common ambition.'<sup>202</sup>

In 1869 middle-class incomes averaged between £300 and £1,000 per annum.<sup>203</sup> Tutors' incomes were around £500 per annum, being half that of professors.<sup>204</sup> These figures refer to incomes of college tutors whereas Thorold Rogers, apart from his Tooke professorship, and the Drummond professorship from 1862-7 and again from 1888-90, had no secure income. In the 1860s, as has been noted, he would have received fees as a coaching tutor of £10 per term per student for coaching on alternate days, and £20

for every day, the latter usually only required prior to an examination.<sup>205</sup>

Having studied her parents' background, we now turn to an examination of Annie Rogers' early life within the family. Thorold Rogers and his wife were delighted with the birth of Annie on the 15th February 1856; although Richard Cobden writing to congratulate Thorold lightheartedly referred to her as an 'incumbrance'.<sup>206</sup> In her adult years certain members of the University and some of those persons involved in the movement for the education of women at Oxford might have felt this a prophetic statement, as will be seen. It is an interesting coincidence that the year she was born the question of opening degrees to women was first raised when a Miss White applied to London University to enter for a medical degree.<sup>207</sup> Annie was the first of the Rogers' six children and was to be their only daughter; 'Our blessed darling child was sent to us about 4 p.m. Thank God for all', her mother recorded in her diary, and in an additional journal which she kept as though written by the child herself, as 'Annie's Diary': 'James thought me a rather fine baby with pretty features except my nose which was rather broad and large',<sup>208</sup> a feature she retained as an adult.

'Annie's Diary' later became a journal of the progress not only of Annie but of her five brothers: Henry Reynolds Knatchbull born on 18th May 1858, Bertram Mitford Heron on 25th August 1860, Leonard James on 6th April 1862, Arthur George Liddon on 18th December 1864 and Clement Francis on 25th October 1866. The size of Thorold Rogers' family was of the national average of the time,<sup>209</sup> as was the age at marriage of his wife (middle to late twenties) and at the birth of her first child (27.3 years).<sup>210</sup> J.A. Banks has shown that a family of five to six live children was the average size of family in the mid-Victorian period.<sup>211</sup> The first three children were



born at 4 Wellington Place, a *cul de sac* off St. Giles, and the last three at number 8 Beaumont Street, a prestigious area in the centre of Oxford, to which they were able to move in 1862 when their father became the Drummond Professor, and after the previous year had 'been one of the most happy and prosperous years we have had since our marriage. Our pecuniary affairs have mended'.<sup>212</sup> They subsequently also acquired the adjoining house number 9 in 1874; in 1938 this combined property became the New Playhouse theatre and in 1963-4 underwent substantial reconstruction.<sup>213</sup> Beaumont Street was originally planned in the latter part of the eighteenth century as part of a road improvement scheme to link Worcester College with the town centre. Construction of the classically designed houses had begun in the 1820s and they were finally completely leased in the 1840s. Their grandeur rather than cosy domesticity, and their regularity and scale suggest the intention was to build houses of social pretensions, and their size and form suggest they were intended to attract middle-class occupants. During the nineteenth century Beaumont Street became a professional area of Oxford attracting members of the medical, legal and architectural professions.<sup>214</sup> H. Symonds, a medical adviser who attended the Rogers family, lived in Beaumont Street, as did Charles Oman and his family from 1892-1895 at number 32. Seven generations of the Symonds family were said to have been surgeons, and represented on the staff of Radcliffe Infirmary by 1813.<sup>215</sup>

Annie's mother was closely involved in her upbringing and that of her brothers. The parents, though affectionate, appear to have been strict and exacting in their expectations of a child of one year and ten months, or perhaps the following incident is early evidence of Annie's determination of character which was to show itself in later years:

'The poor darling had a regular weighty fit of obstinacy for two hours. She would not say her grace

and got worse and worse about it. At first she seemed as if she wished to put up her hands but afterwards she cried ... and said Tid Tid [the name she called herself]. We sat over her for two hours and [then had to go out]. The next day I asked her if she had said her grace and she said yes and added "Papa and Mama happy now".<sup>216</sup>

It may also illustrate an anxiety that their offspring would develop moral depravity; a fear shown by E.B. Pusey and his wife, another clerical, professional Oxford family, who are recorded by H.P. Liddon (a godfather of Annie's brother Arthur George Liddon Rogers) as having the deepest affection for their children but 'a strictness about the discipline of the nursery and schoolroom which friends and relations, even in those severer days (circa 1839), thought somewhat overstrained.'<sup>217</sup>

A high level of intelligence and ability were observed in Annie from an early age. Two months before her second birthday her mother thought 'her intelligence ... for her age quite astounding'.<sup>218</sup> On her second birthday her mother noted

'She is certainly wonderfully forward for two years old ... She now knows all her letters and quantities of hymns and rhymes.'<sup>219</sup>

She thought her 'intelligence and quickness of observation ... remarkable but they may not be - time and perhaps comparison may show'.<sup>220</sup> Comparison with the second and third children confirmed Mrs. Rogers' opinion of Annie. By her third birthday she had begun lessons and attending church with her, and a few months later began to learn to read.<sup>221</sup> By June 1860 at the age of four Annie could follow the service in church, had begun to spell, learning '6-10 words of 5 syllables every day' and 'begins to play a little scale on the piano'.<sup>222</sup> By her seventh birthday she had a governess, a Miss Bowdich for 1½ hours every day, having been taught French and music by her mother,<sup>223</sup> and later the same year had 'begun Latin, gets on with French and everyday develops in cleverness and above all in goodness'.<sup>224</sup> The stress placed on the latter quality was perhaps another illustration of the importance

attached in the nineteenth century to Christian virtues. David Newsome has shown the juxtaposition of the ideals of 'Godliness and Good Learning', the advocates of which were 'by far the majority of the clergy of the early and mid-Victorian age - and many laymen too'.<sup>225</sup> The family was of central importance and its link with christianity and godliness was crucial to the middle-class, at least up to the mid-nineteenth century.

Mrs. Rogers possessed a strong Christian faith which she earnestly endeavoured to impart to her children. They attended church with their mother, father or Claxton, the nurse. They were attracted to churches of a high-church persuasion, such as St. Giles, which they attended until the building of St. Philip and St. James in 1862 when the latter became the centre for anglo-catholic worshippers in north Oxford, St. Paul's, Walton Street, which attracted followers of the Tractarians, St. Barnabas, St. Margaret's built 1883 and the Cathedral.<sup>226</sup> Annie aged two years repeated her prayers after her mother who commented: 'I pray God it may be the beginning of a life of prayer to her',<sup>227</sup> and aged three years her mother noted 'She has during the last month learnt the Creed which she repeats each morning so clearly, slowly and reverently'.<sup>228</sup> On the day of Annie's Confirmation by the Bishop of Oxford on 6th April 1871 at St. Mary Magdalen Church, her mother confided: 'It was a day of mingled feelings. I cannot speak of it'.<sup>229</sup> Her husband's relinquishment of his holy orders the previous year was likely to have been regretted by his devout wife. This situation is again reminiscent of that of the fictitious Reverend Robert and Mrs. Elsmere. Mr. Elsmere's loss of faith and departure from the church left his wife devastated.<sup>230</sup>

Thorold Rogers' abandonment of the Anglican ministry and his holy orders, and Mrs. Humphry Ward's novel, both reflected the growing secularisation of nineteenth century society. There was little religion in another academic

family, the Cambridge home of Gwen Raverat (born 1885 a granddaughter of Charles Darwin), but this may have been the result of other factors such as the personal Darwin influence, or her American mother. There was also a more relaxed attitude to education in George Darwin's family than in the Rogers' household, although unlike Annie Gwen did eventually attend school at the age of sixteen at her own request, but only for a short time as the school proved unsatisfactory; a frequent complaint about schools of the period.<sup>231</sup>

The Rogers children were taught reading, English, French and music at first by their mother. They then had a daily governess, additional teachers for music and arithmetic, and their father taught them classics. Annie, commencing early her teaching career, helped with the teaching of her brothers, for example when she was aged thirteen Leonard in 1869 music and in 1872 algebra, but none of the boys seem to have assisted her at all or each other. Carol Dyhouse has shown that between 1860 and 1920 many girls received much, or the most important part, of their education in the home, and until 1914 a significant proportion of upper middle-class girls were not sent to a school but were educated at home with governesses.<sup>232</sup> Annie Rogers conforms to this pattern. There is no record of her attending a school, except in October 1865 when she and her brother Henry (aged respectively nine and seven) began to attend a class at the newly founded School of Art in Oxford. Bertram also went there. Henry, aged eleven, was sent to Dr. Huntingford's school, Wimbledon; although described as 'a clever and promising boy' by Dr. Huntingford, his mother described him as 'a boy of fair abilities'<sup>233</sup> and when he failed to win an exhibition to Winchester he was withdrawn. He also failed to win an exhibition for Wellington College but after receiving tuition at home he headed the list for an exhibition to Westminster for which Mrs. Rogers thankfully recorded a saving of £45 for two years. Bertram, who seems to have

been the least academically gifted but most athletic child, was also withdrawn from Magdalen College School (although eventually coming first in his class) because 'he did not get on ... and we thought a great deal of his time was wasted there'.<sup>234</sup> Originally a mediaeval grammar school, it had deteriorated during the eighteenth century but from 1846 had begun to be rejuvenated.<sup>235</sup>

In May 1871

'dear Annie went in for the [Junior] "Local Examinations" held in Oxford. She took in besides the necessary Preliminaries Faith and Religion, Latin, Greek, French, Mathematics and Music and she was placed 9th in the 1st Division having beaten all the 75 girls who went in and about 1,200 boys. No other girl was even in the 2nd division I believe this yr. This was v. creditable to her as a great many of her subjects she got up quite by herself. She had had some lessons in Algebra and Euclid and a very few this yr in French, and in her Latin and Greek she had been superintended by her Papa, though it was quite owing to her own diligence she got on so well'.<sup>236</sup>

These comments on her motivation and self-education are significant.

It is clear that Annie was consistently a very clever child from babyhood to her achievement at the Junior Locals, only possibly equalled or surpassed by Leonard who in 1866 his mother described as

'A quick little fellow. Can read as well as Bertie who is 1½ years older. Has such a passion for figures that he has taught himself to read numbers in almost any combination and he delights in reading over the multiplication tables from beginning to end';

and again in 1869 'The one who shows most quickness is Leonard but his chief talent is music in which we fancy he is going to turn out a genius'. On the advice of Sir Frederick Ouseley (Professor of Music at Oxford), who 'was much struck with his talent' at nearly seven years old and 'thought he gave promise of being a great musician',<sup>237</sup> he received music lessons from Dr. (later Sir) John Stainer, as did Annie from June 1871. Frederick Ouseley (1825-1889) was another Oxford reformer of the same generation

as Thorold Rogers who like him was ordained shortly after graduating to Master of Arts in 1849 but proceeded, despite the condescending attitude of the dons to his musical degrees and professorship,<sup>238</sup> to establish musical education at Oxford and raise it to a high standard.<sup>239</sup> The social standing of the Rogers family was such that Prince Leopold called to hear Leonard play.<sup>240</sup>

Not only was Annie intellectually gifted, but she was a competent horserider and by 1866 was going out alone with her father and had been out hunting several times, the family having purchased a pony in 1863. She attracted the attention of C.L. Dodgson, a close friend of Professor Rogers and godfather to his youngest child Clement Francis.<sup>241</sup> Describing the taking of family photographs in 1861, Mrs. Rogers wrote

'a friend Mr. Dodgson took a great fancy to doing her and has taken her in a variety of attitudes. He has also taken a beautiful one of my little fat Bertie'<sup>242</sup> lying naked on a cushion, and one of Annie and Henry together. A tableau which he arranged in 1863 portrays Annie as Queen Eleanor and Mary Jackson as Fair Rosamund and appeared in the *Illustrated London News*.<sup>243</sup> He corresponded with Annie, dined with the family to celebrate her seventh birthday,<sup>244</sup> and presented her with a copy of his first published edition (1866) of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* in addition to other works to various members of the Rogers family.<sup>245</sup> Annie Rogers recalled how her

'acquaintance with Lewis Carroll began very early in the 'sixties. He often photographed me both in the ugly dress children wore then, and in fancy dress, and in slight costume. Though he was known not to care much for little boys, he also photographed two of my brothers, and stood godfather to a third. I remember seeing the manuscript of "Alice". My own presentation copy is dated, in the author's own handwriting, November 14, 1865.'<sup>246</sup>

After education at home by their parents, a governess, a tutor, Annie, and for some of the boys a spell at a preparatory school, all the boys were sent to Westminster School except Leonard who was educated at home

due to ill-health. The total cost of educating a boy and training him for a profession at this time was around £1,500 to £2,000.<sup>247</sup> Professor Rogers, had five sons and a moderate uncertain income. It was important, not least for financial reasons, that they should all obtain exhibitions and several succeeded in doing so. There were few pupils from professional families at the nine ancient public schools, of which Westminster was one. These schools remained the sphere of the gentry and aristocracy, and sons of professional men mainly attended one of some thirty new public schools which were founded or reformed from grammar schools between 1840 and 1870.<sup>248</sup> Thorold Rogers' sons all went on to Oxford except Henry; Bertram to Exeter College, Leonard with an exhibition to Balliol, Arthur to Balliol, and Clement with an exhibition to Jesus College,<sup>249</sup> and afterwards entered professions. Annie must have felt disappointment, envy and frustration at witnessing the education given to her five younger brothers, particularly as she was most probably the ablest of the six children. This was perhaps a significant motivating factor in her campaign for the higher education of women.

Henry, the eldest son, died on 11th September 1876 aged eighteen. The Coroner's inquest produced a verdict of suicide,<sup>250</sup> with which Thorold Rogers, who was travelling on the continent with Annie at the time of his son's death, vehemently disagreed. He circulated a printed statement to friends and others to the effect that whilst he agreed that the jury, on the evidence before it, had no alternative but to bring in this verdict, he believed that his son had died accidentally as the result of a dangerous gymnastic practice. Boys at Westminster School had confirmed that Henry was in the habit of experimenting with feats of physical strength alone in his room at school. His father said these were tests of strength, a sporting with danger, and that Henry by various feats had so strengthened himself as to achieve a

'remarkable vigorous and muscular body, adept in exercises and very healthy'.<sup>251</sup> Evidence was given at the inquest of the apparent happy state of mind of the boy. He was captain of Westminster School, had nearly completed his holiday task, and had not expressed any wish to accompany his father abroad nor any disappointment at not doing so. His brother Arthur has left an account of conditions at Westminster, where, apart from expressing dissatisfaction with the unhygienic washing and toilet arrangements ('the closets at Westminster were a scandal'), he said he 'was very happy all the time'.<sup>252</sup> Bertram was withdrawn temporarily after his brother's death<sup>253</sup> but Thorold Rogers remained loyal to the school and declared a year later that he had 'never for an instant regretted this choice' of school for his sons.<sup>254</sup> As a baby and in early childhood Henry was frail and often ailing,<sup>255</sup> and on his entry to Westminster School a comment was made by a master on his lack of robustness.<sup>256</sup> Mr. Symonds, a surgeon and the family physician, gave evidence at the inquest of having seen Henry a few days before his death when he thought he 'looked delicate'. A family servant, who had been with the Rogers family as nurse and housekeeper for twenty years, stated Henry was 'of very studious and quiet habits' and like other witnesses that he 'was very happy, and had not said anything to trouble his mind'. The official verdict was 'That deceased hanged himself on the 11th of September, and that there was no evidence laid before the jury to show the state of his mind at the time he hanged himself'.<sup>257</sup>

Henry was probably about to start his final year at school, boys usually matriculating at Oxford at the age of nineteen. Although he was said to be doing well academically, he was probably under a number of pressures: his father's forceful and outspoken character, the high expectations of his parents, of the eldest son, the need, particularly for financial reasons, for winning an exhibition to Oxford, probably to Balliol of which his



father approved and where the status and competition were high; two other sons later went to Balliol. There is, however, evidence in the early 1880s which shows there to have been a relaxed and happy atmosphere in the Rogers household.<sup>258</sup> Nevertheless he probably lived under the shadow not only of his clever elder sister at a time when males were often thought to be mentally superior to females (attitudes which will be discussed in a following chapter), but also of his gifted younger brother Leonard. Annie had reached a pinnacle of success and national fame by heading the list of the successful candidates for the Senior Local Examinations in 1873. In 1876 at the time of his death she was working for the special examinations for women at Oxford, in which she was expected to do well and in fact obtained a double first in 1877 and 1879. Annie was often in the company of her father, travelling with him and accompanying him to university functions. However, the evidence given at the inquest of the mental state of his mind and of the finding of his body, does point to possible similarities with the Stephen Milligan case of 1994,<sup>259</sup> in which the cause of death was found to be auto-erotic asphyxiation.<sup>260</sup> Similarities are also reflected in the words of Professor Rogers 'What exercise he was engaged in when a sudden and irreversible accident occurred we can perhaps never learn with certainty, though several have been suggested'.<sup>261</sup>

Apart from this tragedy, from which Mrs. Rogers seemed never to recover, suffering from grief and depression for many years, the Rogers family seem to have been a fairly typical Oxford academic family in their status and style of living. They were a part not only of Oxford society but of the wider national spectrum. Visitors to their home included not only academic and ecclesiastical persons and their families, but national figures such as Prince Leopold, H.H. Asquith, Mr. and Mrs. W.E. Gladstone, Richard Cobden and John Bright.<sup>262</sup> What set them apart was not only Thorold Rogers' background, and possibly

personality, but his participation in liberal politics, which had a marked detrimental financial effect on his family.

They did not seem to be happy with his political career. On his entry to parliament Mrs. Rogers commented: 'somehow Annie does not seem to like Easter as usual. All this Election bother seems to upset everything'.<sup>263</sup>

and

'Plenty of letters and congrats. Oh dear. This [one word illegible] week is over. God knows how it will turn out'

to which she added a note in 1893 'Very differently from what the dear man hoped',<sup>264</sup> and, as already noted, on 24th May 'J[ames] to town and made his maiden speech and was called to order. Oh dear'.<sup>265</sup> In 1888 after he lost his seat she wrote: 'Happily there has been a lull in politics, but I am afraid he has not given up his idea of again going into Parliament'.<sup>266</sup>

In 1867 when Professor Rogers had failed to obtain re-election to the Drummond Professorship the family suffered from the drastic reduction in his income and their horse and pony had to be put down.<sup>267</sup> Mr. Wren ended Rogers' long association with his 'coaching' establishment in London in 1878, which meant a loss of £500 per annum.<sup>268</sup> In the early 1880s the family experienced a recurrence of their financial difficulties<sup>269</sup> which was probably due to Professor Rogers concentrating on political, rather than academic, work although the income of tutors decreased in real terms around this time due to the agricultural depression which generated a decrease in college income. This was combined with an increase in university taxation, and a rise in the standard of living. In addition stipends geared to bachelors were inadequate for married men.<sup>270</sup> A long-term economic decline begun in the mid-1870s was to 'destroy much of the prosperity of rural England' and continued, with a short break during the First World

War.<sup>271</sup> Mrs. Rogers' diaries reveal how the family was affected:

'Bonus of £40.13 came. A joyful surprise.'<sup>272</sup>

'Talk about our finances which are terribly low. No exams coming in.'<sup>273</sup>

'LSD very bad.'<sup>274</sup>

'pecuniary troubles very great .. sell much - everything poss. We are fortunate in the dear children doing so much for themselves. Annie, Bertie and now Leo are only the expense of their keep to us.'<sup>275</sup>

'Sadly for us the year [1883] opens with pecuniary difficulties, but am happy to say not many bills but J[ames] has got into trouble with the receiver and has had to [one word illegible] £400 of tick to pay cabs [calls?]. We never had to do this before, only once £100, which we never repaid. J[ames] full of anxiety about the receiver. Suspects crookes [sic] of cheating. No Directors fees coming in and LSD very low.'<sup>276</sup>

Mrs. Rogers was unable to pay the butcher's account from January to September 1883.<sup>277</sup> Further poignant entries appear in January 1883: 'Annie began her work with her pupils this week and has all her time filled up',<sup>278</sup> and in the same week 'J had no one to his lectures. It seems as if everything he has to do is failing him'.<sup>279</sup>

The low attendance at Rogers' lectures in latter years has been attributed in part to his brash manner and the extremism of his political views. Also, because Rogers was unwilling to teach straightforward economic theory, students were advised not to attend his lectures at this time, except for their own amusement. On the other hand, since the introduction of a system of inter-college lectures, students had closer links with college lecturers than with professors, and the former attracted larger audiences than the latter.<sup>280</sup>

Another diary entry reads:

'We are helped a good deal by our dear children doing so much for themselves. Dear Annie pays all her own expenses except just her board as she goes on successfully with her pupils. Leonard too supports himself except for board.'<sup>281</sup>

Annie paid for her brother Arthur to be coached by a Tutor.<sup>282</sup> José Harris says it was rare for middle-class families in this period 'to contain more than one breadwinner'. Once sons had embarked on a profession they usually left home, and daughters did not contribute to family income 'even the few who were well educated and gainfully employed'.<sup>283</sup>

When Professor Rogers was elected to represent the Bermondsey division, there are further diary references to financial hardship in 1887 and to the uncertainty of the future,

'James hardly making anything... and Annie now pays £54 per [abbreviated words illegible] and Leonard £100 for their keep. I hate taking Annie's but it seems right as they both make a good deal and ought to help towards general expenses.'<sup>284</sup>

At the loss of Professor Rogers' seat in July 1886 Mrs. Rogers wrote worriedly to Annie with the news, expressing concern for his future and bitterness against Gladstone for failing to give him an official position.

'Dearest Annie,  
I wonder whether you will have managed to see a paper and hear that Papa has been defeated at B[ermondsey] by a large majority in spite of the solid Irish vote. I feel very much put out about it as I cannot think what he will do. In spite of being tired of it and all the slights and disappointments he has met with he really thoroughly enjoyed being in Parliament. My only consolation is that it is another nail in the political coffin of that awful O.M. ... I have heard nothing from P.[apa] yet and do not know whether he will be coming home. I cannot think what will happen next. The 7 years he has been in Parliament have been miserable years enough but I am afraid he has also lost all his interest in anything here that he will never settle down quietly "in the bosom of his family".'<sup>285</sup>

Nevertheless he was re-elected to the Drummond professorship at Oxford in 1888, having lost it in 1868, and this probably explains the improved financial position recorded in 1889:

'Most thankful to begin the year in a prosperous state as regards L.s.d. We ... have a larger balance at the

Bank than we have ever had before. Sometimes it seems too delightful to be true.'<sup>286</sup>

Despite financial difficulties over this period the Rogers indulged in entertaining, with a dance at Worcester Hall for 136 people,<sup>287</sup> several parties of twenty to forty people,<sup>288</sup> and Professor Rogers travelled to America twice. P.N. Stearns maintains that the professions for reasons of prestige were inclined to live beyond their means.<sup>289</sup> Following Thorold's death, Mrs. Rogers noted:

'In pecuniary matters we did rather better than usual and at dear J's death there were absolutely no debts which very much astounded our lawyer Mr. Davenport.. There were heavy expenses with the funeral ... I was able to pay everything.'<sup>290</sup>

The following year Annie and her mother moved from Beaumont Street to live together at 35 St. Giles', where they boarded women students, mostly Americans.<sup>291</sup>

Annie's parents were thus a combination of a father with a somewhat underprivileged background struggling to enter, reform and widen the availability of the benefits of privileged sections of society for others; with a mother bringing her middle-class domestic background to bear on her family, in endeavouring to maintain that standard within it whilst providing the best educational opportunities for their gifted children and at the same time keeping pace with a 'reforming' husband, all contained within often a low and uncertain income.

Annie followed her father into education, having matched his first-class degree in classics with the equivalent of two firsts in classics and ancient history. She too became a successful tutor of classics, much in demand for the teaching of girls who wished to study at Oxford but whose education in the classics was often insufficient. She had several pupils of note, including Emily Penrose, L.M. Faithfull and Eleanor Rathbone.<sup>292</sup> She also inherited her father's forceful character and kindhearted concern for those in need, and like him developed a motivation for reform.

Annie also had a close relationship with her mother. She shared her religious faith and church commitments. Much of her time, until she was employed as a tutor, was spent in her mother's company, accompanying her on calls, walks, etc. Affectionate references to Annie in her mother's diary show that she appreciated her company and support. Perhaps influenced by deficiencies in the opportunities of her own education, her mother was in accord with and keen to educate both her daughter and her sons to the extent of their full potential abilities.

Annie had a good relationship with both parents. Her father nurtured her intelligence, educated her in the classics, worked, perhaps even plotted, to get her admitted to the University, as will be seen. She was often in his company; travelling at age four to London with him to stay at the homes of her grandparents in Wembley and at Harley Street,<sup>293</sup> at seven years old riding alone with him on the family pony,<sup>294</sup> accompanying him on visits abroad, while her mother stayed at home<sup>295</sup> and dining with him by invitation with the university hierarchy. Her mother was resentful that she was not included in an invitation for her daughter and husband to dine with Jowett and considered 'it very rude of him to refuse me'. She drew his attention to the slight by writing to him accepting the invitation for her husband and herself, and then a few days later wrote again saying she noticed he had invited her daughter instead.<sup>296</sup> Davidoff and Hall have commented that literature, particularly from the 1840s 'is replete with family tales where the mother figure is shadowy or absent' and make reference to the Charles Dickens' daughter characters and his own 'close semi-flirtatious relationship' with his daughters;<sup>297</sup> although in Annie Rogers' case it was probably her intellectual prowess which eclipsed her mother, and perhaps her brothers.

A contemporary of Annie's describes her as 'fortunate in her parents and undoubtedly inherited from Professor Thorold Rogers her tough stalwart Liberal opinions, though his influence upon her character was perhaps less than that of her mother, to whom she was deeply devoted'.<sup>298</sup> Nevertheless in the type of person Annie became and in the kind of role she adopted in the struggle for degrees for women at Oxford she seems to have taken note of his failings. Like him she was a reformer, but she saw how his brashness and financial sacrifices had ended in disappointing results. In her own reforming activities she preferred to take a more careful, but equally determined, line. She too was a formidable person, but having learnt from his experience and her mother's influence, her force was tempered to a greater extent with strategy, tact, and above all with patience.

- 1 Leonore Davidoff, 'The Family in Britain' in F.M.L. Thompson, (ed.) *Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*, 3 Vols (Cambridge, 1990), 2, p.80.
- 2 Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society* (London, 1969), pp.252-270.
- 3 Ibid., p.253.
- 4 Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society* (London, 1989), p.xii.
- 5 Certificate, January 1801, J.C. Rogers, Family history; B.M.H. Rogers, family history; Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Box 9.
- 6 Sir Astley Paston Cooper (1768-1841), was at St. Thomas's Hospital an anatomy demonstrator from 1789 and a lecturer from 1791-1825, and at the College of Surgeons was lecturer on anatomy 1793-6 and on comparative anatomy 1813-15; he was a surgeon in 1800 and consulting surgeon 1825 to Guy's Hospital; made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1802, he wrote many surgical and anatomical treatises, possessed a lucrative practice and was made a baronet in 1821. *DNB*.
- 7 Noel Parry and J. Parry, *The Rise of the Medical Profession* (London, 1976), pp.109-110.
- 8 Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.c.585, MS.Eng.lett.c.334(97); *DNB*.
- 9 R.M. Kerrison, 'Observations and Reflections on the Bill now in progress through the House of Commons for "Better Regulating the Medical Profession as far as regards Apothecaries"', 1815, p.5, quoted in S.W.F. Holloway, 'The Apothecaries Act, 1815: A Reinterpretation, Parts I & II', in *Medical History* Vol. X (1966), p.108.
- 10 George V. Rogers recounted giving a patient nine ounces of mercury for obstruction of the bowels, 'with a satisfactory result to the patient, and to him as he recorded the mercury'. B.M.H. Rogers, Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 9.
- 11 S.W.F. Holloway, 'The Apothecaries' Act, 1815: A Reinterpretation, Parts I and II', in *Medical History*, Vol X, 1966.
- 12 Ibid., pp.116,231-232.
- 13 Parry and Parry, *The Rise of the Medical Profession*, p.131.



- 14 Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850* (London, 1987), p.261.
- 15 Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.c.585.
- 16 Certificate of marriage, Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 9.
- 17 They are thought to have met when Mary Ann Blyth visited Portchester Castle where visits from local people were encouraged in order to view the French prisoners and thus maintain a patriotic fervour. She describes witnessing a corybantic performance by the French prisoners, who had dressed a doll to represent the Goddess of Reason and cavorted round it in the Castle courtyard. J.C. Rogers, Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 9.
- 18 Bodleian, MSS.Eng.lett.c.334(104).
- 19 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p.88.
- 20 J.C. Rogers, *A History of our Family (1610-1900)*, Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 9.
- 21 Jane Cobden Unwin to A.G.L. Rogers. Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers family papers, Uncat. Box 1; *Rogers Family History*, Uncat. Box 9; MSS.Eng.lett.c.344(105).
- 22 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p.281.
- 23 Michael Anderson, 'The Social Implications of Demographic Change', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*, 3 Vols (Cambridge, 1990), 2, pp.38-39.
- 24 B.M.H. Rogers, *A History of our Family*, Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 9.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Davidoff, *The Family in Britain*, p.83.
- 27 B.M.H. Rogers. Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 9. He is said on one occasion in 1872 to have been making hay and refused to leave the rick to extract a tooth for an old woman, 'who had to mount the ladder and have the tooth drawn on the top of the rick'. F.S. Rogers was taught to play cricket by Thomas Lord, the original owner of Lords Cricket Ground, who lived at West Meon for some years until his death in 1832, and is buried there in the churchyard. F.S. Rogers and his brothers were sufficient in number to form a cricket team. Ibid.

- 28 W. Tuckwell, *Reminiscences of Oxford* (London, 1900), p.100.
- 29 A.J. Engel, *From Clergyman to Don: The Rise of the Academic Profession in Nineteenth-Century Oxford* (Oxford, 1983), p.3.
- 30 Alon Kadish, *Historians, Economists, and Economic History* (London, 1989), p.19.
- 31 J.E.T. Rogers, *Education in Oxford: Its Method, Its Aids, and Its Rewards* (London, 1861), p.248.
- 32 A. Haultain (ed) *Goldwin Smith: Reminiscences* (New York, 1910), p.277, quoted in Peter Farrar to M.A.T. Rogers, 24 February 1977, Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 21.
- 33 M.A.T. Rogers to N.A. Bilitch, 24 February 1977, Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family Papers, Uncat. Box 21; M.A.T. Rogers to the writer 16 July 1991.
- 34 J.E.T. Rogers, *Diary*, 11 February 1854, 28 April 1855, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.f.476-8, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 5.
- 35 J.E.T. Rogers, *Diary*, 19 October 1854, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.f.476-8.
- 36 Thirteen Fairy Stories were written by Thorold Rogers. They were sent to Fisher Unwin, publishers, in January 1940 who did not consider them suitable for publication. Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 6.
- 37 Jan Susina, 'Fairy Tales' in Sally Mitchell (ed.) *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopedia* (London, 1988), p.284.
- 38 J.E.T. Rogers, *Diary*, 29 February 1856, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.f.476-8.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 26 April and 9 June 1854.
- 40 Tuckwell, *Reminiscences of Oxford*, pp.100-103.
- 41 M.A.T. Rogers to N.A. Bilitch, 24 February 1977, Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 21.
- 42 P. Farrar to M.A.T. Rogers, 24 February 1977; Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 21; W. Tuckwell, *Reminiscences of a Radical Parson* (London, 1905).
- 43 Tuckwell, *Reminiscences of Oxford*, pp. 102-3.

- 44 Joseph Rogers, M.D., *Reminiscences of a Workhouse Medical Officer*, ed. by Thorold Rogers (London, 1889); B.M.H. Rogers, Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 9. Bertram Rogers used to visit his uncle Joseph Rogers in London whilst he was at Westminster School and also as a medical student.
- 45 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p.64.
- 46 B.M.H. Rogers, Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 9.
- 47 J.C. Rogers and B.M.H. Rogers, Family history, Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 9.
- 48 R.D. Anderson, *Universities & Elites in Britain Since 1800* (Basingstoke, 1992), p.15.
- 49 Rogers, *Education in Oxford*, p.19.
- 50 Hugh Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen* (London, 1970), p.174.
- 51 J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: Matriculation Register of the University of Oxford 1715-1886*, p.1219.
- 52 Certificate of Holy Orders, Deacon's Licence, 23 September 1849, Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers, MS.Eng.misc.c.585.
- 53 Engel, *From Clergyman to Don*, p.5.
- 54 Ibid., p.4.
- 55 Tuckwell, *Reminiscences of Oxford*, p.100; F.L. Cross, (ed) *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London, 1958).
- 56 *DNB*, p.123.
- 57 T. Hinchcliffe, *North Oxford* (New Haven, London, 1992), p.142.
- 58 Curate's licence, Headington Parish, 15 March 1859, J.E.T. Rogers, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.c.585.
- 59 W.R. Ward, *Victorian Oxford* (London, 1965), p.165.
- 60 Rogers, *Education in Oxford*, p.138.
- 61 Engel, *From Clergyman to Don*, p.4.
- 62 Ibid., p.2.
- 63 James Rumsey, (former fellow and tutor of

- Pembroke) quoted in Engel, *From Clergyman to Don*, p.88.
- 64 Rogers, *Education in Oxford*, p.131.
- 65 Ward, *Victorian Oxford*, p.160.
- 66 Rogers, *Education in Oxford*, pp.132,138-139.
- 67 *The Royal Commission 1850-52*. 'Answers of A.H. Clough, Esq., M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, and Principal of University Hall, Gordon-square, London, and Professor of English Language and Literature at University College, London', 214; quoted in *From Clergyman to Don*, p.40.
- 68 J.E.T. Rogers, *Diary*, 28 February 1854, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.f.476-8.
- 69 *Ibid.*, 9 October 1856 and 16 March 1857; *The Times*, 16 March 1857.
- 70 Michael Sanderson (ed.), *The Universities in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1975), p.53.
- 71 J.E.T. Rogers, *Diary*, 12 April 1855, Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 5.
- 72 J.E.T. Rogers, *Diaries*, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.c.585; *Letters to J.E.T. Rogers*, Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Boxes 1 and 2.
- 73 J.E.T. Rogers, *Diary*, 18 February 1854, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.c.585.
- 74 Sanderson (ed.), *The Universities in the Nineteenth Century*, p.53.
- 75 J.E.T. Rogers, *Diary*, 3 November 1855, Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 5.
- 76 J.E.T. Rogers to W.E. Gladstone, 29 July 1861, British Library, Gladstone Papers, 44396 (247).
- 77 J.E.T. Rogers, *Diaries*, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.c.585, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 5; A.S.C. Rogers, *Diaries*, MS.Eng.misc.g.100-101, MS.Eng.misc.f.479-94.
- 78 J.E.T. Rogers, *Diary*, 17 May 1854, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.c.585.
- 79 Engel, *Clergyman to Don*, p.123.
- 80 J.E.T. Rogers, *Diary*, December 1855, Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 5.

- 81 M.A. Rogers to J.E.T. Rogers, 19 February 1856, Bodleian, MSS.Eng.Lett.c.334(6).
- 82 Rogers, *Education in Oxford*, p.144.
- 83 Engel, *From Clergyman to Don*, p.4.
- 84 J.E.T. Rogers, Diary, 12 March 1855, Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 5.
- 85 Ibid., 1855.
- 86 Licence, Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers, MS.Eng.misc.c.585.
- 87 Ibid.
- 88 J.E.T. Rogers to W.E. Gladstone, 28 January 1861, British Library, Gladstone Papers, 44395 (126, 128).
- 89 J.E.T. Rogers, Diary, 1857, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.c.585.
- 90 A.S.C. Rogers, Diaries, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.g.100-101, MS.Eng.misc.f.479-94; DNB.
- 91 W.G. Wren to J.E.T. Rogers, 13 September 1872, Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 3.
- 92 B.M.H. Rogers, Bodleian, Rogers family papers Uncat. Box 9; A.S.C. Rogers, Diaries, MS. Eng.misc.f.479-94.
- 93 A.J. Engel, *From Clergyman to Don*, pp.151-152,240,258; W.R. Ward, *Victorian Oxford* (London, 1965); *The Encyclopaedia of Oxford* ed. by Christopher Hibbert and Edward Hibbert (London, 1988), pp.366-367.
- 94 J.E.T. Rogers, Diary, 22-24 February 1854, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.c.585.
- 95 Ward, *Victorian Oxford*, p.189.
- 96 Rogers, *Education in Oxford*, p.99.
- 97 Tuckwell, *Pre-Tractarian Oxford*, p.155.
- 98 Engel, *From Clergyman to Don*, pp.94-96.
- 99 J.E.T. Rogers, Diary, 10 June 1857, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.c.585.
- 100 Ward, *Victorian Oxford*, p.286.
- 101 Rogers, *Education in Oxford*.

- 102 J.E.T. Rogers, *Diary*, 27 June 1857, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.c.585.
- 103 Rogers, *Education in Oxford*, p.77.
- 104 Ward, *Victorian Oxford*, pp.281-282.
- 105 J.E.T. Rogers to W.E. Gladstone, 18 November 1878, British Library, Gladstone Papers, 44458(147).
- 106 Ward, *Victorian Oxford*, p.264.
- 107 *Ibid.*, p.273.
- 108 B.M.H. Rogers, Bodleian, Rogers family papers, Uncat. Box 9; *The Times*, 14 October 1890; DNB.
- 109 Cross (ed.) *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London, 1958), p.412.
- 110 Ward, *Victorian Oxford*, p.262.
- 111 O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* Part II (London, 1972), pp.416-417.
- 112 Ward, *Victorian Oxford*, p.262.
- 113 *Guardian* 1871, p.276, quoted in W.R. Ward, *Victorian Oxford*, p.265. Keble College was unlike other Oxford colleges. It was founded in 1868 by public subscription partly as a memorial to John Keble and partly to ensure that Oxford did not become entirely undenominational, and in order to cater for less wealthy students who wished to enter the Anglican ministry. Instead of having a Head of House and Fellows it was governed by a Warden and a council drawn largely from outside Oxford, run under High Church principles, and under its statutes the college could be transferred from Oxford.
- 114 An Act for the relief of persons admitted to the office of Priest or Deacon in the Church of England. 9th August 1870. 33 & 34 Vict.; Gladstone Papers, British Library 44415(90); Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Boxes 1-3.
- 115 DNB; Obituary, *The Times*, 14 October 1890.
- 116 *The Clergy List*, 1861-1865; Birth certificate of B.M.H. Rogers 1860, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.c.585.
- 117 An Act to remove Doubts respecting the Eligibility of Persons in Holy Orders to sit in the House of Commons, 23rd June 1801. 41 Geo.3.(U.K.) c.63.
- 118 J.E.T. Rogers to W.E. Gladstone, 26 May 1868, British Library, Gladstone Papers 44415(90).

- 119 Ibid.
- 120 Public Record Office. H 138. C 54 17140.
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## SECTION II

### Chapter 2: A.M.A.H. Rogers, Exhibitioner.

The Local Examinations was a system created in the 1850s whereby the efficiency of schools and the proficiency of pupils could be tested, and middle class boys attending grammar and private schools, and not going to university, could acquire some form of qualification. Public school boys were tested by university examinations, and the results naturally reflected the standard of their school. The organization of these local examinations had been a private venture but the demand became so great that Oxford and Cambridge Universities took over their administration. In 1857 the Delegacy of Local Examinations was created, which Annie Rogers describes as 'the academic father of women's education in Oxford'.<sup>1</sup> Her own father was a founder member of the Delegacy.<sup>2</sup> In 1867 the Delegacy asked the Hebdomadal Council of the University of Oxford for permission to examine girls, as was already being done in Cambridge, at first experimentally from 1863 and then formally since 1865. This achievement was, as has been shown by Daphne Bennett,<sup>3</sup> Janet Howarth<sup>4</sup> and others, the result of a campaign spearheaded by Emily Davies (1830-1921), a champion of education for women and women's suffrage, a pioneer of higher education for women at Cambridge and founder of Girton College (1869); the first college to provide a university education for women.<sup>5</sup> The Hebdomadal Council granted the Delegacy permission to examine girls and the first were examined in Oxford in 1870. Having sat the Junior Local Examinations and been placed in the First Division in 1871, Annie Rogers in 1873 entered for the Senior Local Examinations.

It had become customary for Balliol and Worcester Colleges to offer Exhibitions to successful candidates in these Examinations. 'Worcester' according to Annie

Rogers, 'took a bolder course'<sup>6</sup> and advertised their offer, worth £70 a year during four years' residence, in the *University Gazette*, on 11th February 1873:

'It shall be offered to those Senior Candidates successively who shall obtain the highest place in the First Division of the General List provided they were placed in the First Division of one at least of the four first sections of the Examination. Testimonials of character required.'<sup>7</sup>

On 6th August the Rogers family heard that Annie had been placed at the head of the list of successful candidates. She had also fulfilled the conditions for the Balliol and Worcester exhibitions. Thus arose for the first time the question of the admission of a woman to Oxford University. On 23rd August she received the Local Examination papers and certificate, and her father received a letter dated the same day from C. Henry Daniel, a Tutor of Worcester College, offering an exhibition:

'Dear Professor Rogers,  
I don't know whether the name of the person who heads the Local Examination list is that of a member of your family. Should it be so, may I ask you to communicate to the candidate in question the offer of an exhibition at Worcester College on the part of the Provost and Fellows in accordance with their notice of last February?'<sup>8</sup>

This letter might suggest there was some doubt in the mind of Daniel as to the identity of Annie Rogers. As she was entered for the examination not from a school, like most of the other candidates, but independently, presumably the Examinations Board must have had a record of her name and address because she received the examination papers and certificate, as mentioned above, on the 23rd. Furthermore Worcester College presumably received testimonials of her character before offering the exhibition (also on the 23rd) as stipulated in their advertisement, so they should in fact have known her identity.

On the face of it, both Worcester College's advertisement and letter seem to have been carefully worded in the neuter gender, that is without specific reference to the male sex. 'Words which once had a

meaning which included both sexes ... came to be interpreted in the course of the nineteenth century as entirely male'.<sup>9</sup> This argument was subsequently used by Professor Rogers in correspondence with the Vice-Chancellor of the University (H.G. Liddell) regarding the admission of his daughter, the Vice-Chancellor deciding, that he would 'consent to matriculate her if the rule that makes words importing the masculine gender include woman [sic] could be shown to apply to University statutes'.<sup>10</sup> However there can be little doubt that Daniel did in fact know the identity of A.M.A.H. Rogers and it may be that his letter was carefully worded in the neuter gender in view of her success. These points were later substantiated by Thorold Rogers in a letter to the *Daily News* on the 30th October 1873 quoted below.

