Women at Berkeley,
The First Hundred Years

By
Catherine Gallagher

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Introduction

These chapters explore the lives and careers of women at UC Berkeley during the first hundred years or so of the university's existence. They were written during the 150th anniversary in 2020 of the official admission of women students in 1870, just a year after its first class had entered. Those of us in charge of the 150th anniversary's History Project were busy encouraging scores of UCB organizations—alumni, emeriti, student groups, museums, institutes, departments, colleges, and professional schools—to recover and describe the roles women had played in their separate histories. We soon realized, though, that it would be helpful to provide some idea of the overall conditions in which UC Berkeley women had lived and worked as well as general descriptions of when and how their circumstances had undergone far-reaching changes. These chapters were our attempt to sketch that bigger picture.

We had hoped to bring the chapters of the 150-year history up to the present by the end of the anniversary year but were able to complete only the first 100 years by its close in the spring of 2021. Thus, the past explored here is mainly prelude to the most rapid and dramatic decades of change in UC women's history: those following 1970, when the university officially began enforcing women's right to equal opportunity in all arenas of campus activity. The last chapter in these chronicles explains the beginning and early progress of UC women's campaign to secure unbiased consideration in university employment; thus, they end at the beginning of the revolution that would increase women's share of the faculty tenfold: from a low-point of 3.6% in 1969 to 35% today. The new measures opened academic and administrative leadership posts to women; managerial and supervisorial jobs previously advertised as men-only became available; and underrepresented racial groups also benefitted from the transformed hiring and promotion practices. For women, the changes in administrative, staff, and faculty employment were mirrored in the student body: in 1970, women were barely 40% of the undergraduates, whereas by 2021, they were 54%. Graduate student numbers changed even more dramatically, from 26% in 1970 to 48% in 2021.

The changes over the last fifty years have certainly been sustained and remarkable, but the developments of the first one-hundred were just as extraordinary. These chapters reveal that the bad-old-days were anything but monotonous. They trace a series of turning points and milestones in the history of Berkeley women and are a record of extraordinary accomplishments, often under adverse circumstances. If the last fifty years present a record of continual upward momentum, the rougher road of the earlier eras was more unpredictable, full of rises and falls, twists and turns. In the sequence of periods that come into view in these chapters, we see women at UC defying restrictions, altering

gender norms, and overturning centuries-old prejudices about their capabilities. In each of the periods examined here, large changes occurred in UC women's lives: in their numbers, roles, and status on campus; in the dynamics and institutional organization of gender relations; and in the range and availability of women's academic, professional, and extracurricular ambitions and opportunities.

Each of the first three chapters treats a single time period. The first looks at the early 1870s, when the newly opened university, still defining its identity, declared itself coeducational. Chapter Two describes the eighteen-nineties and turn-of-the- century, when students, alumnae, and donors banded together to create a separate system of women's campus organizations. Chapter Three narrates the short, successful 1911 California campaign for women's suffrage and its importance for the nation. The next three chapters center on one era—the late nineteen-teens to the early twenties—from different perspectives. Chapter Four concentrates on the impact of WWI in changing gender relations and expectations among the undergraduates, while Chapters Five and Six describe the arrival of the first cohort of women faculty and their struggle for professional recognition on campus.

The four following chapters focus on WWII as the central cause of a rapid increase in women's academic and leadership opportunities, followed by a sharp drop and lingering postwar decline. Chapter Seven explores the new careers and occupations that war mobilization opened to UC women, including those at the remote UC laboratory of Los Alamos. Chapter Eight examines the crucial war-time work of two groups: those who led the all-female student government, and those Japanese American students and recent graduates who were exiled to internment camps. Chapters Nine and Ten explain the shrinkage of women's presence on campus as a percentage of both the student body and the faculty. They explore the contradictory expectations and outmoded assumptions that left large numbers of Berkeley women overeducated and underemployed.

Chapter Ten turns to Berkeley's famous student movements of the sixties, which were intertwined at their roots with both sexual liberation and civil rights struggles. Thus, they were always adjacent to issues of gender and social equality, which energized their women participants while also leaving them disappointed in the subordinate roles they were often assigned. The students of the sixties fundamentally altered Berkeley's campus culture and prepared the way for the subtler but no less revolutionary movement led by academic women—both graduate students and faculty members—in the early seventies. Chapter Eleven explains how they laid the groundwork for the more diverse and inclusive university we have today.