It is said that Annie Rogers' sex was not known because she signed her examination papers with her initials only.<sup>11</sup> This could be taken to mean that she had intended to conceal her sex, but the use of initials was probably common practice. *The Times* in its publication of the lists of successful candidates uses initials only for both boys, and the three girls who were listed as successful candidates (A.M.A.H. Rogers in the First Division, H. Bacchus and E.P. Bartram in the Second Division, on whom it subsequently commented but described as female and prefixed their names with 'Miss' later in the report).<sup>12</sup> This also indicates that *The Times*, which published and reported on the results on the 25th August 1873, knew by the 24th August (assuming printing commenced before midnight the previous day), the sex of the successful candidates. Worcester's letter is dated the 23rd. Annie Rogers in her description of these events makes no mention of a similar letter from Balliol, although Balliol subsequently gave her a present of books in lieu of the exhibition, on which she remarked: 'a good instance of a suppressed protasis'.<sup>13</sup> *The Times*, in commenting on Local Examinations on 26th August 1873, said

'We have not yet stated, but we have not forgotten, a point which many will consider the most interesting of all - that the first place in the First Division of the Senior Candidates has been obtained by a young lady. This is, in some respect, the event of the year, and is quite remarkable enough to deserve special notice. It is not only that Miss Rogers has gained the very highest position among the Senior Candidates, but that no lady before her had been placed in the First Division at all. PALLAS has appeared at once in full armour, and has claimed her rank among the super Gods. The question appears to have been already raised whether she will be allowed to go further - to pass through a regular University course and so proceed to a Degree and a place in the Class List. There are Exhibitions at Worcester and Balliol for successful local candidates, but, of course, no lady has ever been elected, and any such election by a College would need to be supplemented by the further sanction of the University. It is scarcely necessary to add that it is not likely that this sanction will be obtained.'<sup>14</sup>

On the 26th August Mrs. Charlotte Green wrote from North Wales a congratulatory letter to Annie Rogers:

'My dear Miss Rogers,  
My husband has just had the Division Lists of the Local Examinations sent him, and we are so delighted to see your name at the head of the list, that must write and tell you how pleased we are - having sat with you sometimes when you were doing your papers, I feel almost as if I had had something to do with your success. I am specially glad to remember that you did not seem at all tired by your work, because it's often argued by the enemies of the higher education of Women, that hard work is sure to make them ill. I hope that you may keep well and continue to be a contradiction to such sayings. Please tell your Father and Mrs. Rogers that we congratulate them most sincerely.'<sup>15</sup>

Charlotte Green (sister of John Addington Symonds and wife of the idealist philosopher Thomas H. Green, a Fellow of Balliol College), had been 'connected with women's education in Oxford from the beginning'.<sup>16</sup> She is described as 'a member of a group promoting the education of women at Oxford University'<sup>17</sup> and as being actively involved, with her husband, in the organisation of Somerville College.<sup>18</sup> It is notable that Mrs. Green congratulates, not the successful candidate to whom she writes, but her parents. Mrs. Green's reference to the

argument that hard work is sure to make women ill is an example of one of the three major assumptions of middle-class ideology identified by J. Purvis,<sup>19</sup> often reiterated by nineteenth century middle-class commentators, that women had a fixed stock of energy on which they could draw and which when exhausted could not be replenished; they were inferior and subordinate to men, as Dr. W. Moore said in his Presidential Address to the British Medical Association in 1886:

'From the eagerness of woman's nature competitive brainwork among gifted girls can hardly but be excessive, especially if the competition be against the superior brain-weight and brain-strength of man. The resulting ruin can be averted - if it be averted at all - only by drawing so largely upon the woman's whole capital stock of vital force and energy as to leave a remainder quite inadequate for maternity.'<sup>20</sup>

As Annie Rogers never married, Dr. Moore's theory was not in her case put to the test. Mrs. Green's letter also shows that a member of Balliol College, who was also one of the Delegates of the Local Examinations,<sup>21</sup> knew by the 26th August the identity of the successful candidate.

Also on the 26th August 'Miss Smith called to offer a scholarship for Bedford'.<sup>22</sup> This was presumably Miss Eleanor Elizabeth Smith who was the sister of Henry John Stephen Smith, Savilian Professor of Mathematics at Oxford with whom she lived. Miss Smith was one of the three trustees of Mrs. Reid's Trust Fund. Mrs. Elizabeth Reid, a wealthy Unitarian, had founded Bedford College in 1849. Through this fund Miss Smith distributed money to women's educational institutions, of which Bedford College was the principal recipient. Purvis maintains that probably in Quaker and Unitarian households 'the standard of home education for middle-class girls was at its highest'.<sup>23</sup> Therefore Miss Smith could be said to have been sufficiently well educated and well qualified to bestow funds in the most appropriate direction. It was from among the new Radicals, especially the Unitarian and Quaker families, that there came the first stirrings of the feminist movement and

'If you were a Buxton, a Gurney, a Fry, a Wedgwood, a Bright, a Fox, a Barclay or a Darwin it was not such a very great misfortune to be born a woman ... you would be allowed and expected to be educated and intelligent'.<sup>24</sup>

It could be argued that if you were born a Rogers you too fell into this fortunate category. Professor Rogers, although neither a Unitarian nor a Quaker, was, as we have seen, a Radical. He had worked with John Bright in preparing Richard Cobden's speeches for the press in 1870, and edited selections of Bright's public speeches in 1868 and 1879. It was through the influence of these men that Professor Rogers turned to political work.<sup>25</sup> He also described himself as having 'been the principal agent in extending the system of University (Oxford) teaching and examining to girls and women'.<sup>26</sup>

Miss Smith was the dominant influence in the College's Council in the 1870s, onto which she gathered her Oxford friends; Mark Pattison (Chairman from 1870-1878), Professor Albert V. Dicey and James (later Viscount) Bryce.<sup>27</sup> She was afterwards on the Council of Somerville College (established 1879) and was one of the founders of the Oxford High School for Girls in 1875.<sup>28</sup> It is interesting to speculate on the reason why this scholarship was not accepted by Professor Rogers. There was certainly an 'Oxford' influence on the College Council. Perhaps her parents did not wish her to live away from home, but her father taught at King's College, London, her brothers Henry and Bertram were at Westminster School, and her mother's family lived in London so she would not have been completely isolated from her family. However, when Emily Davies' plans for a college for women were discussed at a conference in London in 1868 it was the idea that women would be studying in a college away from their homes and families that was considered most daring, rather than the opportunity for higher learning.<sup>29</sup> Mrs. Bradley, wife of the Revd. G.G. Bradley, Head of Marlborough College, Master of University College, Oxford, and a founder member of the AEW, considered sending her

daughters to Girton College in 1869 but feared 'the College might draw them too much away from home duties' and that 'it was too much of an experiment and could not succeed unless great improvements were first carried out in the schools'.<sup>30</sup> Annie also had home duties. Her parents were dependent on her for assistance with educating their younger children and for companionship for her mother. It is also possible that Annie was being used as a lever or pawn to obtain the admission of women to Oxford University by those who supported this cause and would therefore be of more use to them if she remained in Oxford. She may, of course, not have wished to leave Oxford; which she seldom did for the rest of her life. However she was not permitted to make her own decisions, as Professor Rogers stated in a letter to the *Daily News* in 1873, 'Mine is so old-fashioned a house that in matters of this kind my children would act on my judgment, and not on their own'.<sup>31</sup>

He may, however, have considered academic standards at Bedford College to be unsatisfactory. The education at Bedford and other earliest women's colleges, tended to retrogress towards a secondary school standard and they took younger students than did male colleges.<sup>32</sup> Rogers said he believed that it was only through the education and examinations of Oxford and Cambridge Universities on the same basis as for men, that women could prove their capacity and fitness 'for several offices of the highest social value'.<sup>33</sup> Somerville College and Lady Margaret Hall were not established in Oxford until 1879, although Girton and Newnham had been in existence at Cambridge since 1869 and 1871 respectively. On the other hand no universities were giving degrees to women at this time, until London did so in 1878. The brand of religion at Bedford College may have been unacceptable to Rogers. Founded as a non-sectarian establishment for Anglicans and Dissenters, it had in its infancy attracted principally Unitarians and other unorthodox supporters and had links



with University College, London, known as 'the Godless Institution of Harley Street'. On these grounds Dr. Jelf, the Principal of King's College, London, to which of course Thorold Rogers was attached, had forbidden his staff to have any association with Bedford College.<sup>34</sup>

Some Oxford men wanted their daughters to be educated at Oxford. Thorold Rogers believed that the examinations of the two ancient universities provided the only proof of a woman's proficiency and qualification for appointments.<sup>35</sup> Loyalty to Oxford or the traditional rivalry between Oxford and Cambridge may have precluded him from sending his daughter to Cambridge. Certainly Annie Rogers in later life was said of the latter place to 'have cherished undying suspicion'.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand her presence in Oxford was useful not only within the Rogers family, but for the purpose of the campaign to obtain the admission of women to the University.

On 28th August 1873 a Reporter and Journalist, Mr. Richard Staunton, wrote from The Athenaeum, Glasgow, to Professor Rogers at King's College, London, asking for 'a spare photograph of Miss Rogers (the young lady who, so greatly to her credit, headed the competitors in the recent Oxford Local Examinations)'.<sup>37</sup> The news was travelling further afield; the net of publicity was widening. It even reached the 'Metropolitan Gossip' column of a Belfast newspaper, written by 'our lady Correspondent'.<sup>38</sup> Lydia Becker, of Manchester and a leading pioneer in the women's suffrage movement, called attention to the 'injustice' of Annie Rogers' case, in the *Women's Suffrage Journal* which she had launched in 1870.<sup>39</sup> In Oxford a reporter wrote:

'Balliol College is in a pretty dilemma. Her authorities offered an exhibition to the best competitor at the Oxford Local Examinations, and, as luck will have it, out and out the best is a young lady, in fact the estimable and talented daughter of Professor Rogers. What is to be done? Is Miss Rogers to be admitted to the degree of Spinster of Arts? Can she be admitted subsequently on payment of the usual

fees to advance to the higher status of Mistress of Arts - I had very nearly spelt it with an "h", but that of course would have been vulgar and impertinent. Seriously, however, I can't quite realise what good an [sic] university degree would do Miss Rogers or any other young lady under the present *regime*. Of course if she was compelled by necessity to go out as a governess, then perhaps the exhibition at Balliol and the first class might obtain her a higher salary. But such a notion as regards the daughter of a Professor of our University is quite absurd, or I should not have ventured upon it. This clever and distinguished young lady is happily placed above the necessity of earning her daily bread in the most painful of ways. So that, upon my honour, I don't see that the exhibition at Balliol is of any more use to her than it would be to a Fiji Islander. *N'Importe*, she has ably won it, and therefore I venture to suggest that the College should allow her for four years a running account, or up to the value of the Exhibition, at one or other, or both, of the eminent drapery firms of Messrs. Elliston, Cavell, & Son, and Messrs. S.L. Evans & Co., of this city. Such an arrangement might prove alike agreeable and advantageous to the young lady herself, and would also stimulate considerably the exertions of many young ladies of my acquaintance, who, to use a trite phrase, would work "like beans" for such tangible rewards as silk dresses and costumes and loves of bonnets, whilst they yawn only over books which can bring them *at present* nothing more substantial than mere barren honour. But a truce to such badinage, this young lady's splendid intellect must be as much above that of my fashionable friends as mind is above matter, and I beg leave to offer my respectful congratulations on her well-deserved success.<sup>140</sup>

This somewhat facetious report reveals the writer was in sympathy with the reform of the University, society and women. The remarks concerning the daughter of a Professor earning her daily bread are ironic because in the 1880s Annie Rogers and her brother Leonard assisted in providing the family's daily bread by teaching, as has been shown.

Many letters were arriving at the Rogers' household, and on 30th August Professor Rogers and Annie left for Canterbury. Five days later, accompanied by her Uncle, the Revd. Richard Gandy,<sup>41</sup> (brother of Professor Rogers and Vicar of St. Gregory the Great, Canterbury) they travelled on to Paris and returned home three weeks later. Two days after their return, however, Mrs. Rogers took

Annie away again for a few days. It would appear that the Rogers were protecting Annie from publicity, but at least up to the 1st November 'Congrats to Annie every day'<sup>42</sup> were still arriving. The *Daily News*, on the 28th October 1873, published the following report:

'The success of Miss Rogers (daughter of Professor Rogers) in heading the first division list in order of merit, at the recent Oxford Local Examinations, occurring, as it does, almost simultaneously with the death of Mr. John Stuart Mill, has directed public attention to the great question of Women's Rights, so ably advocated by that great logician, who, amongst the bequests in his will, has left £3,000 to any one University in Great Britain or Ireland that shall be the first to open its degrees to Women and a further sum of £3,000 to the same University to endow scholarships for female students exclusively. As the University of Oxford has so far thrown open its gates to females by granting the degree or title of Associate of Arts, as in Miss Rogers's case, to senior candidates at the local examination, it becomes a question if it is not legally entitled to Mr. Mill's legacy, although there is no doubt the intention of the donor would not be served without a much greater extension on the part of the University. Apropos of the success, of Miss Rogers, a good joke is said to have occurred at the expense of the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, who, having offered an exhibition to the senior candidates in order of merit who were successful in the first division at the recent examination, proffered it to the young lady in question in ignorance of her sex, there being nothing in the published division lists to denote if the successful candidates were male or female. Miss Rogers, however, having graciously declined the offer, the Provost and Fellows of Worcester were relieved from a serious embarrassment, as it appears there is nothing in the statute-books of the University against the admission of females. The result of the delay occasioned by offering the exhibition to Miss Rogers was that Balliol secured the second successful candidate on the list (Mr. W. R. Bradley of King Edward's School, Birmingham) for one of its local exhibitions, and Worcester fell back on the fifth in order of merit (Mr. W.J. Salter, of the College School, Taunton).'<sup>43</sup>

Professor Rogers replied correcting the inaccuracies the report contained and explaining the situation:

'As the position which my daughter took in the senior part of the Oxford Local Examinations and the consequent action of Worcester College have been commented on in the public papers, and in particular in the *Daily News*, you will, I have no doubt, be good enough to insert the following statement of facts - a

statement which I might have made before had I not been naturally unwilling to bring my daughter's name into unnecessary publicity.

When the division lists were published, Mr. Daniel, the Senior Tutor and Bursar of Worcester College, wrote to me to the effect that the College authorities had advertised that they would give an Exhibition of a certain value to such candidates in the local examinations as were rated in the first class, and that, presuming that the name he saw was that of one among my children, he offered the exhibition under the circumstances for my acceptance. I told him that the name was that of my daughter, a fact which perhaps he had anticipated, as he is an intimate and valued friend of mine. He did not withdraw the offer, since, as he observed, the advertisement was issued without limitation of sex, and in the knowledge that the local examinations were open to girls as well as boys, both being simultaneously examined in the same papers, and classed according to their merits in the same lists.

A correspondence under these circumstances was held between the Vice-Chancellor and myself - I urging that in my opinion the statutes of the University do not debar the Vice-Chancellor from matriculating women, and admitting them to the examinations which are at present only sought by men; and the Vice-Chancellor, very naturally, requiring me to supply him with a case on which the question of his powers could be raised. This I have, for very obvious reasons, declined to do, because I think that the grant or refusal of a common law right, that of admission, under certain circumstances of proficiency, to one of the two ancient Universities, should not be raised on an isolated case, and from a natural dislike to invite that inevitable publicity to one's daughter which the ventilation of such a case would involve.

I have neither declined, on my daughter's behalf, the exhibition at Worcester, nor have I accepted it. The question is still suspended, and, as I am informed by my friend Mr. Daniel, may remain suspended as long as may be found expedient or necessary. I mention this partly because it has been stated that the exhibition has been declined, partly because it is also said that my daughter has declined it herself. Mine is so old-fashioned a house, that in matters of this kind my children would act on my judgment, and not on their own.

The question, however, which is raised has a far greater interest than the conduct of any one family, or the fortunes of any one person. The higher education of women is, I believe, a matter of great and pressing importance, and is of the deepest national interest. I care very little for the admission of women to endowments in aid of education, for I entertain a growing conviction that these endowments are almost an unmingled mischief. But when

one comes to think how very many women are forced to earn their bread, how singularly fit the capacity of an educated woman is for several offices of the highest social value, and how prodigious are the social miseries which ensue from their being debarred from nearly every calling in life, it appears to me to be the highest injustice, and therefore the most suicidal folly, to refuse them the means by which they may prove the possession of that capacity by which they can be so serviceable to society.

There is no process, I believe, by which such a proof can be obtained, except in the examinations of the two ancient Universities. Nor will such a certificate of proficiency be worth much unless they are allowed to compete against men in the same studies and at the same examinations. The Universities give entrance into only one profession, and very few students of Oxford and Cambridge study medicine. There is no reason, therefore, why such a concession to justice as I advocate (on public grounds only, for I do not approach the question with any personal feeling) should arouse that professional jealousy which guards most male callings. Nor am I without hope that one University at least, which has adopted a sound and just policy in respect of its local examinations, will have the wisdom and generosity ere long to admit some of those women who have the abilities to be useful - abundant tact and patience by which to make such abilities most serviceable to society - an eager desire to be beneficently active, and who undergo the prosaic necessity of earning their bread - to the rights which are now accorded to all without distinction of creed, as they should be also without distinction of sex.<sup>44</sup>

Thus it is almost certain that C.H. Daniel of Worcester College did in fact know the identity of the candidate to whom he offered an exhibition. Furthermore when this fact was pointed out to him by Professor Rogers he did not withdraw the offer, and seems to have concurred in the 'ambiguity' of the advertisement.

Permission had been granted in Oxford in 1870 for girls to sit the Local Examinations on the same basis as for boys. Therefore the possibility of a girl (and presumably only the cleverest girls were entered), achieving a sufficiently high standard to qualify for an exhibition, had possibly been foreseen by Worcester (if not Balliol) College. Annie had not been the only girl to do well in the Local Examinations in 1873. Although she

had headed the list of candidates, Miss E.P. Bartram (classed in the Second Division) had beaten her into second place in German, and Miss H. Bacchus (Second Division) had taken the fourth place in French.<sup>45</sup>

Annie had been placed in the First division of the Junior Locals in 1871, and it is highly probable that this clever daughter of Professor Rogers was known in Oxford circles, and the possibility of her success had been envisaged. Annie Rogers commented that 'Oxford was democratic enough even for us to be acquainted with Heads of Houses'.<sup>46</sup> Professor Green and his wife certainly knew her, and recognized her from her initials and surname on the Division Lists, as is evidenced by Mrs. Green's letter quoted above. T.H. Green supported the extension of women's education by Oxford University, as did Thorold Rogers evidenced in his letter to *The Times* of 24th April 1884 (quoted above), as will be shown.

The Master and Fellows of Balliol College eventually awarded Annie not a dress allowance, as suggested by the Oxford reporter quoted above, but a present of books of her choice <sup>47</sup> to the value of £15,<sup>48</sup> one of which was *Ciceronis Opera Omnia*, which Annie carefully studied and annotated.<sup>49</sup> The exhibition at Worcester was given to a boy who was fifth on the list,<sup>50</sup> and Annie had to content herself with the title of 'Associate of Arts of the University of Oxford' which the University conferred on successful candidates.

Having failed to become a student at Oxford University, Annie seems to have been plunged into a life of social activities, probably either for the purpose of personal compensation or in order to bring her into line with conventionality. It is not clear whether the motivation for this came from herself or her parents. The national fame she had achieved was followed in 1874 by her official 'coming-out' which coincided with a period of

prosperity for the Rogers family, when they extended their home in Beaumont Street into the adjoining house.<sup>51</sup> The year began with Annie attending her first dinner party and Ladies Lecture in January, followed by the celebration of her eighteenth birthday in February, twice being a bridesmaid, and continued not only with parties, dances and visits, but regular attendance at ladies lectures and classes in German; it seems she was not to be deflected from the path of education. As Emily Shirreff remarked, in arguing for higher education for middle-class girls against the proponents of home duties as their correct sphere,

'Home is probably the only sphere of happiness to man or woman, and to the latter it is undoubtedly the sphere of her most important duties; but all do not find their happiness there'.<sup>52</sup>

Ladies Lectures were organised in many towns by various associations of middle-class women. They were the major precursor to University extension classes, through which women made their first attempts to gain admission to university study. Purvis says that 'university extension is said to have begun in 1867 when various associations of middle-class women invited James Stuart, a Cambridge don, to deliver a course of lectures in Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield and Leeds'.<sup>53</sup> In Oxford similar lectures and classes for women had been arranged in 1866 by sisters and wives of professors and fellows, led by Eleanor Smith.<sup>54</sup> The Oxford High School was not opened until 1875 and there were very few facilities for the education of girls and women in Oxford at that time. These lectures attracted comment; for example, in *The Undergraduates Journal* 14th February 1866, *The Guardian* 31st January 1866, and in the *Daily News* 6th February 1866. The report in the latter, which the *Undergraduates Journal* described as 'a somewhat ungentlemanly squib sent in under a false name',<sup>55</sup> read

'UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE OXFORD, FEB. 3.

The lectures to the Ladies' Class have met with such success, and have been so well attended, that it has

been decided to have courses of lectures on other subjects likely to be of benefit.

Professor Goldwin Smith has kindly offered to give a few lectures on the Influences which Women have exercised in certain chief events of English History. The first lecture will treat of the characters of Edward II and IV as affected by such influences.

Professor Conington also will give some elementary lectures on the Latin language, taking Ovid as his text-book. Mr. Chandler, tutor of Pembroke, has also consented to give a few lectures on Greek, taking as his text-book Aristotle's works on the History and Nature of Animals. Professor Rogers hopes at some future time to lecture on the Principles of Political Economy - a subject of vast importance to those who in all probability will be hereafter the mothers of families. It is earnestly hoped that the services of these eminent professors will be duly appreciated, and the numbers attending the lectures be as great as those which have hitherto attended the Ancient History class.<sup>56</sup>

Sidney Hall produced three caricatures on these lectures, at present displayed in the library of St. Anne's College, Oxford: one showing Mr. William Sidgwick instructing a Victorian lady in the style of the Latin lesson in *The Taming of the Shrew*; another depicting Mr. Mark Pattison and Mr. Thomas Sheppard enacting the part of the disguised *Mnesilochus* (from *Aristophanes, Thesm.* 636-7) and a woman in the *Thesmophoriazusae*; and a third a Professor (whom Annie Rogers believes was probably Professor Westwood)<sup>57</sup> lecturing to a group of ladies on the Cow and Vaccination.

The series of experimental lectures was followed in 1873 by an attempt at a more permanent structure of lectures and classes organized by Mrs. Mandell Creighton, Mrs. T.H. Green, Mrs. Kitchin, Mrs. G. Mallam, Mrs. Max Muller, Miss Clara Pater, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. Edward Talbot and Mrs. Arthur Johnson.<sup>58</sup> The latter, who was the wife of the Revd. Arthur Henry Johnson (historian and Fellow of All Souls College), and was much involved in the promotion of higher education for women at Oxford,<sup>59</sup> recorded that 'Prominent University men took much interest in it; the University lent us rooms in the Clarendon Building for lectures and classes, and gave us orders to



read in the Bodleian Library, and special terms were given to all teachers, elementary and others.'<sup>60</sup> Fees for a course of lectures were fifteen shillings per person, ten shillings for schools and seven shillings and sixpence for teachers, or two shillings and sixpence for a single lecture.<sup>61</sup> The lectures and classes 'were given by some of the most distinguished University men', including 'Professor Stubbs the famous historian', 'Mr. Thorold Rogers, the well known economist', and 'Mr. Laing of Corpus Christi College' who, rather discouragingly for the organizers, commented later that

'he enjoyed lecturing for us and that one short poem he had received from Miss Bradley [later Mrs. Margaret Woods, poet and novelist] had been worth all his trouble in lecturing, that he saw all the evil effects of examination upon women and feared that our lectures had not improved them, for that there used to be feminine character and originality about their writing, and now they tried to be manly and were only the ordinary man! (Is this a warning to us still?)'<sup>62</sup>

added Mrs. Johnson, who held conservative views on women's education, as will be seen. Another outstanding student was Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth, who was later Principal of Lady Margaret Hall for over thirty years.<sup>63</sup>

The same year that the courses of ladies' lectures and classes were begun in 1873, organized support in Oxford for women's suffrage was launched at one of the 'drawing room' meetings, as the *Women's Suffrage Journal* described them, that were being held in various parts of the country. Mrs. Emilia Pattison and her husband Mark Pattison (Rector of Lincoln College) invited friends to such a meeting at the Lodgings of the Rector on 30th May. Those who attended included several people interested in the higher education of women at Oxford, as will be noted in other chapters; for example Mr. and Mrs. Creighton, T.H. Green, W.W. Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. A.H. Johnson, Charles Neate, Miss Clara Pater, Professor Bartholomew Price, Eleanor Smith, Mr. Thursfield, and Thorold Rogers, who was by now actively engaged in seeking election to Parliament. He took a prominent part in the proceedings.

Mark Pattison who presided over the gathering, explained that it was not intended to be a meeting but merely a gathering of a few friends to listen to an address from Miss Lydia Becker, a leading figure in the suffrage movement, on the Electoral disabilities of Women, and to talk over the subject afterwards if they wished. Lydia Becker had pioneered the early suffrage movement in the 1860s and from her base in Manchester published the *Women's Suffrage Journal*. Also interested in education, she had worked for women to be eligible to serve as members of school boards by the Elementary Education Act (1870). After she had explained the objects of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, Thorold Rogers was asked to comment. He expressed his belief that there were

'no logical or rational grounds why the franchise should not be extended to women. It might be necessary to define what the qualifications for such a privilege should be; but he thought that it might assist the education of women if they were invited to give their opinion upon the great social questions of the day'.

He contended that women had a right to take part in public matters and that it was inequitable that all the endowments given for education should be confined to men's education and that women also should benefit. This situation, he said, had been brought about by a Parliament which failed to legislate for the female sex. Other injustices concerned married women, whereby a man inherited his wife's property but a husband's property went on his death not to his widow but to his next of kin; and there were women whose servants and dependents were granted the vote while they themselves were denied it. If he obtained a seat in the House of Commons he would certainly support Mr. Jacob Bright's Suffrage Bill 'but he thought that nothing would be gained unless direct influence was brought to bear upon the subject'.<sup>64</sup>

In the years following Annie Rogers' success at the local examinations her life continued to revolve around classes and lectures and also the social life of Oxford

(boat races, concerts, theatricals, picnics etc.), as well as the church life which she shared with her mother at St. George's, St. Giles, the Cathedral, and St. Mary Magdalene, decorating the church for the festivals, teaching a Sunday School class of girls, whom she took for Confirmation, and regularly brought home to tea. She had swimming lessons, a course of cookery lessons (together with her mother), and was involved in German and Shakespeare readings. She was asked to coach a pupil and began to take a Latin class. In 1876 she spent a week away from home on two occasions teaching at Mrs. Price's and also in subsequent years is recorded as teaching German there. She twice received a proposal of marriage from Mr. Arthur Peskett (nephew of Thorold Rogers' first wife)<sup>65</sup> while he was staying with the Rogers, which she declined but together with her mother felt 'rather upset' about, for Mr. Peskett's sake. Mr. Peskett subsequently went off to fight in the war in Natal in 1879 calling to say farewell before doing so, and returned and married another girl in 1880.<sup>66</sup> Her father's involvement in university and national politics brought a political ambience into the family home, with many visitors such as John Bright, Cobden, Asquith, Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, Dr. Liddon and other prominent Oxford men, noted in the previous chapter.<sup>67</sup> The political atmosphere she imbibed at home was to influence her in her work for the admission of women to the University.

In the meantime, the question of a system of higher examinations for women had been put to the Delegates of the Local Examinations Board in 1873, but the committee appointed to consider this was so divided on the subject that it had been unable to report. The unexpected event of Annie Rogers' success in the Local Examinations 'rather altered the situation'.<sup>68</sup> It prompted Professor Rogers to initiate and present a Memorial to the Hebdomadal Council of Oxford University, signed by members of Convocation, on 24th April 1874 asking that women should be admitted 'to

the same examinations for Arts as are held for undergraduates, and of putting their names in the same class-lists, in case the University Examiners think them worthy of such distinction.'<sup>69</sup> In this Memorial it was pointed out that the Universities of Cambridge and London had for some years been holding Examinations for women and issuing certificates to candidates reaching a certain standard, and women at Girton College had been examined on the same questions put to undergraduates sitting the "Previous Examination". Cambridge University had set a precedent by allowing girls to sit the Local Examinations, although separately from boys. The University of Oxford, on the other hand, had a system, begun a few years previously, of admitting girls to the Local Examinations and examining them with boys and on exactly the same terms as boys, which had operated with perfect ease and resulted in an improvement in elementary education for girls. It further stated that there was no provision for the testing of any education which women might receive after the age of eighteen, (which was the upper limit for admission to the Local Examinations); that it was inexpedient for women's education to cease at eighteen particularly for those wishing to earn their living as teachers, but that without an efficient system of examination, which had now become an essential part of educational processes, it would be impossible for the higher education of women to be extended. The Universities were the only institution in the country which could undertake such examinations, which if they were to be perfect would have to be carried out under the same principle, which the University of Oxford adopted for the Local Examinations, of 'admitting women to the same examinations for Arts as are held for undergraduates, and of putting their names in the same class lists, in case the University Examiners think them worthy of such distinction', and that women should be allowed to compete for those University Scholarships not limited to Law and Medicine.<sup>70</sup>

The signatories stated they had no wish to raise the question of the admission of women to Degrees at the Universities or to professions regulated by law, but were 'merely anxious that the University should accord those facilities for the higher education of women, which it alone can give, and which would be satisfactory only if the teaching which women receive were subjected to precisely the same tests as that of men is'.<sup>71</sup>

The reasons given for the application were firstly that an increasing number of unmarried women, especially daughters of clergymen, were having to earn their own living, and were the University to allow women to pass the examinations for the degree of Arts many 'would be rendered competent to fill a useful, honourable, and profitable calling in the education of their own sex, and of young boys.'<sup>72</sup> Secondly, that

'such a class of women teachers would speedily satisfy a very pressing want, - that, namely, of providing places of education in which boys can be adequately taught between the ages (say) of 8 and 13, a time in which they require good grounding and almost maternal care. At the present time such places of education are few, inefficient, and very costly; whereas, if duly qualified and certified women undertook the office, as they would undertake it if the University accorded them the opportunity of proving their proficiency, the machinery for such education would be plentiful, the result would be far more satisfactory, and the cost would be materially diminished.'<sup>73</sup>

It is interesting that the beneficiaries of such qualified teaching were to be boys, although there was also at the time a dearth of proficient teachers for girls.

The Delegates of the Local Examinations were requested by the Council to devise a scheme of examinations for girls and women over eighteen years of age, for the granting of a Teachers' Certificate. Miss Beale, Headmistress of Cheltenham Ladies College, and Miss Buss, Headmistress of the North London Collegiate School for Ladies, were consulted. They considered the

examinations should not be limited to teachers. The Delegates therefore recommended

'three examinations corresponding to Responsions, Moderations, and the Final Schools, with a limit of time for Honours. The subjects were to include "such kinds of learning as are particularly part of women's education as well as those which may from time to time be recognized in the Schools of the University." '74

These separate examinations for women, closely resembling the scheme for undergraduates, were instituted by Statute on 10th November 1875 and considered by many to be an improvement on the Oxford Schools.<sup>75</sup> In 1877 Annie Rogers sat, aged twenty-one and the only candidate, the Honours examination in Latin and Greek. On the 19th March, while Annie and her father were staying in Canterbury, Mrs. Rogers heard that Annie had been awarded a first class. The following day *The Times* reported:

'The first examination of women over 18 years of age held by the Delegates of Local Examinations is at present proceeding, and, although the general results are not yet known, the delegates have received the report of the examiners appointed to examine candidates for honours in the section of Greek and Latin Literature. Only one candidate presented herself in this section, and the examiners have recommended her for first-class honours. The standard of attainment in this section is understood to be equivalent to that for honours in the University examination called Classical Moderations. The candidate who has so distinguished herself is Miss A. Rogers, daughter of Professor J.E. Thorold Rogers. In the year 1873 Miss Rogers was placed at the head of all the senior candidates in the Oxford Local Examinations.'<sup>76</sup>

Professor Rogers wrote to his wife, from Canterbury where he was staying with Annie:

'dearest wife

I certainly was not surprised at Annie's getting her first or even at the telegram from Edwardes which said that they gave it without hesitation. Still a thing is not [one word illegible] til it is done, and so far the event is a relief as well as a satisfaction....

You have of course seen about Annie in the Times. No doubt Thursfield<sup>77</sup> communicated the [one word illegible] at once to Darvill. I dare say it will make a little stir. Annie seems to enjoy herself [two words illegible] and her distinctions. I not only think the latter a great feat, but I believe it

will be very useful to others, and probably to herself.

Ever your loving

J.E.T.R.

I don't think the Delegates expected she would do her work to such a standard, or at any rate so fully and so easily.<sup>78</sup>

The phrase 'and probably to herself' indicates that at this stage it was not envisaged she would become a professional teacher. Not only was Annie's achievement academically a great feat, but must have required concentrated perseverance and determination as she sat the examination just six months after the tragic death of her brother Henry. Mrs. Rogers was distraught over the death of this her eldest son, and was depressed for several years afterwards and in indifferent health. Professor Rogers' academic and political work frequently took him away from home, and so the burden on Annie to support her mother and the family must have been great, particularly bearing in mind the home duties expected of daughters of this period.

Again encouraged by his daughter's achievement, Professor Rogers appealed to Lord Salisbury, in his dual capacity as Chancellor of the University and as one of the framers of the Universities Bill, that Parliament should permit women to compete for University prizes and scholarships, but as academical distinctions rather than collegiate endowments.<sup>79</sup> Lord Salisbury promised to speak to Mr. Hardy but felt that any objection to the question of giving academical distinctions to women would be based, not on considerations of general policy, but on the amount of parliamentary time it would consume. The question would raise strong feelings on both sides, giving rise to lengthy debates which would jeopardize the passage of the Bill through Parliament; the difficulty of passing any measure through Parliament, he said, was greatly increasing each year. He believed that the powers

conferred upon the Commissioners by the bill as it stood would enable them, if they wished, to act in the direction Rogers desired.<sup>80</sup>

The following year, and interestingly just two months before the Association for the Education of Women at Oxford was founded, Thorold Rogers was again active in the suffrage movement. He chaired a large public meeting at the Oxford Corn Exchange on the 11th April 1878, to consider the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women householders. It was attended once more by Lydia Becker, Mark Pattison and other University men, and also the Mayor and some of the Councillors. Thorold Rogers reiterated his conviction that the House of Commons, in common with any other Parliament, would never give a hearing to anything which was unrepresented in it. He gave examples of legislation which had been enacted to benefit classes of people who had been ignored until they had been enfranchised; for example artisans had been aided by the Artisans Dwellings Bill. Yet agricultural labourers lived in even more appalling conditions and nothing was done for them because they were not enfranchised. He drew attention to the plight of 'many thousands' of women who did not get married and had poor prospects of livelihood. Women were prevented from entering the medical profession by the 'most furious trades union amongst the medical people'. Educational endowments had been taken away, or excluded, from women and given to males, as at Christ's Hospital, where the girls were now brought up as servant maids. It seemed to him 'there was nothing women could do half so well as educate. But they were practically excluded from this calling', and it was only a year ago that the University, which was the first to do so, 'had adopted a scheme by which women were given a bare certificate of proficiency, which should be, as far as evidence on the certificate went, equal to a class or pass in the university that was given to men'. This was a reference to the special



examination for women by which Annie Rogers had gained the equivalent of a first class degree in 1877. Thorold Rogers believed that women were under a serious disability as no endowments had been opened to them and he was convinced that the present University Commission sitting to enquire into the affairs of Oxford and Cambridge would do nothing for them in this respect. 'He thought it was a matter of considerable importance to notice that unrepresented interests in Parliament were never listened to, and, in his opinion, they never would be listened to to the end of time'. Mark Pattison explained that he heartily supported the movement for women's suffrage, not because it was a political movement, 'but because he believed it was the only way to bring about a better social standing and recognition of women in society'. He referred to appalling, violent outrages which were daily committed against women, yet totally inadequate punishment was meted out to the miscreants. The meeting resolved

'That by the exclusion of women from the right to vote in the election of members of Parliament, a considerable portion of the property, intelligence, and industry of the nation is deprived of representation in the House of Commons, and in the opinion of this meeting the parliamentary suffrage should be given to women on the same condition as it is granted to men.'

It was also agreed that a petition should be presented to Parliament and memorials sent to the members for the University, city, and county of Oxford, requesting them to support Mr. Courtney's Bill.<sup>81</sup>

After first checking the facts with Thorold Rogers,<sup>82</sup> Lydia Becker reminded readers of the *Women's Suffrage Journal* that at this meeting 'Professor Rogers could have adduced from the experience of his own family a striking illustration of the educational injustice on which he commented', and she recounted the abortive award of exhibitions to Annie Rogers following her outstanding success at the Local Examinations in 1873.<sup>83</sup> It is interesting that the suffrage meeting organized by Mark Pattison in 1873 coincided with the commencement of the

ladies' lectures and Annie Rogers' achievement in qualifying for exhibitions to Worcester and Balliol, and this meeting at Oxford Town Hall occurred around the time of the inauguration of the AEW. Links have been shown between the movements for women's education and for women's suffrage. In the 1870s Lydia Becker believed that if education was provided for girls on the same basis as for boys, then it would be impossible to withhold the vote from women, but Maria Grey at that time took the view that to link the two causes would injure the campaign for women's education, which was already fighting a considerable weight of prejudice.<sup>84</sup> In 1872 she had declared 'that this is not a woman's rights movement in the political sense of the Term' but by 1877 she felt 'we should never get justice in education without the suffrage, and, on the other hand, the suffrage movement has helped that for education'.<sup>85</sup> At Oxford support for women's suffrage (particularly in the early twentieth century) amongst those involved in women's education, grew stronger the longer admission to the University was withheld from women, as will be seen in following chapters.

Two years after gaining the equivalent of a first class degree in Latin and Greek, Annie Rogers, this time sitting with another candidate for Modern History, repeated her success, in Ancient History:

'Merton College, Oxford

June 17, 1879

My dear Rogers,

The Ancient History Examiners have made their Report and I write to let you know in confidence that they recommend No. 7 Oxford for a First Class. I say in confidence, as it would perhaps be more proper not to make their return public, until it has been submitted to the Committee of Delegates. As however it may be a week before the French and German Examiners let me have their returns, I could not forbear letting you know the result this early and congratulating you.

Yours very truly,  
T. Edwardes<sup>186</sup>

Again *The Times* reported on her success on 12th July 1879.



In February 1877 Annie and her mother had attended a meeting held in the Town Hall, Oxford, concerning the education of women,<sup>87</sup> and on the 22nd June 1878 at a meeting held in Jesus College, Oxford, the Association for the Higher Education of Women in Oxford (known as the AEW and hereinafter referred to as such) was formally founded. Annie Rogers was never a student of the AEW but on 20th November 1879, she says, 'being then, so to speak, a young bachelor, I was elected a member of the Committee'.<sup>88</sup> She records having attended every meeting except four, serving on many committees and as Honorary Secretary from 1894-1920, in addition to teaching during the whole period.

'Dame Elizabeth Wordsworth recalled "how a very clever girl - a Miss Rogers" was found ready, when the Association for the Education of Women was founded in 1878, first to teach pupils and later to organize the growing work. Thus was Annie Rogers, at the age of twenty-two, when she joined the Committee, fitted into the socket of destiny.'<sup>89</sup>

- 1 John Roach, *Public Examinations in England, 1850-1900* (Cambridge, 1971), pp.57-74; Annie M.A.H. Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees: The Story of the Admission of Oxford Women Students to Membership of the University* (London, 1938), p.3.
- 2 J.E.T. Rogers, *The Times*, 24 April, 1884; St. Anne's College, Oxford, Rogers Collection R4/4.
- 3 Daphne Bennett, *Emily Davies & the Liberation of Women 1830-1921* (London, 1990).
- 4 'Editor's Introduction' in Emily Davies, *The Higher Education of Women* (1866) ed. Janet Howarth (London, 1988).
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.3.
- 7 Ibid., pp.3-5.
- 8 Ibid., p.4.
- 9 Dorothy K.G. Thompson, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century, New Appreciations in History*, 16 (London, 1989), p.7.
- 10 *Oxford Gazette*, St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R8/1 Newspaper cuttings.
- 11 Vera Brittain, *The Women at Oxford* (London, 1960), p.18.
- 12 *The Times*, 25 August 1873, p.4.
- 13 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, pp.3-5.
- 14 *The Times*, 26 August 1873, p.9.
- 15 St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R8/1(1).
- 16 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.80.  
Charlotte Green became the first lady Secretary of the AEW, a member of its Council, a member of the first committee of the Oxford Home Students 1893 and was on the governing body of the SOHS until 1921.
- 17 June Purvis, *A History of Women's Education in England*, Gender and Education Series (Buckingham, 1991), p.104.
- 18 Joyce Senders Pedersen, *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education in Victorian England: A Study of Elites and Educational*

- Change*, Modern European History, A Garland Series of Outstanding Dissertations (London, 1987), p.65.
- 19 The other two were the theories of separate spheres, and of women as relative, rather than autonomous, persons. Purvis, *A History of Women's Education*, pp.2-3.
  - 20 Dr. Withers Moore, 'Address to the British Medical Association', Fifty-fourth Annual Meeting, Brighton, in *The Lancet*, 14 August 1886, quoted in Purvis, *A History of Women's Education*, p.3.
  - 21 Oxford University Calendar 1873.
  - 22 A.S.C. Rogers, Diary, 26 August 1873, Bodleian, MSS.Eng.misc.g.100-101.
  - 23 Purvis, *A History of Women's Education*, p.68.
  - 24 Ray Strachey, *The Cause: A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain* (London, 1978), p.44.
  - 25 *DNB*, p.124.
  - 26 J.E.T. Rogers, *The Times*, 29 April 1884, p.3.
  - 27 James Bryce was an Assistant Commissioner for the Schools Enquiry Commission 1864-1866 and was critical of girls' schools. In 1894 he was Chairman of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, on the committee of Girton College from 1867 and was Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford 1870. Barbara Stephen, *Emily Davies and Girton College* (London, 1927), pp.135,141, 161 and 363.
  - 28 Pedersen, *Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education*, pp.60-61.
  - 29 Rita McWilliams-Tullberg, 'Women and Degrees at Cambridge University 1862-1897' in *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, ed. by Martha Vicinus (Indiana 1977), p.125.
  - 30 Barbara Stephen, *Emily Davies and Girton College* (London, 1927), pp.212-213.
  - 31 *Daily News*, 28 October 1873, p.5.
  - 32 Pedersen, *Reform of Girls' Education*, pp.56-57.
  - 33 *Daily News*, 30 October 1875, p.5.

- 34 Ibid., pp.72-73.
- 35 *Daily News*, 30 October 1875, p.5.
- 36 *Oxford Magazine*, 18 November 1937, p.182.
- 37 St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R8/1(1).
- 38 Rogers Collection R1/2, Newspaper cuttings.
- 39 L.E. Becker to J.E.T. Rogers, 28 April 1878, Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat Box 1(41).
- 40 Rogers Collection R1/2, Newspaper cuttings.
- 41 The Revd. R.N. Rogers adopted his wife's name of Gandy on marrying. The *London Gazette*, 28 January 1859, No.22223. Bodleian, MSS.Eng.misc.c.585.
- 42 A.S.C. Rogers, Diary, 1 November 1873, Bodleian, MSS.Eng.misc.g.100-101.
- 43 *Daily News*, 28 October 1873, p.3.
- 44 Ibid., 30 October 1873, p.5.
- 45 *The Times*, 25 August 1873, p.4.
- 46 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.9.
- 47 Ibid., p.3.
- 48 *Oxford Gazette*, St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R1/2 newspapers cuttings.
- 49 Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Box 20.
- 50 *The Times*, 25 August 1873, p.4, 17 October 1873, p.8.
- 51 Bodleian, MSS.Eng.misc.g.100-101.
- 52 *The Times*, 23 August 1872, p.7.
- 53 Purvis, *A History of Women's Education*, p.109.
- 54 R.F. Butler & M.H. Prichard (eds) *The Society of Oxford Home Students - Retrospects and Recollections 1879-1921* (Oxford, [1930]), p.15; Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.5. The AEW Calendar from 1887-1893 gives this date as 1865.
- 55 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.5.
- 56 *Daily News*, 6 February 1866, p.2.

- 57 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.6.
- 58 Minutes of first committee meeting, 21 November 1873, Bodleian, AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.e.537.
- 59 Mrs. Bertha Johnson (1846-1927) was Secretary to Lady Margaret Hall 1880-1914, lady Secretary of the Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women in Oxford from 1883-1894, and Principal of the Society of Oxford Home-Students from 1894-1921.
- 60 Butler & Prichard, *The Society of Oxford Home Students - Retrospects and Recollections 1879-1921*, p.16.
- 61 Bodleian, MS.Top.Oxon.e.537.
- 62 Ibid., p.16.
- 63 B. Johnson in *The Society of Oxford Home Students - Retrospects and Recollections*, p.15.
- 64 *Women's Suffrage Journal*, 1 July 1873, p.111. For four consecutive years Jacob Bright promoted a Women's Suffrage Bill. Sheila Fletcher, *Feminists and Bureaucrats: A study in the development of girls' education in the nineteenth century* (Cambridge, 1980), p.188.
- 65 Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Box 2(537); A.S.C. Rogers, Diary, 14-23 June 1876, Bodleian, MSS.Eng.misc.g.100-101.
- 66 A.S.C. Rogers, Diaries, 24 May, 1879, 2 February, 22 June, 16 September, 1880, Bodleian, MSS.Eng.misc.g.100-101.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.6; J.E.T. Rogers to Lord Salisbury, 6 April 1877, Hatfield House, Salisbury MSS.
- 69 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.6.
- 70 Memorial to the Hebdomadal Council of the University of Oxford, St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R1/2.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.7.

- 75 J.E.T. Rogers to Lord Salisbury, 6 April 1877, Hatfield House, Salisbury MSS.
- 76 *The Times*, 20 March 1877, p.11.
- 77 James Richard Thursfield was made an Examiner in the Final Classical Schools (Honours) in 1873, *The Times*, 31 October 1873, p.5. He was a fellow of Jesus College 1864-81, librarian 1865, tutor 1866-76, dean 1866, proctor 1875, Greek lecturer 1876, on the staff of *The Times*. Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis* (repr. 1968), p.1418. He had been a prominent liberal politician in the 1860s. Ward, *Victorian Oxford*, p.410 n36.
- 78 Bodleian, MSS.Eng.lett.c.334.(12).
- 79 J.E.T. Rogers to Lord Salisbury, 6 April 1877, Hatfield House, Salisbury MSS.
- 80 3rd Marquess of Salisbury to J.E.T. Rogers, 8 April 1877, Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Box 3(594).
- 81 *Women's Suffrage Journal*, Vol.IX, 99, 1 May 1878, pp.73-74.
- 82 L. Becker to J.E.T. Rogers, 26 April, 28 April 1878, Bodleian, Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 1(40,41).
- 83 *Women's Suffrage Journal*, Vol.IX, 99, 1 May 1878, p.67.
- 84 Fletcher, *Feminists and Bureaucrats*, pp.141,100.
- 85 Ibid.,pp.181-182.
- 86 Bodleian, MSS.Eng.lett.c.334(15).
- 87 A.S.C. Rogers, *Diary*, 26 February 1877, Bodleian, MSS.Eng.misc.g.100-101.
- 88 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.14.
- 89 B.E. Gwyer, 'Introductory Memoir' in Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p. xiii.



## Chapter 3

1878-1884

Annie Rogers' connection with the promotion of higher education for women at Oxford was established, and the cause influenced, by her academic achievements in the 1870s. After becoming a member of the AEW she took an increasingly active part in the process which eventually led to women's full membership of the University. With a professional (in the sense of being efficient, adept and skilful) and academic approach, she contributed with others to the way in which the AEW and therefore the Halls evolved. This evolution enabled the Halls to become sufficiently academic and collegiate for the University to accept a measure of responsibility for women students and officially to recognize the women's Halls (or Societies as they were later called), and ultimately to admit women to degrees. Just as her grandfather's and her father's generations of the Rogers family had been part of the growth of the professions, so she too formed part of that development. Adopting academic and professional methods she contributed to the growth of the teaching profession by aiding the professionalization and extension of higher education for women at Oxford, which inevitably had repercussions nationwide in that better qualified and professional teachers who had studied at Oxford were able to gain appointments in educational establishments and so educate future generations of pupils and students to a higher standard. Annie Rogers' involvement in the promotion of women's higher education at Oxford quickly replaced that of her father, but she adopted his reforming, lobbying and political strategies. Like Professor Rogers she became a hard-working tutor who turned to politics and reform, and relished a campaign, but her politics were centred solely on the machinations

of the University of Oxford and the admission of women to its degrees. She was not a strident revolutionary but a formidable force preferring to work behind the scenes within the system, observing its rules, with male allies playing the leading, outward, external and more visible roles.

This chapter and the three following will show her involvement in four major battles affecting the relationship of women to the University, in 1884, 1896, 1910 and 1920. This first phase, from 1878 to 1884, covered the inception of the AEW, the opening of the first two residential Halls and of most of the University examinations to women students.

In June 1878, following on from the Oxford Town Hall meeting which Annie and her mother had attended in February the previous year,<sup>1</sup> invitations were issued under the signatures of:

G.G. Bradley, Master of University College; H.D. Harper, Principal of Jesus College; E.S. Talbot, Warden of Keble, a founder of LMH, first Chairman of its Council, and later Bishop of Winchester; Edward King, Canon of Christ Church, regius professor of pastoral theology, later Principal of Cuddesdon College and Bishop of Lincoln; G. Rolleston, Fellow of Merton and Linacre professor of human and comparative anatomy; and T.H. Green, Fellow of Balliol College, classical tutor and Whyte's professor of moral philosophy,

to a Meeting of those interested in the Higher Education of Women on 22nd June at Jesus College, to propose the formation of a committee for the purposes of organizing such lectures, instruction etc. as they might find feasible.<sup>2</sup> Of these signatories E.S. Talbot was a younger man and was the first person to make an effective move to draw women students to Oxford by proposing the formation of a residential hall.<sup>3</sup> The remainder were of an older generation and some (such as Bradley and Rolleston)<sup>4</sup> were University liberals engaged in its reform. At this meeting the Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women in Oxford was formally

founded;<sup>5</sup> the idea having previously been mooted by Professor Rolleston at a smaller meeting at Keble College on 4th June 1878.<sup>6</sup> It was resolved

'That steps be taken for the establishment in Oxford of a system of lectures for women, to be conducted with general reference to the Oxford "Examination of women over eighteen years of age"';

and

'to invite persons who promise not less than a yearly subscription of £1 or a donation of £10, together with those who have become guarantors to the amount of £5 annually, to meet in the course of a few weeks in order to agree upon a system of rules for the Association, and to appoint officers and a standing Committee.'<sup>7</sup>

The Association consisted at first of ordinary members (subscribers, donors and guarantors), and honorary members (professors and persons who admitted women to their lectures or gave lectures for the Association), but excluding college lecturers as their lectures were not then open to women.<sup>8</sup> At the time of the inaugural meeting some fifty-two persons had 'already guaranteed the sum of £5 or upwards annually for three years'. They included many prominent men, such as the Bishop of Oxford (J.F. Mackarness), and the heads of six colleges; University (G.G. Bradley), Balliol (Benjamin Jowett), Lincoln (Mark Pattison), Jesus, Keble, Hertford and Queen's. Amongst professors, fellows and tutors were Charles Gore, R.L. Nettleship, T.H. Ward and Thorold Rogers. These men hailed from a variety of colleges, which, in addition to those named above, were All Souls, Brasenose, Christ Church, Corpus, Exeter, Merton, New, Oriel, Pembroke, Trinity, Wadham, and Worcester; nineteen out of a total of twenty-two. They also represented a wide range of subjects: astronomy, divinity, pastoral theology, classics, Latin literature, chemistry, forensic medicine, natural philosophy, English law, modern history, mathematics, and political economy; which therefore reflected their conviction of the ability of women to study these subjects. There was thus powerful,

male, academic support in Oxford for the movement for the higher education of women, from a wide range of colleges and fields of study. Some of the supporters had already been involved in education for girls or women. Mark Pattison, for example, who had given £100 of the £300 raised to meet the initial expenses of the association,<sup>9</sup> was a member of Bedford College council, had been involved in ladies lectures in Oxford, and had given evidence before the Schools Enquiry Commission of 1864 of the lack of educational provision for middle-class girls.<sup>10</sup>

A provisional committee was elected consisting of eleven of the above mentioned men and twelve women, who except in one or two cases were wives of some of the contributors. Amongst the men was Thorold Rogers. In January 1879 the committee was whittled down to six men (excluding Thorold Rogers) and six women.<sup>11</sup> For both these committees and in the appointment of two joint secretaries, a man and a woman, there was an intention to strike a balance between the sexes. This policy of avoiding sexual discrimination was followed in the case of the treasurer in spite of an attempt by a man to move an amendment to Rule 4, regarding officers of the Association, to the effect that after the word 'Treasurer' the words 'who shall be a man' should be inserted. This amendment was not even seconded,<sup>12</sup> and a lady treasurer was appointed in 1882.<sup>13</sup> Annie Rogers was not on the first two committees but was elected on to the working committee on 20th November 1879. Again there was an exact balance of the sexes, or between the women 'amateurs' on the one side and experienced university men on the other, but amongst the women Annie Rogers was the most academically qualified. It would not at this point be strictly correct to refer to university men as professional academics because, as A.J. Engel has shown, the academic profession in Oxford was still in the

process of emerging.<sup>14</sup> The members of the committee were:

Mrs. Arthur Acland	The Rector of Lincoln
Mrs. Arthur Johnson	The Warden of Keble
Miss Clara Pater	Professor Nettleship
Miss Rogers	The Rev. G.W. Kitchin
Miss Smith	A. Vernon Harcourt
Mrs. Humphry Ward	Alfred Robinson. <sup>15</sup>

It was resolved that 'the Committee should provide instruction in certain of the most important branches of study recognised by the Oxford Local Examination for Women over 18' and that 'as the number of students increases the Committee will widen the area of subjects covered by the lectures'.<sup>16</sup>

The working committee dealt with arrangements for lecturers, rooms for lectures, fees paid to lecturers and by students, provision of chaperons for lectures, and offers of scholarships, details of which latter the Master of University College undertook to have announced in *The Times*, which duly appeared on 21st June 1879.<sup>17</sup> The first joint secretaries to be appointed were Professor S.H. Butcher and Mrs. T.H. Green. In September 1880 Mrs. Green was instructed with Miss Rogers' help, to produce, have printed and circulated the List of German Lectures.<sup>18</sup> Annie Rogers, who was then aged twenty-four, thus became actively involved in the organisation and tuition of the AEW almost from its foundation. 'She was to become the power behind that institution and one of the most formidable and familiar of Oxford figures'.<sup>19</sup>

Fees payable by students for a course of lectures were originally fixed at £10-£20 in 1879, for which rooms, known as the Baptist Chapel, were rented at a cost of £30.<sup>20</sup> In 1881 student fees were set at two guineas for each course of sixteen lectures.<sup>21</sup> Payments to lecturers ranged at that time from £10 for a class of two students to £18 for a class of twelve,<sup>22</sup> but the Master of University College proposed in 1881 a fixed scale of remuneration for lecturers, which was agreed at '£10 for

each set of lectures as an original payment and for classes in excess of 10, 5/- a head unless some writing is required of the class'.<sup>23</sup> Miss Smith, with a donation of £5, originated a fund for a library for Association students.<sup>24</sup> The Association operated on a modest level.

Students of the AEW were gradually admitted to University lectures, carefully chaperoned. As early as November 1879 the question of mixed attendance at lectures had arisen when a tutor offered to give Physics lectures at Balliol College 'if the Master of Balliol and President of Trinity gave leave for the lecture room to be used for this purpose - but they both sent word that they object to mixed attendance at Lectures'.<sup>25</sup> A.G. Vernon Harcourt was the first don to give mixed college lectures in 1880, refusing to repeat his lectures and classes for each sex separately.<sup>26</sup> In June 1882 the AEW was informed that the Master of University College was willing, with the consent of his College, to admit ladies to his lectures in the October term on the Social History of England, and G.W. Kitchin was willing to admit them to his weekly lecture on certain Political subjects. The Secretary of the AEW was instructed to ask Professor Moseley whether arrangements could be made to admit Ladies to Biology Lectures.<sup>27</sup> Exeter College opened its history lectures to women in 1885.<sup>28</sup> In 1888 Professor Gardner offered to assist Greats students in Archeology,<sup>29</sup> and Professor J.A. Froude opened his lectures to women in 1892.<sup>30</sup>

In the meantime, Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville Hall (later College) were opened in October 1879, with respectively seven and nine students. They were a compromise between two factions: on one side a proposal for the establishment of a Church of England hall or hostel, initiated by the Warden of Keble College (E.S. Talbot), after a visit he paid to Girton; on the other side a group of supporters for an independent

organization free from religious ties, which was preferred by some of the strongest proponents of women's education. The AEW acted as a central organizing body for educational arrangements for the students of the two Halls, which merely provided accommodation,<sup>31</sup> and also for a number of students not resident in a hall. Annie Rogers became involved from 1879 with these students and with both Halls, not only administratively through the AEW, but as a tutor in classics and in their social activities; playing lawn tennis, dining, and entertaining girls at her home.<sup>32</sup> She was also much involved with the students who were unattached to a hall.

For the first few years of their existence the Halls had no resident tutors, the AEW arranging for all lectures and tutorials '(then and for many years afterwards known as "coachings")',<sup>33</sup> and also the payment of fees and chaperons. Annie Rogers was appointed Senior Tutor in Classics in 1881, and an Examiner of Latin by the Joint Board.<sup>34</sup> Vera Brittain described her as 'the most outstanding' of these 'shared non-resident tutors'.<sup>35</sup> Elizabeth Wordsworth, first Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, wrote 'we were...fortunate in having from the first, a very able and classical tutor in the person of Miss Rogers; though we little knew how long and valuable her services would be in the cause of Women's Education'.<sup>36</sup>

Gradually Annie Rogers acquired more responsibility for the work of the AEW Committee. In October 1882 she undertook, with Mrs. Johnson, temporarily to assume the duties of Mrs. Green, the Lady Secretary, until she was able to resume them.<sup>37</sup> Arthur Sidgwick was elected the male Secretary in place of S.H. Butcher at the annual general meeting the following month.<sup>38</sup> Arthur Sidgwick was the brother of Henry Sidgwick who was involved in the promotion of higher education for women at Cambridge. Arthur had been a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge,

where he had been vice-president and then president of the Cambridge Union Society, had graduated in classics, and won several prizes. In 1879 he became a Tutor, and shortly afterwards a Fellow, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He lectured for the AEW, was on its Council from 1882-1920, and was its Honorary Secretary from 1882-1907, Treasurer 1902-6, President 1907-15, a member of Somerville Council from 1881, and Secretary and then Chairman of the Society of Oxford Home Students (later St. Anne's College) and hereinafter referred to as the SOHS. Like Professor Thorold Rogers, he too had a talented daughter, Rose, who as a SOHS student obtained the equivalent of a first class degree in modern history in 1899,<sup>39</sup> and would have motivated him in his involvement in the promotion of degrees for women. Born in 1840 Sidgwick was eighteen years older than Annie Rogers but the two worked closely together for many years for the admission of women to the University.

As the work of the AEW committee grew, so sub-committees were formed, usually of around three people, of whom Annie Rogers with very few exceptions was one. With her appointment on 6th June 1882 as a member of a sub-committee with Mrs. Pickard, Miss Smith, G.W. Kitchin and Mrs. Green, (and later Mrs. Ewing as Secretary),<sup>40</sup> to study the possibilities and produce a scheme for teaching by correspondence, students of the Association and students not of the Association,<sup>41</sup> she became involved in the university extension scheme. At the following meeting it was resolved that

'it is desirable that the Association should undertake a system of Instruction by Correspondence with a view to the preparation of students for residence and examination in Oxford, as well as for the general purposes of higher education' and that a committee be appointed to undertake and superintend the arrangements.<sup>42</sup>

Systems for instruction by correspondence were already in operation at Cambridge and elsewhere.<sup>43</sup> Fees were fixed for pass subjects at one guinea per term and for honour



subjects at £1.5s. per term.<sup>44</sup> A List of Teachers produced in 1889 for Instruction by Correspondence shows Annie Rogers as one of the teachers for Latin and Greek, together with another woman, Miss Sellar, and the Reverend F. Furneaux.<sup>45</sup>

By 1883 it had become clear that the AEW would fail in its efforts for the promotion of higher education for women if at least some of the University examinations were not opened to them.<sup>46</sup> Although the women's examinations were designed to be of the same standard and conducted on the same lines as the University Honour Schools, their

'separateness was fatal to their acquiring their proper value as a qualification; the public could not be got to believe that a woman's first class, obtained in a different examination, was as good as a man's'.<sup>47</sup>

Cambridge had formally opened its Tripos examinations to women in 1881<sup>48</sup> and London University had admitted women to its degrees in 1878. Queens College, Manchester, which became part of Victoria University from 1880 and then the University of Manchester in 1903,<sup>49</sup> had admitted women from 1869,<sup>50</sup> and women were admitted to the civic universities right from their foundation in the 1870s.<sup>51</sup> Therefore it was feared that women would be attracted to those places where they could gain a recognised qualification, rather than to Oxford to follow a somewhat undefined course of study terminating in a special examination for women which would be assumed to be inferior to that taken by men. The question 'of the advisability of endeavouring to assimilate the examination for women in Oxford to the University examination for men was introduced by the Chairman', the Master of University College, at the Annual General Meeting of the AEW on 29th November 1882, 'and after some discussion it was unanimously agreed ... "that it is desirable that a meeting be called in the course of next term to consider the question of the admission of women to University examinations"'.<sup>52</sup>

It is interesting that 'the advisability of endeavouring' to assimilate the examination was introduced and discussed, rather than the prospect of a direct approach to the University. This motion and the one next quoted suggest a cautious approach and perhaps a difference of opinion within the movement. The Cambridge Tripos examinations had been opened to women only the previous year. At a committee meeting on 4th December 1882 it was resolved on a proposal by Mrs. Johnson and Miss Rogers that a sub-committee should be appointed 'to consider the improvement of the present Examination for Women and the best method of addressing the Delegates on the subject'.<sup>53</sup> Unlike the conservative and vehement stance she was in the future to adopt against proposals to admit women to degrees, and to the autonomy of the Halls, Mrs. Johnson was at this stage happy for women to progress to sitting university examinations. The sub-committee was to consist of Miss Clara Pater, Miss Rogers, G.W. Kitchin, A. Sidgwick, W. Esson (Fellow of Merton), A.G. Vernon Harcourt and Mrs. Johnson.<sup>54</sup> It was decided in January 1883 that the Sub-Committee should confer with the Delegates of Local Examinations, and Harcourt and Sidgwick moved a motion to petition them.<sup>55</sup> The Hebdomadal Council rejected the Delegates' request 'to amalgamate their honour examinations with the University honour examinations in Science and Mathematics' and the Secretary was then authorised to consult with the friends of the Education of Women on the Council as to the form of a fresh petition to be presented to the Hebdomadal Council.<sup>56</sup> Such consultation resulted in the following petition:

'To the Hebdomadal Council.

We, the undersigned Masters of Arts of the University of Oxford, being likewise Members of Congregation, considering the great advantage to women of having their acquirements tested by a known and recognised standard, respectfully petition Council to lay before the University some scheme by which women may be admitted to some at least of the men's Honour Examinations.'

The Petition was signed by one hundred and twenty-two resident Masters of Arts and presented to the Hebdomadal Council on 9th June 1883. Among the signatories were three heads of colleges (M. Pattison, J.F. Bright and J. Percival), and thirteen professors (H.W. Acland, Bonamy Price, J. Earle, W. Odling, H. Nettleship, A.V. Dicey, W. Wallace, J. Prestwich, J. Legge, J. Rhys, H.N. Moseley, J.O. Westwood, J.S. Burdon-Sanderson). The M.A.s included A.H. Johnson of All Souls, J.E. Thorold Rogers,<sup>57</sup> and other 'men of all varieties of opinion, and representing the great majority of the teaching body of Oxford'.<sup>58</sup> It was sent with a covering letter by Arthur Sidgwick to the Vice-Chancellor<sup>59</sup> and copies of his letter, the petition and list of signatures were despatched on 9th June to every member of Council. Sidgwick and Annie Rogers lobbied members for their support. Sidgwick was confident of success: 'I hope, - I believe, - I feel sure, - I know, we shall win',<sup>60</sup> he wrote to her.

As a result of the petition the preamble to a Statute allowing 'the Delegates to use for the examination of women (1) Honour Moderations, (2) the Final Schools of Mathematics, of Natural Science, and of Modern History',<sup>61</sup> was passed in Congregation on 26th February 1884 by 100 votes to 46, the Statute itself on 11th March by 107 to 72, and it was carried in Convocation, in the presence of a great muster of members, on 29th April by 464 to 321.<sup>62</sup> An unexpectedly large number of clergymen voted in favour. Increasingly, single women, particularly daughters of clergymen, were having to find paid employment, as will be discussed in following chapters. Miss Moberly had been at first reluctant to accept the post of Principal of St. Hugh's Hall in 1886 but accepted it because of the poor financial situation in which her father, Bishop Moberly, had left his wife and daughters. The salary was forty pounds a year, equivalent to a governess's remuneration.<sup>63</sup> Annie

Rogers, who was herself a single woman, discerned that 'parents were realizing more fully that their daughters might have to earn their own living and they could do it more easily if they had a University education',<sup>64</sup> but economic factors in educating women were still having to compete against cultural attitudes. During the debate in Congregation fears had been expressed concerning 'the impropriety of touting for custom against Cambridge, like two rival omnibuses', 'the domestic influence which would be brought to bear on academical questions ... for instance if women wanted Greek abolished, Greek would infallibly go', and the inadvisability of subjecting women to the stress of examinations. C.L. Dodgson referred to unfavourable evidence of doctors and 'quoted some startling statistics as to the prevalence of spinal curvature in certain girls' schools'. Canon H.P. Liddon was alarmed that the statute was 'part of the great social movement in which women were to become men's rivals'. Sidgwick countered with evidence

'showing that the effect of the modern system upon girls' health was beneficial, especially as compared with the luxurious self-indulgence of their ordinary life... girls had been sent to college for improvement of their health, which had suffered from idleness and the want of a serious object'.<sup>65</sup>

This battle, as with the other major struggles in 1896, 1910 and 1920, was 'conducted with some humour, and, in spite of considerable provocation, with very little quarrelling'.<sup>66</sup> But although the examinations petition was strongly supported by the teaching body of Oxford, fly sheets were circulated, and a considerable number of lengthy letters on both sides of the argument appeared in the newspapers; with a greater volume at the time of the 1884 skirmish.

Debates spilled over from Oxford into *The Times*, the *Daily News* and the *Daily Telegraph* whose editors all supported the measure.<sup>67</sup> The *Guardian* was guardedly sympathetic, but critical of the lack of compulsory

residence. It pointed out this was obligatory at Cambridge and believed the real crux of the issue was the establishment of equal education for men and women, which did not mean giving women an equal position with men.<sup>68</sup> Correspondents in these newspapers expressed viewpoints such as the Victorian domestic ideal of womanhood; danger to the health of females resulting in adverse effects on their discharge of duties in family life; one concession leading inevitably to further demands on the University by women; the non-residence factor as being either a disadvantage to women in denying them an important part of a man's experience at Oxford or conversely a privilege accorded to few men; competition with men; the threat of the loss of the 'share Oxford had begun to take in directing the education of the women teachers of England'; the alternative of a separate university for women; and the question as to whether women seeking future employment in education were handicapped by exclusion from public examinations. These arguments reflected the conflict between on the one hand the wish to confine women within the strait jacket of ladylike domesticity; but allowing them the freedom to continue to study a wider choice of subjects unrestricted by a time limit, which amounted to a type of finishing school education or extension of accomplishments, or what some saw as a reformed curriculum which they believed needed to be extended to men. On the other hand were two aspects which were products of the changing environment. These were the cultural line of women fulfilling their intellectual needs, which was being more commonly perceived; and the professional argument, that is the need to enhance their professional prospects in a society which increasingly necessitated women earning their own living. As *The Times* put it, 'we have to face the very practical question of removing such obstacles as exist to the provision of remunerative occupation of the very large surplus female population of these isles'.<sup>69</sup>

The *Daily Telegraph*, which seems to have had no correspondents on the subject, agreed:

'the profession which used to be open to women - namely, marriage - is now itself getting hopelessly overcrowded, like all other professions, and what are women to do? Surely it is better, it is argued, that they should work than that they should beg or starve?'

It saw no reason why Oxford should not join Cambridge and London Universities in granting women honours examination certificates.<sup>70</sup>

Correspondents opposing the statute included Dr. J.W. Burgon, (Dean of Chichester and a former Fellow of Oriel), Thomas Case (a vociferous and wordy opponent in the battle for degrees in 1896), and Mrs. S.M. Inge (the mother of the future Dean of St. Paul's). Arthur Sidgwick, in his capacity as Honorary Secretary of the AEW, wrote several comprehensive, informative and persuasive letters to *The Times* and the *Guardian* in response to points made by opponents. In answer to a correspondent's point on competition between men and women, he gave an example of a brother and sister, with perhaps the experience of Annie Rogers in mind, as described in the previous section.

'Suppose the extreme case; suppose a man, hampered by residence, smalls, definite terms, &c., gets a second in history, while his sister, unhampered, gets a first after four years' reading. There is no unfairness; she is not racing against him for a mastership; he is not racing against her for the post of teacher in a girls' school. She gets a first because her work is first class; he gets a second because his is not. Nobody will compare him with her to his disadvantage, any more than a man who reads history for a year after greats and gets a second will be considered inferior to another who has read two years after moderations and got a first. I have put the extreme case ... as a matter of fact, of course, the handicapping is all the other way, and is likely long to continue so. Everyone who knows anything of the previous training and circumstances of the girl-student is aware that the disadvantage in trying for honours is all on their side. Let them, at least, be allowed, when they have worked for honours, to have the benefit'.<sup>71</sup>

Among others writing in support of the measure were Jane Cobden, Mrs. Henry Fawcett and Thorold and Annie Rogers. The opponents tended to stress the supposed harmful effects of examinations on women, and the supporters of the measure the economic and professional necessity of the statute.

Dr. J.W. Burgon, an eccentric cleric who possessed a sentimental and idealized view of women, considered 'the gravest objection of all' to the proposed measure to be 'a social or moral revolution against the best interests of woman' and painted an ethereal and blinkered picture of womanhood whose purity he feared would be contaminated by exposure to the classic writers and the 'filth of old world civilization'.<sup>72</sup> Several writers, including Thorold Rogers, responded against his outpouring. By over-stating the case for the opposition he gave supporters the opportunity of stating the basic and vital necessity of the statute in a more balanced, logical, persuasive and credible way. Others reacted in a lighter vein.

On the Dean's words Woman 'will henceforth have to be kept down', a Cambridge M.A. commented 'How delightful it would be to witness the Dean "keeping down" a flock of ex-students from Girton College; and one wonders how he would set about it, and whether one would like to be in his place, and who would get the best of it'.<sup>73</sup>

On the point of women giving up their present freedom to study a wider range of subjects than men were permitted, the question was asked 'why do they desire to be put into intellectual stays just as we hoped they were going to throw off the material article!'<sup>74</sup>

Replying to criticisms that it was not proposed to make residence compulsory for women honours students, Robert Ewing, of St. John's College and a member of the

AEW, said that this was through a desire not to interfere in the University regulations for men. If residence was insisted upon then that would give a monopoly to the two Halls, which would lessen the value of the proposed certificate.<sup>75</sup> This was a reference to disagreements between the AEW and the Halls, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Jane Cobden pointed out that

'the struggle for existence is as great amongst the majority of women as it is amongst the greatest number of men...and thousands of .. women are struggling for mere subsistence, heavily handicapped by their deficient education...Hundreds of Girton and Newnham students, who on leaving college have made teaching a profession, are in London and elsewhere earning at the present moment 300l. to 400l. a year, and sometimes more. I am acquainted with many such, and their lives could not be happier or more useful ones. I would contrast with these the life of a teacher of the old school, earning from 25l. to 30l. a year, engaged to teach "English, French, German, music, drawing, and other accomplishments," who is treated less well than the domestics of the household, and certainly has not their freedom, and who, in her old age, finds "shelter" on a miserable pittance in some Decayed Gentlewoman's Home.'<sup>76</sup>

Several correspondents confirmed that 'hundreds of women are forced to earn their living as teachers' and should not be confused with 'women of wealth and leisure, who desire an university education, as it were, out of sheer wantonness'.<sup>77</sup> Mrs. Henry Fawcett agreed that it was an indisputable fact that large, and increasing, numbers of women were already seeking a university training, which was to many 'almost a professional necessity'. She quoted from the last Census showing there were in Great Britain and Ireland more than 120,000 women teachers, to many of whom 'a University degree or certificate is of the highest professional importance' in earning their living. There was, she said, intense competition for employment among young women of the middle classes. Of the imagined dangers of educating women, she quoted Sydney Smith; 'a woman who has learnt mathematics will



not cease to love her children, that she will not abandon her infant for a quadratic equation'. The vast improvement that had taken place recently in girls' education had resulted from the supply of many qualified teachers who had studied at the women's colleges at Cambridge.<sup>78</sup> Millicent Fawcett's remarks concerning the necessity of some women to earn their own living and assist their families are applicable to the situation of the Rogers family. Annie Rogers was herself one of the surplus unmarried women and her family were often in financial difficulties, as shown in the first chapter.

Professor Rogers, who was now a Member of Parliament, emphasised the professional, and mercantile case, as his daughter described it in her letter quoted below. He said that allowing women to sit the University honours examinations would reduce the high cost of the present system of making separate arrangements with examiners, which amounted to £20 or more per student.<sup>79</sup> He believed that 'women are by far the best teachers of their own sex, and infinitely the best teachers of boys up to twelve years of age, when they are properly educated'.<sup>80</sup> The late Honorary Secretary of the 'Calendar of Women Teachers holding University Certificates', which was an employment registry with six hundred names on its register, testified as to the absolute necessity of a University certificate for women seeking teaching posts in high schools.<sup>81</sup>

Strikingly Annie Rogers, in her first venture into writing to a newspaper, wrote not from an economic but a cultural point of view, and from what appears to have been her own experience and feelings as a girl studying at home, with whom many other women of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries would have identified. Her letter is quoted here because it is a rarely expressed piece of evidence of her personal feelings. It sheds light on her own career up to this point and is an interesting insight

into her views at this stage of her life. She seems to have been more interested at this point in the intellectual fulfilment aspect of higher education for women, rather than concern with the attainment of a degree, from the point of view of employment for women, which occupied her later. Both views mirrored the particular stage she had reached in her own life.

'In the letters that have appeared this week in your columns there has been but little special reference to the wants of those female students whose studies are carried on in their own homes, and who have no immediate intention of applying them for any "mercantile" purpose. Girls of this class are, however, likely to influence general culture even more than professional teachers, and to them examinations are of the greatest advantage. When a girl leaves the schoolroom, even though she may have a genuine love of study, she meets with temptations to mental indolence and desultoriness which are very hard to resist. On the one hand she is confronted with home and social duties, which have a real claim on her, but which should not, as she is well aware, absorb all her faculties and interests. On the other hand, she has the whole field of study open before her, and is often left to find her own way in it, guided only by an eager desire for knowledge, unchecked by experience or by a just appreciation of her own powers and needs. Her work has been hitherto carefully directed, she is now left to choose for herself. Again she is conscious that in the eyes of society the one unpardonable sin a girl can commit is to display her learning, and she is thus sometimes driven to affect ignorance as a means of self-defence, and is tempted to think that inaccurate and superficial knowledge is the most that is required of a woman. Such a girl will welcome an examination as a support and encouragement. It will direct her reading, protect her against her natural inclination to inaccuracy, and it will ensure a belief in her own family that her work is as important as her amusement. It will often bring her under the influence of a teacher, who will point out to her her deficiencies and her capabilities, who will direct her enthusiasm, and assist her in forming habits of study that will prove beneficial to her in after-life, when the time during which examinations will be useful to her has passed. Should she ever be called upon to teach she will find the knowledge of how to work for a definite object, the self-discipline imposed by it, and the necessity for a careful grounding of the highest value. In any case she will have been helped to employ usefully the first two or three

years after she "comes out", years so important in a girl's life, during which the temptations to frivolity are so many, the external incentives to serious application often so few. In the interests of such students I would advocate the passing of the statute which will be brought before the Convocation of the University of Oxford on April 29. It will increase the value of a class of examinations for which residence in a University town is not enforced, and by directing that the papers set to male students shall, when possible, be set also to female students will relieve the latter from the fear, painful to hard-working and conscientious girls, that their work is judged leniently merely because they are women.<sup>182</sup>

Interestingly, this letter appears under the initials 'M.A.H.', which may be a misprint or thinly disguised anonymity. On her own copy she has added her first and fifth initials. Perhaps she wished to conceal from her father the fact that she had written to a newspaper, particularly as it followed his letter, or from other more senior members of the AEW, or did not wish her own feelings to be known.

In 1884 Annie Rogers, by the age of twenty-eight, had achieved fame by her outstanding success in the Local Examinations and had qualified for admission to the University and to two college exhibitions. She had gained the equivalent of two first class degrees, had become a tutor in classics and was actively involved as a committee member in the running of the AEW. Higher education for women in Oxford had progressed from ladies lectures to the establishment of two residential halls with education organized by the AEW, and the admittance of women to some University teaching and examinations.

- 1 A.S.C. Rogers, *Diary*, 26 February 1877, Bodleian, MSS.Eng.misc.g.100-101.
- 2 AEW, Bodleian, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1046(2) 13 June 1878.
- 3 Annie M.A.H. Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees: The Story of the Admission of Oxford Women Students to Membership of the University* (London, 1938), pp.10-11.
- 4 W.R. Ward, *Victorian Oxford* (London, 1965), pp.237,264,288.
- 5 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1046(3) 22 June 1878.
- 6 AEW Calendars, 1887-1893, St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R9/2.
- 7 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1046(3) 22 June 1878.
- 8 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.13.
- 9 AEW Calendar, 1887-8, p.16, St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R9/2.
- 10 Barbara Stephen, *Emily Davies and Girton College* (London, 1927), p.25.
- 11 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1046(3) 22 June 1878.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 AEW Calendar, 1887-8, p.6, St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R9/2.
- 14 A.J. Engel, *From Clergyman to Don: The Rise of the Academic Profession in Nineteenth Century Oxford* (Oxford, 1983).
- 15 Minutes of AEW, Bodleian, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1046(45). Clara Pater was the sister of Walter Pater, a Fellow of Brasenose College. She became a tutor of the AEW and of Somerville.
- 16 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1046(3) 22 June 1878.
- 17 Ibid.,(33) 21 June 1879.
- 18 Ibid.,(64).
- 19 Georgina Battiscombe, *Reluctant Pioneer: a life of Elizabeth Wordsworth* (London, 1978), p.74

- 20 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1046(50), (51)  
6 December 1879.
- 21 Ibid., (81) 25 June 1881.
- 22 Ibid., (78).
- 23 Ibid., (91), (6).
- 24 Ibid., (65). 4 November 1880.
- 25 Minutes of AEW, Bodleian, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1046(47).
- 26 Minutes of AEW, Bodleian,  
MS.Top.Oxon.d.1046(39,41); Pauline Adams,  
*Somerville for Women: An Oxford College 1879-1993*  
(Oxford, 1996), p.33.
- 27 Minutes of AEW, Bodleian, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1046(14).
- 28 Ibid., MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(30) 21 February 1885.
- 29 Ibid., MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(54) 18 June 1888.
- 30 Ibid., MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(98) 23 November 1892.
- 31 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.11.
- 32 A.S.C. Rogers, Diaries, 10 February 1883 passim,  
Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.g.100-101,  
MS.Eng.misc.f.479-94.
- 33 Brittain, *The Women at Oxford*, p.51.
- 34 A.S.C. Rogers, Diary, 28 February, and summary,  
1881, MS.Eng.misc.g.101(477).
- 35 Brittain, *The Women at Oxford*, p.82.
- 36 Elizabeth Wordsworth, *Glimpses of the Past*  
(London, 1912), p.147.
- 37 Minutes of AEW, Bodleian, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(7).
- 38 Ibid., MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(10) 29 November 1882.
- 39 Brittain, *The Women at Oxford*, p.117.
- 40 Minutes of AEW, Bodleian, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(14).
- 41 Ibid., (8).
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid., MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(10) 29 November 1882.
- 44 Ibid., MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(16) 20 January 1882.

- 45 Ibid., MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(63).
- 46 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.15.
- 47 A.M.A.H. Rogers and A. Sidgwick, 'Women Students at Oxford' in *The Educational Review*, December 1891, p.59.
- 48 Rita McWilliams-Tullberg, *Women at Cambridge: A Men's University - Though of a mixed type* (London, 1975), p.63.
- 49 Michael Sanderson, (ed) *The Universities in the Nineteenth Century*, Birth of Modern Britain series (London, 1975), p.255.
- 50 Michael Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society 1780-1870*, Studies in Economic and Social History (London, 1983), p.57.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(10).
- 53 Ibid.,(15).
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid., MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(16) 20 January 1883.
- 56 Ibid., MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(18) 2 May 1883.
- 57 Ibid., MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(20).
- 58 *The Times*, 14 April 1884.
- 59 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(21).
- 60 A. Sidgwick to A.M.A.H. Rogers, St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R4/1.
- 61 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.16.
- 62 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(22).
- 63 Janet Howarth and Mark Curthoys, 'The Political Economy of Women's Higher Education in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain', *Historical Research: The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. LX, 1987, pp. 213-214.
- 64 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.22.
- 65 *The Times*, 12 March 1884, p.6, 28 April 1884, p.6.
- 66 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.16.

- 67 *The Times*, 23 April 1884, p.11, *Daily News*, 25 April 1884, *Daily Telegraph*, 29 April 1884.
- 68 *Guardian*, 12 March 1884, p.381.
- 69 *The Times*, 30 April 1884, p.11.
- 70 *Daily Telegraph*, 29 April 1884, p.5.
- 71 *The Times*, 28 April 1884, p.6.
- 72 *Daily News*, 24 April 1884. After the success of the statute Dean Burgon preached a sermon on the inexpediency and immodesty of educating young women like and with young men, before the University in the Chapel of New College which was based on a literal translation of The Book of Genesis, with direct comparisons with the allegory of Adam and Eve and the education of women. The congregation laughed aloud at his discourse.
- 73 *Daily News*, 28 April 1884.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 *Guardian*, 19 March 1884, p.426-427, 26 March 1884, p.470.
- 76 Ibid., 25 April 1884.
- 77 The Revd. R.F. Horton, *Daily News*, 28 April 1884. He said the Dean was thinking of the ladies of Tennyson's poems, *The Princess* and *A Dream of Fair Women*, which depicted an idyllic university of women.
- 78 *Daily News*, 26 April 1884.
- 79 *The Times*, 29 April 1884, p.3.
- 80 *Daily News*, 28 April 1884.
- 81 Frances A. Kitchener, *Guardian*, 2 April 1884, p.510.
- 82 M.A.H. [sic], *Guardian*, 9 April 1884, p.546. This letter is printed under the initials 'M.A.H.' but on Annie Rogers' own newspaper cutting have been inserted in her handwriting the letter 'A' prefixing and the letter 'R' suffixing them. St. Anne's, Rogers collection, Newspaper cuttings.

## Chapter 4

### 1885-1896

Between 1885 and her appointment as honorary secretary of the AEW in 1894, Annie Rogers became increasingly more involved in the work of the Association; in its tuition, in forming educational policy and in its administration. This period saw an adjustment in the organization and autonomy of the Halls. There was a marked progression in their development from informal bodies towards becoming more professionally academic and administered collegiate organizations.

After her appointment as Honorary Secretary of the AEW in 1894 Annie Rogers was involved in the first battle for the degree in 1895-6, when her professionalism, or proficiency, became more apparent and of great service in the campaign to Sidgwick, who was the principal mover, and to other members of the AEW. Her activities during this period, and particularly after she became secretary, in guiding the development of the Association and the women's societies from amateurish bodies into their emergence as professional organizations, which the University was then willing to recognize, thereby contributed to their eventual official recognition by the University and ultimately to the admission of women to its degrees. The recognition of the Halls by the University was to be an important step in the development of the academic profession for Oxford women, as A.J. Engel has pointed out.<sup>1</sup> Annie Rogers participated in that process.

In addition to her voluntary work for the AEW and her extensive work as a tutor in classics Annie Rogers was appointed to lecture. She was allotted jointly with Professor Nettleship and Arthur Sidgwick responsibility in 1883 for the Latin and Greek lectures.<sup>2</sup> Four years



later, at the suggestion of Mrs. Johnson, who had replaced Mrs. T.H. Green as lady secretary of the AEW in November 1883,<sup>3</sup> Annie Rogers was given permission to lecture permanently 'in such classical subject as from time to time might be conveniently entrusted to her'.<sup>4</sup> For the year 1887-1888 there were four female lecturers for the AEW, of whom Annie Rogers was one,<sup>5</sup> and seventeen University men who included her brother Leonard. For the following two years Annie Rogers was the only female lecturer until she was joined in 1890 by Miss Edith E. Wardale (a former student at St. Hugh's Hall who had been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Zurich),<sup>6</sup> and thereafter by others.