As these summaries make clear, all of the changes occurred within much larger social, political, and cultural shifts, but their consequences in women's lives were often deeply personal. These chapters thus try to combine the public history with accounts of

how individual women both shaped and experienced it. To do so, they rely heavily on the writings of previous UC historians, with special emphasis on those who chronicled women's careers and contributions. They also draw on such public records as university administrators' reports and memos, newspaper and magazine articles, hundreds of on-line profiles and obituaries, and other university websites. They attempt to synthesize the UC history with the extensive historiography on American women's higher education generally as well as women in the sciences and other academic disciplines. And they pay special attention to sources that focus on individual, private and personal lives, such as letter collections, autobiographies, memoirs, biographies, and oral histories.

These abundant sources would not have been available to us during the pandemic year without the heroic effort made by the UCB libraries to digitize and put its collections online. We are deeply grateful to the librarians and other staff, especially those of the Bancroft Library (including the Oral History Center), for making the project possible. And we are also grateful for Zachary Bleemer's marvelous University of California ClioMetric History Project, without which we wouldn't have been able to see the numbers, let alone interpret them.

We'd also like to assure readers that much of the history of the last fifty years, not chronicled here, can be found in the many essays and profiles posted on both the 150W website and available in other sections of this archive. Those more focused histories were also an important source for these chronicles. We're happy that researchers who write the history of the recent decades will be able to draw on the material gathered there.

Personally, I would like to thank all of those who helped in researching, writing, and disseminating these chapters, which were very much a collective effort. For pointing me to the best sources; acquainting me with the historiography and helping me see its relevance; sharing her ideas and her own work; and reading, editing, and correcting every chapter, I'm thankful to Sheila Humphreys. I'm grateful as well to my friends from the History Department, who guided and encouraged me at every stage. Historians Paula Fass, David Hollinger, Carla Hesse, Thomas Laqueur, and Anne MacLachlan gave me bibliography, books and ideas, read and improved the chapters, gently questioned and corrected my mistakes, and inspired me from the beginning. Our student assistants were also partners in this project. Miranda Chang, Joy Liu, Juliet Pooler, and Mary Tan conducted research, compiled bibliographies, wrote reports, essays of their own, and posted the finished chapters on the website. Graduate student Kathryn Funderburg worked diligently to sort through archival sources and untangle the web of narratives in Chapter 11. Members of the 150w Executive Committee also supported the work: Briana Kaler and La Dawn Duvall spread the word about the project, and Jill Finlayson gave me a technical tutorial. Oliver O'Reilly was unstinting with his encouragement and praise.

And, before she took on a second job as an interim vice chancellor, Sharon Inkelas went so far as to spend evenings and weekends designing the layout of these chapters and posting them on the website. Thanks are due as well to the dozens of people who produced all the historical content posted on the 150w website, from which I have liberally drawn, as the works-cited lists in these chapters attest.

Finally, I want to thank two members of my family: my husband, Martin Jay, who read and edited all the chapters before anyone else saw them; and my daughter Rebecca Jay, who found the time to give her mom a hand with the images in these chapters, even while guiding her homebound kids through remote learning.

Part 1
From 1870 through the Turn of the 19th Century

Chapter One
1870 Regents' Resolution: Contexts and Consequences

When the university was chartered by the State of California in 1868, women were not mentioned; they were neither excluded nor included as eligible students. In October of 1870, a year after the university's first term started, the Regents passed a brief Resolution—"That young ladies be admitted into the University on equal terms in all respects with young men". Since it passed unanimously and without discussion, its specific rationale was left unstated. Did it represent a change of course on the part of the Regents or merely a clarification of the original intention? Were the Regents lifting some earlier implicit bar or just issuing a special invitation to "young ladies"? When we began this project on the one-hundred-and-fifty-year history of women at Berkeley, we could only infer the Regents' likely motivations from the general circumstances they faced and the goals they set. Now, thanks to the work of one of our 150W essay writers, we have a more precise sense of the resolution's immediate origins, which clarifies its significance and supports the thesis that the university might not have survived in those early years without the inclusion of women.