Annie Rogers' involvement in the Association's affairs and policies showed a penetrating and professional grasp of issues, and she immediately identified the many faceted surfaces of each topic. She took an active part in the AEW committee meetings, frequently initiating proposals and making suggestions and was appointed a member, with H.T. Gerrans and M.E. Sadler (Secretary to the Oxford University Extension Delegates), of a standing sub-committee created for the purpose of preparing business for the principal committee to consider.<sup>7</sup> Henry T. Gerrans was a Fellow of Worcester, a mathematical examiner, secretary to the Local Examinations Delegacy (the body which had taken responsibility for arranging for women students to be entered for the University examinations), a lecturer for the AEW and a tutor to her brothers. As in the case of Sidgwick, Annie Rogers' working relationship with Gerrans led to their close association in the promotion of the women's relationship to the University, particularly regarding the foundation of the Delegacy for Women Students in 1910, as will be seen. Annie Rogers was also a member of an educational sub-committee which was regularly delegated to deal with such matters,<sup>8</sup> and of other sub-committees appointed at various times to deal

with a variety of issues, for example examinations,<sup>9</sup> teaching by correspondence,<sup>10</sup> scholarships,<sup>11</sup> training for teaching,<sup>12</sup> students not residing in Halls,<sup>13</sup> site for new lecture room,<sup>14</sup> the relationship of the AEW to the Halls,<sup>15</sup> the teaching of English,<sup>16</sup> finance,<sup>17</sup> degrees and diplomas,<sup>18</sup> and production of the annual AEW Calendar.<sup>19</sup>

She contributed to the growth of professionalism in the teaching profession by taking the initiative in 1886 in proposing a system of teacher training for AEW students, and with Miss M.E. Bishop (Headmistress of Oxford High School 1879-1887 and later Principal of Royal Holloway College) and Miss Clara Pater (a tutor at Somerville) she was appointed to consider a scheme.<sup>20</sup> Miss Rogers subsequently presented the report of the Teachers' Training sub-committee and a system of practical and theoretic instruction on the lines suggested, for students who had passed the Oxford First Examination for Women or its equivalent, was included on the current Lecture list<sup>21</sup> and the following year a Teachers' Training course was launched comprising: in the first term eight lectures respectively in Mental Science, Physiology, and History of Education, followed by a term of school work, and Special Training lectures.<sup>22</sup> The lectures were opened, where the lecturers agreed, to men as well as to women the following term, with the exception (at Miss Eleanor Smith's suggestion) of the Physiology lectures which were to be confined to women.<sup>23</sup> Such a scheme was particularly appropriate as a dearth of training for public school teachers had led to unfavourable comparisons between teachers of children of the working classes, who it was said were taught how to teach, and those who taught the children of the upper and middle-classes, who received no such training.<sup>24</sup> Her interest in teacher training was shared by her father. Maria Grey had corresponded with Professor Rogers in 1876 on the need for the establishment of a Teachers Training

and Registration Society and qualifications to improve secondary education. This was founded in 1877.<sup>25</sup>

Annie Rogers showed an awareness and appreciation of the financial aspect of issues as affecting both the Association and, particularly in future years, the University, with a sensitive concern for the welfare of students. For example, on the Committee finding itself with 'a considerable balance of income' in June 1885, Miss Rogers proposed 'that candidates should be allowed to attend five lectures for four and a half guineas', but it was decided instead to devote part of the income (£25 per annum for two years) to a scholarship, for which Miss Rogers, Miss Pater and the two Secretaries were appointed a sub-committee to fix the subjects and time of the examination.<sup>26</sup> Her altruistic nature, fostered by experiences of her financially deprived origins, is illustrated by her frequent references to fees and requests for financial help for individual students. For instance at her suggestion, the Committee agreed to offer lectures for a fee of two guineas for one term to a student, Miss Leather, 'in consideration of her circumstances',<sup>27</sup> and she asked if a grant of £2 might be allowed to Miss Packer for lecture fees, which was also agreed.<sup>28</sup> However, her attempts to assist classics students were often firmly rejected. On one occasion a bid to get the Committee to pay for extra papers for the classical students met with the response that 'they saw no reason for giving an exceptional advantage to the classical students',<sup>29</sup> and another suggestion of a twice-weekly Plato course with no paperwork and lower fees for students met with a similar reaction.<sup>30</sup>

To Annie Rogers could be attributed the foundation of the Society of Oxford Home-Students, later St. Anne's College,<sup>31</sup> when she presented a petition to the AEW in 1887 signed by thirteen past and present students of the Association not resident in a Hall, requesting

recognition and representation by the creation of a corporate body to which students could belong, who were residing in Oxford and participating in the educational facilities organized by the AEW but not resident in one of the Halls. There was in the early years a large number of these students. They felt they were at a disadvantage by not being members of one of the women's societies, both as students and subsequently in applying for teaching appointments.<sup>32</sup> As part of a sub-committee appointed for the purpose, Annie Rogers drafted a scheme, with Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Sadler,<sup>33</sup> which resulted in the establishment of a Home-Student Register (1888), the drawing up of further regulations for all regular students, and the adoption of the title 'Home Students'.<sup>34</sup> Her petition was the beginning of her long formal association, from 1893 to 1930, with this body of students which was in 1893, at Annie Rogers' suggestion and with her aid, established officially as the Oxford Home Students,<sup>35</sup> termed the Society of Oxford Home Students in 1898, in 1942 St. Anne's Society and in 1952 St. Anne's College. She was honorary secretary to its council from 1893, classics tutor to all its early students and honorary secretary to the Delegates of Home Students from 1921. It is argued by some that because Home Students were originally the Oxford women, (sisters, wives, daughters of university men) who stemmed from the lectures for ladies in the 1860s and 1870s, St. Anne's College is an older institution than Somerville or Lady Margaret Hall whose students came to Oxford from further afield from 1879.<sup>36</sup>

Annie Rogers was more academically qualified and more professionally minded than the first principals of the three ladies' Halls, who were chosen for their impeccable respectability and social attributes rather than for academic ability or experience. She came from a background entirely different from theirs. Elizabeth Wordsworth, appointed first principal of Lady Margaret

Hall at age thirty-eight, was the daughter of the Bishop of Lincoln, to whom reference has already been made. She was also a granddaughter of the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, a great niece of the poet, and sister of a Bishop of Salisbury. She had acquired an education in accomplishments and superficial learning at a boarding school in Brighton and had taught herself a little of the classics. She describes having 'learnt a good deal by visiting the poor, of the ordinary facts of practical life', seen country life and primitive nature at Stanford, where her father had the parish living, and 'got most interesting glimpses of a bigger world' at Westminster where her father held a canonry.<sup>37</sup>

Miss Madeleine Septimia Shaw Lefevre at aged forty-four became the first principal of Somerville Hall. She has been described as having an aristocratic appearance 'rather like one of Gainsborough's ladies', and being 'something of an artist and aesthete, gracious and graceful woman of the world, setting the pace for women's entry into the University, gently, gracefully, a trifle anxiously'. She was 'handsome, white-haired, well-dressed and strictly feminine', and was the daughter of Sir John George Shaw Lefevre, a Vice-Chancellor of London University,<sup>38</sup> granddaughter of a Speaker of the House of Commons and sister of a Cabinet Minister.<sup>39</sup> Her brother succeeded to the title of Lord Eversley.<sup>40</sup> She is said to have been 'not principally interested in education, except as she was in philanthropic causes generally'.<sup>41</sup> Both Miss Wordsworth and Miss Lefevre have been described, by Vera Brittain, as not particularly academic and more interested in human beings than in education,<sup>42</sup> and in Elizabeth Wordsworth's case as having been 'more interested in the religious rather than the educational aspect of the work'.<sup>43</sup> Miss Wordsworth was held in high esteem and affection by generations of students at Lady Margaret Hall but, as a contemporary of hers commented,

'no tinge of professionalism ever coloured her exercise of a profession'.<sup>44</sup>

Miss Annie Moberly, whom Elizabeth Wordsworth appointed as the first principal of St. Hugh's in 1886, was also the daughter of a Bishop (of Salisbury) who had been a Fellow of Balliol College and Headmaster of Winchester. This fact is said to have persuaded Elizabeth Wordsworth to choose her as Principal for St. Hugh's. Other qualities she possessed were a 'complete respectability, a maintenance of the peculiar tradition of the Victorian ecclesiastical upper-middle class, and a knowledge, though not an attainment, of certain standards of scholarship'. Joan Evans, (a former student who went to St. Hugh's in 1914 and in 1917 became a Tutor there) commented on her

'amazing insularity; a refusal to acknowledge the existence of any point of view that was not Anglican; and a cherishing of an ideal of womanhood directly derived from Charlotte M. Yonge, who had been Miss Moberly's god-mother'.<sup>45</sup>

Said to have been 'a modest student and scholar' and to have 'had a passion for research', but possessing 'a heavenly view of this world' and unusual powers of sensitivity,<sup>46</sup> she is remembered particularly for her paranormal experiences at the Palace of Versailles in company with Miss Eleanor F. Jourdain<sup>47</sup> who was her Vice-Principal, and later her successor, at St. Hugh's. Miss Moberly said of her position at St. Hugh's 'I never for a moment thought myself the right person in the right place'.<sup>48</sup>

These first principals were chosen and appointed in order to run halls of residence, rather than academic colleges. The AEW organized education for women at Oxford. At this time it was unusual for the class of girls, whose parents could afford to send them to Oxford to study, to live away from home. It was therefore imperative that the principals of the halls of residence were the type of people to whom parents would have

unhesitatingly entrusted their daughters. They seem to have succeeded in maintaining exemplary behaviour in their students but some members of the AEW, such as Robert Ewing (Fellow of St. John's and a member of the AEW) and Annie Rogers in 1895 considered the organization of the Halls was 'not sufficiently academic' or capable of recognition by the University.<sup>49</sup> It is possible that this may have been a factor operating against the admission of women to degrees in 1896. Had the halls been sufficiently independent, collegiate and academic, then perhaps the women's societies would have been more acceptable for recognition by the University.

Between 1879 and 1890 the number of students in the women's Halls increased from eighteen in the two Halls to eighty-two in the three Halls, with twenty-four not attached to a Hall,<sup>50</sup> St. Hugh's having been founded in 1886. Annie Rogers was a member of St. Hugh's Council from 1894 for forty-two years, a tutor until 1921 and was largely responsible for the formulation of its statutes.<sup>51</sup> Anomalies between the functions and responsibilities of the AEW and of the Halls, which had existed to some extent from the start, became more pronounced in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Because initially two Halls of residence had been created instead of one, the AEW had been formed in order to deal more easily and economically with the organization of the tuition of students in both Halls, but as the Halls expanded and their Principals became more experienced and gradually appointed their own teaching staffs, the Principals of the Halls inevitably wished to advise and control their own students, and the students naturally looked to their Principals rather than to a separate association.

The Principals, finding their workload increasing due to growing numbers of students, had begun to employ resident general administrative assistants. These

assistants were usually former students, often clever ones whose subsequent careers were launched in this way. They found themselves increasingly being asked to coach students to supplement the classes and lectures organised by the AEW. This side of their work developed to such an extent that they became tutors rather than administrative assistants, particularly in the case of Somerville where they had been termed 'tutors' from the first appointment in 1882, rather than 'vice-principals' as at LMH.

Difficulties arose with the AEW and its Secretary, Mrs. Bertha Johnson, when these assistants began to teach. At Somerville the rapid increase in numbers of students from 1890 and its growth on collegiate lines in advance of the other two Halls, exacerbated the problem. Had Somerville divorced itself from the AEW then the other two Halls, who were financially weaker and more dependent upon the services of the AEW, would have found it hard to survive.<sup>52</sup>

A further difficulty was the personalised and centralised style of operation which Mrs. Johnson had adopted and was loath to relinquish, and which as Sidgwick and Annie Rogers commented, had been satisfactory for fifty students but was impossible for one hundred and fifty.<sup>53</sup> Mrs. Johnson throughout her life was governed by principles of conservatism, freedom of choice, variety, economy, and the personal touch, which were manifest in her attitude to the Halls and in the first bid for the degree in 1895-6. She was

'opposed instinctively to anything that she felt to be a breach with the past, or to involve a disregard of honourable understandings of the past, yet always placing the cause of true education first, and, when she had faced the inevitable, adapting herself to the change with unexpected rapidity'.<sup>54</sup>

She was firmly wedded to the concept of the efficacy of the centralisation into the AEW of the whole educational organisation of women students. As the collegiate evolution of the Halls burgeoned there emerged the first



of the fractures in the links of the AEW with Mrs. Johnson, which were to become of significant importance in the future. Mrs. Johnson insisted on interviewing and advising each student and arranging her tutors. 'The amateurishness of the early days was awful' commented Annie Rogers,<sup>55</sup> and an early student at Somerville was struck by 'the extreme amateurishness of it all' compared with the organisation of her school.<sup>56</sup> Eleanor Powell, a Tutor at Somerville, agreed with students who in 1890 complained of the irrelevance of their Hall being described as 'appointed' by an external association, and pointed out to Mrs. Johnson several inaccuracies in the annual calendar of the AEW.<sup>57</sup> Principals resented having to refer or defer to the arrangements of the AEW. Somerville in particular expected to control its own growing staff of tutors. Their second Principal, Agnes Maitland, appointed in 1889, was, unlike her predecessor Miss Shaw Lefevre (who had independent means and was not dependent upon a salary), an experienced teacher and administrator and was paid a salary in accordance with her full-time employment. She reluctantly found herself coming increasingly into conflict with Mrs. Johnson and her less professional methods.<sup>58</sup> Mrs. Johnson resented what she perceived to be Somerville acting independently of the AEW but drawing on its resources when it suited them.<sup>59</sup>

The situation was further complicated by the divided loyalties of some of the members of the AEW who were also on the Councils of the Halls. For example in 1881 although a proposal to bring the Principals of the Halls on to the AEW Committee was passed, it had been opposed by two of its members, Vernon Harcourt and Eleanor Smith, because they were members of Somerville Council who favoured the consolidation of Somerville and its cessation from the AEW, rather than the strengthening of the AEW by further representation on its body from the Halls.<sup>60</sup> Harcourt in 1891 expressed his opinion to Mrs.

Johnson that the AEW should gradually secede to the Halls the tutorial care of their own students 'retaining the provision and negotiation of lectures and examinations and the tutorial care of the unattached' students.<sup>61</sup> Charlotte Toynbee, a member of LMH Council, protested that Henry Pelham and other members of Somerville in talking of "the Halls" had

'no right to assume that the two other Halls want what they do - they must first of all learn to speak for their own Hall alone. Very likely S.H. does not want to secede; but what it does want is to use LMH to force the hand of the Association in its own direction to meet its own case, and this we ought not to allow'.<sup>62</sup>

Another point at issue was the possibility of the amalgamation or affiliation of the Home Students to one of the Halls. Many members of the AEW supported the continuance of the Home Students as a corporate society. Sidgwick felt Home Students were one of Oxford's advantages over Cambridge, and T.H. Grose, Mrs. Poole (Honorary Treasurer to the AEW), and Annie Rogers supported their continued and separate existence.<sup>63</sup>

Attempts were made to resolve the difficulties, which were preventing the consideration of important questions such as the possible official recognition by the University of the women's Halls, and the movement for the degree. The University men tended to see the progression of the collegiate autonomy of the Halls as a natural development. Henry Pelham and Arthur Sidgwick (with a foot in both camps, being Council members of Somerville and the latter the Honorary Secretary of the AEW) showed patience, tolerance and compassion in attempting to resolve the situation, particularly towards Mrs. Johnson and her attempts to find solutions to the problem, which included her proposal to appoint an assistant connected with Somerville.<sup>64</sup> Suggested solutions were drafted by Pelham, Harcourt, Sidgwick, Bertha Johnson and Annie Rogers.<sup>65</sup> At Arthur Sidgwick's proposal, in 1891 a sub-committee of the AEW was formed

to consider the relationship of the Association to the Halls, especially regarding the management of the students' work and tuition, and official representation of the Halls on the AEW Committee. The Chairman (T.H. Grose, President of the AEW, Chairman of its Committee and Master of University College), the two Secretaries (Sidgwick and Bertha Johnson), the Heads of the three Halls and Annie Rogers formed this committee. The latter was chosen from three nominations, Miss Lucy Soulsby (Head Mistress of Oxford High School for Girls), and Mrs. T.H. Green being the other two.<sup>66</sup> The Hebdomadal Council in 1893 offered a representative to sit on the Councils of the women's Societies. Somerville accepted this step towards official recognition but LMH did not, fearing it might upset the AEW. Discussions continued and Annie Rogers took part in the drafting of regulations defining the work of the Association in relation to the Halls.<sup>67</sup> The Principals were invited in 1893 to join the AEW Education sub-committee, but a meeting called to determine the respective duties of the AEW and Halls ended acrimoniously. Mrs. Johnson resigned as joint Honorary Secretary at the annual general meeting of the AEW on 21 November 1894; although she remained a member of the Association and Principal of the OHS,<sup>68</sup> to which she was appointed in 1893 on the proposal of Annie Rogers,<sup>69</sup> and where 'she found her real vocation in H.S. work at which she was very good'.<sup>70</sup> The Halls were eventually granted the freedom to develop as they wished and to organize their own teaching arrangements but with their students paying a fee to the AEW for its administration and lectures, and the AEW retaining a general oversight in educational matters; a guidance which gradually diminished until its cessation in 1920.<sup>71</sup>

Annie Rogers had sympathised with Mrs. Johnson over the dispute between the AEW and the Halls to some extent. She told Miss Maitland (who appeared to her perhaps to be unsure of her authority and inexperienced in her new

sphere rather than unco-operative), that 'the less S.H. was like a girls' school and the more it was like a college the better it would stand in the University'.<sup>72</sup> Looking back some years later she felt that 'the Somerville action was abhorrent'. But she was particularly concerned about ambiguities in the status of the tutors and was anxious to see them put on a professional footing; a situation which was to occur again at St. Hugh's in 1923. There was no formal appointment of tutors by St. Hugh's Council until 1908,<sup>73</sup> the SOHS in 1913 when they were given a status but no salary,<sup>74</sup> and Somerville in 1894.<sup>75</sup> 'The "pick and choose" system' of tutors, as she termed it, advocated by Mrs. Johnson whereby tutors were chosen according to personal preference, 'took no account of the status and the financial needs of women tutors or indeed of any proper tutorial system at all, and yet the whole University was organised on a tutorial base'.<sup>76</sup> The AEW tutors and the appointment of tutors by the Halls had further compromised and confused the tutors' position. Looking back, Annie Rogers commented 'underlying all the AEW fuss was the very difficult question of the rival claims of the profession and the individual. Mrs. Johnson was not a professional woman and her sympathies were with the student'<sup>77</sup> and the student's personal preferences.

Annie Rogers became honorary secretary to the AEW in succession to Mrs. Johnson, with an assistant secretary (Ethel Venables) who was to be paid a small salary.<sup>78</sup> 'It was pretty hard work in 1894-5 and I owed very much to Ethel Venables. We had a great deal to get straight', Annie Rogers recalled.<sup>79</sup> She remained in this post until the dissolution of the Association in 1920 on the admission of women to membership of the University. As Secretary she was from then on in a much more advantageous and effective position to influence the course of the movement for degrees, and in major moves

and manoeuvres she advised and supported the male colleagues who took the lead at each stage.

The question of the admission of women to degrees had first been raised by the AEW Committee in November 1887 whilst the matter was under discussion at Cambridge. After debating a number of points which Arthur Sidgwick had drafted for their consideration, the Committee had felt that 'it would be unwise to promote any agitation for the admission of women to Degrees at present', particularly as not all the university examinations had yet been opened to women. Some members of the AEW were keen to press ahead with trying to obtain the degree but Annie Rogers, showing her life's ambition was ruled by an enthusiasm tempered with astuteness, did not forge ahead at the first opportunity but concurred with the Committee's decision.<sup>80</sup> By 1892 the number of women students had risen to one hundred and fifty and it was proposed that a request should be made to the Hebdomadal Council that, whilst not wishing to raise the question of admission to degrees, women students in Oxford working for University examinations should now be recognized by the University. It was suggested that a Delegacy for Women Students should be formed, but as the position of the AEW and the Halls at this time was unclear since they were undergoing the process of redefining their relationship to each other, it was thought the time was inappropriate. However by mid-1894, the remaining examinations had been opened to women<sup>81</sup> through the efforts of the AEW,<sup>82</sup> publication had been obtained of names of institutions to which successful candidates belonged, the appointment of a representative of the Hebdomadal Council on the AEW Committee had been achieved,<sup>83</sup> and the Vice-Chancellor had allowed the AEW an office in the Clarendon Building;<sup>84</sup> as this was where the Registry of the University was sited, it was an important progression towards official recognition.

Encouraged by these developments moves were again made within the AEW in 1894 for degrees or diplomas to be conferred on women students on its register. An unsuccessful attempt, initiated by T.H. Grose was made to obtain the granting of a new degree, diploma or certificate under similar conditions for the B.A., through the Delegates of Local Examinations. A committee was formed for the purpose of considering a course for a certificate. This committee comprised the President, and two Secretaries (Bertha Johnson and Arthur Sidgwick), Miss Agnes C. Maitland (Principal of Somerville 1889-1906), Professor R. Lodge, H.T. Gerrans, Professor Pelham and the President of Magdalen and Annie Rogers.<sup>85</sup> She and Sidgwick drafted a letter to the Delegates,<sup>86</sup> but the Delegacy of Local Examinations rejected all modifications to various schemes put forward which conveyed the recognition of residence, and on Sidgwick's recommendation the AEW Committee withdrew their petition.<sup>87</sup> Thereupon it was agreed by eleven votes to two, on a motion proposed by M.E. Sadler and H.T. Gerrans, 'that the University be asked to admit qualified Women Students to the B.A., and that a Committee be appointed to consider the best steps to be taken in the matter'. The same committee was also 'empowered to consider the alternative proposal of asking the University to recognize residence by issuing diplomas and certificates as proposed originally'. The President of Magdalen, Professor Henry Pelham, H.T. Gerrans, M.E. Sadler, W.H. Hadow, Mrs. Johnson, Miss Maitland, Arthur Sidgwick and Annie Rogers were elected as this committee.<sup>88</sup> At their first meeting, however, Mrs. Johnson opposed the granting of the degree on the basis that the University's narrow curriculum was more suited to men than to women. Her alternative proposal that the AEW should be restyled a Delegacy for Women Students recognised by the University, whose registered students the University would matriculate but not grant them degrees, was defeated.<sup>89</sup> She thereupon 'felt obliged, to

the great regret of the B.A. Committee, to withdraw from its further meetings'.<sup>90</sup> The Committee produced its report conceding that there would be some disadvantage in a shift from modern languages towards classics but nevertheless recommended

'that the University be petitioned to recognise qualified students, if possible by the B.A., or at any rate by a University Certificate, stating their residence and qualifications'.<sup>91</sup>

On the recommendation of the Committee, the Councils of the Halls were consulted on the AEW's proposals to request the University to admit qualified women to the B.A. degree or to grant them a University certificate. Somerville Council and its Principal Miss Maitland were clearly in favour<sup>92</sup> and so also was St. Hugh's.<sup>93</sup> St. Hilda's had no council at that time but its founder, Dorothea Beale, wrote a private letter to the Vice-Chancellor expressing the fear that the effect on girls' schools would be the switch from concentration on modern to classical languages.<sup>94</sup> At Lady Margaret Hall the matter was more complicated. Mrs. Bertha Johnson, her husband, and Miss Lucy Soulsby<sup>95</sup> were members of the LMH Council, and Mrs. Johnson was its secretary. They were opposed to moving for the degree on the grounds of the restriction of choice of subject and the imposition of time limits on the period of study. There were subjects, such as English and modern languages, which women had the opportunity to study but which were not yet available to men at the University. Furthermore the question of compulsory Greek was a contentious issue in the University until its abolition in 1919. Proposals had been made in 1877 for the creation of a degree in science alone with one ancient language mandatory at the Responsions and Moderations examinations. This had sparked off debates as to whether the study of classical languages was an essential element of a liberal education in not only science but the arts as well, which continued throughout the establishment of new degrees in the

University. With the growth of the professional classes, the demand for higher education had soared in the 1860s and 1870s and new colleges had been founded at London, Leeds, Bristol, Sheffield, Birmingham, Liverpool, Nottingham and Manchester. In 1870 the chairman of the Endowed Schools Commission had recommended to Vice-Chancellors of English universities that a knowledge of Greek should no longer be obligatory for all candidates in arts degrees and in 1881 Owens College, Manchester dispensed with the Latin and Greek requirement.<sup>96</sup> Mrs. Johnson and her husband, a tutor in modern history, were no doubt influenced by this issue. On the other hand Mrs. Johnson had no experience of tuition or education other than the girls she had contact with at Oxford, and she may have seen higher education for women at Oxford as a pleasurable pursuit in stimulating surroundings; a type of finishing school education or cultural experience. She believed women should not be fettered by the confines of the University curriculum which was imposed on male undergraduates. She argued that girls came to Oxford enthusiastically anticipating the study in depth of the subjects that had most interested them at school, and that it was discouraging for them to have their energies diverted into the cramming of Latin and Greek. She thought their schools either had not, or had inadequately, prepared them in these subjects and that they would be forced into unfair competition with boys, who had studied Latin and Greek throughout their school life.<sup>97</sup> The accuracy of these views was disputed by Sidgwick and Annie Rogers who were in a better position to judge the situation, since as teachers of classics to the women students they would have been familiar with the standard reached on their arrival at Oxford and what they were capable of attaining. They maintained that Latin was included in the regular curriculum of all the best high schools on educational grounds, as the best preliminary training for the study of the languages which formed part of secondary education.<sup>98</sup>



Elizabeth Wordsworth, in company with the other two Principals, was in favour of the admission of women to the B.A. degree<sup>99</sup> but did not wish to disagree openly with Arthur and Bertha Johnson and Lucy Soulsby, who were her personal friends, or to cause a division within the LMH Council. She was unable to attend the LMH Council meeting when the question was discussed and where it was decided by a small majority that the Council was neither in favour of asking the University to grant women the B.A. degree nor an equivalent diploma. Miss Wordsworth however subsequently wrote to the Vice-Chancellor expressing herself to be in favour of the B.A., but not in favour of rights to University membership, prizes, or the M.A., and therefore perhaps preferring a diploma.<sup>100</sup>

Following the meeting of the AEW Council (as it was now called) on 15th December 1894, a special meeting of the whole body of members of the AEW was convened for 4th May 1895 to consider the Council's proposed memorial to the University. The meeting was advertised in the *Oxford Magazine* on 13th March. As Annie Rogers commented, this was the first time the AEW Council had

'come forward openly in support of the interests of women students. The admission of women to degrees was a new question and it was uncertain how it would be received, especially as there was opposition from friends'.<sup>101</sup>

Annie Rogers therefore embarked on efforts to strengthen the case for the degree party by devising strategies, collecting evidence, canvassing, lobbying, and writing letters. For some time she had been preparing the ground. She had visited Girton for two days in 1890, in March and June 1894,<sup>102</sup> and in February 1895 she wrote to Miss Alice Zimmern of Girton College who replied with details of some of the disadvantages from which 'we labour' through not having the degree.<sup>103</sup> She also wrote to Emily Davies in London.<sup>104</sup> In conjunction with Sidgwick she had written an article for the *Educational Review*. This appeared under both their

names rather than, as might have been expected, Sidgwick and Bertha Johnson as AEW Secretaries. It described the arrangements for 'Women Students at Oxford' and looked ahead to the possibility of the admission of women to the University, with the specific appointment of a Delegacy which would include women.<sup>105</sup> (It is interesting that the idea of a Delegacy for Women predated H.T. Gerrans' move for such a Delegacy in 1908.) Annie Rogers attended on the 10th March 1894 a conference in London of members of the University Association of Women Teachers which had been convened in order to discuss informally the question of the admission of women to degrees. Ninety members were present and among the speakers were Emily Davies, Mrs. Sophie Bryant,<sup>106</sup> Miss Benson, Mrs. Henry Sidgwick and Miss Jones of Cambridge. They discussed the past and present situation of women and degrees, the disadvantages suffered by women whose universities did not grant them degrees, and whether the time was now ripe for further action. The president gave a resumé of the current position at Oxford.<sup>107</sup> Four days later Annie Rogers set off on holiday to Italy with her friend Mrs. Charlotte Toynbee, said to have been an anti-feminist and ardent opponent of the principle of equality for women, who with Mrs. Humphry Ward had tried to found an anti-suffrage society in Oxford.<sup>108</sup> This was their third successive holiday together. What they shared in common was a formidable personality, and their friendship is an example of the remarkable lack of antagonism that was a feature of the entire campaign for women's education at Oxford, indicating a professional approach. Another example is Mrs. Johnson, a vehement opponent of degrees for women, who was the only person to address Annie Rogers by her christian name.

Prior to the general meeting of the whole body of the AEW fixed for 4th May 1895 there was frenetic activity at the Rogers' home,<sup>109</sup> 35 St. Giles where Annie and her mother lived together. The fact that the centre

of operations was, in this battle and in others, Annie Rogers' home, demonstrates the centrality and personal nature of her involvement in the movement. It was to 35 St. Giles that people went to talk to her and from where her letters were addressed. She tended to use her title of Honorary Secretary and the official address of the AEW where it would be advantageous, in correspondence in the Press for example.

One month before the meeting was due to take place a strategy of moves had been planned. Firstly, the President of Magdalen, seconded by Miss Smith, would move a resolution

'that it is desirable that women students, who have complied with the statutable conditions as regards Residence and Examination, should be admitted to the B.A. Degree'.

If this resolution was approved, Professor Pelham, seconded by Lady Evans, would move:

'that this meeting approves of application being now made to the University for the admission of duly qualified women to the B.A. degree'.

Whereupon if approval was given, the Junior Proctor (H.T. Gerrans), seconded by Miss Rogers, would move that a petition (already drafted) 'be circulated for signature among members of Congregation'. If either of the first two resolutions were not approved, Sidgwick would move a resolution that the University should be asked to

'recognise Women Students, who have complied with the statutable conditions as regards Residence and Examination required of men for the B.A. Degree, by the grant of a University Diploma recording their residence and qualifications'.<sup>110</sup>

At the meeting, as had been planned, the resolution expressing the desirability of admitting duly qualified women students to the B.A. degree was put by T.H. Warren,<sup>111</sup> a man of some influence in the University as he was a member of the Hebdomadal Council, its representative on the Council of the AEW,<sup>112</sup> and President of Magdalen College. He referred to the

difference of opinion among members, expressed his own satisfaction with the existing qualifications (including Greek) and said his real reason for supporting the resolution

'lay in his recognition of the passion for it existing among women all over the country, not for its own sake, but that they might feel that the highest avenues of education were recognized as open to them and justice done to their intellect'.<sup>113</sup>

In an effort to appease both the degree party and the opposition, an amendment regarding an alternative University Diploma was moved by R. Lodge (Fellow of Brasenose and a tutor for the AEW) and seconded by Miss Wordsworth, that

'a University Diploma, recording their residence and qualifications, should be granted to women students who have resided at least 3 years, have passed a preliminary and an intermediate examination, and have obtained a class in any Honour Examination recognised by the University.'<sup>114</sup>

Miss Wordsworth thought that if girls came to Oxford their education should be as similar as possible to that of members of the University except that they should not be permitted to compete for prizes as 'she thought it would be bad for girls, so easily stimulated to recite the Newdigate in a crowded theatre'. Annie Rogers noted 'such recitations took place in 1927, 1928, 1929 and 1930 without any apparent sign of undue agitation in the reciters'.<sup>115</sup>

Professor Lodge's amendment was carried by one hundred and twenty-eight votes to six. Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Johnson and Miss Rogers spoke on the whole resolution, and the original motion, as amended, was passed by one hundred and twenty-five votes to twenty-six. Professor Pelham then proposed that application should 'now be made to the University for the admission of duly qualified women to the B.A. Degree'. Thereupon Mr. A.L. Smith, seconded by Mrs. Johnson, attempted to move an amendment recording that while the Association desired full recognition of women students by the

University at a future date, they were at present opposed to any action in this respect, unsupported by any similar movement on the part of the University of Cambridge.<sup>116</sup> But as Mrs. Johnson stated that Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick were unwilling to take any action at Cambridge at this time, this would have effectively shelved the whole issue.<sup>117</sup> This amendment was defeated (by eighty-three votes to eleven) and Professor Pelham's resolution was passed by a very large majority of eighty-five votes to three.<sup>118</sup> Recording the event in her diary, Mrs. Rogers noted 'Annie very triumphant'.<sup>119</sup>

The AEW directed that a petition should be circulated for signature by members of Congregation (resident M.A.s) and submission to the University. It was signed by one hundred and five members of Congregation in support of the degree, twenty-one for the Diploma and two showing no preference, and was presented to the Hebdomadal Council on 13th May 1895.<sup>120</sup> At the same time a counter-memorial was also presented, signed by fifty-one past or present members of the AEW and Councils of the women's Halls, but by no women tutors of the three oldest Halls, requesting a diploma stating the special course the student had successfully studied and the period of residence.<sup>121</sup> Another memorial in support of the B.A. 'on the ordinary B.A. terms and a diploma on the lines suggested in the first memorial' was signed by the Principals of the Halls and ten members of the teaching staffs. A further memorial was submitted by thirty-four headmistresses of the Girls Public Day Schools Company, and eighteen of the Church Schools Company, in favour of the Oxford B.A., supporting a resolution which had been passed at a Conference of the Headmistresses Association by a large majority. Another memorial was also submitted from one hundred and twenty-eight members of Congregation opposing the admission of women to the B.A. degree and recommending a University diploma. Other petitions came from schools.<sup>122</sup>

The Hebdomadal Council responded to these petitions by appointing a committee to study the question, and the President of the AEW (T.H. Grose) was asked to produce a scheme. He believed that the University was not prepared to admit women on an equal basis with men and would probably not do so until women were granted the vote. Therefore he felt that reliance should be placed on the University to continue gradually making concessions to the women when it felt it was 'safe' to do so.<sup>123</sup> Looking back on these events, Annie Rogers was critical of his approach and her comments are interesting from the point of view of an insight into her character, her grasp of the machinations of the University, and the strategies which would be required to achieve the admission of women. Her own approaches or manoeuvres were usually timely and rarely ill-conceived. She appreciated the wisdom of proceeding cautiously, but she felt his suggestion had been

'a rather timid proposal which, if adopted, would probably have barred further progress by leaving women in Oxford half inside and half outside the University, and in a position much inferior to that which they now [in 1937] hold at Cambridge... The University does not proceed as Mr. Grose wished me to believe it did, by the methods of a government office which has a permanent staff of officials competent to develop a policy. It is not organized on those lines, and the extent to which one part of its work is related to another is not easily discovered'.<sup>124</sup>

The committee appointed by the Hebdomadal Council decided to interview some of the ladies concerned with women's higher education and the question of the degree. The chief motive of the degree faction was that of advancing the prospects of women who after leaving the University wished to enter professions, particularly the teaching profession, where women without a degree were at a disadvantage in applying for appointments. They were in competition with others who had been admitted to degrees at one of the nine universities who at that time granted them to women. The need for employment for

middle-class women, as evidenced in the previous chapter, shows the importance to women of extending the professions available to them.

Whilst Grose, as a member of the Hebdomadal Council and Chairman of the AEW, and Sidgwick, as a member of the University and Honorary Secretary of the AEW, were the leaders of this campaign for the degree, in this as in other battles Annie Rogers was the 'moving spirit' throughout.<sup>125</sup> Emily Penrose considered Annie Rogers had 'organized the fight'.<sup>126</sup> Annie Rogers became 'a centre for information which' she said 'will be useful whether we succeed or not now'.<sup>127</sup> With the selection of its second Principal in 1889 Somerville had progressed to the appointment of a more professional person, and Annie Rogers now had a more like-minded ally in Miss Agnes Maitland. From her time as principal, Somerville 'cultivated a reputation for "professional efficiency" that 'contrasted with the "ladylike" image of LMH' and the "gracious atmosphere" at St. Hilda's.<sup>128</sup> To equip the degree party with evidence on the need for the degree, Annie Rogers and Agnes Maitland sent a circular letter to a large number of

- '(a) head and assistant mistresses,
- (b) women engaged in tuition in Oxford and Cambridge,
- (c) persons holding official positions at colleges in London and elsewhere which admitted women,
- (d) members of the governing bodies of girls' schools, and colleges for women and other persons interested in women's education'.<sup>129</sup>

They were asked

'if they were aware (1) of cases of preference given to actual graduates, (2) of any case in England or abroad where the absence of the degree had injured the professional prospects of University women or proved a hindrance to them in their career as students, (3) if, in their opinion, the admission of women to the B.A. would be likely to affect injuriously the education given in girls' schools or the education of women at the University'.<sup>130</sup>

The letters were backed up by lobbying, and by liaison with supporters in London, Cambridge and Oxford.<sup>131</sup>

Emily Penrose, another professionally minded person with whom Annie Rogers found she could work, and who was then Principal of Bedford College,<sup>132</sup> assisted her with the task, in addition to Agnes Maitland, and undertook to write to women lecturers and students in other countries.<sup>133</sup> Other help came from London University women, but there was little organisation, no committee and 'a great deal devolved on me', as Annie Rogers commented at the end of the battle.<sup>134</sup>

In London Annie Rogers again visited Emily Davies with whom she had 'a long talk chiefly about the Cambridge attitude'. She then saw Mrs. Fawcett who promised to write to various people and possibly try to persuade Mrs. Sidgwick to move.<sup>135</sup> At Mrs. Bryant's suggestion she arranged a meeting, in London in September, of the witnesses who were to give evidence to the Committee appointed by the Hebdomadal Council.<sup>136</sup> Annie Rogers also collected newspaper advertisements for appointments to ascertain whether a degree was a requirement,<sup>137</sup> and found that increasingly over the last few years governing bodies were requiring mistresses of girls' schools to possess an academic status equal to those of masters in boys' schools. Women who had studied at Oxford or Cambridge and had passed the examinations were sometimes obliged to take the London degree in addition, in order to improve their employment prospects, and it was particularly difficult for women with a university education, but without a degree, to obtain recognition in the colonies, America and Germany.<sup>138</sup> Even ten years previously Lilian Faithfull, who described herself as 'belonging to the first generation of professional women', had found the lack of a degree a disadvantage. She was of sufficiently high calibre eventually to become Principal of Cheltenham Ladies' College, but in 1886 after leaving Somerville, having been taught by Annie Rogers and reached the honour schools, she was interviewed for a teaching post at a



Midlands high school. She was asked why she had no letters after her name and was passed over in favour of a London Bachelor of Arts.<sup>139</sup>

The evidence gathered by Annie Rogers was collated and published as a printed pamphlet and sent to the Vice-Chancellor as Chairman of the Committee appointed by the Hebdomadal Council<sup>140</sup> and a copy sent to Cambridge for information.<sup>141</sup> Cambridge was also kept informed by the opponents as to what action they were taking. Mr. A.H. Johnson was the Secretary of a committee formed to oppose the granting of degrees to women. Upon receiving a request from the Syndicate appointed to consider the granting of degrees to women at Cambridge, for information which might be of use to them, he drew up a memorial for signature by 'those lecturers who have admitted women to their lectures, and are therefore *ex officio* members of the Association for the Education of Women, and who nevertheless are opposed to the granting of any degree'.<sup>142</sup>

On the first occasion women had appeared before officials of the university, fourteen gave evidence to the Committee of the Hebdomadal Council either in person or by written statements. The only university tutor interviewed by the Committee was Annie Rogers. Other women questioned were the principals of Women's Societies, (Bertha Johnson, Agnes Maitland, Elizabeth Wordsworth), Emily Penrose of Bedford College, Miss M.E. Bishop of Holloway College, and head mistresses or assistant mistresses including Sophie Bryant.

The Committee reported to the Hebdomadal Council with a summary of the evidence and concluded that lack of a degree may in some cases have handicapped Oxford candidates but there was insufficient evidence to show that this occurred frequently. They made several suggestions and recommended a stricter course of study,

which they believed could be achieved 'without abolishing the freedom of choice now permitted'.<sup>143</sup> The Committee were too evenly divided to be able to produce a detailed proposal and suggested that alternative propositions should be put by the Hebdomadal Council to Congregation. Four such resolutions were produced which Annie Rogers described as unsatisfactory, but one of these the supporters for the degree decided to back. This was the conferring of the B.A. degree alone, providing honours had been included in the course and after fulfilment of conditions of residence, qualification and examination, and with the limitation of privileges. Students without honours were to be given a diploma. Their opponents latched on to the opinion of the Committee that cases of hardship caused by the lack of a degree had not occurred frequently,<sup>144</sup> and concentrated on emphasizing the educational grounds for rejecting the proposal.

The opponents were said to be

'1. A considerable majority of the council of Lady Margaret Hall.

2. Nearly all the historical tutors at Oxford, i.e. those who have had most to do with the honour work of women students in Oxford [of whom Arthur Johnson was one].

3. The late lady secretary of the Association for the Education of Women [Mrs. Johnson], a lady who has had a great acquaintance for many years with the work of women studying in Oxford.

4. The present Head Mistress of the Girls' High School at Oxford, and her predecessor in that office'.<sup>145</sup>

Members of the University opposed to the granting of the degree to women held a large meeting at All Souls College where they elected a committee to organize the opposition. They included the Wardens of All Souls and Keble, the Rectors of Lincoln and Exeter, the President of Corpus, the Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Dr. Bright, Professors Case, Napier and Gardner. They resolved to request the Hebdomadal Council to add to the number of

alternative propositions to be put before Congregation on the 3rd March the proposal that

'Women who have passed any of the examinations included in the Oxford examinations for women, under the supervision of the delegates of local examinations, shall receive a diploma stating the college, hall, or other educational body, if any to which the student has belonged, and the examination or examinations passed'.<sup>146</sup>

Annie Rogers believed that a University diploma

would, especially if it were not made conditional upon residence, probably do more harm than good to the status of Oxford women students, and would add but little to the certificates already granted to them'.<sup>147</sup>

Some opponents suggested the affiliation of the women's colleges at Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere to a special University for women.<sup>148</sup> They discussed this with Annie Rogers, who was, not unexpectedly, opposed to the idea.<sup>149</sup>

Efforts were made by both sides to ensure supporters amongst members of Congregation. Among correspondents to the newspapers were Annie Rogers, writing as Honorary Secretary to the AEW, who gave an authoritative and comprehensive account of the position at Oxford and reasons for the degree, Arthur Sidgwick, Agnes Maitland, Emily Davies, and Mrs. E.M. Sidgwick.<sup>150</sup> Among the opponents were Professor Case, Professor Gardner and Bertha Johnson; the latter in her capacity as a member and late honorary secretary of the AEW, Principal of the Oxford Home Students and member of the Council of Lady Margaret Hall. Her letter must have made a significant contribution to the opponents' argument. *The Times* commented on the remarkable change in attitudes to women's higher education since 1884. At that time great concern had been expressed regarding the risks of excessive intellectual strain on women in competition with men, and of bringing young people of both sexes to university towns. By 1896 however women had proved themselves capable of coping both intellectually and

physically with higher learning and had achieved a high rate of distinction in examinations. The presence of women at Oxford and Cambridge had become an accepted part of life there. It also noted a growth in the professional work of women:

'The education given at Newnham and Girton, at Somerville and Lady Margaret Hall, is no longer regarded as an ornamental addition to the experiences of a few clever girls, but as the solid basis of equipment for professional or other intellectual work'.<sup>151</sup>

On 3rd March 1896 when the debate in Congregation began, Grose moved the resolution, which was lost by 215 votes to 140. All other alternative resolutions, including those supported by the opposition, were also defeated, and for this reason Annie Rogers considered 'the degree party had thus in the end secured an important victory'.<sup>152</sup> It is a strong possibility that but for Mrs. Johnson's conservative and influential opposition the resolution to admit women to degrees would have succeeded. 'Mrs. Johnson has been and is most determined' and because of her personal connections and her long association with women's education in Oxford her opinions carried great weight there.<sup>153</sup> Sidgwick had warned her 'we may lose this time .. if we do, it will be due mainly to your action ... but Oxford and Cambridge cannot long refuse what nine other British Universities give'.<sup>154</sup> The admittance of women to degrees (excluding divinity) at Durham by charter in 1895 would have encouraged moves at Oxford. Mrs. Johnson was largely responsible for the educational objections, which were prominent throughout.

'They were put forward by persons who knew very little about girls' schools and who were not in the least influenced by persons who were better informed. Mrs. Johnson herself was not a University woman and had never been a teacher, and, although she was greatly interested in women's education, her knowledge of it was mainly derived from the Oxford students whom she had advised. She was chiefly in touch with the students and tutors of Modern History, and no doubt she had great influence on several of them. Her principal supporter among

women was Miss Soulsby ... These two ladies stood almost alone among the professional women in Oxford and elsewhere.<sup>155</sup>

The tutors of modern history, which included her husband, were keen to promote the abolition of compulsory Latin and Greek in all subjects, as mentioned above.

Annie Rogers credited Grose with having 'been capital'. Characteristically subjugating her own contribution, she said 'He has quite led the whole thing'.<sup>156</sup> Outwardly he and Sidgwick had been the spokesmen and the movers of resolutions, but Annie Rogers had, in a professional manner, organized the battle behind the scenes. She assured her sympathizers that she did 'not at all regret the fight which I have greatly enjoyed and which I think is encouraging for the future in a way',<sup>157</sup> but for another decade the AEW, conscious of a backlash against women, as happened at Cambridge, adopted a cautious policy. They took no further action in the battle for the degree and it was left to individuals to continue the campaign.

- 1 A.J. Engel, *From Clergyman to Don: The Rise of the Academic Profession in Nineteenth-Century Oxford*, (Oxford, 1983), p.5n.
- 2 Minutes of AEW, Bodleian, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(19) 7 June 1883.
- 3 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(23) 9 November 1883.
- 4 Ibid.,(34) 2 March 1887.
- 5 *Calendar of the Association for the Education of Women in Oxford, 1887-1888*, first published in 1888. The other three ladies were Mrs. Poole, Miss Eleanor Powell (History Tutor at Somerville) and Mrs. Scott (wife of a Fellow of Merton) who also acted as honorary secretary for the AEW's scheme of teaching by correspondence.
- 6 AEW Report, October 1891 - October 1892, Girton College ED XVI/1. Women were admitted to Zurich University in 1867. Margaret Bryant, *The Unexpected Revolution: A Study in the Education of Women and Girls in the Nineteenth Century*, Studies in Education, 10 (London, 1979), p.15.
- 7 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(56) 8 November 1888.
- 8 Ibid., (87) 23 March 1892, (99) 2 December 1892, (142) 7 November 1894.
- 9 Ibid.,(15) 4 December 1882.
- 10 Ibid.,(15) 4 December 1882.
- 11 Ibid.,(33) 20 June 1885.
- 12 Ibid.,(38) 17 June 1886.
- 13 Ibid.,(49) 2 November 1887, (119) 7 June 1893, (124) 22 November 1892.
- 14 Ibid.,(69) 21 May 1890.
- 15 Ibid.,(77) 3 March 1891, (102) 2 December 1892.
- 16 Ibid.,(83) 2 December 1891.
- 17 Ibid.,(88) 4 May 1892, (99) 2 December 1892.
- 18 Ibid.,(133) 2 May 1894, (146) 15 December 1894.
- 19 Ibid.,(140) 24 October 1894.
- 20 Ibid.,(38) 17 June 1886.