In addition to identifying the contexts and significance of coeducation for the university, this chapter will explore how women's inclusion affected the development of the state as a whole, outlining some of its consequences for California's educational and general cultural progress in the late nineteenth century. We'll reveal the centrality of UC's women students to the university's mission and its very existence, but we'll also examine their early marginalization. Although American post-secondary coeducation had made great strides since the end of the Civil War, it remained controversial, which is not surprising given the circumscribed scope of activity allotted to women in late-Victorian America, where legal, social, and economic restrictions were considered normal. As university students adjusted to the new arrangement of equal academic status between the sexes, the pioneering women often labored under unofficial but nevertheless serious disadvantages.

What the University and the State Stood to Gain

Historians have pointed to two closely related general circumstances during the university's infancy that should have led the Regents to recruit prospective women students. First, they faced a critical shortage of male students: only forty young men had enrolled in the opening session in 1869, a low number, and the future supply was uncertain because the state had only a handful of high schools and academies capable of preparing their graduates for college-level work. It was well-known, moreover, that girls comprised a large majority of high-school graduates because they stayed in school longer than the boys, who had plenty of employment opportunities in their teens. Middle-class girls who intended to work, in contrast, usually aimed to be teachers, and California's "Normal School", which trained teachers in a two-year program, preferred students with

a high-school diploma. Since the economic benefits of a baccalaureate degree were not yet apparent, only a thin upper crust of California's families (those who might previously have sent their sons to eastern colleges) prepared their boys for a university education. The small pool of prospective male students was thus the most obvious circumstance favoring the admission of young women. Indeed, lack of students was the reason other western land-grant universities had written coeducation into their plans from the outset. The Regents would merely have been following precedents by acknowledging that coeducation was necessary to building a big enough student body. Viewed from this perspective, the October 1870 resolution appears to be a slightly delayed concession to reality.

The second circumstance favoring coeducation followed from the first: to prepare enough students for university admission, the state needed many more secondary schools, which would require a substantial increase in teachers trained to handle college preparatory courses. In the early 1870s the university was so desperate for new students that it opened its own all-male preparatory school and required university faculty to teach the boys studying for the entrance examination (Clifford, 22-27). Although that experiment lasted only a few years, for many decades the university continued to be the main driver of efforts to expand and improve California's secondary education, and those efforts in turn prompted the growth and upgrading of primary schools. In short, one of the university's chief roles was to raise the level of California's teachers so that they could train its future students. The state's first constitution (1849) stressed that a university was the key to the development of a public-school system, and the two were equally urgent necessities. Encouraging the spread of high schools through accreditation and examination, making the completion of four years of secondary school more common, and training teachers were among the university's most important charges, and they created a symbiotic relation between the levels of public education. Just as the university needed the high schools to produce its future student body, the schools needed the university to provide high school teachers, and much of the future economic development of the state depended on both (Clifford, 81; Stadtman, 92-96).

Although it may not have been clear yet in 1870, the overwhelming majority of those teachers would be women. In the years after the Civil War, the percentage of male teachers, even in secondary schools, began to decline as more lucrative occupations opened (Clifford, 1995, 56-63). But since women's career choices were still very restricted and improvements in both primary and secondary education made teaching more attractive, more women trained for it. Thus, the co-dependence between the new university and the schools should also be seen as the dependence of UC on its female students, who helped make up the deficit in early enrollments and, after graduation, prepared the future generations of both male and female college students. As historian Geraldine Clifford demonstrates in detail, the admission of women was thus not incidental but vital to the success of both public education in California and the very existence of UC (Clifford, 1995, 92-103).

The Women Who Made It Happen

These general conditions favoring the admission of women, though, might not have been acted on as early as 1870 if it hadn't been for the initiative of a pair of "young ladies" who didn't wait for the Regents to declare them eligible. Thanks to recent discoveries made by UCSB Professor Laurie Freeman (Berkeley PhD, 1996) and reported in her article for the 150W project, two women apparently passed the university's entrance examination and were already enrolling in September of 1870, before the Regents held their meeting. Moreover, several newspapers around the state carried stories supporting their admission and quoting UC President Durant's opinion that women were already entitled to enroll since "there was no prohibition in the law and . . . the Faculty could not undertake on their own responsibility to impose one." "On the contrary", one of the stories declared, "the President and Faculty will give them an encouraging reception" (quoted in Freeman, p. 13). As Freeman notes, this public relations campaign in favor of admitting women in the weeks leading up to the Regents' meeting could indicate either that the decision had already been made behind the scenes or that some group was forcing the issue to pressure the Regents into acceptance. Both interpretations are consistent with further evidence uncovered by Freeman that a small group of university faculty, administrators, Regents, and citizens had worked with the father of one of the entering women, Josephine Lindley, to secure the official approval. Whether the newspaper stories were the announcement of their success or the final drive of their effort—designed to put opposing Regents in the uncomfortable position of blocking the enrollment of already admitted women—is unknown.

Freeman's essay significantly changes the origin story of women at Berkeley by shifting the focus from the background conditions to the specific foreground events that triggered the Regents' 1870 resolution and by revealing the individuals who started the drive for coeducation. We can now see the official acknowledgement of women's eligibility not as the product of a top-down fiat from the Regents but as the result of a bold and highly publicized initiative apparently taken on behalf of two young women, Josephine Lindley and Carrie Stone, by supporters both inside and outside the university. Without their efforts, no matter how ripe the objective conditions were for women's official inclusion, the Regents' action would probably have been both later and more contentious. So instead of saying that women were passively admitted to the university in 1870, it now seems more accurate to say that they actively sought and won admission that year for the first time, and the Regents subsequently acquiesced. As we'll see throughout these chapters, student initiatives of this sort would become common at Berkeley. The post-college life of one of those first two students, Josephine Lindley, is well-documented, and Professor Freeman gives us many new details in her essay; like so many of her classmates, Lindley became an educator.

The new origin story also features another remarkable woman in Berkeley's early history. One of the newspaper stories on the first enrollments reported that Jeanne C. Carr, wife of Professor of Agriculture Ezra Carr, "has taken a deep interest in this matter, and will extend an encouraging hand and give information to those who desire it" (quoted in Freeman, 13). Jeanne Carr was also credited decades after the event by Josephine Lindley (then Corella), who recalled that it was through her efforts that "we girls were allowed to enter the university" (quoted in Clifford, 1995, 20, fn25). Jeanne Carr was not only the wife of the recently appointed head of the College of Agriculture, but also a well-known writer and horticulturist. She and her husband were transplants from the University of Wisconsin, which had already admitted women, albeit in a special teachers' college. Carr was in her fifties when she arrived in California, had four grown sons, and was a close friend, correspondent, and mentor of the young John Muir. She taught botany and other natural sciences at various girls' academies, and her writings enthusiastically promoted her adopted state's natural wonders. Women's education was apparently much on her mind in 1870, for in addition to championing university admission, she also published an article in a San Francisco journal, *The California Teacher*, recommending better instruction for girls in the natural sciences.

1 Jeanne Carr, advocate for women's admission to UC

Women's admission, though, was not the only change she advocated at UC, and she would soon appear as an eager polemicist in one of the most divisive controversies of the university's first decade. In 1873-4, Jeanne and Ezra Carr became actively involved in the Granger movement, a self-help organization for farmers that had a strong influence in California politics. She was an especially dedicated Granger, and her activity helped re-ignite an argument about the nature of the university that had lain dormant since the mid-1860s, when the organization of the future institution was as yet undetermined. The founders of UC envisioned a full-service university, with colleges for both technical and purely academic departments. Many Californians, though, would have preferred that it focus on practical subjects, especially mining, engineering, and agriculture. California's Organic Act, which chartered the university in 1868, using the federal Morrill Act of 1862, tried to strike a balance by including a liberal arts college (Stadtman, 35-37). The Grangers nevertheless remained dissatisfied with the compromise and they revived the issue in 1873, when the legislature began investigating delays and cost over-runs that were keeping the Berkeley campus from opening.

According to Milicent Shinn, an 1879 alumna and author of the first history of the university (1892), the Carrs used the investigation to recommend increased resources for the College of Agriculture and decreased funding for the College of Letters. Jeanne Carr especially used her position among the Grangers to agitate the university issue in the press and the legislature. Indeed, both Carrs ultimately argued for breaking-up the university into its various colleges (Shinn, 1892, 356-358; *Kindred Spirits*, 233-240). As

a result, in the summer of 1875, Ezra Carr was asked by University President Gilman to resign his professorship, and when he refused, Gilman fired him. The Carrs, who had become popular public figures through the controversy, nevertheless landed on their feet: Ezra was easily elected State Superintendent of Education in 1875 and immediately appointed Jeanne as his Deputy State Superintendent, making her the highest-ranking female official in the state. Women had become eligible to hold elected and appointed school offices just the year before, in 1874 (Clifford, 1995, 46). Not everyone in Jeanne Carr's social circle approved of her political turn: John Muir complained that she had become "lost in conventions, elections, women's rights and fights, and buried beneath many a load of musty granger hay" (*Kindred Spirits*, p. 259). Soon after the election, Ezra Carr became incapacitated by illness and turned his duties over to Jeanne, making her the de facto head of California's public schools.