- 21 Ibid.,(39) 23 September 1886.
- 22 Ibid.,(46) 16 June 1887.
- 23 Ibid.,(46) 16 June 1887, and (47) 6 October 1887. Fees for each of the three courses were fifteen shillings to those not teachers and ten shillings to teachers, making a total of two guineas for the three courses.
- 24 'An Old Public Schoolboy', *Guardian*, 26 March 1884, p.470.
- 25 M.G. Grey to J.E.T. Rogers, 9 December 1876, Bodleian, J.E.T. Rogers Family papers, Uncat. Box 2(347). Maria Grey (1816-1906), sister of Emily Shirreff, campaigned to improve women's secondary education. She founded the National Union for the Improvement of the Education of Women of All Classes (later the WEU) and was a founder of the Girls Public Day School Company.
- 26 Ibid.,(33) 20 June 1885.
- 27 Ibid.,(34) 17 October 1885.
- 28 Ibid.,(44) 2 March 1885.
- 29 Ibid.,(47) 6 October 1887.
- 30 Ibid.,(38) 17 June 1886.
- 31 Ruth Butler (a Vice-Principal of St. Anne's) explained the choice of name as being a reference to the mother of the Virgin Mary, (thereby signifying a non-opposition to marriage), a link with St. Mary's Church where the Society's services were held, and perhaps the intention of 'a half-serious allusion to Miss Rogers'. Vera Brittain, *The Women at Oxford: A Fragment of History* (London, 1960), p.198. The selection of the name followed informal advice from Council to choose 'a female saint, but not a fancy one'. Marjorie Reeves, 'A Brief History of St. Anne's', Part II, *The Ship: Magazine of St. Anne's College, Oxford*, (1989), p.22.
- 32 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(48) October 1887.
- 33 Ibid.,(49) 2 November 1887. Mrs. Sadler was the wife of M.E. Sadler, the Secretary to the Oxford University Extension.
- 34 R.F. Butler and M.H. Prichard (eds), *The Society of Oxford Home-Students: Retrospects and Recollections (1879-1921)* (privately printed

- [1930]).
- 35 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(119) 7 June 1893.
  - 36 Marjorie Reeves, *St. Anne's College Oxford: An Informal History* (Oxford, 1979), p.2; Dr. Marjorie Reeves, Oxford, Interview, 18 November 1992.
  - 37 Elizabeth Wordsworth, *Glimpses of the Past* (London, 1912), p.42.
  - 38 Vera Farnell, *A Somervillian Looks Back* (Oxford, 1948), pp.18,v-vi,8.
  - 39 J.E. Courtney, *The Women of My Time* (London, 1934), p.27.
  - 40 Brittain, *The Women at Oxford*, p.79.
  - 41 Farnell, *A Somervillian Looks Back*, p.9.
  - 42 Brittain, *The Women at Oxford*, p.57.
  - 43 Georgina Battiscombe, *Reluctant Pioneer: a life of Elizabeth Wordsworth* (London, 1978), p.68.
  - 44 E.M. Jamison, 'Elizabeth Wordsworth, Part I 1840-1858: Foundations' in Georgina Battiscombe, *Reluctant Pioneer* (London, 1978), p.224. Evelyn M. Jamison was a student at LMH, gained a First in Modern History in 1901, was a member of the Senior Common Room from 1907-1937 and Vice-Principal.
  - 45 Joan Evans, *Prelude and Fugue: An Autobiography* (London, 1964), pp.68-69.
  - 46 Edith Olivier, *Four Victorian Ladies of Wiltshire* (London, 1945), pp.44,32.
  - 47 C. Anne E. Moberly and Eleanor F. Jourdain, *An Adventure* (London, 1931).
  - 48 Olivier, *Four Victorian Ladies of Wiltshire*, p.36.
  - 49 A.M.A.H. Rogers, *Scheme thought out Xmas Vac 1894-95, St. Anne's*, Rogers Collection R1/1. *Guardian*, 19 March 1884, p.427.
  - 50 Calendar of AEW, 1889-90, pp.22-25.
  - 51 On retiring as a tutor of St. Hugh's in 1921 Annie Rogers turned her attention to the cultivation of the College garden, revealing herself to be a skilled horticulturalist. She was made an honorary fellow of St. Hugh's in 1936.
  - 52 B.J. Johnson, note on file, St. Anne's, Johnson



- collection J3/1; Pauline Adams, *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College 1879-1993*, pp.51-52.
- 53 A. Sidgwick to B.J. Johnson, January 1893;  
A.M.A.H. Rogers to B.J. Johnson, January 1893, St. Anne's, Johnson collection, J3/1.
- 54 Butler, 'Mrs. Johnson and Her Work' in R.F. Butler and M.H. Prichard (eds), *The Society of Oxford Home Students*, p.39.
- 55 A.M.A.H. Rogers to R. Butler, 23 May/August 1927, St. Anne's, Johnson Collection J3/1.
- 56 Recollections of Florence Rich, quoted in Adams, *Somerville*, p.40.
- 57 Eleanor Powell to Bertha J. Johnson, 7 December 1890, St. Anne's, Johnson Collection, J3/1.
- 58 Agnes C. Maitland to Bertha J. Johnson, 29 October 1891, St. Anne's, Johnson Collection A3/1.
- 59 B.J. Johnson to A.M.A.H. Rogers, October/November 1894, Johnson Collection, J3/1.
- 60 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(56) 8 November 1888; A.M.A.H. Rogers to R. Butler, 31 August 1928, St. Anne's, Johnson collection J3/1.
- 61 A.G. Vernon Harcourt to B.J. Johnson, 9 February 1891, St. Anne's, Johnson collection.
- 62 C.M. Toynbee to B.J. Johnson, 16 November 1892, St. Anne's, Johnson collection, J3/1.
- 63 Butler, 'Mrs. Johnson and her work', pp.43-44; R.F. Butler, *The AEW Crisis 1890-94, Summary of material*, A.M.A.H. Rogers to R. Butler, 30 July 1927, St. Anne's, Johnson collection J3/1.
- 64 B.J. Johnson to T.H. Grose, 29 November 1893, 22 December 1893, St. Anne's, Johnson collection J3/1.
- 65 St. Anne's, Johnson collection J3/1.
- 66 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(76,77) 3 March 1891.
- 67 *AEW, Regulations defining the work of the Association in relation to the Halls*, and other relevant papers, St. Anne's, Rogers Collection, brown envelope; Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d. (79,91,101,102,104,107,108,114).
- 68 Butler, 'Mrs. Johnson and Her Work' in Butler and Prichard (eds), *The Society of Oxford Home*

- Students*, p.39; Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(141) 21 November 1894.
- 69 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(121) 25 October 1893.
- 70 A.M.A.H. Rogers to Miss Burrows, 9 January 1930, St. Anne's, Johnson collection J3/1.
- 71 Butler, 'Mrs. Johnson and her work', p.43; Adams, *Somerville*, p.51.
- 72 A.M.A.H. Rogers to B.J. Johnson, 1893, St. Anne's, Johnson collectio, J3/1.
- 73 A.M.A.H. Rogers, 'Historical Reminiscences', in *St. Hugh's Chronicle*, 1928, p.14.
- 74 A.M.A.H. Rogers, 'A History of the Society of Oxford Home Students' in R.F. Butler and M.H. Prichard (eds) *The Society of Oxford Home Students - Retrospects & Recollections, 1879-1921*, I, (Oxford, [1930]), p.11.
- 75 Pauline Adams, *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College 1879-1993* (Oxford, 1996), p.54.
- 76 A.M.A.H. Rogers to R. Butler, 26 August 1923, 31 August, 1928, St. Anne's, Johnson collection, J3/1.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(142) 28 November 1894. The assistant secretary was to receive £4 for September 1893 to 31 July 1895.
- 79 A.M.A.H. Rogers to Ruth Butler [undated], St. Anne's, Johnson Collection, J3/1.
- 80 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(50) 16 November 1887.
- 81 Ibid.,(133) 6 June 1894.
- 82 Butler and Prichard, *The Society of Oxford Home-Students*, p.18.
- 83 Annie M.A.H. Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees: The Story of the Admission of Oxford Women Students to Membership of the University*, (London, 1938), pp.27-28.
- 84 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(117) 7 June 1893.
- 85 Ibid.,(133) 2 May 1894; Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, pp.27-29.

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- 93 Edith A. Pearson to A. Sidgwick, 2 May 1895 [copy], St. Anne's, Rogers collection R1/1.
- 94 Adams, *Somerville for Women*, p.57.
- 95 Georgina Battiscombe described Miss Soulsby as holding unorthodox views on girls' education; an education which was fitted for girls 'of the leisured classes' which excluded the taking of examinations. She put these principles into operation in a school she founded on relinquishing the headship of the Oxford High School. *Reluctant Pioneer: a Life of Elizabeth Wordsworth* (London, 1978), p.137.
- 96 W.R. Ward, *Victorian Oxford*, (London, 1965), pp.283,288-290.
- 97 Butler, 'Mrs. Johnson and her work' in *The Society of Oxford Home-Students*, pp.49-50; C.S. Nichols (ed) *DNB, Missing Persons* (Oxford, 1993), p.360.
- 98 A.M.A.H. Rogers, *The Times*, 6 February 1896; A. Sidgwick, *The Times*, 11 February 1896.
- 99 E. Wordsworth to B. Johnson, 14 December 1894, Lady Margaret Hall, Miscellaneous papers: Degrees for Women (99).
- 100 Battiscombe, *Reluctant Pioneer*, p.142.
- 101 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, pp.29-30.
- 102 A.S.C. Rogers, *Diaries*, 31 May - 2 June 1890, 2 March and 2 June 1894, MSS.Eng.misc.f.486 and 490.
- 103 Alice Zimmern to A.M.A.H. Rogers, 3 February 1895,

- Somerville College, Degrees File 1896.
- 104 E. Davies to A.C. Maitland, 1 February 1895, Somerville, Degrees File 1896.
- 105 *Educational Review*, December 1891, pp.59-62.
- 106 Sophie Bryant (1850-1922) was at this time teaching at the North London Collegiate School and from 1895 until her retirement in 1918 was headmistress. She became the first woman D.Sc. in 1884 in Physiology, Logic and Ethics, and was a tireless worker in the field of women's education and the suffrage, serving on numerous committees including the council of the AEW.
- 107 *Journal of the UAWT*, April 1894, St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R1/2; A.S.C. Rogers, Diary, 10 March 1894, MS.Eng.misc.f.490.
- 108 Arnold J. Toynbee, *Acquaintances* (London, 1967), pp.31-32. Mrs. Toynbee was Treasurer to Lady Margaret Hall. A.S.C. Rogers, Diary, 14 March - 17 April 1894, MS.Eng.misc.f.490.
- 109 A.S.C. Rogers, Diary, 1895, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.f.491.
- 110 Association for the Education of Women in Oxford, 6 April 1895, Girton, EDXVI/3.
- 111 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(157), 4 May 1895.
- 112 The University had allowed a representative of the Hebdomadal Council to be a member of the AEW Council from 1893, thus officially recognizing the AEW. Eleanor C. Lodge, 'Growth, 1890-1922' in Bailey, *Lady Margaret Hall: A Short History*, p.65.
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- 114 Minutes of AEW, MS.Top.Oxon.d.1047(211) 4 May 1895.
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- 123 T.H. Grose to A.M.A.H. Rogers, quoted in Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.35.
- 124 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, pp.35-36.
- 125 B.E. Gwyer, *DNB*.
- 126 Emily Penrose to A.M.A.H. Rogers, 14 March 1896, St. Anne's, Rogers collection R1/3(108).
- 127 A.M.A.H. Rogers to Agnes Maitland, February [1895], Somerville, Degrees File 1896.
- 128 Janet Howarth, 'Anglican Perspectives on Gender: some reflections on the centenary of St. Hugh's College, Oxford', *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 12, No. 3, 1986, pp.300-301.
- 129 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.36.
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R1/3; Somerville, Degrees File 1896.
- 132 Emily Penrose, a former student of Annie Rogers at Somerville, was the first woman to obtain a first class degree in *Literae Humaniores* in 1892, this School having only been opened to women students in 1888.
- 133 A.M.A.H. Rogers to A. Maitland, 26 August 1895, Somerville, Degrees File 1896.
- 134 A.M.A.H. Rogers to E. Penrose, 20 March 1896, Somerville, Degrees File 1896.
- 135 A.M.A.H. Rogers, 5 Bloomfield Place, S.W. to A. Maitland, 30 June 1895, Somerville, Degrees File 1896. A.S.C. Rogers, *Diary*, 28 June 1895. MS.Eng. misc.f.491.
- 136 A.M.A.H. Rogers to A. Maitland, 25/26 August 1895, Somerville. A.S.C. Rogers, *Diary*, 26-28 September 1895, MS.Eng.misc.f.491.
- 137 A.M.A.H. Rogers to A. Maitland, 25/26 August 1895, Somerville, Degrees File 1896.
- 138 Annie M.A.H. Rogers, Hon. Secretary to the

- Association for Promoting the Education of Women in Oxford, *The Times*, 6 February 1896.
- 139 Lilian M. Faithfull, *In the House of my Pilgrimage* (London, 1924), pp.73-74 and 255.
- 140 *Admission of women to the B.A. degree at Oxford*, 13 October 1895 (Oxford, 1895).
- 141 *Admission of Women to the B.A. degree at Oxford: Report on Evidence contained in documents, or in answers to circular and other letters, collected by Miss Rogers, Hon. Secretary to the Association for Promoting the Education of Women in Oxford.* Printed by order of the Council of the Association 23 October 1895, Girton, ED XVI/7.
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- 143 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, pp.38-39.
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- 145 Robert J. Wilson, Keble College, Oxford, *The Times*, 10 February 1896, p.11.
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- 149 A.S.C. Rogers, Diary, 30 May 1896, Bodleian, MS.Eng.misc.f.492; Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*.
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- 152 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, pp.48-50.
- 153 A.M.A.H. Rogers to E. Penrose, 20 March 1896, Somerville College, Degrees File 1896; A. Sidgwick to B. Johnson, February 1895, quoted in Butler, 'Mrs. Johnson and Her Work', Butler and Prichard (eds), *The Society of Oxford Home-Students: Retrospects and Recollections (1879- 1921)* p.53; Dr. Marjorie Reeves, Interview, 18 November 1992.
- 154 A. Sidgwick to B. Johnson, November 1895, quoted in Butler, 'Mrs. Johnson and Her Work', p.53.
- 155 Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, pp.50-51.

156 Annie M.A.H. Rogers to Emily Penrose, 20 March  
1896, Somerville, Degrees File 1896.

157 Ibid.

## Chapter 5

### 1897-1910

In the latter part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, women's choice of a career was in many respects strictly limited, nevertheless

'an able and determined woman could realistically set her sights on a relatively well-paid professional job, as a headmistress, academic, doctor, or inspector of factories or schools; or alternatively on winning public recognition, if not affluence, in some kind of public, social or literary work'.<sup>1</sup>

The censuses from 1851 consistently showed a surplus of middle-class unmarried women. With the growing number of professional, clerical and business families dependent on earned income during the second half of the nineteenth century, there developed an increasing number of single women who could no longer be supported by the male members of their families. These women had little option but to enter the labour market; particularly the daughters of the clergy whose fathers' incomes were depleted by the agricultural depression of the late nineteenth century.

The middle-class labour market was becoming increasingly professionalized and the professions were evolving into institutions which required formal qualifications. Therefore demand for higher education was increasing. This meant that if women were to gain entry to the professions on something like equal terms with men, they needed to have opportunities in higher education similar to those which men enjoyed.<sup>2</sup> Women were admitted to degrees at all British universities by 1900, except at Oxford and Cambridge, and the proportion of women full-time university students amounted to nearly one in six in 1901 and in 1911 more than one in five.<sup>3</sup> In the early twentieth century, Oxford, Cambridge and London were the only universities who 'produced substantial numbers of Honours graduates. These three universities attracted the



great majority of women who wished to follow a specialized course of study to degree level', and the great majority of the Oxford women students were from professional, business and industrial middle-class families.<sup>4</sup> But Oxford and Cambridge, although allowing women to sit their final examinations, did not admit women to their degrees. To enable women to stand a better chance of entering and advancing in the professions open to them, and to penetrate into the professions still closed to them, it was necessary to open degrees for women at these two eminent universities, as Thorold Rogers had pointed out in 1873 when he wrote

'There is no process, I believe, by which such a proof [of a women's proficiency and qualification for appointments] can be obtained, except in the examinations of the two ancient Universities. Nor will such a certificate of proficiency be worth much unless they are allowed to compete against men in the same studies and at the same examinations'.<sup>5</sup>

Howarth and Curthoys have found that at Oxford before 1914 there was a 'dual-market for women's higher education'; women who wished to qualify for professional work, and women from wealthier backgrounds who wanted to enjoy college life.<sup>6</sup> In 1909 Annie Rogers noted when students finished their course

'they nearly all take to some professional work and even though their qualifications may be first rate, their exclusion from a degree is prima facie a grievance, when other competitors for any post who come from the remaining fourteen British Universities, have the usual B.A. or M.A. after their names, and have the right to wear academical dress. The grievance cannot be dismissed as trivial, when the difference in the position of the Oxford women is thus publicly emphasised... many of them at the expense of time, or labour, or money - or all 3 - have taken degrees elsewhere. One example will show this on the staff of Somerville College, - all ladies - there are 3 M.A.s and 1 B.A. of Dublin; one B.A. of the Royal University of Ireland; one has graduated as Dr. in the University of Paris'.<sup>7</sup>

When Trinity College Dublin opened its degrees to women, many women who had fulfilled the requirements of a degree at Oxford and Cambridge took advantage of a temporary

offer from Dublin, around 1905, of an *ad eundem* degree. They came to be known as 'steamship degrees',<sup>8</sup> and as Annie Rogers put it, some women were 'driven...to buy degrees from Dublin, so that they may not be at a disadvantage as teachers'.<sup>9</sup>

More than forty per cent of Oxford women honours students across the major disciplines (and included in this figure are pass and diploma students in other subjects) entered the teaching profession.<sup>10</sup> The teaching profession had no formal body governing its regulations and qualifications, so it was easier for women to enter this field.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand because it attracted so many women, the women with the best qualifications were more likely to obtain the highest posts.

Harold Perkin has argued that university teaching is the key profession of the twentieth century. 'In a world increasingly dominated by the professional expert...university teachers have become the educators and selectors of the other professions'.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore not only are graduates moulded by the university teaching they receive but in the course of their careers they pass on that influence so that it permeates through all the institutions of modern society. Thus almost every member of society 'is moulded directly or indirectly, by university training'.<sup>13</sup>

By working for the admission of women to Oxford, Annie Rogers was therefore engaged in a task of reform of significant social and economic importance. She qualifies to be included amongst the group of people Harold Perkin singles out and describes as 'the forgotten middle-class', who, as was seen in Chapter 1, were important to an extent out of all proportion to their number. In Annie Rogers' case this is doubly applicable, because not only was she a member and part of this group as a whole, but she was herself actively engaged in reform, and was following in

the footsteps of previous generations of her family, which gave her the sense of a role that she could play in getting women admitted into the professions.

The position of women in the 'key profession' of university teaching from the 1880s to 1920, lagged behind that of men. The universities who admitted women students were slow to integrate women onto their teaching staffs, and the number of women teaching in these universities was disproportionately low in relation to the number of women students admitted. 'Women academics and tutors constituted only a tiny minority of university staff'.<sup>14</sup> There are differences of opinion amongst the few historians who have researched the history of women academics, as to the accuracy of figures produced for totals of women academics employed in universities up to 1931, when the British Federation of University Women conducted a survey. But the BFUW figures show that even by 1931 the proportion of women academics represented no more than thirteen per cent of the total number.<sup>15</sup>

Women could obtain appointments as tutors at women's colleges, in teacher-training departments or as wardens of hostels. Many women went on to be heads of girls' schools and colleges. But employment in mixed sex institutions tended to be given to men rather than to women and women were seldom, if ever, appointed to higher posts; although London University seems to have been less discriminating against women.<sup>16</sup> It was more difficult for women to obtain research grants.

By the end of the nineteenth century as the result of the reform of the ancient, and the creation of the new, universities, the secular professional university man had evolved, from clergyman to don,<sup>17</sup> but the position of the Oxford woman don in the academic profession still lagged behind men in the 1920s after women had gained membership of the University. Annie Rogers and the earliest women

tutors began their teaching careers at Oxford in the late 1870s and early 1880s as part-time 'coaching' tutors on an *ad hoc* basis, with their remuneration fluctuating according to the numbers of their pupils and the hours they devoted to teaching. By 1920, the salaries of Oxford women tutors were still variable and largely governed by these factors. A memorandum submitted to the Asquith Royal Commission (1919-1922) on behalf of the five women's societies at Oxford drew attention to the inadequate levels of salaries and lack of pensions paid to teaching and administrative staff. The poverty and lack of endowments of the women's halls or societies precluded them from paying salaries on a par with teaching staff in other universities and it had limited the proportion of the fixed element of their salaries, to a comparatively small amount. Very little had been contributed by the University to women teachers' salaries.<sup>18</sup> Salaries paid to women at St. Hilda's Hall, Newnham, and Royal Holloway College in 1910 were said to have been between £130 to £200.<sup>19</sup> The Commission recommended the payment of a grant from the University Grants Commission of £4,000 per annum to the women's colleges towards the increase of tutors' salaries and pensions and the repayment of college debts.<sup>20</sup> There were few resident teachers and no research fellowships for women. Women had no status in the University until 1920. They could not be examiners until 1920, members of faculties until 1921, or fellows in the four residential women's colleges until 1925-26 when the colleges were incorporated under charters.<sup>21</sup>

In the 1920s the women's colleges of Oxford, Cambridge and London universities struggled with little success to attract funds to establish research fellowships.<sup>22</sup> Annie Rogers had managed to secure a benefactress for St. Hugh's when she gave a paper on the position of women at Oxford and Cambridge at a Conference of the Women's Emancipation Union in 1896. Miss Clara Evelyn Mordan, 'a strong suffragist' who had been present at the conference,

contacted her and after visiting and talking to her at Oxford, offered financial help. On Annie Rogers' recommendation she assisted St. Hugh's (being as Miss Mordan believed 'the College which seems most to stand in need of assistance from the outside world') by giving £1,000 to endow a scholarship, making several other gifts and bequeathing considerable sums 'larger than that which any women's College in Oxford has yet [by 1928] received from an individual benefactor'.<sup>23</sup>

During the First World War, however, the women students and their fees, and the services of women tutors, helped to fill the void left by the absent men. Women tutors were permitted to coach some of the remaining undergraduates, and 'nine of the thirty women tutors at Oxford in 1920 had lectured for the University during or immediately after the war'.<sup>24</sup> But during the remaining inter-war years it was said that women dons were seldom invited to examine.<sup>25</sup> The assimilation of women into the academic profession at Oxford continued slowly, due in part to the statutory restriction placed on numbers of women students in 1927, which consequently limited teaching staff, and kept the colleges poor and salaries low. Women became eligible for professorships in 1920 but the first one (Ida Mann, an ophthalmologist) was not appointed until twenty-six years later in 1946.<sup>26</sup> The long struggle for recognition and the poverty of the women's colleges combined with varying social attitudes to the role of women, retarded the development of the academic profession for women at Oxford.<sup>27</sup>

Throughout the struggle to obtain the degree for women at Oxford, each major step forward was piloted by a member of the University, often in an influential position, with whom Annie Rogers worked in a supporting and advisory role. The campaigns of 1884 and 1896 were led by Arthur Sidgwick and T.H. Grose. By the time of the next important progression T.H. Grose had died, and Henry T.

Gerrans, in association with Annie Rogers, was greatly instrumental. This development was the appointment in 1910 by the University of a Delegacy to superintend women students, thus giving the students official recognition and the University a measure of control over them. Gerrans was a member of the Hebdomadal Council, Secretary to the Oxford Local Examinations Delegacy, a Proctor from 1885-6,<sup>28</sup> a Fellow and Mathematics Tutor of Worcester College, a Mathematical Moderator and Examiner in Mathematics and Natural Science,<sup>29</sup> a Lecturer for the AEW,<sup>30</sup> and was described as 'always a firm friend to the AEW',<sup>31</sup> 'a very influential member of [Hebdomadal] Council',<sup>32</sup> and as 'that excellent man' by Lord Curzon.<sup>33</sup> Born in 1858,<sup>34</sup> he was therefore of similar age to his fellow campaigner Annie Rogers, unlike J.L. Stocks and others who featured prominently from 1913 and were younger men. Gerrans was also a tutor to Annie's brothers and knew her personally.<sup>35</sup>

With the approval of the AEW Education Committee, Annie Rogers brought before the AEW Council in February 1907, a proposal for a petition to be presented to the Hebdomadal Council, requesting that women be permitted to apply for the Certificate of Merit. This certificate allowed members of the University to seek the research degrees of B.Litt. and B.Sc., which had been established by statute in 1895. These degrees were merely intended to encourage research and higher study, and carried with them no rights or privileges in relation to the University. For the advancement of their professional careers, however, it was important during this period for women to have undertaken research. The women's colleges had begun to stress the importance of this factor when making appointments, and women probably felt the need to acquire higher qualifications to prove their worth in competing with men.<sup>36</sup> Annie Rogers reported to the Council that 'private enquiry had shown twenty-seven Professors and sixty other members of Congregation in favour of the

proposal...and...very little opposition'.<sup>37</sup> The petition was duly presented to the Hebdomadal Council in April, signed by one hundred and fifty-five members of Congregation including twenty-three professors; some of these signatories had in the past strongly opposed degrees for women.<sup>38</sup> Reform at Oxford was being much discussed at this time. Six new universities had been established since 1877; at Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield. The Education Act of 1902 and the founding of secondary schools throughout the country had led to an increased demand for higher education for pupils from state schools. The selection procedure for Oxford and Cambridge was geared to fit boys from public schools and therefore required reforming.<sup>39</sup> In July 1907, without notice to either University but voicing widely circulating criticisms (expressed in the press and in public debate),<sup>40</sup> Bishop Gore (of Birmingham and later Oxford) initiated a debate in the House of Lords in which he called for the appointment of a royal commission for the reform of both Oxford and Cambridge.

Between 1896 and 1907 there was a backlash against women and there were no important developments in the relationship of women to the University of Oxford but numbers of students had increased. A fourth women's hall, St. Hilda's, had been opened in 1893 by Dorothea Beale for the benefit of girls from Cheltenham Ladies' College. The last special honour examination for women only had ceased in 1904. In 1906 Magdalen, the last college to admit women to its lectures, agreed to do so.<sup>41</sup> The total number of women students had increased, albeit slowly. In the Hilary Term of 1907 there were 216 in residence of whom ten achieved the equivalent of first class, and thirty-one second class, degrees.<sup>42</sup> In an appeal in 1909 for funds for new buildings at Lady Margaret Hall, it was reported that:

'All its students are required to read for the Honour Schools of the University. Some have obtained high distinction. Many are filling useful posts all over the world. The need for women who have received a

university training is being increasingly felt in every department of work, in the Colonies as well as in England. It is in the interest of the whole community that a college which has justified its existence by its excellent work in the past should be given the means for its necessary expansion'.<sup>43</sup>

On the petition for research degrees no further direct action seems to have been taken until 1913, as will be seen in the following chapter. In February 1908 H.T. Gerrans, a member of the Hebdomadal Council, wrote a personal and confidential letter, by-passing the AEW Committee, to Annie Rogers at her home address (39 Museum Road, Oxford, where she had lived since her mother's death) enclosing for her 'suggestions or criticisms' a draft Statute on Research and Women Students, which he had drawn up. He warned her that it 'represented merely a hasty attempt on my part to grapple with a question which frightens some people' and that she was 'not to assume that this Statute or anything like it would emerge from the Committee'. He also asked her whether she thought the time was ripe for the establishment of a University Delegacy to superintend women students, and pointed out that there was a precedent for Women Members in that the Geography Committee and the Military Delegacy had, by Statute, outsiders among the members of their bodies. He believed it was in any case taken for granted that a University Commission would include the question in its recommendations.<sup>44</sup>

Later in the year he wrote to inform her that after consultation with Arthur Sidgwick he had given notice to the Hebdomadal Council of his intention to move for the establishment of a Women's Delegacy to comprise both members of Convocation and ladies.<sup>45</sup> This letter was not marked 'confidential', and she may have assumed the information could be imparted to the AEW. On hearing of Gerrans' action some members, including Mrs. Johnson and Miss Wordsworth, expressed regret that Gerrans had not first consulted his fellow members of the AEW Council, and



the Secretaries were instructed to ask him to allow the Council 'an opportunity of knowing the nature of his motion and of expressing its views' at a special meeting of the Council the following week.<sup>46</sup> The letter from Annie Rogers and her co-Secretary, W. David Ross (Fellow of Oriel and later Sir William) produced an emphatic answer from Gerrans addressed to Annie Rogers, this time formally at the AEW office in the Clarendon Building. He thought their letter had 'been written under some misapprehension'. He denied having a scheme for a Women's Delegacy and stated that he was therefore 'not in a position to discuss one with the Council of AEW'. He said he was 'asking the Hebdomadal Council to agree to a principle, viz: that it is desirable to establish a Delegacy to deal with various questions which arise in connexion with Women Students in Oxford'. If the Council agreed then it would appoint a Committee to devise a scheme, after consultation with people such as Miss Rogers who had had experience in the problems which needed to be considered. He was clear on two points: the necessity for action to be taken by the University and for women to form part, perhaps half, of the Delegacy. He would be unable to meet for a discussion due to pressure of work and in any case felt a conference at that stage was premature; 'if anything comes of my motion in Council, the opportunities for conference will be numerous and necessary'.<sup>47</sup> Writing to Annie Rogers one month later he was adamant that there should be no prior conditions as to the relationship of the proposed Committee to the AEW, and that

'If I get my Committee of Council, I hope that it will be unfettered, except in two respects, viz. 1. that any University Body created by Statute must contain both men and women: 2. that the powers and duties of the Delegates of Local Examinations with regard to Women Candidates for University Examinations must be transferred to the new Body.'<sup>48</sup>

However, he conceded the point that the AEW Council should be asked officially to give evidence to the Committee

irrespective of that given by 'individuals of experience'.<sup>49</sup>

It seems that as soon as the AEW was brought into the picture and supplementary issues were raised, Gerrans became alarmed, cautious and reluctant to jeopardize the acceptance of his scheme by the Hebdomadal Council, being well aware it was 'a question which frightens some people'.<sup>50</sup> He was willing to take Annie Rogers into his confidence but seems to have been distrustful of the AEW or its Council. Gerrans appealed to Emily Penrose 'at all costs' to restrain the AEW from 'proclaiming its views at this stage'.<sup>51</sup> He even shows a possessiveness about the plan: 'If I get my Committee of Council...'<sup>52</sup> His wariness may also have been provoked by a report in the March edition of the *Journal of Education*, before the matter had been discussed in the Hebdomadal Council, of rumours of 'steps ... being taken to consider the advisability of the University's no longer leaving the oversight of the women students entirely to a voluntary and unofficial association', and 'that the Chancellor is thinking of raising the question of women's degrees'.<sup>53</sup>

Annie Rogers was constantly alert to the possibility that the University, in any step it took regarding women students, might subsume them or jeopardize their interests, particularly as regards the eventual granting of the degree, which is why she consistently insisted on matriculation in negotiations or schemes to avoid the danger of half-rights. Men students were admitted as members of the University by the ceremony of matriculation during their first term at Oxford. This meant that a boy of seventeen years of age by matriculation became a member of the University, whereas women who had fulfilled all the requirements for graduation and even for a share in the government of the University still had no status in that University. Her strategies were long-term and her sights were always set with the degree as the eventual goal in

mind. She was also protective of the Society for Home-Students and alert to the possibility that the University in any takeover or arrangements for women students, such as the creation of a Delegacy for women, might refuse to recognize or might abolish this Society, concentrating on the women's Halls only and viewing the SOHS as superfluous or not sufficiently collegiate. This far-sighted and cautious approach was not shared by other members of the AEW, for example Miss C.A.E. Moberly, Principal of St. Hugh's Hall, who wrote perhaps naively in answer to a warning letter from Annie Rogers on this point:

'I do not understand your letter. No one can suppose that should the University be willing (in order to recognise it) to take up the work so long and so ably built up by the Association that it would mean to destroy any portion of that work - especially such an important part as that of the Home Students. It will probably be all or nothing ... I consider the whole movement [for women's higher education at Oxford] to be friendly and establishing and meant to further - not destroy - all the various branches of the University women students as at present existing.'<sup>54</sup>

Annie Rogers experienced difficulty in dealing with women who were not as versed as she was in the workings of the University, which she had imbibed from life in the Oxford home of her academic and reforming father. Her position as co-Secretary of the AEW, her experience of women's higher education, her knowledge of the University, and her astute and strategic approach were no doubt the reasons why male supporters of the women's movement tended to negotiate with her rather than with the AEW, its Council or its committees, or indeed, with a few exceptions such as Agnes Maitland and her successor at Somerville, Emily Penrose, other members of it. Miss (later Dame) Emily Penrose became Principal of Somerville in 1907, where she had gone in 1889, at the age of thirty-one, knowing no Latin and only a little modern Greek to read for *Literae Humaniores*.<sup>55</sup> She had been a student of Annie Rogers,<sup>56</sup> and was in 1892 'the first woman to obtain a First Class in *Literae Humaniores*. She became Principal of Bedford and of Holloway Colleges, a member of the Royal Commission of 1919-1922 on Oxford and Cambridge Universities and was

the first woman of academic distinction to be appointed Head of an Oxford women's college'.<sup>57</sup> Hence being more academic than the Principals of the other women's halls or colleges, and a former student of Annie Rogers, she was likely to be more in harmony with Annie Rogers than were other women involved in women's education in Oxford.

Gerrans duly raised the question of a women's delegacy in the Hebdomadal Council during the Michaelmas term and the Council appointed a committee on 26 November 1908 to consider the question of the University's relationship to women students with regard to formal recognition, supervision and control and the establishment of a delegacy or committee comprising both men and women for this purpose.<sup>58</sup> This Committee, described by Annie Rogers as having 'a friendly majority', addressed a questionnaire to the AEW Council and twenty-nine other persons; seven men and twenty-two women involved in the movement for women's education at Oxford.<sup>59</sup> The AEW appointed a committee to consider the matter, comprising the Honorary Secretaries of the AEW (Annie Rogers and W.D. Ross), Miss Wordsworth, Miss Penrose, Miss Moberly, Mrs. Burrows, Mrs. Johnson, (that is the heads of the women's halls), Mr. Sidgwick, Miss Cooper, Mr. Wells, Dr. Carlyle and Mr. Fisher.<sup>60</sup> There was some disagreement over the replies to the questionnaire. The AEW Council returned a majority verdict on each question but individual members also sent in their own opinions. Annie Rogers commented that

'Twenty-two of the answers were from women who had at that time little acquaintance with the internal organization of the University and had perhaps not fully grasped the need of a greater security for discipline...nor the restrictions of a University Delegacy'.<sup>61</sup>

While negotiations were thus proceeding for the establishment of a Women's Delegacy, support for the degree came unexpectedly from Lord Curzon, the University's new Chancellor.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston, having returned to England at the end of his period of office as Viceroy of India in 1905, was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1907. He had at the end of the year been presented with a memorial signed by many members of the University and urging the new Chancellor to consider five main points: the revision and simplification of the constitution of the University; the enlargement of the powers of the Boards of Faculties; modification of the constitutional and financial relations between the colleges and the University; reorganization of the examination system; and fresh endowments.<sup>62</sup> Zealously involving himself in university affairs to an extent unlike any of his predecessors, he immediately set about drawing up recommendations to try to persuade the University to reform itself, and thereby avoid a Royal Commission which would probably have forced measures of a more drastic nature upon it. Since Bishop Gore's request in 1907 for a royal commission, the Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith, had received many such demands. During a visit to Oxford later that year Curzon had

'had the opportunity of hearing the views of almost every section of opinion in the University and ... was led to think that [he] might as Chancellor be of some use in co-ordinating the many plans and suggestions that were in the air'.<sup>63</sup>

In the course of obtaining 'the fullest measure of information and guidance' and hearing 'a wide variety of external opinion',<sup>64</sup> he wrote to Arthur Sidgwick:

'I venture to ask you as one of the protagonists of the women's cause at Oxford if you would favour me with a brief statement of what you consider to be the main reasons for giving them academic degrees. Further do you mean and do they mean that the degree should carry the academical franchise with the right of access to Convocation, Congregation and even Hebdomadal Council and all the various Faculties, Delegates and Boards - or will they be content with the academic recognition only? I think there was some talk of a Charter giving the Women's Colleges the right to confer degrees of the latter type, of course with the consent of the University.

It would be a great advantage to me if I could learn the real [latter word illegible] inwardness of the movement from one who is at the centre.'<sup>65</sup>

Arthur Sidgwick consulted Annie Rogers, who provided him with notes,<sup>66</sup> and together they composed a reply.<sup>67</sup> She explained 'It was not at the moment desirable to bring the matter before the AEW Council, which was in the middle of a crisis, nor had we any authority to do so.'<sup>68</sup> The future of the AEW was being considered in the light of proposals to form a Women's Delegacy or Committee, and changes to the written constitution of the AEW had been drafted for approval. These amendments appeared to put the Association on a more academic and official footing, but there were disagreements both over the proposed amended constitution and the replies to the Hebdomadal Council's questionnaire, mentioned above.<sup>69</sup> Lord Curzon replied to Sidgwick saying he was 'deeply grateful' to him and to his 'co-operators for the clear and admirable way' in which he had answered his questions and that the 'information was exactly what [he] wanted'.<sup>70</sup>

Lord Curzon's comprehensive memorandum of possible reforms of the University produced

'a statement of facts in regard to the present position and opportunities of Oxford which may not be familiar to all of its critics, and an analysis of the various suggestions for reform that have been proffered in such generous profusion.'<sup>71</sup>

He stated that it had been no part of his duty 'to submit a series of formulated propositions to the University' but continued that 'Except in a limited number of cases - where a definite obligation appeared to exist - I have refrained from expressing strong personal opinions'.<sup>72</sup>

The memorandum was dated February 1909, and published on 28th April 1909 in the form of a covering letter addressed personally to the Vice-Chancellor, and with the text also to the University of Oxford. Just before publication and in order to pass it for the press, Lord Curzon held a long and hectic meeting at his home at Hackwood with the Vice-

Chancellor, Heberden, Matheson and Gerrans.<sup>73</sup> That Gerrans was included shows his importance and influence in the movement for degrees.

The two hundred pages of Curzon's report were bound within red covers, hence it became known as 'The Scarlet Letter'. Nine of its chapters covered the Constitution of the University; the admission of 'Poor Men'; scholarships, exhibitions and fellowships; examinations; the relationship of the Colleges and the University, the organization of teaching; revenue, expenditure and the financial administration of the University; executive machinery of University government; and encouragement of research. The tenth chapter, headed 'Independent Subjects', Lord Curzon described as a gathering together of

'a number of independent suggestions reflecting currents of popular opinion in the University which do not fall naturally under any of the headings discussed in previous chapters. They are not indispensable parts of any organic scheme of University reconstruction; but they may deserve consideration, now or in the future, on their individual merits.'<sup>74</sup>

These included such items as Election to Professorships, a Pension Fund for the Professoriate, Theological Degrees and Chairs, Religious toleration at Oxford, Honorary Degrees, a three-year Honours Course, the length of the academic year, the Indian Institute, and, as the fourth item, Degrees for Women. For devoting six and a half pages to this latter subject, he explained

'If the pros and cons of this particular change have been argued at somewhat unusual length, it is because I have felt that I had no right to include it among the subjects that may deserve the attention of the University without offering some evidence to show that I was aware of its great seriousness and complexity, and that the matter had not been approached without due consideration.'<sup>75</sup>

Drawing, it appears, on Annie Rogers' notes, he gave a history of the movement for the education of women at Oxford, a statement of the present situation, the reasons for reviving the petition for degrees for women, and

argued throughout for the granting of degrees to women, but not the right to become members of Convocation, Congregation or governing bodies of the University.<sup>76</sup> He saw the granting of academic degrees as the final step remaining to be taken, in respect of higher education for women, 'which has already been taken by every University in the United Kingdom, except Oxford and Cambridge'.<sup>77</sup> He referred to the appointment by the Hebdomadal Council in the previous term of a committee to consider the question of the appointment of a Delegacy to deal with women students, and said

'But at this point, on the very threshold of the one form of recognition that is most desired, and is the crown and climax of all, the University has so far halted. It concedes the preliminaries and conditions of the degree, but it refuses the degree itself. It may almost be said to yield the reality, while withholding the name';<sup>78</sup>

referring to the anomalous situation whereby the University permitted women to attend lectures and take certain examinations but denied them a degree. He argued that the granting of the degree was in the interests of all the parties concerned; that is, the women students in Oxford, the women who pass on to professional educational work, and of the University itself.

'So long as women are permitted to reside in Oxford for educational purposes, and to share in the teaching and examinations of men, it is surely desirable that the best women should be encouraged to come, instead of being driven elsewhere.'<sup>79</sup>

The granting of the degree, he said, would also give the University valuable control over women's education in Oxford, which otherwise might 'develop upon lax or inexpedient lines',<sup>80</sup> and asked

'is it likely that the two older Universities will be able permanently or indefinitely to refuse that which all their younger sisters have conceded, and of which they have already granted the substance, while suppressing the evidence of their act?'<sup>81</sup>

As regards rights and privileges attaching to the degree, however, he stipulated 'the degree itself is the



important thing, more important for the moment than anything flowing from it'.<sup>82</sup> He believed that the degree did not automatically carry with it the academic vote, that there was no analogy or precedent with other Universities; unlike Oxford and Cambridge, the graduates of the newer universities did not govern them.

He stressed that there was no connexion between the present proposal and the move to extend the Parliamentary franchise to women.

'If it were, the subject would hardly have been mooted in this Memorandum, since there are few stronger or more convinced opponents of that movement than myself.'<sup>83</sup>

Thus he admitted his Memorandum was not entirely objective. Perhaps this, as well as the subject of women's degrees in general, is one of the 'limited number of cases' where he saw a 'definite obligation' to 'express strong personal opinions'.<sup>84</sup> He argued that it was 'a palpable fallacy to imagine any necessary connexion between the two proposals' on the grounds that to grant a woman a degree is to give her 'the reward of her industry or her learning' and is therefore an extension of her private liberty, but to 'give her a vote is to give her the right to govern others, and is the imposition of a public duty'.<sup>85</sup> If the granting of the degree to women proved undesirable, it would harm merely the woman, but if women proved unfit to exercise the Parliamentary franchise, then damage would be done to the nation at large;

'there is all the difference in the world between giving women an opportunity of increasing and improving their natural powers, and granting to them a share in political sovereignty.'<sup>86</sup>

It is interesting that Curzon places the higher education of women and their attainment of a degree as within 'their natural powers'. This is indicative of a shift, in the early twentieth century, in the attitude of society, and of Lord Curzon, to the education of women, from that of the mid-nineteenth, and to a lesser degree of the late

nineteenth century, as has been discussed in previous chapters. Whilst an undergraduate at Balliol College (1878-82), where his contemporaries were impressed by his advanced maturity, Lord Ronaldshay says Curzon 'was convinced that any encroachment by one sex on the rightful sphere of the other must lead to social disintegration, and he opposed on principle all movements in this direction'. In his second year as an undergraduate he is said to have suffered possibly his only defeat in the Union by opposing a proposal of the Library Committee, supported by the President and passed by a narrow majority, that lady students should be permitted to use the Union library.<sup>87</sup> Fifteen years later he had not changed his opinion and opposed the admission of women to Fellowship of the Royal Geographical Society;<sup>88</sup> but in 1913 when President he relented and proposed their admittance.<sup>89</sup>

Sir Herbert Warren, Vice-Chancellor at the time of the Memorandum, said it

'received a very good press and also had an excellent reception in critical Oxford, and the keener reformers like Professor Gilbert Murray, Arthur Sidgwick and Estlin Carpenter were not the least laudatory. Strachan Davidson, the Whig, and A.L. Smith, the Liberal, agreed in welcoming it. Walter Raleigh, a free lance, was warm in praise, and A.B. Gamlen, the cautious Secretary to the Chest, pronounced it "a monument of industry, knowledge and statesmanship and also full of literary charm." Miss Wordsworth wrote that it was "lucid, interesting and opportune", and Miss Penrose spoke with the same cordiality. Lord Morley in London thought it "a very effective piece of work".'<sup>90</sup>

The press reported and quoted Annie Rogers' opinions on Lord Curzon's Memorandum. Her sights, as always, were set on her ultimate goal of the degree for women on terms of absolute equality with men. *The Times* reported her as regarding

'the inclusion of women students in the University system as a necessary part of the improvement in organization recommended by the Chancellor. There are now nearly 300 regular students, and to confer the degree alone would not, in her opinion, be a

satisfactory solution without the official *status* that can only be given by matriculation, and by a recognition of the claims of women students and their teachers in the administration and organization of the University'.<sup>91</sup>

Annie Rogers consistently held to the view that it was imperative to insist on matriculation. 'To evade this was to put weapons into the hands of our opponents'.<sup>92</sup> Curzon had stressed the prior importance of granting the degree over rights and privileges. He suggested matriculation or an equivalent, but he was adamant that women should not be granted the right to become members of Convocation, Congregation or any other governing bodies of the University.<sup>93</sup> Annie Rogers told the Oxford Correspondent of the *Morning Post*:

'We need a generous recognition from the University, which by opening its examinations is responsible for the presence of women students in Oxford. I think the sense of grievance is felt as strongly on this point as on the refusal of the degree, particularly by our teachers and administrators.'<sup>94</sup>

Mindful of the financially underprivileged student (a concern no doubt fostered by the philanthropic attitude of her father and the financial difficulties of her family), she observed that whilst the Chancellor recognized the advisability of encouraging the best women to come to Oxford, he 'gave very little consideration to the "poor" women students whose tuition fees were on average higher than undergraduates' and that most scholarships and exhibitions available had no poverty qualification.