Jeanne Carr has seemed a misfit troublemaker in university history, who fomented her husband's rebellion and encouraged legislative interference in university affairs. She has often been depicted as an academic Lady Macbeth (Brentano, xi-xii), and yet she was a popular public figure who wielded considerable influence in the young State's political life. It seems anomalous, too, that she combined enthusiastic support for women's admission with an opposition to the College of Letters (later known as Letters and Science), where most undergraduate women would find their majors. What has been seen as her anti-university betrayal, though, was actually consistent with her desire to improve the condition of women's lives. The organization she joined—the populist, agrarian Grange—was one of the first social and political movement in the US to offer women leadership positions, and in California the organization endorsed women's suffrage and promoted women's land ownership (Hankins). These were powerful incentives for Jeanne Carr to join their ranks. In and out of the university she focused on women's education. She reasoned that because most of California's women lived in the country, they should be taught to increase their own livelihoods through the application of such sciences as pomology, forestry, and floriculture, which would raise profits from their household industries (*Kindred Spirits*, 400). Jeanne Carr may have been on the wrong side of university history in the early 1870s, but she nevertheless became a formidable mainstream politician who advocated women's rights. Moreover, her educational ideas fed into the home economics movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which would eventually augment the first generation of women faculty at Berkeley in the 1910s and 20s. Although banished from Berkeley to Sacramento, her emphasis on a "practical" college education for women persisted.

Early Graduates

Like the majority of students who enrolled in the 1870s, Josephine Lindley left before completing the full course of study for a baccalaureate degree; she was awarded a "Certificate of Proficiency" instead (Freeman, 9). The first woman to earn a diploma from Berkeley was Rosa Scrivener, class of 1874. She was certainly the sort of student Jeanne Carr had hoped to benefit. Scrivener came to California by covered wagon from Missouri as a child with her family. Her degree was in Agriculture, and she wrote a thesis on the early agricultural development of the San Joaquin Valley. A man with the same academic training would probably not have become a school teacher, but lack of other opportunities and the need for teachers drew many new women graduates into the profession. Scrivener taught for a dozen years after graduation, earning a "life diploma", which meant that her teaching certificate never again required updating. That diploma allowed her to leave the job for some years after marrying and starting a family, and then to return when her children were older. A 1908 newspaper article reports that "after a long absence from a vocation to which she has been a credit and honor," Scrivener Robinson was back in the classroom teaching at a school in Colusa ("Diploma"). By mentioning the fact that she was returning to work after her daughter had started high school, the article points to a feature that may have made teaching an attractive job to many women. Scrivener later apparently put her training as an agriculturalist to good use when she moved to Modoc County, where she and her husband managed a cattle ranch, and she became "a well-known agricultural advisor" (Smith). Her career suggests why women tended to become teachers even if their college training seemed pointed in a different direction.

2 Rosa Scrivener, class of 1874

Anna Head, class of 1879, already showed an interest in theories and philosophies of education in her undergraduate years, so her choice of profession seems to have been highly deliberate. Indeed, after graduation, she travelled widely and learned all she could about European school systems before returning to Berkeley. She had studied Classics at Berkeley, and wanted to make them more important in the education of girls, but she also wanted to combine them with the study of modern languages and science education. In other words, she wanted to prepare girls with a broad liberal arts education so that they could take full advantage of the university's courses. Instead of accepting the local standards of girls' education, she insisted on raising them. She founded a new school in Berkeley that would give girls a truly rigorous intellectual training: Miss Head's School for Girls ("Anna Head, 1857-1932", 20; Chapman). Her school is still in operation, under the name of Head-Royce.

3 Anna Head, class of 1879

Another early graduate, Fannie McLean, class of 1885, gives us a long view of the teaching experience in those decades. After graduation, she served as one of two teachers at Berkeley High School, which had been founded in 1884. Both the school and the town were new; Berkeley had been incorporated in 1878 by combining two small villages, Ocean View at the bay's edge and the little settlement that was growing up around the university. Berkeley High was not then a public school, for the citizens of Berkeley, like those of most California communities at the time, declined to fund a secondary school. Indeed, they declined repeatedly, passing a bond for a public high school only in 1900. Until then, Berkeley High was a private college-preparatory institution, geared closely to UC's entrance requirements. Indeed, McLean felt that the school was so narrowly focused that it was "simply a vestibule of the university" with no independent school life of its own. While McLean taught most of the classes in the late 1880s, the male principle gave himself mainly the duty of listening to recitations by advanced students. Overworked and underappreciated, she left teaching for social work, emphasizing that women needed more professional options. McLean returned in the late 1890s, though, and helped Berkeley High transition from a private to a public school. She brought it into the mainstream of the progressive educational reforms that were gradually making high school a more common academic experience of American adolescents. McLean's career illustrates the leading role played by Cal women in the transition from private to public secondary schooling in the state, which raised the general level of education and broadened the path to college admissions for thousands of Californians (Clifford, 1998, 88).

4 Fannie McLean, class of 1885

The Cultural Meanings of Coeducation

In addition to their essential roles in expanding high-school education and training California's future college students, women students came to signal the kind of university UC intended to be. The federal Morrill Act (1862), under which the university was founded, specified that in order to receive a grant of federal land, the proceeds of which were to fund its establishment, the university had to be public, politically independent, and secular. The land-grant universities differed in these regards from the older private and usually religiously affiliated colleges of the East. Although its wasn't specified in the Morrill Act, coeducation became a mark of the land-grant model partly because it indicated the universities' publicness. America's public schools were usually coeducational, and that trait carried over into the public universities. As was pointed out at the time, other land-grant universities (for example, Ohio state and Iowa State) had been chartered as coeducational; and Cornell (a private land-grant institution) had already begun enrolling women; Michigan and Illinois had admitted women just before the UC Regents' resolution was passed; and Wisconsin had a separate women's college, which

was integrated with the men's in the mid-1870s (Woody, passim.). According to one historian, "in 1872 there were ninety-seven major coeducational colleges and universities in the United States" of which "sixty-seven were in the West", where the Morrill Act had its greatest impact (Rudolph, 322). Coeducation, we might say, completed the secular modernity that distinguished the new public universities from their private predecessors.

In the 1870s, to be sure, there were some all-male land-grant colleges, such as the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas (Texas A & M), which were founded on the Morrill Act's call to teach "such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and mechanical arts." However, they seemed to disregard the Act's further requirement to include "other scientific and classical studies" (Van Houten, x). The fact that such public vocational colleges excluded women until the twentieth century certainly made it seem as though coeducation belonged especially to universities offering both "liberal and practical" subjects. Women in the student body thus indicated the breadth of the curriculum and the value the institution placed on knowledge for its own sake, rather than purely for its practical applications.

Coeducation indicated not only a certain kind of university but also a certain level of cultural development. One of California's political factions, we've seen, attacked the College of Letters as impractical and elitist, but others pointed to both the liberal arts and women's admission when advertising California's attractions. They wanted the State to be seen as a new center of metropolitan learning and culture, a thoroughly civilized and appropriate environment for raising middle-class families. A university that formed educated, accomplished women could help foster the new image. In its celebratory 1873 report of UC's first graduation day, for example, the *Overland Monthly*, a magazine dedicated to improving California's image, rhapsodized about coeducation as proof that the university embodied the spirit of ancient Greece, the supposed birthplace of Western Civilization: "California has yet to act her *Iliad* . . . [but] there shall be chronicled the name of a Sappho, an Aspasia, or a Corinna, who five times carried off the poetic prize from Pindar. . . May the University of California add vigor to the development and perfection of a scheme that contemplates the fullest and broadest female culture" ("Alma Mater", 282). Such idealizing Classical comparisons were, of course, common in descriptions of American colleges and universities, but they played a special role in UC's promotional effort to associate California with ancient Greco-Roman Mediterranean cultures. Reaching back into a Mediterranean past for a phantasmatic ancestry no doubt helped to obscure the region's actual recent past in Native American and Hispanic cultures. The climate and coastal setting lent themselves to the effort, and, as historian Roy Lowe has shown, the image of UC Berkeley as a "Western acropolis of learning" would eventually inspire the university's architecture—red-tiled roofs, terraced plazas, and a central campanile—and its landscaping (Lowe, passim).