Furthermore, she said, he dealt very fully with finance,

'but curiously ignores the payments made by women students to University and College lectures, which amounted last year to about £2,000. With regard to the academic vote we should probably not all share the Chancellor's objections and fears, and some of us might think that women would gain a wider and less personal outlook by taking a share in University business. Still, the advantages of membership of the University in some form or other and of admission to the Degree would be very great, even if membership of Congregation and Convocation were refused. Possibly, however, the Chancellor would not wish to exclude women from those delegacies that examine or teach women and girls, and the assistance of women

specialists might be found useful on certain other boards.'<sup>95</sup>

It had been agreed that the Hebdomadal Council should work through the Memorandum, proceeding by resolutions adopting in principle the various items and appointing committees to consider and draw up definite proposals. The process began on the 27th April 1909, with the Chancellor himself drafting the initial resolutions. The admission of women was not among this first, admittedly substantial, batch. The *Oxford Chronicle* regretted the omission. 'The continued withholding of the degrees is a grave injustice to the women who come to Oxford to be educated, and it stamps Oxford throughout the educational world with an unfortunate illiberality'. The attention of its readers was drawn to an informative article by Annie Rogers, in which she pointed out that the degree question had been in abeyance since 1896, there were now nearly three hundred resident students registered with the AEW, all the examinations of the Degrees of B.A., Mus.Bac., and Mus.Doc. were open to them, and nearly all lectures of professors and the university. About £2,000 had been paid in the past year in lecture and laboratory fees. Little encouragement was at present given to women to research in Oxford and a petition requesting their admission to the certificate qualifying for the B.Litt and B.Sc., signed two years ago by one hundred and fifty resident professors and lecturers, had apparently been ignored. 'This could hardly have happened if the persons whose research it was sought to encourage had been men... Women students may have passed all the requirements of examinations and residence qualifying them for the degree but [in Curzon's words] 'the reward of their industry or their learning is refused them'... 'Like some mere human mothers, she thinks only of her boys, and takes no account of her girls. She has driven some of them to buy degrees from Dublin, so that they may not be at a disadvantage as teachers'. Their 'educational status suffers by reason of the refusal... A considerable mass of experience has, however,

accumulated in the past thirty years, and this could be utilised by the University... '96

The Report of Council ('The Gray Book'), drawn up by Curzon and the Hebdomadal Council, appeared on 28th August 1910. The actual legislation began well, on 8th November, with the Preamble to the Faculties' Statute being passed by a large majority. The Responsions Statute however, making Greek optional, at first failed but was passed on 16th May in a form restricted to honours students in Mathematics and Natural Science. Thereafter the process gradually ground almost to a halt, to the frustration of Lord Curzon who was being pressed by the Prime Minister for a Commission and was threatening to accede to it. The only consideration which prevented him from doing so was, he said,

the conviction that it would destroy the Oxford they knew and with it the 'curriculum, finance, government and colleges. I am appalled at this prospect and yet Oxford never takes a critical step or faces a critical issue without bringing home to me that the *status quo* is impossible.'<sup>97</sup>

Henceforth Curzon's involvement in the question of women's degrees diminished, and from the outbreak of war in 1914 when normal academic legislation ceased, although remaining Chancellor, he returned to government work and as far as the University was concerned he reverted to the more traditional passive type of Chancellor. The reform he had begun at Oxford was continued by the University and incorporated and concluded in the Royal Commission (1919-1923) under the chairmanship of H.H. Asquith. 'Yet his own work undoubtedly influenced theirs' remarked Sir Herbert Warren.<sup>98</sup> Dr. Hogarth, writing for the British Academy, maintained that

'Astonishingly little, in general, or in detail, divides the judgments of the Chancellor's Report from those of the Royal Commission, and none now will grudge a tribute to the comprehensive grasp and prescience which make one man's findings so largely anticipate those of a dozen Commissioners.'<sup>99</sup>

As Annie Rogers remarked, it would be interesting to discover what led Lord Curzon to advocate degrees for women,<sup>100</sup> particularly as he was President of the Anti-Suffrage League.

'There had been no active agitation for degrees for more than ten years, and women were not very popular in the country at that time, but he may have thought that it was wise to offer them something which would please them and do no harm. His anti-feminism was no doubt political, not temperamental, and having asked for information he proceeded to act upon it.'<sup>101</sup>

The cause of women's unpopularity at this time was no doubt the increased violent activities of the women's franchise movement.

Sir Herbert Warren, then Vice-Chancellor, quoted Curzon as having written at the commencement of work on his Memorandum 'I have always meant to put forward Women's Degrees. It will be in a compartment by itself. The University can take or reject it, but I shall certainly put it forward.'<sup>102</sup> As noted above, he believed the University granted the reality yet withheld the name, and therefore probably felt it was logical to resolve this anomaly. He was also of the opinion that granting degrees to women was completely different from giving them the vote, which carried with it participation in political sovereignty.

Curzon's recommendations for reform of the University, intentionally or unwittingly, fell into line both with the professionalization of that University body and of the reform of the education it provided, more suitably equipping men for entry into the professions. It could be argued that in recommending the admission of women to the University he was attempting also to create or extend professional opportunities for women. During a visit to Lady Margaret Hall in 1910 he referred to the prospect of admitting women to degrees, and exhorted women to aim to enter not only the teaching profession (which attracted by far the largest number of women) but to extend their

professional ambitions to journalism, architecture, librarianship, archeology, history, interior decoration and garden design.

Curzon's attitudes regarding women, in his opposition to the suffrage yet his support of degrees, can be likened to Gladstone who had similar convictions. Curzon possessed

'the same misplaced sense of chivalry which had led Gladstone to oppose their emancipation on the ground that it would "trespass upon their delicacy, their purity, their refinement, the elevation of their whole nature"'.<sup>103</sup>

Yet Gladstone sent his daughter to Newnham College and as early as 1880 was in favour of granting degrees to women. When asked to sign a memorial in favour of degrees for women he wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University:

'My rule is strict against subscribing memorials to be presented to our authorities. But having had a daughter for some years at Newnham, my sympathies run strongly in your direction'.<sup>104</sup>

Nevertheless the workings of Curzon's mind have caused problems to his biographers. They have noted a rigidity or fixity and yet paradoxically an unexplained compliancy.<sup>105</sup>

Annie Rogers was of the opinion that 'the Admission of women to membership of the University was very largely due to Lord Curzon's action. He did not go very far, but he put the matter on a new footing and he carried weight'.<sup>106</sup> He was, however, influenced by Annie Rogers' notes, on which he based his recommendations. It is a marked feature of the history of women's admission to the University that Annie Rogers rarely drew attention to the value of her own contributions.

In the meantime negotiations for the Women's Delegacy had proceeded. The Registrar of the University, Charles Leudesdorf a Fellow of Pembroke, requested Annie Rogers to

attend a meeting of the Committee of Council as it was 'anxious to have the benefit of [her] advice'.<sup>107</sup> She and Mrs. Johnson were asked to attend to advise the Committee on the question of the Home Students.<sup>108</sup> The question of discipline was an important factor in arrangements for a women's delegacy. Emily Penrose and Annie Rogers together drew up, for the AEW Council, a *Report as to the rules of Discipline in force for the Women Students at the University of Oxford*.<sup>109</sup> In doing so they, particularly Annie Rogers, incurred the displeasure of Bertha Johnson and Annie Moberly for neither consulting them nor including unwritten rules. The latter complained to Emily Penrose:

'I am very much troubled to hear that such important points as the Hall rules are being discussed without my having an opportunity of saying fully and hearing discussion upon them; and I am really vexed with Miss Rogers to have asked for the rules without telling me why, or enquiry from me whether I considered them up to date or exhaustive. It was a mere accident that Miss Jourdain had the opportunity of mentioning our locking-up rule, which naturally would not appear on a list only meant for students... If there is any fear of Miss Rogers approaching either the AEW council, or our Council, with cut and dried rules without giving us a chance of previous discussion it would be most annoying'.<sup>110</sup>

Bertha Johnson on the other hand felt that Annie Rogers had conferred too fully with her on the subject of rules for Home-Students and appealed to Emily Penrose for a talk with them both rather than yet another conversation with Annie Rogers alone.

'I should be delighted to arrange for an hour sometime with you both but for an informal talk with her alone, I really do not feel equal at present as I do not see that it will really advance the matter.'<sup>111</sup>

The Vice-Chancellor however had chosen to consult with Annie Rogers on the subject of discipline for women students and this was a further source of contention with Bertha Johnson: 'The V.C. seems to have talked to her about the relation of the University to Home students, I wish he would talk to me!'<sup>112</sup> This correspondence highlights the differences in the methods of approach and working between: on the one side the more business-like



style of Annie Rogers, Emily Penrose and the officials of the University, and on the other side the personalized and informal methods of other Principals of the Halls. It may also show a conflict between the workings of the AEW (and Annie Rogers as its Secretary) and the Halls, or maybe a dislike of Annie Rogers' personal tactics. Any disinclination or lack of confidence University men might have felt in dealing directly with the Principals of the Halls would have been further fuelled by Elizabeth Wordsworth's attitude to the rules at Lady Margaret Hall. It was well known that she was 'rather inclined to leniency',<sup>113</sup> and had a 'total disregard for the letter of the law when it clashed with personal considerations'. A tutor, Edith Pearson, was irked to remark on one such occasion 'the Principal of course does not know the rules'.<sup>114</sup>

The *Report as to the Rules of Discipline* stated that all students, currently some three hundred, studying for degree examinations in Oxford were registered in the books of the AEW. Almost all the honour lectures in the University were open to them and were well attended by them, the entries of lectures in 1908-09 being 2,287. Eight laboratories were also open to women students. Emily Penrose and Annie Rogers, after consulting other British universities, gave the conditions under which women students studied in several universities where they were admitted to membership. However they considered these conditions bore little relationship to the position at Oxford as the other universities were not collegiate, or only partly, and were 'the centre of education, organization and amusement, and in most cases therefore all men and women undergraduates share in them alike'. At Oxford there was no formal students' organisation recognised by statute. Men and women students at Oxford, except while working in laboratories, had no communication with each other as students.

Emily Penrose and Annie Rogers pointed out that most of the women students of Oxford, Girton and Newnham had relations or acquaintances in the University and they belonged to a different social class from students of the other universities, where many of the students were preparing to be teachers in Elementary Schools. It had been found, from letters they had received from headmistresses and others, that 'great stress has been laid on this point, and it is obviously of considerable importance' to enforce different rules for social intercourse at Oxford and Cambridge. They said 'there would be great difficulty in enforcing rules which were in marked contrast with the habits of the students' own homes'. It appears from the rules described in this Report that women students at Oxford and Cambridge were, in 1909, still closely chaperoned and were only permitted social intercourse with men, by arrangement, in the public rooms and grounds of the women's societies to which they belonged. The disciplinary system at Oxford, however, was not as strict as at some other Universities, for instance at Aberystwyth where Emily Penrose thought details of the system 'would be chiefly useful as a warning how not to do it' and whose rules she described as 'rather grotesque'.

'If one of the married Professors stops to talk to a student for a few minutes in the street she must at once confess the "accidental" breach of the rule to the Warden [of the Hostel].'<sup>115</sup>

'A Committee of 4 men sits in secrecy once a week and deals with all cases of men and women. They apparently consult the Warden of the Hostel behind the scenes - deal directly with the women at a meeting from which all women authorities are excluded.'<sup>116</sup>

Perhaps the class element which pertained particularly at Oxford and Cambridge was a factor in explaining why these two universities did not admit women until long after all other British universities had done so. On the other hand, having admitted women the other universities could afford to have less stringent rules; the women's halls or colleges at Oxford and Cambridge made a particular point of exercising strict control over their

students in order to impress, and not frighten, University men, with a view to eventual acceptance.

The Report was sent to H.T. Gerrans who thought it 'quite excellent' and would have liked more copies 'to exhibit them as a model of what such a report should be'.<sup>117</sup> Replying to Annie Rogers' queries on the financial aspect of the proposed new Delegacy, Gerrans said the registration fees of women would go into the general fund of the Delegacy, out of which the payments to Examiners would be made. He believed there would be no difficulty regarding finance but would appreciate receiving, in case of need and in writing, any information she had. He warned her that he 'thought it would be unwise to say more than is now in print about the continuance of the AEW Council',<sup>118</sup> for fear of raising disagreements. Other reformers and friends of the women's movement, such as Sidgwick, Gerrans, and Professor Geldart (Vinerian Professor of English Law) who was prominently involved in the final attempt to obtain the admission of women to the University in 1919, clearly preferred to negotiate with Annie Rogers rather than with the AEW. Annie Rogers too preferred to act independently of it. This was perhaps the reason why she was unpopular with other women in the movement.<sup>119</sup> Geldart was chairman of the council of the SOHS from 1893, and Annie Rogers was its secretary so they would have known each other well. Regarding a meeting Gerrans held in December concerning the Delegacy he wrote to Annie Rogers

'I think that we had better limit our gathering tomorrow evening to the four persons named, viz. our two selves, Miss Penrose and Mr. Geldart. This will not preclude the AEW Council from taking any action it seems to it to be called for. My present feeling is that no action at this stage is either necessary or desirable, but this is a point on which opinions may differ.'<sup>120</sup>

It was safer to contain the issue within this foursome.

The two issues of the Women's Delegacy conceived by Gerrans, and Degrees for women initiated by Lord Curzon,

produced a precarious situation; they had to be simultaneously carefully contained and guarded, and at the same time nurtured and encouraged to proceed. There was a danger that the AEW Council might bring the degree question forward at an inopportune moment, or that the Hebdomadal Council might jeopardize the Women's Delegacy by prematurely considering the question of Degrees for Women in order to reject the whole matter.<sup>121</sup> The campaigners, Sidgwick, Gerrans, Geldart, Emily Penrose and Annie Rogers therefore proceeded to act cautiously with this possibility in mind.

Sidgwick sent Lord Curzon a copy of the formal vote of thanks passed unanimously by the AEW and informed him that at this meeting a Committee had been formed 'to consider whether any action, and if so what action, should be taken in regard to approaching the University once more, with a view to raising the question of the Degree',<sup>122</sup> which had last been raised in 1896 when Congregation rejected it by 215 votes to 140. Although the Committee had not yet met, Sidgwick said that 'some of us were talking it over to-day', and asked his advice as to whether he thought it expedient that they should move in the matter or wait. As was often the case in this campaign, 'It is a question of tactics', he said.<sup>123</sup> Lord Curzon replied under confidential cover the following day saying that at the two meetings of Council held so far, over which he had presided and at which resolutions were passed regarding the contents of his Memorandum, the subject of women's degrees had not been reached. He had no idea whatever as to what the views of members of Council were on the matter and he

'would strongly deprecate action being taken at too early a date. It would defeat the object aimed at, and would very likely bring the entire fabric of University Reform to the ground. This is my confidential opinion, since you were good enough to ask for it.'<sup>124</sup>

Thus Curzon seems to have been working alone on the question of women's degrees, as far as the Hebdomadal

Council and Committee were concerned, apart from Gerrans who was a member. Presumably to keep the issue in the public eye, and to show those who wanted to press forward immediately that it had not been dropped, but at the same time to prevent unwise premature action, a letter appeared in *The Times* from Arthur Sidgwick to the Chancellor, written as President of the AEW, expressing their gratitude 'for the great help' he had 'given our cause' by including it in his list of suggested reforms, and by his 'forcible statement of the reasons on which the demand for this reform rests, and which make it undesirable that it should be any longer deferred'.<sup>125</sup>

The AEW Council then discussed the Chancellor's proposal to admit women to degrees and resolved 'cordially' to accept the Chancellor's suggestion that women should be admitted to academic degrees. They were 'of the opinion that women should be admitted to the University as members by matriculation or by some analogous form'; that they would welcome these proposals 'apart from the question of the admissibility of women to Convocation and Congregation' and that admission of women to the University 'should carry all privileges which relate to educational opportunity, e.g. admission to all libraries, museums, laboratories, and lectures of the University, on the same basis as men'. The Council further suggested that women should be held qualified 'to sit on such Delegacies as are, or may be, specially concerned with the education of women and the supervision of women students'. They deferred the question of examinerships for further consideration, agreed that a copy of these resolutions should be sent to the Chancellor and communicated to no one else apart from absent members of the Council, and appointed a committee 'to consider further details'.<sup>126</sup> The members appointed to the Committee were: the President, Mr. Carlyle, Mr. Fisher, Emily Penrose and the two secretaries (Annie Rogers and W.D. Ross).<sup>127</sup> After consultation with Annie Rogers,

Sidgwick sent Curzon a copy of the Council's resolutions.<sup>128</sup> Following Curzon's advice, no further official action was taken. It will be noted that the Council agreed to a possible compromise on the condition of matriculation, which was contrary to Annie Rogers' firmly held conviction.

Problems arose in the containment of the simultaneous negotiations of the women's delegacy and Curzon's recommendations for the degree, and, as Curzon had advised, this was also a threat to the process of reform of the University. In the course of the AEW Council's discussions on the Chancellor's proposal, disagreements had arisen and Annie Rogers corresponded with the protagonists. Charles Grant Robertson, Fellow of All Souls College, explained that his intention was to draw the AEW Council's attention to the danger of anomalies, for example, on the question of Examinerships, Examiners were members of Congregation but if women, (who were to be graduates but not members of Congregation), were to be Examiners then the University would have to treat them differently from the men; again, as he understood the Statutes, all Examiners had practical powers within the Schools, therefore women Examiners would either have to be included or exempted by a special dispensation. He believed such differential treatment would not only result in unworkable absurdities but would be contrary to the Council's policy of not asking for privileges, which it was believed would frighten the University and would show 'the absurdity of half-rights or the necessity of giving all or nothing'. He disagreed with the Council's resolution and felt it was preferable to ask for the degree and all that it involved.<sup>129</sup> Mr. P.E. Matheson also seemed to want to bring forward the degree question. Annie Rogers deflected him by telling him that she and Sidgwick both felt it would be unreasonable and ungrateful to bring up the subject while the Women's Delegacy matter was under consideration and while a great deal of

important business was before the University.<sup>130</sup> These examples illustrate the type of problems that could be avoided by not involving bodies, such as the AEW, and the wisdom of Annie Rogers' strategies of lobbying and canvassing and of restricting negotiations to a small number of persons. In order to maintain the momentum of both issues of the women's delegacy and the degree, Annie Rogers drew up a scheme for recognition of the five women's Societies, a Delegacy containing both men and women, a register of female members of the University, degrees with the same titles, conditions and examinations as those for men, and the right to wear academic dress.<sup>131</sup>

Gerrans and Annie Rogers continued discussions on the form the Women's Delegacy should take, with Gerrans relaying their agreed suggestions to the Committee appointed by the Hebdomadal Council to discuss the Delegacy, and to the Hebdomadal Council itself.<sup>132</sup> One of the suggested Decrees put to the Hebdomadal Council concerned the appointment of Annie Rogers as a member of the proposed Women's Delegacy but the Council rejected this; although a decree was subsequently passed appointing Bertha Johnson as Principal of the SOHS. Professor Geldart, the Revd. William A. Spooner, Warden of New College and the eccentric whose name was donated to the word 'spoonerism',<sup>133</sup> and Dr. Walter Lock, Warden of Keble College, wrote commiserating with her. Geldart thought the decree was rejected because the Council were 'timid about anything in the nature of a *privilegium*, and about the possibility of the women members outvoting the less regularly attending males'.<sup>134</sup> Spooner too shared Geldart's views and thought that as it was the Council's

'earnest hope and confident expectation that you would be nominated by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors who are to have the nomination of two of the women members, they hoped your nomination would probably be secured of the Delegacy'.

He thought the Secretary of the AEW should be a member of the Delegacy. 'There was, I think, a general wish to recognise the part you had played in promoting women's

education in Oxford, even though your ideals have not always been those of some other friends of the movement.'<sup>135</sup> Dr. Lock assured her that

'there was a warm recognition in Council of your past services to the cause of women's education and of an expression of opinion that you ought to be on any Delegacy, though it was felt that this should be secured either by election or by nomination of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors rather than by a 'priviligium'.<sup>136</sup>

Gerrans asked Annie Rogers to assist him in drawing up a draft Statute for the Women's Delegacy, saying 'It is of no use for a Committee sitting round a table to undertake this work'.<sup>137</sup> However he warned her that it would in his opinion

'be absolutely fatal if any attempt were made in drafting the Statute to get round decisions of Council, in which we have been on the losing side. Our opponents are far too intelligent and wide awake to be taken in and I could not possibly take part in any endeavour to impose upon quite respectable Heads of Houses etc., mistaken as I think them to be.'<sup>138</sup>

This is one of several instances where Annie Rogers adopted, or was restrained from adopting, political or somewhat manipulative tactics. In the 1920s, when women were able to vote in Hebdomadal Council elections, she observed it was 'not very difficult to turn a Council election'.<sup>139</sup>

The Statute was drafted stipulating that

'The Delegacy was to consist of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, nine members of Convocation, the Principal of the Society of Oxford Home Students, and eight other women, of whom two were to be elected by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors and six (of whom at least two were to be Principals of recognized Societies) elected by an electoral board of women. The Society of Home-Students was to be a recognized Society under the Statute. Other societies would require a vote of Convocation, and must show that they were established on a permanent footing. A register was to be instituted for students of recognized Societies, and no registered student would be allowed to reside in any lodging-house or hostel unless it had been approved by the Delegates, or in any private house without the permission of the governing body of her Society. The Delegates were to arrange for the



admission of women to the University examinations, and were required to make arrangements for admitting non-residents, provided they were not, and had not been for two years previous to their application for admission, residing as students in Oxford. They could fix the qualifying examinations, but only subject to the approval of Convocation. In this respect they were to be more fettered than the Local Examinations Delegates. A Committee was to be appointed to act as the governing body of the Home-Students, consisting of Delegates and other persons. In future the Principal was to be appointed by the Delegates. All the governing bodies were to make a terminal return to the Delegates of the students on the books.<sup>140</sup>

The Statute was promulgated before Congregation on 10th May 1910 in the Sheldonian Theatre, with the public admitted to the galleries. The Preamble was moved by C.B. Heberden, Principal of Brasenose who was to be Vice-Chancellor the following term. It was passed by 159 votes to 28. Amendments proposed were all either defeated or not moved. The President of Corpus Christi led those opposing on the grounds of the dangers of delegacies, in that they limited the power of the University in certain respects, but the *Oxford Chronicle* believed the real objection to be 'the fear that it is a step forward...to eventually admitting women to membership of the University, with all the rights and privileges of the male sex'.<sup>141</sup> When the statute was considered in Congregation the Rector of Exeter, with the Warden of Keble, proposed an amendment to confine the Delegation to members of the University, with an Advisory Committee of members and non-members, men or women. He argued there was no precedent for placing a large number of non-members on a delegation, and giving them equal power with members. 'He did not see how the University could exercise control except through members of the University'. Professor Geldart pointed out that the proposal for the Delegation had already been accepted by Congregation by a very large majority. He opposed the amendment on the grounds that it was crucial to the success of the Delegation to have women on it to use their experience and expertise in women's education and in the control and supervision of women students. The

Women's Delegacy would be entirely financed by women and women's organisations and it would therefore be unjust not to have women represented on the Delegacy. The Principal of Brasenose said it seemed to be almost assumed that the Statute had been brought forward at the instigation of the women, whereas it had been initiated by the Hebdomadal Council, and the women had been consulted with great advantage. Congregation passed the Statute by 106 votes to 53 on 2nd June 1910.<sup>142</sup> Annie Rogers received letters of congratulation on this successful result, from both supporters and opponents, the latter including William Hamilton Fyfe, Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, and W.W. Jackson of Exeter College.<sup>143</sup> Miss C.M.E. Burrows, (Principal of St. Hilda's 1910-1919 and of the SOHS from 1921-1929)<sup>144</sup> wrote an affectionate, enthusiastic and solicitous congratulatory letter to Annie Rogers, saying that she hoped she would be 'going to get a real good rest now that it is practically over ... away from strife of any sort', and that

'I do know that we owe very much of all the work that this means to your efforts and as a small member of the co-operating bodies, we are very grateful for the self-sacrifices you have made so ungrudgingly. There must have been an immense amount of routine work in the background and which few people realise'.<sup>145</sup>

The Statute was finally passed by Convocation, to Annie Rogers' and Gerrrans' surprise unopposed, on 1st November 1910.<sup>146</sup> In Annie Rogers' opinion the small amount of opposition to the Statute could be attributed to the University being occupied at the time with other matters including Greek, professors and tutors, finance, endowments, and the prospect of a Commission.<sup>147</sup> The Society of Oxford Home Students and the four residential societies of Lady Margaret Hall, Somerville College, St. Hugh's Hall and St. Hilda's Hall were officially recognized by decree, and it was also decreed that Mrs. Johnson should continue in office as Principal of the Home-Students until 1st January 1916 when she should then be eligible for re-election. She thus became the first woman to hold a University appointment.<sup>148</sup> Perhaps this

latter decree was not viewed as a privilegium, or perhaps it was an example of 'the application of cowboy methods' in the matter, which Gerrans and Annie Rogers 'deprecated' between themselves.<sup>149</sup>

The Vice-Chancellor asked Annie Rogers to prepare a draft list of persons whom she wished to suggest as being qualified to be Electors of Women Members of the new Delegacy. She was advised only to include names of ladies whose qualifications were in accordance with the statute and she made out an alphabetical list, giving qualifications, and she consulted the Principals.<sup>150</sup> Mrs. Johnson was apprehensive regarding the position of the Home Students and Professor Geldart tried to allay her fears.<sup>151</sup> Annie Rogers worked to secure a good position for the Home Students and to strengthen their financial standpoint. She felt she could not at that time trust the AEW to safeguard their interests as a separate body.<sup>152</sup> A list of twenty-two names was agreed, including the five Principals and women members of the Educational Staff and herself. Two days after the Women's Delegacy was instituted by statute the election took place on 3rd November 1910. Annie Rogers' name was not among those nominated. She was very angry that her services had been entirely ignored by the tutors, in whose interest she had worked so hard, that there had been no consultation as to her wishes, and that no attempt had been made to ascertain whether she was to be one of the Vice-Chancellor's appointees.<sup>153</sup> She consulted Gerrans as to the prudence of writing to the Vice-Chancellor, who advised her that it would be difficult for her to approach him, but if she decided to do so then she should say that she had been sounded by friends who wished to nominate her for the Electoral Board. He said he had some time ago told the Vice-Chancellor that her 'presence on the new Delegacy is indispensable. I do not think I can go farther than that. The present V.C. is not one who can be driven'.<sup>154</sup> The Vice-Chancellor replied to her saying that he had not yet

consulted the Proctors but that it was his desire that she should be on the Delegacy.<sup>155</sup> She also wrote expressing her feelings to Christine Burrows (Principal of St. Hilda's Hall). Miss Burrows expressed extreme regret at the state of affairs and assured her that it was thought that she would be elected on to the Delegacy by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors since she 'had been the natural spokesman of the AEW to the University and since the AEW has hitherto been to some extent in the position of the University to the Colleges'.<sup>156</sup> Emily Penrose wrote to Annie Rogers expressing her sorrow that she had not been asked whether she would have preferred to be elected to the Delegacy or nominated by the Vice-Chancellor. She assured her that it had been assumed she would be the first nominee of the other electors (that is excluding the Principals). It had come as a

'great surprise that several of them, although they desired to see you on the Delegacy did not wish to put you on as one of their representatives, on the ground that you do not represent them. To some extent this is true, I believe, but I sincerely regret that in this first election it has been allowed to outweigh all other considerations and that by this silent relegation of[sic] the V.C., we have lost an opportunity of showing our gratitude for your long and strenuous services in our cause.'<sup>157</sup>

Beatrice Lees, a Tutor, writing in the same vein, assured Annie Rogers that the omission of her name from the nominations was not an intentional slight, as far as she was concerned, and fully appreciated her 'long devotion to the services for the cause of Women's education in Oxford'.<sup>158</sup>

Twelve men and nine women formed the Delegacy. The Vice-Chancellor, the two Proctors, and the Principal of the Home Students were to be *ex officio* members. Nine other men were to be elected from members of Convocation, and six women by women tutors and teachers. The women members of the first Women's Delegacy were, of the six elected women, three Principals of the women's societies, two tutors, and one other lady. Mrs. T.H. Green and Annie

Rogers were the appointees of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, both of whom had been involved in education for women at Oxford from the beginning of the movement. As early as 1910 the extent of Annie Rogers' contribution to the movement for women's education was recognized and it was acknowledged that this appointment

'was a fit recognition of the work done in the past by these two ladies in Oxford in the cause of women's education. Miss Rogers has devoted her life to the cause, and has for many years worked untiringly as the secretary of the Association for the Education of Women. The establishment of this delegacy is in no small measure due to her efforts.'<sup>159</sup>

Thus it included teachers and members of the Council of the AEW, which was to continue. The Statute gave the Delegacy very limited powers, and a majority of men, of whom all those appointed Annie Rogers described as 'friendly'.<sup>160</sup> However, it gave the women students recognition by the University, which in turn became more informed of women's education, their activities and achievements, particularly by annual reports in the *University Gazette*. The Delegacy was to have control over the Home-Students, who were then more numerous than the students of the women's colleges and halls,<sup>161</sup> and over resident women students studying for examinations in arts and music. The Principal, and the governing body, of the SOHS (consisting of Delegates and others) was to be appointed in future by the Delegacy. They were to arrange for women students to sit the University examinations and, with the approval of Convocation, to fix the qualifying examinations. Annie Rogers was, at the suggestion of Gerrans, made a member of the two Committees appointed by the Women's Delegacy at its first meeting.<sup>162</sup>

In moving a vote of thanks of the A.E.W. Council to Gerrans, a copy of which was duly forwarded to him by Sidgwick under the names of Mrs. T.H. Green and herself, Annie Rogers expressed not only the gratitude of the Council but also her own indebtedness to him 'for much help and encouragement'. She said it was 'largely owing

to his insight and determination' that the Statute he had initiated had been successful and couched in such generous terms. The Statute had given the women's Societies the recognition enjoyed by the Cambridge women's colleges since 1881 but had gone further in that the Oxford women students would now be recognised as students rather than as candidates for examinations. The importance of obtaining University control over women students had been emphasised by a letter she had received from the President of the Association of Head Mistresses enquiring about the supervision of women students. Although the Statute had not granted them all they requested, she believed it was the 'most important advance in Women's University Education in the United Kingdom since the opening of T.C.D. [Trinity College, Dublin] to women' and had given women a greater share in University administration and organisation, as opposed to education, than they had ever had before, by securing statutory recognition for the women's Societies and the students of the AEW, and enabling women to be members of a University Delegacy.<sup>163</sup>

The Women's Delegacy had taken two years to come to fruition. In 1911 it was given office accommodation in the basement of the Clarendon Building, with the AEW and its Honorary Secretaries, offices, lecture rooms and library in the attics.<sup>164</sup> Annie Rogers had no anxiety as to her continued membership of the Delegacy, as according to her such University appointments had customarily been regularly renewed.<sup>165</sup> She remarked that 'the women did not take much part in the discussions and, rather unfortunately, sat in a row with their backs to the light'.<sup>166</sup> However, during the ten years of its existence members of the University became accustomed to dealing with the female members of the Delegacy in the course of University business, the women became more familiar with the organization of the University and its statutes, and Annie Rogers' knowledge of the statutes gained a wider reputation. As she remarked in a comprehensive article

she wrote for *The Times Woman's Supplement* in November 1910 entitled 'The Position of Women Students at Oxford', and as had been pointed out in 1896 regarding women students, the University stated in its statutes that no candidate should be admitted to its examinations 'unless he is a member of the University, although for many years it has been admitting candidates whom it has not matriculated and publishing their names in its official papers'.<sup>167</sup> Her brother Clement recalled that Annie Rogers' favourite Psalm was the 119th, 'not merely because it formed a prelude to the 120th and the following *Songs of Degrees*, [so called because they describe the stages on the Christian's life journey of pilgrimage] but for its constant reference to Statutes.'<sup>168</sup> It has been said 'that she savoured [statutes] with the voluptuousness of an artistic sensation'.<sup>169</sup> As she also pointed out in this article, the policy of the AEW 'has been to secure, first the teaching, then the examinations, then the full recognition of the University'.

By 1910 women students had been admitted to all college lectures and to the University honour examinations in arts and music. Women students had been officially recognized as registered students, and a measure of supervision and responsibility for them, accepted by the University through the formation of the Women's Delegacy. The five women's Societies had obtained some autonomy and independence from the AEW and formal recognition by the University. None of this had been happening totally in a vacuum however. Annie Rogers had not only been occupied at Oxford but through her work with the AEW and her own independent efforts, she had been liaising with people and organisations elsewhere.

Attempting to enlist the support of the movement for women's degrees at Cambridge, she wrote to Mrs. Eleanor Sidgwick,<sup>170</sup> Principal of Newnham College, and sister of Arthur J. Balfour, who with her husband Professor Henry

Sidgwick, took a leading part in the movement at Cambridge. Mrs. Sidgwick replied that she felt it was best to wait in the hope that a movement might come some day from inside the University, particularly as the attempt at co-operation last time, that is in 1895-7, 'had not been very fortunate in its results'.<sup>171</sup>

The importance of adopting a common policy with regard to degrees for women was stressed by Annie Rogers when speaking at Lincoln in October 1910 at the annual Conference of the Council of the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland.<sup>172</sup> During a discussion on the position of women in universities she reported on 'the position of women in relation to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge from the constitutional point of view'. She said the case for degrees for women, which had been raised at Oxford but not at Cambridge, was stronger than it had been twenty years ago, but that the 'opposing forces were still very vigorous' so that a common policy must be adopted and preparation made 'for prompt action when the moment for action arrived'.

Annie Rogers and the AEW had become involved in workers' and women's associations. The National Society of Women Workers had requested the AEW to send a representative to their meetings in the early years of the twentieth century<sup>173</sup> and on Miss Rogers' suggestion Miss B. Gwyer, a former student who was then in London and was later to become Principal of St. Hugh's, was asked to accept the invitation of the National Union of Women Workers to represent the AEW at their Conference in London on 10 December 1906.<sup>174</sup> Invitations were also received by the AEW to send four delegates to a Joint Conference of the Co-operative Society and the WEA on 3rd November 1906. Annie Rogers was appointed to represent the Council of the AEW and Mrs. Green, Mrs. Poole and Miss Cooper, other members of the AEW, attended in other capacities.



Invitations were also received by the AEW from the General Educational Congress to be held in January 1907.<sup>175</sup> After attending the Conference on 3rd November Annie Rogers was elected to represent the AEW Council on the WEA, but on the WEA requesting that the AEW be affiliated to it, the AEW Council asked for more information and Annie Rogers recommended the AEW should not support it 'unless it seemed likely to be really helpful to women'.<sup>176</sup> In November 1909 Miss Wardale (one of the first women tutors and lecturers and mentioned in chapter 4) summoned a meeting of the women tutors of the AEW in order 'to discuss the advisability of organising the body of Oxford Women Tutors'.<sup>177</sup> Such association would be formed in order to consider firstly, 'All questions affecting the position or work of the Tutors' and secondly 'Any more general questions which it may be considered desirable to discuss'. Annie Rogers and Emily Penrose were among some fourteen women who attended, the latter taking the chair for this first meeting, and the former ensuring the association was organized on efficient lines. She suggested an agenda paper should accompany notices of meetings, that 'a quorum of at least two-thirds of the Society should be present to pass any vote or resolution' and she obtained a resolution establishing uniformity of description of the tutors in the list of resident members of the University published by the Oxford Magazine; that is not Tutors to the AEW, nor to their respective colleges, or both, but as tutors to their respective Societies as described in the AEW Calendar. The Society of Oxford Women Tutors, against Annie Rogers' advice, obtained the restriction of the electorate for the AEW Committee to Tutors of the AEW and of the Hall Councils. She worked hard to foster the interests of women dons. A tutorial system was established using women tutors where possible, and women tutors were increasingly appointed to lecture.<sup>178</sup> Apart from being elected President for a year in 1914<sup>179</sup> Annie Rogers was not given a leading role in this Society in an official capacity, however, but adopted

towards it more the function of an advisory or communicating link with University affairs.<sup>180</sup>

This follows her policy throughout the campaign. She was not popular with other women and was not voted onto the Women's Delegacy by the women tutors. Annie Rogers appeared at first sight to most people to be the archetypal university woman but she had never been to school or college. Her formative years had been spent solely within her family and so she was greatly disadvantaged in having lacked the companionship of her peers, and the abrasive but beneficial effects of the 'rounding of corners' of her character, of tolerating, getting on with, and co-operating with other people. 'Her persistent talking in an unpleasing voice' was an added disability.<sup>181</sup> Instead of working with women in a body for the good of the cause she felt she was forced to operate very much alone, except for the co-operation of one or two women such as Emily Penrose and Agnes Maitland.<sup>182</sup> Influenced by her family background of reform, and armed with an acumen versed in University politics and a professional approach, she followed a strategic course of action, which was understood by the men with whom she liaised and ultimately proved successful.

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- 2 Janet Howarth and Mark Curthoys, 'The Political Economy of Women's Higher Education in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britain' in *Historical Research: The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 60 (1987); Penelope J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850* (London, 1995).
- 3 Howarth and Curthoys, 'The Political Economy of Women's Higher Education', p.209.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp.5,217.
- 5 *Daily News*, 30 October 1873, p.5.
- 6 Howarth and Curthoys, 'The Political Economy of Women's Higher Education', p.230.
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- 9 *Oxford Chronicle*, 7 May 1909, p.7.
- 10 Howarth and Curthoys, 'Gender, Curriculum and Career', p.11.
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- 20 Janet Howarth, 'Women', in Brian Harrison (ed) *The History of the University of Oxford*, 8, The Twentieth Century (Oxford, 1994), p.359.
- 21 St. Anne's (formerly the SOHS) was granted its charter as a residential college in 1952.
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- 23 Noted on Paper read by Miss Rogers at the London Conference of the Women's Emancipation Union on 15 October 1896; Minutes of St. Hugh's College Committee 1 July 1897, 6 November 1900, St. Hugh's College; Annie M.A.H. Rogers, 'Historical Reminiscences', *St. Hugh's Chronicle*, 1928.
- 24 Pauline Adams, *Somerville for Women: An Oxford College 1879-1993* (Oxford, 1996), p.93; Rogers, *Degrees by Degrees*, p.106; Howarth, 'Women', p.349.
- 25 Howarth, 'Women', pp.349,353.
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- 59 St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R1/3(119,121,125).
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## Chapter 6

### 1911-1920

'It cannot be merely a direct frontal attack'.<sup>1</sup> This remark to Gilbert Murray by Annie Rogers epitomises her strategies in the campaign for the admission of women to degrees, which continued during this final stage; a period which saw the ultimate admission of women to the University in 1920. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century the emancipation of women had gained pace and the activities of the franchise movement had escalated, putting increasing emphasis on the desire for careers for women and their need for professional qualifications.

In her efforts to obtain the degree for women at Oxford Annie Rogers pursued four key lines of approach; the possibility of including the subject in a royal commission, interpretation of the University statutes, through the Women's Delegacy, and by internal pressure on University men and external pressure on persons and by correspondence in newspapers.

Two years after Lord Curzon had recommended the admission of women to degrees at Oxford in 1909, the matter had still not been considered by the University. By the end of the academic year in June 1911 the University had promulgated three statutes, on the Faculties, Greek, and Finance. The reforms put in progress 'represented a mere instalment of what the University must ultimately grant if it is to fulfil the nation's needs'. Words of Professor Thorold Rogers, written fifty years ago, were recalled:

'What may in time to come be the work of this ancient and richly-endowed seat of learning will depend upon the wisdom with which it adapts itself to the wants of the age, the judgement with which it exercises its invaluable privileges of self-government, and the liberality with which it admits students into its arms and gifts them with its emoluments...In many points the

direct tendency of the University is to meet the needs of the time by cautious concessions'.

Since these words were written many reforms had been carried out but, the *Oxford Chronicle* felt, 'one could still find no more accurate description of the general policy of the University of Oxford than to say that its "direct tendency is to meet the needs of the time by cautious concessions".'<sup>2</sup> After the initial spurt, during which the Committee of Council appointed to consider Curzon's recommendations had held one hundred and five meetings and the Hebdomadal Council itself twenty-three special meetings, the whole procedure of reform of the University had ground almost to a halt. The Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith, was repeatedly asked for a royal commission between 1908 and 1914,<sup>3</sup> to institute further reforms, which were being blocked by the Conservative element in the University. The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 prevented further action. After the war the University found itself in financial difficulties and despite considerable opposition requested and was allotted, a government grant. By 1914 the clergyman tutor, such as Thorold Rogers, had been replaced in basic outline by the professional Oxford don, but the development of a professional academic career for Oxford women was still to lag behind for some time to come,<sup>4</sup> as noted in the previous chapter. Annie Rogers continued her efforts in this direction, and in another direction.

In common with many other Oxford women she supported the Suffrage movement. She had been attending suffrage meetings from the early 1890s,<sup>5</sup> and was a member of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Society, the Church League for Women's Suffrage and the Oxford Women Students' Suffrage Society,<sup>6</sup> both latter organizations being affiliated to the NUWSS. The women's colleges had combined in 1911 to form the OWSSS.<sup>7</sup> She supported the non-violent action of the suffragists and was opposed to the militancy of the suffragettes who were becoming increasingly violent in their activities both nationally and in Oxford, as will

be seen. Annie Rogers attended suffrage meetings, took part in peaceful demonstrations and wrote letters to the newspapers supporting the cause, but does not appear to have taken a particularly active or leading part in the movement. Privately she expressed the view that most women's affairs would be unsatisfactory until they obtained the vote, but she did not outwardly and actively link or campaign jointly for the two movements of women's degrees and women's enfranchisement, nor did she reveal her connection with the AEW when writing to the *Oxford Chronicle* on suffrage activities.<sup>8</sup>

She watched, but was not one of the Oxford women who took part in, the Women's Suffrage Procession which marched through London on the 17th June 1911, and she wrote an inspiring account for the *Oxford Chronicle*.

'I stood in Pall Mall for more than two hours watching the great women's suffrage procession pass. It was a very remarkable sight, both in its diversity and in its unity. Though composed mainly of women, men walked in the ranks, and I saw one little boy carried on a man's shoulder. There were women of all ages and conditions, grey-haired women, children, girls, middle-aged women, spinsters, matrons, and widows. Conservative women with their white, blue, and gold colours were followed by Fabians with red banners, and two Church leagues, the Free Church League and the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, closed the first division. Actresses, musicians, nurses, school teachers, civil servants, sanitary inspectors, gardeners, gymnastic teachers, pharmacists, clerks and women writers walked behind their own banners. The three great societies were headed by their Presidents; the W.S.P.U. by Mrs. Pankhurst; the N.U.W.S.S. by Mrs. Fawcett in her doctor's gown; the Women's Freedom League by Mrs. Despard. In the empire pageant England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, South Africa, India were represented, and the international contingent included representatives of the United States and most European countries. The graduates of universities walked in their robes, preceded by the women whom Oxford and Cambridge has educated but refuses to acknowledge openly and ungrudgingly. The whole line was gay with fluttering pennons, the white, green, and purple and the gold and green of the two militant societies, the red, green, and white of the National Union, and at intervals came the large banners, many of them beautiful works of art. The new Oxford University banner showed a view of our familiar spires and towers. Each local contingent had the name

of its town or district clearly displayed, sometimes with appropriate mottoes, and special attention was drawn to those towns in which the municipal councils have petitioned for the Conciliation Bill. Oxford unfortunately was missing from the list. Four pageants formed part of the procession. The prisoners' pageant, representing the 700 imprisonments, came first...The two historical pageants reminded me of sights familiar to Oxford streets not many years ago. There were abbesses and nurses, great ladies, queens, freewomen of city companies, and women of the early 19th century. The empire pageant had a car preceded by women bearing festoons of roses for England, followed by others with the rampant lion of Scotland, the red dragon of Wales, the harp of Ireland, and the emblems of the British dominions beyond the seas - the maple leaf, the springbok, the kangaroo, the elephant. Many of the women carried flowers. The actresses showed pink and green wreaths, the gardeners had little baskets of flowers in their hands, and the carriages and motors in the rear were gay with ribbons and flowers in colours indicating the sympathies of their occupants. The bands played at frequent intervals, and there were pipers with the Scotch and Irish women, but I heard very little singing. Actions speak louder than words, and it is some way from the Embankment to the Albert Hall. Diversity was the mark of the procession, but a diversity within a unity. There was diversity in dress, age, calling, rank, but there was a unity of purpose that brought all these women to walk through the crowded streets of London as one body, acting in sympathy with a great movement.'<sup>9</sup>

J.E. Skrine, one of the Oxford women who had marched, described her experience of the procession, remarking particularly on the segregation of the 'degree-less' women of the ancient universities from the women graduates, who had chivalrously allowed the Oxford and Cambridge women to precede them in the march; and on Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy receiving the marchers' salutations as they passed her viewing from a balcony.<sup>10</sup>

Annie Rogers considered the possibility of including the admission of women as an item in one of the petitions for reform that were on foot within the University. In December 1911 W.D. Ross (joint secretary of the AEW) reported to her confidentially that there were two movements for a commission proceeding within the University at that time. One group was merely asking the Hebdomadal Council to petition for a commission which would remove



from Convocation its legislative powers and leave the teaching body (that is academic residents in Congregation) the right to manage its own affairs, in which Professor C.H. Firth, W.H. Fyfe and others were involved. The second group wanted a wider ranging enquiry. This group, which included A.L. Smith, Gilbert Murray, J.A. Smith and L.R. Phelps, Ross said was 'asking for a wider commission in terms which would allow it to deal with women's degrees, though the subject is not mentioned'. But Ross advised Annie Rogers that 'it would probably be risky to try to get women's degrees into this latter petition, as it would to some extent split the petitioners'. Men from both these camps were members of the AEW and others were well known opponents.<sup>11</sup> Ross did not believe the appointment of a commission was imminent, the feeling in the Hebdomadal Council, even amongst reformers, was against it and he thought the Chancellor, 'with his nose so badly put out of joint about India is not likely to ask the Government for a commission', so he believed there was no immediate cause for action regarding women's degrees.<sup>12</sup> Six months later, in June 1912, these petitioners and others had combined forces and presented a petition to the Chancellor requesting the appointment of a commission. *The Times* commented:

'No member of the Hebdomadal Council was invited to sign the memorial, and no systematic canvass was undertaken. The list of signatories does not represent any body of men who consistently act together on a party basis, and it includes men who differ considerably as to both the aims and the methods of University reform. The proportion of younger Fellows of Colleges among the signatories is remarkable'.

The sixty-three men who signed the petition included names linked with the movement for women's education such as A.J. Carlyle, J. Estlin Carpenter, L.R. Farnell, C.H. Firth, H.L. Fisher, W.H. Fyfe, J.S. Haldane, A.D. Lindsay, J.L. Myres, A. Sidgwick and J.L. Stocks. The request was couched in general terms for a commission

'to inquire into and report upon such changes as the conditions of the present time may suggest in regard to (a) the constitution and legislative machinery of the

University; and (b) the administration of the resources of the University and the Colleges'.<sup>13</sup>

Annie Rogers before proceeding to act, first consulted Gerrans confidentially as to his opinions on associating the question of degrees for women with a request for a Commission. He replied that he thought 'that there are many people up here who are disposed to be friendly to the cause which you have at heart, but who would resent very much indeed the question of degrees for women etc. being used as an additional argument in the armoury of those who want a Commission'. The question could be considered, whether a commission was granted or not. He agreed that she could write to the Chancellor after he had made a decision regarding the petition for the appointment of a Royal Commission.<sup>14</sup> With the possibility of a Commission looming, discussions and correspondence took place to establish not only who were supporters or opponents of degrees for women, but who were supporters or opponents of the Commission, and which of those favouring a Commission wished to see degrees for women included in it. There were, according to Annie Rogers, known 'anti-feminist' men among the signatories to the Memorial for a Commission presented to Lord Curzon in June 1912 and in which there was no mention of women.<sup>15</sup> She thus proceeded to gather information on these lines. During 1912 she held many discussions on the question of pressing for the degree, and corresponded with several other University men.<sup>16</sup> Joseph Wells, Fellow and Tutor of Wadham College, commented that he would rather wait until the questions of the degree and the certificate arose as 'a great deal of trouble was taken beforehand about the Delegacy, and the result of the elections etc. was certainly not satisfactory' and that he would be giving himself 'a holiday from all matters of this kind'.<sup>17</sup> William Hamilton Fyfe, Fellow and Tutor of Merton College and described by Annie Rogers as 'a leader among the young reformers',<sup>18</sup> was more co-operative and promised to keep her informed as well as he could. He supplied her with information as to likely supporters and opponents

including those who were in touch with the Labour movement and interested in the Workers Educational Association, and others in favour of a Commission.<sup>19</sup>

Sidgwick, President of the AEW but writing to Lord Curzon on behalf of several 'of us who are interested in the opportunities and advantages now available for the women students in Oxford, and the further advantages that seem possible in the future', expressed the hope that if a Commission were appointed the Chancellor would endeavour to ensure that it would be competent to deal with the relationship of women to the University. He reminded him that the AEW Council had 'cordially accepted' the suggestion in his Memorandum that women should be admitted to degrees and was 'practically sure' that it would welcome an opportunity of providing a Commission with its views on the subject, particularly as the fact that thirteen of the fifteen British Universities gave degrees to women was a strong pointer to 'the ordinary man' of the necessity of reform at Oxford and Cambridge;<sup>20</sup> the thirteen universities being London, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham, Durham, Sheffield, Bristol, Wales, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews.

Over the many years of her campaigning Annie Rogers had mulled over the anomaly that existed whereby the University statutes stipulated that only members of the University could take its examinations and yet the University examined women, who were not members of the University. Raising the question of the statutes with Gerrans, he believed that he and Professor Geldart were likely to be the only people who had had to concern themselves much with the statutes.<sup>21</sup> Investigating the possibility of various interpretations of the statutes, in order to argue that they could be defined to include women, Annie Rogers was told by John C. Miles, Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, 'you gain nothing and raise a lot of difficulty by importing statutes intended for one purpose to a totally different connexion'.<sup>22</sup>

As to the possibility of petitioning for the degree through the Women's Delegacy, Gerrans also advised strongly against this course: 'there would be a very strong feeling in the University that it is not the function of the Delegacy to dabble in high politics'.<sup>23</sup>

On these several lines of confidential enquiry, on the commission, statutes and Delegacy, Gerrans stressed that whilst he would be glad to help and advise in any way he could, if a particular course of action was proposed to be taken by her or those acting with her with which he found he could not agree, then his assistance would have to be confined to advice on administrative details only.<sup>24</sup>

Annie Rogers exerted pressure on the Vice-Chancellor, C.B. Heberden, reminding him of the degree question, and threatening to introduce external influence. He reiterated the resolution passed by the Hebdomadal Council in June 1909 that it was in favour of considering the matter 'at an early date...upon the lines laid down in the Chancellor's Memorandum',<sup>25</sup> and said that although he was 'of course entirely in favour of raising the wider question before long' he considered it preferable first to deal with the Memorial submitted to Council in the Easter Term 1907 requesting permission for women to apply for the Certificate of Merit, it being a more limited question and one on which there was likely to be much less difference of opinion within the University, than the wider question of degrees.<sup>26</sup> Four months later she wrote to him again on the subject. He assured her that the question of women's degrees had 'not been dropped' and said he still believed it preferable to bring forward the question of the Certificate of Merit before the matter of degrees.<sup>27</sup> Thereupon after bringing further pressure to bear upon him and referring to 'pressure from outside', he replied that in his view pressure was not desirable and that he could not 'say when the question of admitting women to academical degrees on the lines laid down in the Chancellor's

memorandum will be brought forward, but it will not be lost sight of'.<sup>28</sup> This would seem to be delaying tactics; Heberden is described as in politics a Liberal and in University reform as 'belonging to the Left Centre'.<sup>29</sup>

Pursuing the line of external pressure, she wrote a confidential letter to Philip Snowden, a prominent member of the Independent Labour Party and later to become Chancellor of the Exchequer, identifying herself not only as extensively involved in the movement for the education of women at Oxford but also as the daughter of Mr. Thorold Rogers. This is quoted here because it reveals, in writing to a public figure and one who was outside the situation in Oxford, not only how she saw herself in relation to her work but the extent to which she would campaign independently. It is also interesting that she wrote to a Labour, rather than a Liberal, Member of Parliament and is an example of the swing that took place from the Liberal to the Labour Party in the political interest or involvement in women's issues at this time.

'You are I believe much interested in the position of women at the Universities and I therefore venture to express a hope that you will put yourself into communication with me if anything is likely to be done in Parliament which may affect their relation with Oxford. The enclosed paper will show you that I have a great deal to do with women's education in Oxford as a whole, as distinct from the special work of the different Colleges, and if there is any move with the opening of the University I am certain to be in the thick of it, as I was in the agitation for the degree in 1896. The H.C. [Hebdomadal Council] has stated the intention of bringing the degree question before the University at an early date and it is not likely to be delayed much longer. It would, however, be of great assistance to know if there is any move outside. It is necessary to proceed very cautiously as a defeat might prejudice our cause for many years and a premature agitation, not supported by our friends here, might do us much harm. On the other hand we might gain from an outside move if judiciously encouraged. As women are not members of the University, we are likely not to hear of proposed action which directly affects us and find that details are introduced into a scheme which are very undesirable. This must be my excuse for writing to you. Possibly you may be in Oxford some time in the course of the summer and I might then have an opportunity of meeting you. May I ask you to

consider this letter as strictly confidential. I am writing entirely on my own responsibility and without consultation, but when the degree agitation comes on I am certain to be consulted and to assist in shaping a policy. There is, however, a strong feeling here against external pressure, and my anxiety is not to apply pressure but to be prepared for action among our friends in Oxford if the pressure is imminent. I feel sure that you are so good a friend to women that you will understand my wish for co-operation.'<sup>30</sup>

Philip Snowden replied that he knew 'little or nothing about the matter' but that he was

'willing to be of any help I can. If the occasion arise where you think I can do anything, if you will write to me I will go into the matter. I have not heard of anything touching Oxford which is happening in Parliament, except the proposal to set up a Royal Commission to enquire into its endowments and of course the proposal to take votes away from men graduates... I have met your brother in Leeds at the Fords at Adel.'<sup>31</sup>

Around this time a further example of Annie Rogers' far-sightedness and grasp of the whole question of granting women admission to the University is shown in the matter of degree course certificates which women's Societies wished to give to those of their students who would otherwise have qualified for degrees. She did 'not much like these College certificates' and advised Emily Penrose that 'their bearing on our future relation to the University should be carefully considered as we are so much fettered by our pasts'.

'When the degree is given the Grace of the College will have to be produced and it seems to me rather important to prepare for this by not allowing anything which is practically an equivalent to be claimed as a right. You are, I believe, bound to accept as a member of your College any qualified person no matter what her conduct may have been, but a College of the University is not bound to present for a degree and I believe that sometimes the Grace is refused or deferred, say because a man has debts. You might find some difficulties later unless you protected yourself now'.<sup>32</sup>

She described the system that she and Geldart were proposing should be adopted by the SOHS (both being members of its Council) and believed that the question was a difficult and delicate one, 'but I think we shall do wisely to consider it in the different Councils in view of future

developments and the discussion of the whole question of discipline. We must not assume that students are all impeccable'.<sup>33</sup>

Particular efforts seem to have been made by Annie Rogers between 1909 and 1912 to publicize the campaign for degrees and the position of women at Oxford. Writing in the *Woman's Platform*, a daily page of the *Standard* devoted not to domestic subjects but to news items and to opinions, regarding professional, legal, social, suffrage and other emancipatory matters affecting women, she drew attention to the present position for women at Oxford, and thought 'it hardly to be supposed that it will permanently refuse to the women students the encouragement and help that the degree would give them'. Although a women's delegacy had been formed and although the women tutors and teachers could elect the women delegates they were under a professional disadvantage of not being admitted to educational boards.

'Women share the Oxford life. Their colleges are within the limits of university residence, the students attend lectures in every college of the university, the women and men teachers meet as members of the same profession, and the general tone is friendly and cordial. Men and women work together on councils and committees, and old students take their place in Oxford society. There is a great sense of equality and comradeship, and when the time comes for a further advance the path will have been smoothed by the friendly intercourse of many years.'<sup>34</sup>

That the *Standard* devoted a daily page to such subjects shows the extent to which the interests of women had percolated into daily life prior to the First World War. Annie Rogers also took the opportunity of correcting 'a misleading statement' contained in an article in a recent issue of the 'Woman's Platform' of the *Standard* regarding Swiss women teachers studying English at Oxford and Cambridge "under the foremost English professors", Annie Rogers wrote giving detailed information of the courses available to foreign women students and the regulations in force at Oxford.<sup>35</sup>

Believing that the position of women at Oxford and Cambridge had received insufficient attention at The Congress of British Universities held in July 1912, she gave, in the Educational Supplement of *The Times*, a summary of the position of women at Oxford and Cambridge, and pointed out how women had a share in administration at Oxford but that at neither University, (the only British universities withholding degrees from women), were the women teachers who were undertaking University work with women candidates recognized by their University.<sup>36</sup> The following month 'a correspondent' to the *Standard's* 'Women's Platform', writing on University reform at Oxford, drew attention to the fact that the important question of degrees for women had not yet been raised, although more than three years had elapsed since the Hebdomadal Council had promised to consider it "at an early date". Concern was expressed that the Vice-Chancellor, in a speech on reform of the University, had completely ignored this issue. Adopting a less patient and restrained attitude than had been voiced in the past by Annie Rogers and others, the writer asked

'Is this another case in which women, to whom the refusal of the degree for which they have qualified by residence and examination is a real hardship, must raise their voices, instead of waiting any longer in patience? Women hold a recognised position in the University, but so far this has meant obligations and restrictions rather than privileges, and the unwillingness to treat the improvement of their position as an integral and necessary part of University Reform shows that in the field of education, as well as that of industrialism women suffer from their condition of political servitude'.<sup>37</sup>

The Revd. David S. Margoliouth, Fellow of New College and Laudian Professor of Arabic, in the course of a speech made at the Congress of the Men's International Alliance for Woman Suffrage meeting at Oxford at the invitation of the University Men's League for Women's Suffrage, in October 1912, pronounced that the University was not legally empowered to grant degrees to women without the authorisation of an Act of Parliament, and his remarks were



reported in the *Standard*.<sup>38</sup> Annie Rogers thereupon consulted William Geldart as to the wisest course of action. He thought it would be a mistake to focus more attention on the subject unless it was publicised further. He had discussed the matter with Professor Dicey, who had been involved in the 1895-6 battle for the degree, and who believed there would be 'legal difficulties at least as regards the M.A.'.<sup>39</sup> Annie Rogers, however, responded to Professor Margoliouth's remarks:

'The statement of Professor Margoliouth, as reported in "Woman's Platform" of October 28th, to the effect that the University of Oxford cannot admit women to degrees, is rather startling. It has been assumed here that it could do so, and action has been taken, and is promised on those lines. Has he taken counsel's opinion, or is he aware of any legal decision on the point? The University undoubtedly has power to modify its seventeenth-century statutes, though it requires the consent of the King in Council for changes based on certain matters of more recent legislation. These later statutes do not appear to have much bearing on the admission of a new class of students or scholars or "privileged persons". If a college admitted women, would the University be able to refuse to matriculate them, and is a University which has admitted members of Keble, of which the relation to itself is quite unlike that of any other college in Oxford, unable to introduce a further development?'<sup>40</sup>

Professor Margoliouth wrote to her personally declining to accept her 'challenge in the *Standard* for numerous reasons', the most obvious perhaps, he said, being that he had 'invariably favoured the aspirations of women'; he had inaugurated the first Woman Suffrage Society in Oxford.<sup>41</sup> His argument was that, presuming the University was authorised by the Government to grant degrees, which was implied by legislation such as the Test Acts, and

'Since the degree normally confers the parliamentary vote, it follows that the intention of the power which gives the right to grant degrees means these degrees to be given to men only... The extension therefore of the right to grant degrees to a class not contemplated by the power which conferred the right can only be made with the approval of that power'.<sup>42</sup>

Gerrans believed the question of the power of the University to grant degrees to women had never been raised

in the Hebdomadal Council while he had been a member,<sup>43</sup> and that he was 'not likely to rush in where the professorial angel fears to tread', but he expressed a curiosity to hear a lawyer's opinion in view of a recent judgement of the House of Lords on an appeal from women graduates of one of the Scottish universities. He was also

'unable to offer an opinion upon the apparent suggestion that Degrees are conferred upon women in the newer Universities only because of some statutory power, in the absence of which Degrees would have been confined to members of the male sex.'

He would not, he added, be surprised to find someone arguing that the charters of the newer Universities provided for the granting of degrees to women in order that the authorities of the Universities should not decide otherwise.<sup>44</sup> Women had been admitted to degrees by charter at Durham (excluding divinity) in 1895, Wales in 1893, and the new civic universities. The charter of the University of Wales of 1893 specifically stipulated that women should be regarded as 'full members of the university' and the charters of the new civic universities did not exclude women. Whereas it was legislation, rather than charters, that had empowered the four Scottish universities to admit women in 1889 and 1892.<sup>45</sup>

On a January evening in 1913 Annie Rogers took part in a lantern procession of suffragists at Oxford which was to have walked from St. Clements to the Martyrs Memorial where it was planned to hold an open-air meeting. It was supported by the non-militant organisations of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, the Church League for Women Suffrage and the Free Church League for Women Suffrage, the Oxford Women's Suffrage Society, the Oxford Women Students' Society for Women Suffrage and the Oxford Church League for Women's Suffrage. Annie Rogers was a member of the two latter societies and of the NUWSS. The procession proceeded peacefully until it was nearing its destination, when it was attacked by a hostile mob largely composed of local boys and a few undergraduates, and was

broken up in disarray. Bad eggs and other missiles were thrown

'foul and unpleasant gasses were liberated, and permeated the atmosphere with an almost intolerable smell. The jostling increased, and parts of the procession were thrown out of rank, while the lanterns swayed and jingled together, emitting smoke in ominous volumes'.

Banners were snatched and destroyed, 'much violence was used and a great many persons were badly shaken'. In the melee Annie Rogers was hit slightly by a stone, which she remarked she would preserve 'as a memento of the energetic anti-suffragism of [her] fellow citizens'. She wrote to the *Oxford Chronicle* to complain of the behaviour of members of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage whom she assumed were the culprits.<sup>46</sup>

Many Oxford men and women who were involved in the movement for women's education also actively supported women's suffrage; amongst whom were the five women Principals (including the long-term opponent of women's degrees Bertha Johnson), most of the women tutors, Arthur Sidgwick (since 1864),<sup>47</sup> William Geldart, Gilbert Murray, and Mrs. J.P. Margoliouth (Chairman of the Oxford branch of the NUWSS). A petition signed by around seventy women 'actively and for the most part professionally engaged in educational, municipal, or similar work' in Oxford was sent in January 1913, to Lord Valentia, as the constituent Member of Parliament asking him to support the proposed amendments to the Franchise and Registration Bill which proposed to give the vote to women. If all adult males were to be enfranchised this would have rendered women the only unrepresented body in the country. The petitioners felt this would be particularly unsatisfactory for educated women, women householders and wives of householders. Signatures included those of the Principals of all the women's societies or colleges and some of their teaching staff, Annie Rogers and staff of the AEW, and the Head Mistress and Mistresses of Oxford High School. There was insufficient time for the petitioners to include signatures

of 'those many women who are engaged in philanthropic and religious work as a voluntary occupation', but the *Oxford Chronicle* believed that it was the academic women who were the mainstay of the whole suffrage movement 'and probably most other women would be indifferent'.<sup>48</sup> The response of Asquith's government was merely to offer facilities for a private member's bill in the next session of parliament.

Support for women's suffrage was so strong among students and staff at Somerville under Emily Penrose, that fears were expressed that the students were becoming too politicised, causing some benefactors to withdraw their support. Mrs. Humphry Ward, one of the founders of Ladies Lectures, Somerville's founding secretary and cousin of Emily Penrose, had devoted a great amount of time and energy in setting-up and equipping Somerville in 1879 and had suggested the college name, but her anti-suffrage activities became an embarrassment to the college, and the debating society rejected her offer of an address to present the anti-suffrage case.<sup>49</sup> Her connection with Somerville Council was severed in 1898. She based her anti-suffrage arguments on the basis that women had insufficient knowledge of politics, parties, the nation or the Empire, to qualify them for a say in government. She argued that men and women had different functions. That because England was an imperial power and that only men were and could be involved in its armed services, and its basic heavy industries, it was not right that women should be given direct power on an equal basis with men to influence parliamentary policy, foreign, commercial or financial affairs. Women should restrict their influence to the powers they already possessed in local government and school boards, and rely on the normal processes of reform for any necessary change in the law.<sup>50</sup>

In the meantime discussions continued until November 1913 when a young Junior Proctor and Fellow of St. John's College, John L. Stocks, took the initiative to request the

Hebdomadal Council to create a Committee of Council to implement its Resolution of June 1909 to consider the question of degrees for women.<sup>51</sup> The two Proctors at Oxford had wide-ranging administrative, not merely disciplinary, powers. Elected by the colleges in rotation for a period of one year, they were usually aged between thirty and forty years, were *ex-officio* members of the University Council and of almost all Boards and Delegacies and had the power to veto a motion put before Congregation or Convocation, and to move resolutions in the Hebdomadal Council. They thus had the opportunity to become established and influential in University affairs. Annie Rogers commented

'Reputations are deservedly made by Proctors. Mr. Stocks was a Proctor of this kind. He was not easily alarmed by opposition, but he did not ignore it; he was resolute without being obstinate; and although a philosopher and "reformer" he was reasonable, practical, and helpful. He was a good friend to women and would consult them, listen to what they had to say, and speak his mind candidly to them, not only about them.'<sup>52</sup>

It could probably be said, by evidence of their actions, that the other University leading figures in the movement for women's degrees, Sidgwick, Gerrans and Geldart, also possessed these virtues. Stocks consulted these men and others more experienced in the matter.

Geldart, in discussion with Stocks as to the right time to press for women's degrees, advised him firstly in October 1913 that the Hebdomadal Council was 'not in a mood to put up with anything unconnected with present emergencies'.<sup>53</sup> The nature of these emergencies is not clear. Two weeks later Stocks lunched with the Geldarts to discuss the prospect of women's degrees. Stocks found Geldart 'benevolent and rather chilling'.<sup>54</sup> Geldart felt it was a difficult question, that precipitate action should not be taken, the present time was unfavourable, and that it would please the opponents to raise it now as there was a strong chance of defeat. There was also the legal

question of whether the University had power to grant such degrees without Parliamentary legislation.<sup>55</sup>

Annie Rogers, in a 'private' letter revealing the extent of her commitment and involvement in the cause, warned Stocks of the risks at stake.

'Before you decide upon the raising of the degree question will you find time for a careful talk with me? It is a matter I care for more than anything else and for which I am prepared to undertake any amount of work, and there is no one here who knows as much about the business as I do. I want to consider our chances of success and our plan of campaign for it will be no trifle and we shall need all our intelligence and temper and driving power. I do not wish to stop you, but if we do move I want to make a good fight. Even if you decide not to move at once it might be worth while beginning our preparation, as in fact I have been doing ever since our defeat [in 1896], but please be very cautious before you emerge in to publicity.'<sup>56</sup>

She also revealed to Stocks her attitude to women's suffrage in commenting on the future appointment of a Principal for the SOHS, who she says she has decided must be paid a small salary but be a lady who will not need to earn her living from the post but 'will treat it as a branch of public service'. She would thus be able to hold her own better than one whose living is largely dependent on capitation fees. 'It is wrong from an economic point of view but most women's things are, and will be till they get the vote.'<sup>57</sup>

Stocks was full of enthusiasm at the prospect of promoting women's degrees. Describing his discussions with Geldart and Annie Rogers he reported to his fiancée, Mary Brinton

'Today has been most thrilling...Miss Rogers was in a state of wild excitement, already girding her loins for battle. (Is that womanly? I fear she is not.)...The people I have got to consult are Heberden, Gerrans, G. Murray and Miss Penrose...The lovely thing is that if I move, the Council cannot refuse a committee on which they will have to put me; and after I go out of office they will have to continue me on the Committee.'

He envisaged being able to devote a great deal of time to the business and anticipated it would take a year to draft

a workable and acceptable scheme.<sup>58</sup> C.B. Heberden cautioned him 'When you have to talk to Annie Rogers, always go to *her* house, do not invite her to yours. It will thus be possible for you to end the conversation when you wish'.<sup>59</sup> After seeing Gerrans, who was not unco-operative, Stocks assumed the matter could go ahead with just 'the form and date of the motion' to be decided, which he was correct in assuming would entail 'a deal of conference and correspondence'.<sup>60</sup>

Annie Rogers was concerned as to whether it would be preferable for the present elected Hebdomadal Council to deal with the matter or to wait until after the next Council election, or even the reconstitution of the Council, and asked him to consult Gerrans. She believed public demand for the degree was evident, as 'was abundantly proved in 1895', and that she hoped that this time 'we may grapple with the Constitutional difficulties which are great, but which in 1895 disappeared in a mass of more or less irrelevant talk and writing'. When he had decided to proceed she would 'summarize the experience of 1895'.<sup>61</sup>

Emily Penrose, consulted by Annie Rogers, initially thought the time was not right because of the increasing violence of the militant franchise supporters especially in Oxford; 'the militants had put back the clock for us and alienated some possible supporters', but she expressed herself open to conviction, and to discussion with Annie Rogers. She felt there were points in favour of action now, such as the 'Vice-Chancellor, who is neither hostile nor committed to our side, and a friendly Proctor'.<sup>62</sup> Emily Penrose was a strong supporter of suffragism and allowed many student suffrage meetings to be held at Somerville. Incidents in Oxford involving an unsuccessful attempt to damage the Colonial Secretary's house at Nuneham in 1912, the destruction of letters inside pillar-boxes and the burning of Mr. F. Rough's boathouse the following year,

had been blamed on the suffragettes.<sup>63</sup> Shortly after the boathouse fire an Oxford University branch of the National League Opposing Women's Suffrage was inaugurated on the initiative of undergraduates.<sup>64</sup>

Stocks decided to go ahead and move for a Committee of the Hebdomadal Council to implement the Council's resolution regarding degrees for women which it had passed in June 1909. He drew up a proposal to be put to the Hebdomadal Council but Geldart, although agreeing that he should proceed, felt it should not be confined at the outset to particular degrees and would be unacceptable to the Council, and suggested another:

'That a Committee be appointed, with power to confer with the Delegates of W.S. [Women Students] and others, to report to Council upon the question of the admission of women to degrees, and to prepare a scheme for consideration of Council.'

He also advised him to consult the women themselves 'otherwise they will feel that the thing is being done over their heads'. Both Stocks and Geldart thought that the proposal would be 'thrown out' by the Hebdomadal Council however.<sup>65</sup>

Annie Rogers informed Stocks that Geldart and Grant Robertson wished to have a small informal meeting in the latter's rooms in All Souls College on 30th November.<sup>66</sup> It is interesting, and perhaps significant of her independent attitude, that with this and other letters Annie Rogers wrote, the 'AEW' heading on the notepaper she used was deleted and her own address inserted; she did generally use her own personal stationery rather than that of the AEW. It also confirms that she was acting independently of the AEW. In addition to Stocks and Annie Rogers, Emily Penrose, Mrs. Prichard, the Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Professor Gilbert Murray, Gerrans, Mr. Nagel, and Mr. Cronshaw were invited to attend this meeting,<sup>67</sup> convened 'partly to discuss the line to be taken', with other people having to be brought in 'directly the news is public'.<sup>68</sup> A policy was discussed at the meeting and it was agreed that



actual membership of the University should be sought, but not at present the academic vote, nor the retention of the non-degree course.<sup>69</sup> Annie Rogers commented:

'I was the only person present who had taken an active part in the move of 1895-6, and I had learnt from it the importance of insisting on matriculation, whatever legal and other objections there might be. To evade this was to put weapons into the hands of our opponents (some of whom, now Heads of Houses, were still with us), and would confuse the real issue. The non-degree course had proved useless as a compromise.'<sup>70</sup>

Stocks succeeded in obtaining on 1st December 1913 a Resolution of the Hebdomadal Council that a Committee of Council should be formed in order to implement the Council's earlier Resolution of June 1909 following Lord Curzon's Memorandum, such Committee to submit a scheme for the implementation of degrees for women.<sup>71</sup> He reported to Annie Rogers that he 'was so excited by the motion that [he] did not hear whether the announcement caused any sensation'.<sup>72</sup> The Council also agreed in principle to their matriculation.<sup>73</sup> After some correspondence and discussion as to the possible members of such Committee, between Grant Robertson, Geldart, Stocks and Annie Rogers,<sup>74</sup> 'Stocks secured a very friendly Committee of Council and the acceptance by Council of the principle of matriculation'.<sup>75</sup> In this he was particularly advised and guided by Annie Rogers, who informed him that the AEW Council had in 1909 'passed a resolution that they would welcome proposals for the admission of women to academic degrees and admission to the University'. She advised him that he had 'the barest majority [for degrees] in Council' and asked him to collect some suggestions as to other men to bring in or not to bring in. We shall want one in each College later on', and counselled:

'Don't say too much yet about the privileges we want. It is very dangerous to go into detail before enemies, and do not on any account underrate their intelligence.'<sup>76</sup>

Her attitude, particularly towards her female colleagues, can be gauged by a postscript to her letter to Stocks: 'I will tell you tomorrow what I propose to do about the women

as I want to act at once. I am arranging to have various important people informed at once so that they may not be offended by neglect'.<sup>77</sup>

Geldart, reporting to Annie Rogers the Hebdomadal Council's agreement to the formation of the Committee, explained that as the Council had unfortunately refused to let the Committee confer with the Women's Delegacy or others at present, until the Committee had presented them with the outline of a scheme, the resolution could not be made public and therefore he proposed not to inform Joseph Wells (a member of the Women's Delegacy) formally, 'but of course our own conferences must go on and I don't see why we should not bring in anyone who will be of use'.<sup>78</sup> Thus an *ad hoc* group of campaigners, with Annie Rogers as the link and a driving force from the latter part of the nineteenth century, continued onward into the second decade of the twentieth.

Annie Rogers gave Stocks a list of people to whom she and Emily Penrose had written informing them in confidence of the setting up of the Committee of Council. She thought the Tutors knew of the Committee as a meeting of the Society of Oxford Women Tutors had been called in order to consider the non-degree course. She also drew his attention to an article in the Educational Supplement of *The Times*.<sup>79</sup> On the discipline question, which she said especially concerned women, she insisted that joint action must be taken by the University and the authorities of the Societies. If everything was left to the latter working separately, she believed there was more chance of friction and misunderstanding. 'I will get Miss Penrose to do something about that. As to the business generally, will it not be best if you and I let one another know about things quickly as they occur ... One never knows what will be important'.<sup>80</sup> Annie Rogers seems to adopt a heightened sense of authority at this stage, particularly with Stocks, the Junior Proctor. Perhaps she was perturbed by the

sudden entry onto the battlefield of a younger and less experienced combatant. Sidney Ball, Fellow of St. John's College who professed to be 'a Fabian in this as in other matters'<sup>81</sup> considered Annie Rogers' attitude to Stocks unjust, that he 'should not be robbed of the credit or discredit of moving in the matter at this particular juncture' and that his keenness had been made sharper by 'the natural ambition of a junior Proctor to do something'.<sup>82</sup>

Her advice continued with a list of points for consideration in the compilation of the scheme for degrees requested by the Hemdomadal Council,<sup>83</sup> and guidance as to discipline, for which she gave him a copy of the report which she and Emily Penrose had drawn up in 1909,<sup>84</sup> and of the rules of the SOHS which she described as similar to those of the other women's Societies. She pointed out the differences in this connection between women and men students. The relationship of women students to Principals and staff was dissimilar from that of men to the Heads of Colleges and Tutors, in that the former were 'of a more familiar and domestic character', discipline was more the responsibility of the Principal, and there was a Vice-Principal but no Dean.

3. Servants are not employed to assist with discipline, but supervision is exercised entirely by the staff.

4. Regulations must deal more with matters of etiquette than with serious faults and must be modified to suit students of different ages.

5. Rules for etiquette must be more strict than is possible in some Provincial Universities, but if understood to be a "custom" rather than a "law" will not be resented by sensible students and they will set the tone.

6. Most of the acts forbidden to undergraduates present no temptation to women students and the kinds of things women students might do but shouldn't are not forbidden to undergraduates. The women's colleges are not in the midst of a town and are well away from the men's colleges, and there is nothing like the Union and the men's clubs'

but she added that she was of the opinion that Lady Margaret Hall should have 'an enclosing wall and gates to be shut at night'.<sup>85</sup>

It seems that the stricter concentration on etiquette at Oxford, and no doubt also at Cambridge, than at other Universities and commented on previously regarding 1909, had not changed by 1913; although according to Annie Rogers there was a noticeable increase in social intercourse between men and women students over the decade before the First World War.<sup>86</sup>

If the scheme to be put before the Hebdomadal Council was to receive its approval it was felt that arrangements for women students needed to be as similar as possible to those of the men; for example, the women's non-degree course had to be abandoned. This non-degree course was supported by some of the women principals, women tutors, and University men, as they felt it gave women more freedom of choice of study. An emergency meeting of the Society of Oxford Women Tutors was convened 'to consider the non-degree course in the light of the regulations for the Teachers' Register, and the possible raising of the degree question at a near date'.<sup>87</sup> After some discussion on the subject of the degree question Annie Rogers revealed that

'she had received confidential notice that a motion in favour of granting degrees to women would very shortly be brought before Congregation, and she reviewed the past history of the degree movement. She pointed out that this also affected the question of the non-degree course.'<sup>88</sup>

She asked whether it should continue to exist concurrently with the degree course and quoted statistics showing that in the last two years the proportion of students taking the degree course had diminished; in 1912 thirty-four of the students taking Schools had studied the degree course, and forty-three the non-degree course, and in 1913 the totals were twenty-three and thirty-eight respectively.<sup>89</sup> These figures are interesting in that they show a dangerous trend, as far as co-ordination with the University is

concerned, and explain why the subject of the non-degree course was important. If the pattern of growth of the non-degree course continued in the women's Societies, then the likelihood of the University granting degrees to women would diminish, women students wanting degrees would not be attracted to the women's Societies at Oxford, and the value of a course of study at Oxford would diminish even further in the eyes of professional bodies and the general public. On the other hand, it could be argued that the women's Societies were following a progressive course of reform which reformers in the University wished to see adopted by that body, for example the study of subjects that were not yet available to men students and the abandoning of compulsory Latin and Greek. This would be one explanation for male champions of higher education for women opposing the pressing for degrees for women, and possibly linking the subject to that of reform of the University curriculum, apart from the old stock argument of feminine unsuitability.

During a lengthy discussion of the matter at the Tutors' meeting it appeared that the headmistresses, whom Annie Rogers and Emily Penrose had approached on the matter, 'had actually voted in favour of the same course for men and women' and that it would probably be unwise to request the University to grant degrees without abandoning the non-degree course. Annie Rogers' resolution, 'That, if women are admitted to academic degrees, the present permission to enter for examinations in Arts under special conditions shall be withdrawn' was then passed unopposed.<sup>90</sup> The women Principals also acceded in this particular instance. The minute books of this Society show how Annie Rogers often steered the women tutors towards policies she regarded as compatible with the eventual granting of the degree. In discussing with Mrs. Johnson the non-degree course, on which others were also expressing a division of opinion, Annie Rogers 'asked her plainly if she would not oppose the degree if the liberty were continued. She

wouldn't give a definite answer, but I think that is what will happen', she reported to Emily Penrose.<sup>91</sup> Mrs. Johnson agreed not to oppose actively<sup>92</sup> but she was therefore not entirely converted to degrees for women by the end of 1913.

Annie Rogers continued to work relentlessly, discussing the points involved in the scheme for degrees for women to be submitted to the Committee of Council, in order to reach a consensus of opinion amongst the Principals of the women's Societies and others. Members of the Women's Delegacy also had to be won over.<sup>93</sup> Reporting to Emily Penrose on the progress she had made, she said she had seen Miss Lodge, Miss Bruce, Mr. Fyfe, Mr. Nagel, Mr. Ball, Mrs. Johnson, Miss Burrows, Mrs. Grier, and had had a 'very unprofitable' interview with Miss Moberly and Miss Jourdain.<sup>94</sup> The points at issue were matriculation, academical dress, proctorial discipline, graduates' privileges, registered students, the non-degree course, and procedure. Meeting Sir John Simon (the Solicitor-General) by chance, Annie Rogers told him of the plan and he immediately suggested a London Committee, which he would like to form if it was thought desirable. She reported to Emily Penrose 'One attraction seemed to be that he and Mr. Amery would work together on it. I have observed that this has produced some effect when mentioned'.<sup>95</sup> Grant Robertson believed the time had not yet come for a London Committee. The priority was to obtain a watertight scheme to place before the University, in which all the women's supporters could 'candidly co-operate', then to persuade Congregation to approve it and finally 'to work on Convocation and to have a big outside committee'.<sup>96</sup> As R.W. Jeffery (Secretary to the Women's Delegacy) commented to her, 'The victory will not be gained only by internal conversion. There is the parsons' outside vote to be considered'.<sup>97</sup>

Correspondence and discussions also continued in 1914 between Annie Rogers and Stocks, Geldart, Gerrans, Grant Robertson, Emily Penrose, E.C. Lodge (Lady Margaret Hall), E. Armstrong (Fellow and Lecturer of Queen's College), J. Wells (Wadham College), Gilbert Murray (Student of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Greek), and A.D. Lindsay and Cyril Bailey (Fellows and Tutors of Balliol College). Great care was taken to ensure supporters were appointed as the members of committees.<sup>98</sup> Annie Rogers attempted once more to obtain support at Cambridge but despite friendly and interested responses with a request to be kept informed from Girton and Newnham, the feeling was that the time was still not right for a similar attempt there.<sup>99</sup> Annie Rogers thought Cambridge 'very backward'.<sup>100</sup>

Letters and private discussions continued to prepare the ground, this time for formal discussion by the Women's Delegacy. J. Wells of Wadham College, a member of the Delegacy, although convinced that the grant of the degree to women was reasonable and he would vote for it, would not be taking any active participation in canvassing for it, feeling that 'recent developments of the women's movement make it hard for moderate men to take any active part in advance';<sup>101</sup> no doubt a reference to the increasing violent activities of the women's suffrage movement.

She discussed the question of discipline with the newly appointed Senior Proctor, A.J. Jenkinson,<sup>102</sup> and the constitutional aspect with Geldart. Jenkinson, she described succinctly and perhaps in a characteristic manner, to Emily Penrose as 'a man of some power, I believe and if we can get him on our side may be useful but he is not very advanced and I believe he is obstinate, but he takes interest in business'.<sup>103</sup>

A scheme for admission of women to degrees, containing eighteen resolutions, was drawn up and sent to the Women's Delegacy for approval.<sup>104</sup> The Delegacy and Hebdomadal

Council were almost unanimous in their agreement on the general principle.<sup>105</sup> They wished to abolish the non-degree course but insisted on adhering to the Chancellor's proposal of excluding women from membership of Congregation and Convocation, which latter stipulation Alexander D. Lindsay (Fellow and Tutor of Balliol) commented was a silly restriction 'meant to save the face of anti-suffragists'.<sup>106</sup> Gerrans declared to Annie Rogers that the manner in which the Delegacy had 'dealt with this difficult subject has been excellent' and believed that his opinion had been shared by others.<sup>107</sup> Stocks congratulated her on her 'success with the Delegacy' and as a result of a few conversations felt 'very hopeful as to the chance of getting the statute through'.<sup>108</sup>

Responding to a letter from Annie Rogers, the Vice-Chancellor (Thomas B. Strong, Dean of Christ Church) thought the scheme was not a good one and that it would be easier to implement if the women graduates were made members of Convocation.<sup>109</sup> J. Wells, who described himself as 'a Conservative head', declared that although he had always been in favour of degrees for women, he disagreed with abandoning the non-degree course, and indeed of raising the degree question at that time and would 'take no further part in the degree business beyond voting for it'.<sup>110</sup>

However, the Hebdomadal Council instructed the Committee of Council to draft a statute and submit it to the Delegacy. Just as it seemed that the statute was at last about to be promulgated, so in August 1914 war was declared. According to Annie Rogers the outbreak of war had an unexpected effect on the relationship of women to the University.<sup>111</sup> As early as October 1914 Stocks, sending Annie Rogers a copy of a programme of the War and Peace Society, told her of the conversion of an opponent, Gamlen, who 'had come round to our side on the women's degrees question' because "the women have shown more



capacity than we gave them credit for and - well this war makes one see things in a different light". 'Perhaps the war is providential after all' commented Stocks.<sup>112</sup>

Indeed the war, far from sounding the death knell of the movement for degrees for women, as at first appeared, does seem to have had an advantageous effect. Opponents were won over after seeing how women took over jobs and responsibilities formerly the preserve of men. It stimulated a movement to give women more facilities for the study of medicine; a statute admitting women to the first examination of the degree of Bachelor of Medicine was passed unopposed on 17 July 1917, and a further statute opening the examination for the B.C.L. degree was passed without opposition in November 1918. 'The qualifications were to be the same as for men...there was no talk of different conditions for women when professions were in question'.<sup>113</sup>

The entry of women to the professions had been facilitated by the war. The government had emphasised the importance of maintaining the supply of trained teachers and professional workers and had encouraged women undergraduates to continue with their studies as part of the national war effort.<sup>114</sup> Not only had women been of national importance but their presence as students had been of great value to the University for maintaining continuity of the academic working structure and also for their fees.<sup>115</sup> The advantages of having women on the Delegacy for Women Students became apparent, and as three of the women (which included Annie Rogers) who served on the Committee appointed by the Delegacy were connected with four of the five women's Societies, they were able to influence the drafting of the statute which established the relationship of the women's Societies and their individual members, to the University. The intervention of the war gave more time for preliminary correspondence and discussions leading up to the statute.<sup>116</sup>

No contentious matter was permitted to be brought before the University in wartime. Stocks obtained a military commission and departed to serve in France, but the Committee of Council continued its work. During Hilary Term 1915 a partially drafted statute was submitted to the Delegates. Their Committee drafted this in full and obtained the provisional approval of the Hebdomadal Council in June 1917.<sup>117</sup> However, the passing of the *Representation of the People Act (1918)* gave the parliamentary franchise to women over the age of thirty, under certain conditions among which included those who possessed a degree and had 'resided' under similar regulations to male students. The University, which had formerly refused to recognize the 'residence' of women, thereupon on the suggestion of the Hebdomadal Council, commenced the issuing of a form of application for registration with a certificate of residence for signature by the Principals of the women's Societies. Miss H.C. Deneke of St. Hugh's and Lady Margaret Hall, who was of German descent, was the first woman to register.<sup>118</sup> The Act, Annie Rogers says, certainly affected the admission of women to the University.<sup>119</sup> The power of the University to matriculate and admit women to degrees, which question Professor Rogers had raised in 1873, was still in doubt. Counsel to the University, Mr. G.J. Talbot, and Sir John Simon were consulted.<sup>120</sup> They were of the opinion that the existing University statutes and the Laudian Code failed to define precisely the meaning of 'membership of the University', the words 'student', 'scholaris' and 'studiosus', and the status of non-academical persons. They also considered that the powers of the University granted under the Royal Charter of 1856, coincidentally the year of Annie Rogers' birth, which gave it authority to repeal or alter statutes, were not clear in this case. It was, therefore, advisable to obtain express parliamentary authorisation for the passing by the University of a statute for the admission of women.<sup>121</sup> The Hebdomadal Council gave notice of a Decree requesting

its Parliamentary representatives to promote legislation to ensure that the University had such power to provide by statute for the admission of women to matriculation, degrees, rights and privileges, but this action was rendered unnecessary by the passing of the *Sex Disqualification Removal Act (1919)* and the inclusion in it of an amendment, through the influence of Lord Robert Cecil and Major Hills, the former being approached while he happened to be in Oxford at the time.<sup>122</sup> This amendment stipulated that

'Nothing in the Statutes or Charter of any university shall be deemed to preclude the authorities of such university from making such provision as they shall think fit for the admission of women to membership thereof, or to any degree, right or privilege therein or in connection therewith.'<sup>123</sup>

Annie Rogers believed that the granting to the University of such power greatly affected the successful passing of the statute admitting women to membership of the University 'as the preliminary discussions would have been dangerous'.<sup>124</sup>

She attempted to canvass support for the statute in the men's colleges. John D. Denniston, Fellow of Hertford College, told her he had 'not yet made up my mind or adjusted myself to the new conditions under which we live after the war although I see strong arguments on your side'. He would, however, be delighted to admit ladies to his lectures.<sup>125</sup> Robert H. Dundas, Student and Tutor of Christ Church College, reported to her with a list of Christ Church supporters.<sup>126</sup> Henry L. Henderson, Fellow and Tutor of New College, appeared diffident about approaching colleagues without revealing that he was acting on Annie Rogers' behalf, but was certain her cause would triumph, 'in New College at any rate',<sup>127</sup> and later reported to her on opinions in his College.<sup>128</sup> Walter H. Moberly, Fellow and Lecturer of Lincoln College, declined her invitation to tea but assured her of the success of the statute and that Sidgwick would support it or an amendment in favour of 'full privileges'.<sup>129</sup> Richard W.

Livingstone, Fellow and Lecturer of Christ Church College, like Henderson, was also diffident about giving information on opinions other than his own. 'One hardly likes to give information of one's colleagues' opinions drawn from casual and private conversation in Common Room, and a formal canvass I think is better conducted from outside'. He was, however, personally sympathetic to the cause of women's degrees and was sure the statute would have an immense majority in the University.<sup>130</sup> J.W. Kirkaldy, Tutor in charge of women science students, returned her list of names marked as to those in favour or against and thought there would be very little opposition in the Science Faculty.<sup>131</sup> Francis de Zulueta, Fellow and Tutor of New College, would 'vote for the complete abolition of all differences in the University between men and women, as must all sensible men who know how to accept defeat'.<sup>132</sup> Ferdinand C. Schiller, Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, could not conceive that there should be any opposition to the statute and had wondered for many years why it had never been proposed again,<sup>133</sup> and the Revd. James M. Thomson, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, was in favour of giving degrees to women.<sup>134</sup>

Evidence for the success, or vindication of, the lobbying and canvassing tactics employed by Annie Rogers throughout her campaign appears in the *Oxford Magazine* in October 1919. Following the publication in the *Oxford University Gazette*<sup>135</sup> of the proposed Statute for the Admission of Women to Membership of the University and to Degrees in the University, the *Oxford Magazine*<sup>136</sup>

'congratulated those who had organized women's education in Oxford with such signal tact and success, pointing out that there had been no deputations or agitation of the women tutors and their pupils. They had indeed kept so quiet that one correspondent of the *Oxford Magazine* assumed that the already over-burdened college tutor would "have to do" the tuition of the women.'<sup>137</sup>

Annie Rogers records that despite difficulties being raised and 'a curious unwillingness to face the full responsibility of the University'<sup>138</sup> still remaining, it was found when the *Oxford University Gazette* published the statute on 26 November 1919 that the clause specifically excluding women from Convocation and examinerships had been amended to include them. 'All reference to registered women students had disappeared, and all degrees except those of B.D. and D.D. were open'.<sup>139</sup> Statutes drafted covering membership of Council, Congregation, Faculties and Boards of Faculties 'were bolder than had been expected even at the beginning of term, but they did not alarm the University greatly. They left very little to ask for and so could not be represented as likely to produce further agitations'.<sup>140</sup> Women were now not only eligible to vote but to become Members of Parliament. Congratulations to Annie Rogers came from Emily Penrose, who wrote

'The proposed statute is all and more than all that we could have hoped. Many congratulations! ...It is good.'<sup>141</sup>

As well as congratulations, there were also, by no means for the first time in the history of her *cause célèbre*, indications that she should reduce the pressure of her campaigning. J.W. Kirkaldy reported to her that

'the Science people are all right for the degree. If they are let alone - the general attitude is, how futile to make a fuss about what ought to come and is bound to come...There may be half a dozen out of the whole lot who will be pig-headed, but they will be worse if they are worried.'<sup>142</sup>

An article outlining and explaining the justification for the statute was written by Annie Rogers and published in the *Oxford Magazine* in January 1920.

'The statute by which it is proposed to admit women to matriculation and to degrees is partly modelled on the Statute on New Foundations, but is much more elaborate. It does not admit Women's Colleges to the privileges of the Colleges within the University, but it gives them the right to present their students for matriculation and for degrees, provided they fulfil

certain conditions, and it defines the rights, privileges, and obligations of women members of the University. The conditions concern the character of the Society, its buildings, its internal administration, and the academic qualification of its Head...It would be contrary to the general sentiment now prevailing in England to exclude women from an educational organization merely on the ground of sex'.<sup>143</sup>

The following month the Society of Women Tutors drew up, under the signature of their President, Eleanor C. Lodge, an account of the relationship of women students and teachers to the University from 1875 to 1920<sup>144</sup> but as there was no organized opposition to the statute this was never circulated.<sup>145</sup>

The Preamble was moved in Congregation on the 17th February 1920 by Professor Geldart (President of the AEW since 1915), seconded by A.D. Lindsay (later Master of Balliol) and was, to the surprise of all, unopposed. The sight of Annie Rogers and Professor Geldart shaking hands on this achievement was long remembered.<sup>146</sup> 'Success had been hoped for, but so peaceful a victory was hardly anticipated', commented Annie Rogers.<sup>147</sup> Notice was given, by two opponents of Exeter College, of two amendments to exclude membership by women of Boards and examinerships, but after the circulation of a statement opposing the amendments signed by some ninety-seven members of the University, including A.H. Johnson,<sup>148</sup> the amendment was defeated.<sup>149</sup> As Annie Rogers remarked, 'There had been some notable converts since 1895'.<sup>150</sup> Professor Gardner, a long-term opponent of twenty-four years, expressed disagreement in the *Oxford Magazine* which went unanswered.<sup>151</sup> He did not intend to oppose the statute but would have preferred a separate organization for women's education and concentration on the subjects of art and religion as being of 'overwhelming importance' to women.<sup>152</sup> Annie Rogers commented

'If a four years' European War could not teach an Oxford professor in the seclusion of the Ashmolean that women had served their country by taking the place of men in factories, government offices, boys' schools, banks, shops, omnibuses, and railways, that

nursing was not their sole function in times of war, and that men could not prevent women from taking a larger part in public life as soon as they were politically enfranchised, it was useless to attempt the milder methods of argument.'<sup>153</sup>

The Statute was duly passed in Congregation on 4th May 1920 and Convocation on 11 May 1920 without further opposition. 'Truly the revolution, if such it was, was made with rose water and was almost incredible to those of us who remembered 1896 and 1910'; but 'we did not claim a triumph',<sup>154</sup> remarked Annie Rogers.

Taking the opportunity afforded by a letter in the *Oxford Magazine* from a 'diehard' lamenting three extensive changes to the University during 1920, that is the abolition of compulsory Greek, the admission of women to membership and degrees, and the acceptance of a Government grant,<sup>155</sup> Annie Rogers replied with an account of the movement for the degree for women and an expression of gratitude to past supporters.<sup>156</sup>

The Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge Universities, set up in November 1919 under the chairmanship of H.H. Asquith, heard evidence on 30th September 1920 from representatives from the five recognised societies of women students, mainly the Principals or Vice-Principals, including Mrs. A.H. Johnson as Principal of the S.O.H.S., Professor W.M. Geldart as Chairman and Annie Rogers as Secretary.<sup>157</sup> Miss E.C. Lodge and Miss M.K. Pope gave evidence on behalf of the Oxford Women Tutors and 'Miss Rogers was examined on various points relating to the education of women in Oxford'.<sup>158</sup>

Described as 'the most far-reaching change in Oxford since its foundation',<sup>159</sup> in a ceremony in the Divinity School on 7th October 1920, one hundred and twenty-nine members of the recognized societies of women students (Lady Margaret Hall, Somerville College, St. Hugh's

College, St. Hilda's Hall, and the Society of Oxford Home Students) were admitted, by matriculation for which Annie Rogers had for several decades insisted upon, to membership of the University by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Farnell, Rector of Exeter,<sup>160</sup> it being a statutory obligation that students should be admitted within two weeks of their admission to a college or hall. Dr. Farnell was 'a strong "reformer"' as regards teaching and research, who had in 1895 been secretary to the committee for opposing the admission of women to degrees.<sup>161</sup> A week later the first degree ceremony for women took place, the degree of M.A. being conferred by Decree of Convocation on all five Principals of the Women's Societies: Bertha J. Johnson, Henrietta Jex-Blake, Emily Penrose, Eleanor Jourdain and Winifred Moberly,<sup>162</sup> none of whom had qualified for the degree.<sup>163</sup> Mrs. Johnson had been involved in the movement for women's education at Oxford from the beginning, but had been one of the strongest opponents to the admission of women to the degree. She had been converted by the abolition of compulsory Greek.<sup>164</sup> It is ironic that she should have headed the procession of women at this ceremony and received a degree before Annie Rogers did so. With sixteen other tutors and Vice-Principals of the Women's Societies, only one of whom was fully qualified for the degree, Annie Rogers, at the age of sixty-four, was conferred with the degree of M.A. at a second ceremony on the 26th October. She was, however, accorded the privilege of being placed at the head of the list. It was unfortunate that Arthur Sidgwick did not live to witness these ceremonies, having died on 25th September. On the dissolution of the AEW in November 1920,<sup>165</sup> it was proposed that Annie Rogers should be entitled 'the Secretary' and that all correspondence and persons seeking general information about women's education at Oxford and matters regarding the loan funds of the AEW, should be entrusted to her, at a salary of £50, the male secretary (Mr. Jeffrey) receiving £90. She refused this offer.<sup>166</sup> A clock and attaché case given by



past and present members of the AEW Council and other friends, and a silk M.A. gown from her former pupils, were presented to her.<sup>167</sup>

Annie Rogers had taught during this whole period from the late eighteen-seventies, had served on numerous committees, and worked tirelessly for the full admission of women to the University of Oxford. *The Times* commented

'The leaders of women's education in Oxford may be congratulated on this triumphal recognition of the cause for which they have worked so long and so arduously, and on a victory won by courtesy, patience and merit alone.'<sup>168</sup>

Of the failure of the struggle at Cambridge it was said that 'their leaders had led them unwisely into driving their best friends into the enemies' camp'.<sup>169</sup> Perhaps they would have been more successful had they emulated the strategies of Annie Rogers.

She continued to serve on the councils of the SOHS and St. Hugh's, where she was appointed *Custos Hortulorum* to the garden she had created.<sup>170</sup> She died, aged eighty-one, on 28th October 1937 as the result of a road accident, being knocked down by a lorry in St. Giles, Oxford. Her house and £1,000 she bequeathed to the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of the University of Oxford for the Society of Oxford Home Students.<sup>171</sup> Her funeral service was held in St. Giles' Church and a memorial service at St. Mary's which the Vice-Chancellor, the Proctors, Principals of the women's societies and many other University men and women attended. To commemorate her life and the more than fifty years in which she had 'played a leading part in the movement for full participation by women in the life of the University of Oxford' many former pupils and friends contributed towards the creation and maintenance of a garden on the north side of the University Church of St. Mary, with a stone seat engraved to her memory.<sup>172</sup>

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- 8 A.M.A.H. Rogers to J.L. Stocks, 15 November 1913, St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R2/2(35); *Oxford Chronicle*, 17 January 1913, p.7.
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- 14 H.T. Gerrans to A.M.A.H. Rogers, 30 May 1912, St. Anne's, Rogers collection R2/2(19).
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  - 30 A.M.A.H. Rogers to Philip Snowden, 16 July 1912, St. Anne's, Rogers Collection R2/2(31).
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## Chapter 7

### Conclusion

The admission of women to degrees at Oxford University 'is a matter I care for more than anything else and for which I am prepared to undertake any amount of work',<sup>1</sup> Annie Rogers avowed. She devoted forty-two years of her life to working for this aim, which her mother described as her vocation.<sup>2</sup>

She is described by contemporaries as being of 'strong intelligence, lively humour', a 'strategist and tactician', 'forcible in temperament, too diffuse and confident in opinion, to remain on easy terms with everyone', 'something of a tyrant',<sup>3</sup> yet no autocrat, kind and warmhearted<sup>4</sup> and with 'a taste and talent for constitution making'. 'Her whole life and activity were devoted to the interests of women in the University; she never felt the least attraction to a wider sphere';<sup>5</sup> apart from her support of suffragism, but that too was probably partly linked to her desire to see women admitted to the University, and partly inherited from her father. She suffered from having been brought up almost entirely at home in a predominantly male environment, deprived of the company of her peers at school or college, and restricted to radicalism, politics, and academe. She was an Oxford character, mannish in appearance, and a persistent talker, which contemporaries found off-putting.<sup>6</sup> They recall often seeing the hunted look on the face of a don when she spotted him and decided to talk to him - escape was impossible.<sup>7</sup> Yet undoubtedly her abilities as a strategist, in committee work and constitution making, and her dogged pursuit of her objectives, were invaluable in the struggle for the admission of women to the University.

With the limited amount of personal documentary evidence available, as explained in the Introduction, it is difficult to assess the ideas and intellectual development of Annie Rogers. From letters to colleagues and to newspapers, and from the articles she wrote, however, a progression can be discerned. Early in her life, as we have seen, Annie Rogers became a teacher to her siblings, all of whom (with the exception of Leonard) were less academically gifted than she was, but because they were boys they were sent to school and university. This must have left her with some resentment and frustration. She also worked with girls through the Girls Provident Society and took Sunday school and German classes. In 1879 she became a tutor in classics for the AEW. At the time of the move in 1884 to obtain permission for women to sit the men's University examinations Annie Rogers, aged twenty-eight, first ventured tentatively to write to a newspaper in support of the motion, taking the line that the examinations would benefit girls with a bent for study who worked alone at home. The examinations would give them support and encouragement in the midst of the distraction of home duties and would relieve conscientious and hard-working girls of the fear 'that their work is judged leniently merely because they are women'.<sup>8</sup> Here she drew on the experiences of her youth and of being deprived of an Oxford University education. By 1886 her mother remarked on her useful and 'distinguished' career, and that she had 'now altered from a rather shy and retiring girl to be rather a self-asserting woman taking her own line'.<sup>9</sup> On taking over as Honorary Secretary of the AEW in 1894 she adopted a more confident and assertive attitude, now working and writing from a position of authority. She had progressed from concern in her earlier years, that women students should have the opportunity to study. From her experience of life as a single woman, as a tutor and from her involvement in the administration of the AEW, she now concentrated on working to promote

opportunities for women tutors and lecturers, and on establishing the professional status of tutors, the admittance of women to the University so that they would be qualified for appointments (particularly academic ones), and she supported the enfranchisement of women. At the beginning of the twentieth century she saw the prejudice and reluctance of Oxford men (and some women) still continuing against degrees for women. As time passed and the University still denied women admittance, so she became more outspoken in her campaign. In the earlier years when writing or speaking on the subject of education for women at Oxford, she had merely stated the position of women students, and then expressed the hope that the University would one day take responsibility for them and admit them to its degrees. Around the early years of the twentieth century she became slightly more critical of the University. She also expressed dissatisfaction with the unequal position of women<sup>10</sup> and became involved in supporting the suffrage movement in the 1890s; although she emphatically 'avoided generalities and emphasis on "rights"' and lines of argument 'based on sentiment or abstract principles'.<sup>11</sup>

As we have seen, she took part in discussions with individuals and on committees, spoke and gave papers on the position of women at Oxford (and sometimes Cambridge) to organizations, and wrote a number of letters and articles in the local and national press. She was a strategist, tactician, lobbyist, and authority on the University statutes, who devised schemes at every stage in the struggle and discussed these with members of the University who sought her knowledge and opinion. Through her secretaryship of the AEW she was able to promote the cause. She produced lists of supporters and opponents which she would systematically lobby, or delegate the task to others. It was she to whom Arthur Sidgwick turned for the information requested by Lord Curzon, the Chancellor, on the question of degrees for women, which

he subsequently advocated in his recommendations for reform of the University in 1909. She strongly believed in university education for women on the same terms as for men on the basis that anything else would be judged to be inferior. But she felt she was more likely to achieve that aim by chiefly excluding women from negotiations and working in a subordinate role with University men, often men in influential positions.

However, criticisms were made, particularly in the later stages of the campaign, of the value of her contributions from the point of view of her personality and her tactics. Joan Evans, a former student from 1914, and later tutor, at St. Hugh's, described Annie Rogers in her late fifties as 'a woman with fine bones, who had she been a man would have been handsome, she drove most people to desperation by her persistent talking in an unpleasing voice'. Joan Evans recognized the dedication and endless service she had rendered in securing the admission of women to the University, but 'sometimes felt that nothing would be more likely to secure Oxford degrees for women than that Miss Rogers, commonly called the Rodge, should suffer from a prolonged attack of aphasia'.<sup>12</sup> As previously noted, the Vice-Chancellor, C.B. Heberden, cautioned J.L. Stocks against Annie Rogers' persistent and prolonged verbosity; although in spite of her shortcomings Mary Stocks 'chose' to believe that St. Anne's College was named after Annie Rogers 'or that if it wasn't, it ought to have been'.<sup>13</sup> Annie Rogers is said, on the day of the death of St. Hugh's controversial Principal, Eleanor Jourdain, in 1923 to have thoughtlessly gone round Oxford canvassing for her successor.<sup>14</sup> Her canvassing and lobbying tactics during a Council election, to ensure women were represented effectively for discussions on the limitation of numbers of women students in 1927, resulted in the loss of at least two of the most outstanding men on the Council.<sup>15</sup> But this postdates her activities during the

period leading up to the admission of women to the University in 1920 (the period with which this thesis is concerned), and perhaps as she was by then aged seventy-one some allowance should be made for old age. Her letters to J.L. Myres around this time show her to be making a nuisance of herself with her captiousness and strategies, and her handwriting shows distinct deterioration.<sup>16</sup>

Other people of course made a contribution to the admission of women. There were the many University men (some in prominent positions) and their wives, who were involved as members of the AEW from the start, some motivated by the desire for their daughters to be educated at Oxford. From 1879 to 1920 several University men played a leading part towards the eventual admission of women, with whom Annie Rogers worked, advised, assisted and liaised. Chief of these was Arthur Sidgwick who was a dominant figure up to 1910 when his health began to fail. 'Women's education had no more ardent advocate'.<sup>17</sup> He rendered sterling service particularly as co-secretary of the AEW and could be said to have led the campaigns for the admission of women to University examinations in 1884 and for the degree in 1895-6. As co-secretaries of the AEW from 1894, he and Annie Rogers worked well together and she considered he 'had good sound commonsense about women's affairs'.<sup>18</sup> He was especially helpful during the conflict between the AEW and the Halls, showing tact, patience and diplomacy towards Mrs. Johnson's stance.<sup>19</sup> T.H. Grose, as Chairman of the AEW promoted the move for the degree in 1895-6. H.T. Gerrans, as a member of the Hebdomadal Council, made an important contribution to Oxford women's education, in negotiations with Curzon regarding his recommendations, and in being largely responsible for the setting-up of the Women's Delegacy in 1910. Curzon's contribution was decisive; it put the whole question on an official plane and rallied the University to face the issue. John L.

Stocks made a brief but significant contribution around 1914 using the privileges of his position as Junior Proctor. W.M. Geldart (latterly Chairman of the AEW, and of the SOHS from 1911-21) advised on constitutional aspects, argued for the statute for the Women's Delegacy in Congregation, piloted the Women's Statute in 1920 and introduced it in that body. He and Annie Rogers shared a common interest and expertise in statutes and worked well together. 'Mr. Geldart was one of the best friends I ever had', she commented.<sup>20</sup>

Several of these men were also on the councils of the women's halls or societies, where they used their experience and expertise to guide the halls towards collegiate status and recognition by the University. This factor would have contributed towards the eventual admission of women. Sidgwick was a member of the councils of Somerville and the SOHS, Geldart of the SOHS and the University Representative on Somerville council, and Gerrans was also on Somerville Council. Agnes Maitland (Principal of Somerville) gave support to the movement and worked with Annie Rogers. Her successor as Principal, Emily Penrose (1907-1926), made an important contribution to the admission of women. Her professional and statesmanlike qualities and her academic and administrative ability, particularly during the difficult war period, not only made an impression on the University, demonstrating what women could do, but helped to put Somerville on an independent collegiate basis, with its own teaching staff, in advance of the other halls.<sup>21</sup> She was also involved in negotiations, committees, letter-writing and lobbying, as has been noted. Vera Brittain, a student at Somerville from 1914, thought Emily Penrose 'more than any other Oxford woman, had been responsible' for the admission of women to the University.<sup>22</sup> Yet she also described Emily Penrose as Annie Rogers' 'unofficial partner in the struggle for women's degrees', and said



'In so far as the record of the women's decorous persistence has any fighting quality, Miss Rogers supplied it. ...through her brilliant brain, her indomitable if aggressive personality, and her single-minded devotion to a significant end, she qualifies for praise among "famous men"....If the women at Oxford could be said to owe their triumph to any one individual, the credit is hers. She was their forerunner, their expert, their champion, and the symbol of their struggle'.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to leading personalities, there were factors operating in the background which beneficially affected the movement and contributed to the admission of women to the University. The growth and development of the women's colleges, who set a good example under their first Principals regarding the behaviour of the students, and dispelled initial fears of the possible harmful effect on Oxford of the introduction of women. The admittance of women to all other British universities except Oxford and Cambridge added extra weight to the argument for admitting women there. Attitudes to women changed over the period. Women generally became more emancipated and the franchise movement gained momentum. The employment of women was not only an economic necessity but women increasingly chose to seek work. Tasks performed by women during the First World War showed that women were capable of doing many jobs previously thought the province of men. The War is said to have 'shifted the balance of opinion at Oxford towards assimilation'. Deprived of men undergraduates and academics, the University needed both the fees of the women students and the services of the women tutors.<sup>24</sup> The growth of the professionalization of society and the gradual opening of the professions to women also contributed to the University's changing attitude to women. The feminist movement may have had an influence, although contemporaries have argued that it did not and was expressly avoided at Oxford, being thought damaging to the campaign.<sup>25</sup>

'women's colleges did not consciously set out to broaden the human spirit or nurture a sense of

revolt against women's position in society...To attempt to move faster than the general contemporary tide of liberal opinion, particularly as manifested in Oxford and Cambridge academic circles, would have been to court disaster'.<sup>26</sup>

Olive Banks included Annie Rogers and other educationists in her *Biographical Dictionary of British Feminists* in 1990.<sup>27</sup> Annie Rogers claimed not to have been a feminist and that feminist issues were specifically avoided in the work for the education of women in the University.

'If they [other women involved in the movement] had come in more we might have had the same kind of feminist talk that there was at Cambridge, and I should have been perpetually hampered'.<sup>28</sup>

The only occasion on which Oxford women's colleges took a stand on principle rather than on practical issues was not until the passing of a statute in 1927 which

'limited the number of female students in residence to 840 and prohibited the foundation of a new women's college if it would make the ratio of women to men students higher than one to four'.<sup>29</sup>

At Oxford Annie Rogers adopted the role of a strategist, together with members of the University sympathetic to the cause, and worked within the system and its rules; 'there was no equivalent to the radical Girton and its outside feminist support'.<sup>30</sup> As has been argued in this thesis, Annie Rogers was a reformer, working much on her own, but also in support of other University men, within the system and rules of the University.

It has been generally agreed amongst historians that the word 'feminism' is difficult or perhaps impossible to define objectively, principally because it has had different meanings for different groups of people over different periods of time, with many shades of meaning. A further problem is that the word was not used until the end of the nineteenth century, being a neologism of the 1890s originating in France and North America,<sup>31</sup> which did not become commonly used in this country until the period immediately prior to the First World War. The

*Oxford Dictionary* first makes reference to it in its *Supplement* in 1901 and, drawing on the French context, defines it as the 'advocacy of the rights of women'.<sup>32</sup> The term feminism, therefore, would not have been in use during the first twelve years of Annie Rogers' forty-two years' long battle.

Writing most recently in 1997 in a study of English Feminism, Barbara Caine has argued that recent extensive studies of feminism in relation to literature, imperialism, and political, social, and philanthropic issues have expanded and transformed the history of feminism and have rendered the meaning and encompassment of feminism even more 'complex and almost impossible to answer with any degree of certainty'. 'Moreover any historical definition of feminism, however flexible it might appear, has come to be seen by many historians and feminist theorists as not only difficult, but also impossible'. She says that the expanded framework and 'immense breadth makes it extremely difficult of course to decide whether to classify a particular 'text or individual or campaign as "feminist". Indeed, increasingly, contemporary feminist debates would suggest that such a classification is neither viable nor necessary'.<sup>33</sup> This argument seems to fit the case of Annie Rogers and the line taken by this thesis that she was a reformer, and will be adopted here.

Furthermore, Banks' classification of Annie Rogers as a feminist was based on secondary sources.<sup>34</sup> It is argued here that the close study of Annie Rogers' background, personality and method of operating undertaken in the course of writing this thesis reveals Annie Rogers to have been a reformer, and to have been continuing in the tradition of her reforming family within the development of the professions. She was following in the footsteps of her father to some extent in his attempts to reform the University of Oxford; in

her case by the admission of women. The Rogers family, as has been shown, were part of the development of the professions, particularly the medical and academic professions. Her father advocated universal franchise, including women's enfranchisement. Annie Rogers' support for the suffrage movement was part of this reforming instinct, but she also probably came to believe, as did others, that the education of women at Oxford and the vote went together; that one campaign helped the other, hence the strong support for the suffrage amongst many of the Oxford people involved in the higher education of women. She was a member of three suffragist societies but apart from attending meetings and demonstrations and writing a few letters to newspapers on the subject, she seems to have taken no particularly active or leading part in the suffrage movement, such as addressing meetings.

She was an educational reformer, in that she worked to improve higher education for women by obtaining their admission to Oxford University on the same basis as for men in order to fit them for employment in the professions. She was also concerned with issues being debated in the University which would have an effect on women students. For example in 1913 she was interested in the proposed new Pass Moderations Statute and the abolition of the two vivas.<sup>35</sup> Through the activities of her local church she worked in a small way with less privileged girls through Sunday School classes and the Girls Provident Society, but she was not by any means a social reformer like Mrs. Humphry Ward, who created settlements for the poor. She took the opposite side to her in the suffrage argument. Mrs. Humphry Ward believed women should restrict their influence to the powers they already possessed in local government and school boards, and rely on the normal processes of reform for any necessary change in the law.<sup>36</sup> Annie Rogers believed, like her father, that women's interests would only be

considered when women were represented in parliament. She agreed that processes of reform should be sought through necessary changes in the law and worked as a prudent reformer through the normal processes of the University using, as far as she was allowed, the normal channels for university reform, of negotiating and lobbying.

Just as Annie Rogers can be seen as part of the process of the developing professions, working to get women into Oxford University, and working to improve the status of the women's academic profession, so she can also be seen as a product of her time. In an overview of British society between 1870 and 1914 José Harris finds that the 1860s witnessed a period of growth in the debate on women's rights and women's roles, with the abortive demand for female enfranchisement and the partially successful drive for female secondary and higher education. She says the view is often held that the following three decades were a period of inactivity in this sphere until the militant suffragettes emerged in the 1900s; but she considers this a misleading view as women's roles and male-female relationships changed markedly, although not without difficulty, in political, legal, economic, intellectual, personal and psychological spheres during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The reorganisation of local government, and the granting of some rights to enfranchisement, gave women an entry into public life. According to Harris,

'The enormous growth of associational culture in late nineteenth century Britain - under the auspices of churches, charities, pressure groups and a host of musical, artistic, political, social science, and self-improvement societies - brought thousands of active and organizing women into the quasi-public sphere.'<sup>37</sup>

Many of these women had no specific commitment to 'feminist' causes, but an increasingly influential and articulate minority was explicitly concerned with advancing women's interests and women's rights.<sup>38</sup> This

suggests that women's emancipation was not dependent upon feminist activity; a view supported also by Martin Pugh.<sup>39</sup>

Gillian Sutherland follows the same argument as Harris but whereas Harris bases hers at a general level, Sutherland places hers in the context of the higher education of women.<sup>40</sup> She believes it should be understood in conjunction with the campaign for university reform, and the wider issues of social and political change which were the concerns of liberalism. To see the movement for the education of women as part of 'a wholesale shift in society towards formal, institutionalised' education, led by the middle-class and overlaid with the concepts of a liberal intelligentsia, is, it can be argued, to explain a phenomenon merely by means of a description. But, she says, it draws attention to 'the response of a whole society to industrialisation and resultant changes in the patterns of socialisation' rather than to 'women reacting to changes imposed on them'. Such an observation, she believes, guards against the viewing of

'enthusiasts for women's education in nineteenth century England as lone figures out of time, battling heroically against the forces of reaction, or huddled in a ghetto, acted upon, sinned against, but seldom active participants in the wider life of a thrusting and energetic middle-class society'.<sup>41</sup>

This view confirms Thorold and Annie Rogers as acting as part of university reform and liberalism.

Following on from the theories of Harris at a general level (and arguing that Annie Rogers was a product of her time), and Sutherland within the context of higher education, it could be said that Annie Rogers was placed within an even narrower sphere, that she was operating within the process of reform in Victorian and Edwardian Oxford.

London University admitted women in 1878, the first university to do so. By 1893 all British universities, except Oxford and Cambridge, had followed suit. Therefore it could be argued that from the end of the nineteenth century to 1920 Annie Rogers was not pursuing a revolutionary course but was merely attempting to bring Oxford into line with the contemporary world; although some might say this was a revolutionary course.

On the final achievement of the admission of women to the University Annie Rogers said 'the revolution, if such it was, was made with rose water'.<sup>42</sup> Certainly the reforms at Oxford advocated by Thorold Rogers and other liberal academics were considered to be revolutionary. The same could be said of the admission of women to the ancient University of Oxford, a university steeped in tradition and emerging from male monasticism. Annie Rogers shares similarities with Brian Harrison's 'Prudent Revolutionaries' who were, he argues, a group of feminist leaders who, during the inter-war period, contributed towards the advancement of women's position in politics, occupations and family roles, but who adopted more cautious and less dramatic strategies than those of better known feminists and worked within the democratic and institutional systems and obeyed the rules; a method which has tended to leave them undisturbed by historians. Harrison does not include Annie Rogers amongst his Prudent Revolutionaries but he describes her as 'Oxford's stateswoman... performing on a smaller stage' and indeed highlights Annie Rogers' role at Oxford as an example of the prudent manner in which they worked.<sup>43</sup> Harrison maintains that they were revolutionary because 'Feminist ambitions for social change are revolutionary', and that their political prudence was expedient for enfranchised women who now had to battle for not one large single issue but for numerous issues against male dominated institutions and in the context of a slight anti-feminist backlash following women's enfranchisement.<sup>44</sup>

As has been argued in this thesis, family influences played an important part in the shaping of Annie Rogers' ambitions regarding women and the University, so Harrison also shows that family influences were of central importance to the development of the prudent inter-war feminist, whether following the example of positive attitudes to women's emancipation, as in the case of Pippa and Ray Strachey, or reacting against negative opposition as did Eleanor Rathbone. Within the family, the influence of fathers upon these women is pronounced. Millicent Fawcett's commanding self-assured father held greater sway over her than her mother. Rathbone was devoted to her father, inherited his rarely combined qualities of idealism and practical skills in reform, and followed in his wake as a Liberal member of parliament. M.C. Ashby's political career was launched by and closely resembled that of her father, Charles Corbett. As we have seen, Annie Rogers adopted much of her father's reforming ethos but imbued it with a greater measure of prudence. Unlike her father, she avoided head-on collisions. Her strategy is epitomised in a letter to Gilbert Murray regarding women's salaries at Oxford:

'if you really want an improvement you must help us with the English Board & at the right moment & with a pre-arranged plan. We are thinking over a forward move in the course of this year [1913] but it cannot be merely a direct frontal attack & I can explain the situation to you in a very short time but the great difficulty here (apart from little jealousies) is to get time to see people & explain what one has in mind.'<sup>45</sup>

Like Annie Rogers, these inter-war prudent revolutionaries tended to operate unobtrusively, utilizing their secretaryships of organisations, lobbying support for their causes and avoiding the antagonising of opponents. Annie Rogers even holidayed with women who opposed degrees for women at Oxford, as previously mentioned. They 'drew on deep reserves of patriotism and religion', often channelling into their causes the energy that their mothers' generation had devoted to religion.



Their 'achievement was considerable and at no stage inevitable'.<sup>46</sup>

As Annie Rogers said, 'men have taken the lead, though women have throughout advised and helped'.<sup>47</sup> But Annie Rogers was the only person who continuously 'advised and helped' throughout the whole period. She preferred to be an adjutant rather than a general.

In conclusion, like most successful reformers, Annie Rogers was the right person, in the right place at the right time. Increasing numbers of women from the mid nineteenth century onward needed to earn their own living, and increasing numbers of women chose to use their intellect and enter the professions. They were hampered from doing so partly because both teachers and taught lacked a university education and degree, and partly by cultural attitudes towards women. As we have seen, it was particularly important for women's education that the two most eminent universities of Oxford and Cambridge should be opened to them, so that women could obtain the type of education they provided, to qualify for the professions and obtain senior appointments.

Annie Rogers was unusually well equipped to play a leading role in the admission of women to Oxford University. She was strongly motivated by being herself one of the so-called 'surplus women', needing to earn her own living. She was intellectually a very clever woman; a fact well known and not only in Oxford. The Rogers family were part of Oxford life and society. They mixed with leading figures of the nation and University. Her character was moulded by life within her family, which made her accepted by Oxford University society, particularly as the daughter of an eminent professor.

She inherited her father's fighting spirit and zest for reform, but fortunately not his brashness. They were

both formidable people but in her case her personality was softened by the influence of her mother. The ladylike domesticity of the genteel upper-middle class professional family in which Mrs. Rogers had been reared also exerted its influence on Annie. They happily shared religious and social interests to the end of her mother's life.

In her role in the campaign for the admission of women to Oxford University, Annie Rogers' policies of reform were influenced by observing her father's forceful efforts, which in his case were often unsuccessful. She experienced the financial penalties which these and his political activities exacted. Just as her father's motives for reform had been shaped by his own background and lack of educational opportunities, so in the same way were Annie's. She was denied admittance to the University for which she had qualified. Thorold Rogers had been influenced by liberal forces. Annie must have been affected by the concepts and ethos of the home of a Liberal Member of Parliament. She and her father both saw an injustice and resolved to correct it.

Annie Rogers' entry into the movement for higher education for women was timely. She was involved in the development of the AEW from its foundation, who eagerly accepted her as a tutor. Annie Rogers was the only woman in Oxford qualified to teach by the possession of the equivalent of, not one but two, first class degrees. As a tutor in classics, she was, like her father, in great demand. In his case it was because of the inadequacy of the teaching at Oxford in the 1850s; in her case because of the deficient teaching of classics for girls in the 1880s, and a dearth of qualified teachers. Not only was she valued for her teaching ability but she soon proved her skills in committee work, administration and organization. She was academically and intellectually

gifted but also possessed a professional approach in a developing academic profession.

Being known within the University through her family connections and her academic record, she gained the confidence of prominent University men who worked and liaised with her; men who were in a position to influence the policy of the University. She was steeped in the affairs and workings of the University and its personalities, and understood the issues with which they were involved. That women found her difficult to work with proved to be an advantage. She was able to achieve far more by concentrating on lobbying, canvassing and negotiating behind the scenes with influential university men, who themselves took a prominent part in the movement for the degree, rather than being part of a group outside the University agitating for reform.

She did not attract a female following. This was due partly to her formidable personality, and her efficient manner of working, which was perhaps misunderstood by women not experienced in University affairs. She complained that the Principals of the Women's Societies and other women did not like her methods, but it always seemed to her more important to consider the good of the cause than her personal popularity. Apart from co-operation from Agnes Maitland and Emily Penrose she found she was obliged to plough a lone female furrow, but this proved to be a great advantage. A group of women championing the cause of admission to the University would certainly have spelt the death knell of the campaign, even if they were not insisting on 'rights for women'. Success was difficult enough to achieve over several decades by muted efforts, and the adoption by the women's societies and students of policies of appeasement and keeping a low profile. Women were seen as a threat to the male-dominated establishment of a University in process of slowly emerging from its

celibate, monastic and ecclesiastical seclusion. They had to prove otherwise; that they were academically fit, and reliable, responsible persons to enter.

Just as her grandfather (George V. Rogers), her uncle (Joseph Rogers) and her brother (Bertram) were part of the development of the medical profession, as we have seen, so her father and then Annie participated in the development of the academic profession at Oxford. By her significant contribution to the admission of women to the University she was instrumental in the entry, advancement and expansion of the professions to women.

Annie Rogers' family life influenced her character and ambitions. They made her a formidable person with an appetite for a campaign and the relishing of a fight. As she said, 'men have taken the lead, though women have throughout advised and helped'.<sup>48</sup> In the same way that the garden flourished at St. Hugh's, under her 'enlightened despotism', so her participation in the battle to obtain the admission of women to Oxford University bore fruit and succeeded.<sup>49</sup>

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Rogers, Dr. M.A.T., Ramsden, Oxford, 30th September 1991.

Stone, R.A., Churchwarden of West Meon Parish Church, 27 June 1995.

GEORGE VINING  
ROGERS  
1777-1846

m.15.2.1799

MARY ANN BLYTH  
1.5.1783-3.1.1873

-GEORGE VINING  
(1800-1856)  
m. Diana Lawrence

-JOHN BLIGH  
(1801-1860)  
m. 1827  
EMMA COBDEN

-Charles Fletcher  
1801-1849  
m. Sarah Tolmer

-William Augustus  
1804-1866  
m. Caroline Thorold  
1807-1870

-Louisa  
1805-1856

-Frederick Heather  
1808-1828

-Mary Ann Heron  
1809-1834

-FRANCIS SLAUGHTER  
1811-1886  
m. (1) Emily Waters  
1829-1875  
(2) Sabina Goldsmith

-Henry  
1812  
m. Nora Shortman

-Elizabeth  
1813-1865  
m. Robert Parker

-Alexander  
1816-1844

-Alfred  
1818-1851  
m. Mary Ann Relf  
-1851

-JOSEPH  
1820-1889  
m. (1) Ellen Parsons  
d.1879  
2) Adriana Dewindt  
Mills d.1851

-JAMES EDWIN THOROLD  
1823-1890  
m.1850 ANNIE PESKETT  
1854 ANN SUSANNA  
CHARLOTTE REYNOLDS  
1825-1899

-RICHARD NORRIS (GANDY)  
1825-1910  
m. Barbara Gandy 1822-1865

-Edmund Lync  
1827-1849

-JULIAN CLARKE  
(1840-1917)

-ANNIE MARY ANN HENLEY  
15.2.1856-28.10.1937

-HENRY REYNOLDS KNATCHBULL  
18.5.1858-11.9.1876

-BERTRAM MITFORD HERON  
25.8.1860-

-LEONARD JAMES  
30.3.1862-12.9.1933

-ARTHUR GEORGE LIDDON  
18.12.1864-7.3.1944

-CLEMENT FRANCIS  
25.10.1866-23.6.1949



SHAFFLESBY

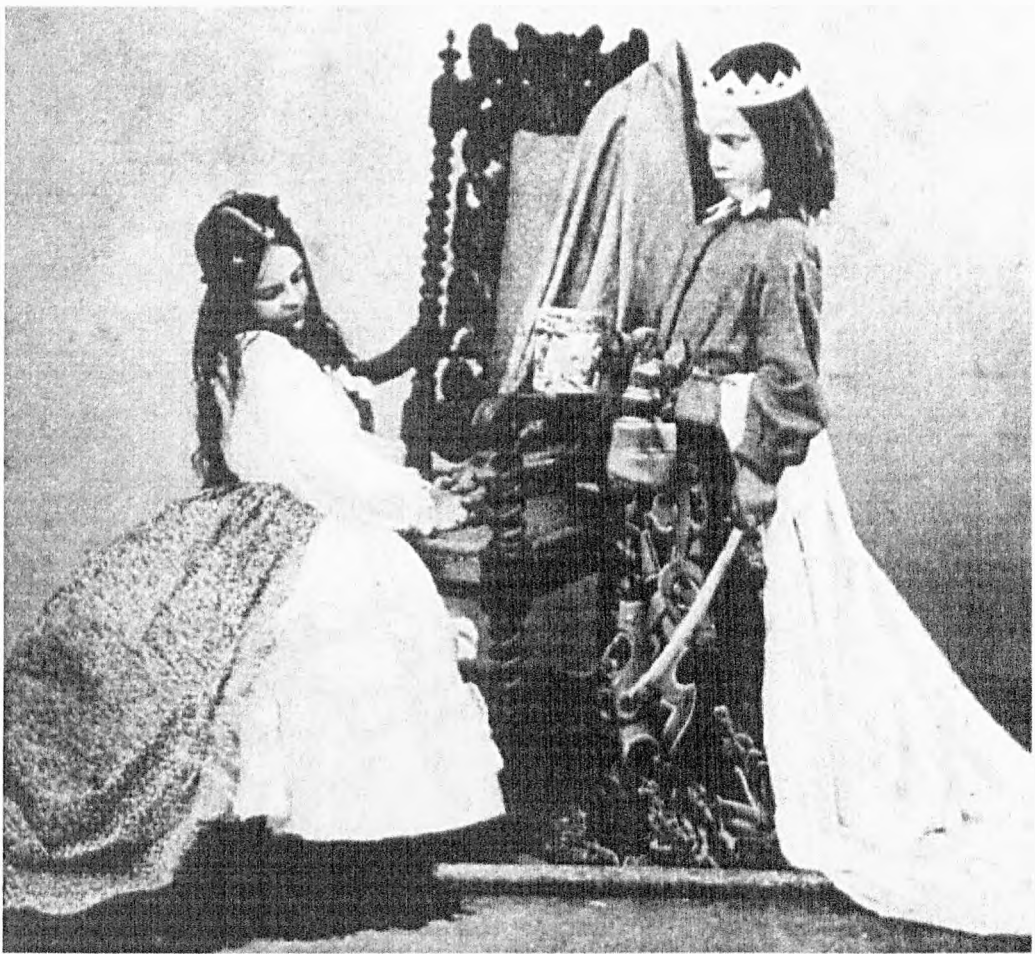
*James E. Hunt & Co.*



J.E.T. Rogers (left) and John Bright  
in the garden at One Ash  
Walling, R.A.J., (ed) *The Diaries of John Bright*  
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Annie and Henry Rogers, aged seven and five years,  
by C.L. Dodgson  
Morton N. Cohen (ed) *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*  
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Mary Jackson and Annie Rogers  
as Fair Rosamund and Queen Eleanor  
by C.L. Dodgson,  
*Illustrated London News*, 14 April 1928, p.616





*Annie M. A. H. Rogers*

Annie Mary Ann Henley Rogers,  
*Degrees by Degrees* (London, 1938)