But even before there were any buildings on campus, when the founders named the place "Berkeley", they were already alluding to an early eighteenth-century poem by Anglo-Irish philosopher Bishop George Berkeley, full of Neo-Classical Greek pastoral associations, which in the mid-1800s had been pressed into the service of the American

Manifest Destiny ideology. The founders named the place in honor of the poem, which predicted that, in a new "happy clime", Western Civilization would be revitalized. Specifically, Berkeley had imagined that poetic works, "Such as [Europe] bred when fresh and young,\When heavenly flame did animate her clay,\ By future poets shall be sung."[1] The *Overland Monthly*'s 1873 fantasy of the University's future *female* poets—"a Sappho, an Aspasia, or a Corinna"—draws on Bishop Berkeley's well-known passage and extends it, identifying coeducation as further evidence that Berkeley will be a new Athens.

One early alumna also helped to change the nation's clichéd ideas about the State's frontier manners. After graduating in 1879, Millicent Shinn began editing *The Overland Monthly*, and carefully disassociated the magazine from its earlier dependence on humorous tales of the Mark Twain and Brett Harte variety that had stressed local color and the remnants of rowdy gold-mining days. Shinn later recalled her efforts to wean readers from the popular but imitative and stereotypical tales of the 49ers. "Young people who had never seen a miner or the mountains thought that it was impossible for them to be acceptable authors unless they wrote of the first woman in camp, the red-shirted miner, the gambler, and the sheriff, —dialect and all," she complained (Shinn, 1898, 67). In the place of those cliched stories, she published a new generation of California writers who could tell the country about their varied and cosmopolitan social world. She recruited many new writers, "who were describing with great freshness and promise the San Francisco of their own knowledge", and the issues she edited often contained a high proportion of women's contributions (Shinn, 1898, 68).

5 Milicent Shinn, BA 1880, PhD

In addition to being a general cultural arbiter, Shinn was a knowledgeable and prominent public commentator on the growth and development of higher education in California during the first decades of its establishment. As we'll see in a later chapter, she published an extensive article on the founding of Stanford in 1891, where she explained the important—and lasting—distinctions between UC and its rival across the bay. And in her groundbreaking "History of the University of California", which she published in three lengthy installments in 1892, she presented the tumultuous history of the institution

[1] The 1728 poem by Bishop George Berkeley, "Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America", referred to Britain's American colonies, not to the West Coast. But in the nineteenth century, its last stanza became an anthem for the US doctrine of Manifest Destiny:

> Westward the course of empire takes its way;
> The first four acts already past,
> A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
> Time's noblest offspring is the last.

In 1861, Emanuel Leutze painted a mural for the US House of Representatives to illustrate the verse, which shows covered wagons, miners, and settlers of all kinds struggling to the summit of the mountains and hailing the sight of the Golden Gate in the distance. The mural together with the homage paid to Berkeley by the founders associated the poem with the region.

in the 1870s as the growing pains of a young state, where the citizenry had not yet learned to appreciate the full meaning of university education: "It was plain that the people did not desire a university. They desired to use the word, as more imposing than 'technical school,' and the fashion throughout the West; but they wished it to *be* a technical school" (p. 357). In Shinn's view, the salvation of the College of Letters, and thus of liberal arts education generally, was a watershed moment in the California history because it allowed the intellectual and cultural maturity of the State. She also thought that the State's future development would hinge on the citizens' acceptance of the idea of a full-service university, and she optimistically predicted that factional divisions would diminish "As it becomes more clearly understood throughout the country what a *university* is" (Shinn, 1892, 358). The conduct of the students themselves, she commented, was partly responsible for the institution's growing support, and "The presence of young women, who now constitute over one third the number of students at Berkeley, has had much to do with this" (Shinn, 1892, 362).

UC's Advantages over Local Women's Colleges

Before 1870, the state had chartered only one women's college, the Catholic Notre Dame de Namur (in Santa Clara in 1868, now in Belmont), to grant the four-year baccalaureate degree. The nondenominational Protestant Mills College was open, but not yet chartered, and the State's "Normal School", which trained most California's school teachers, gave only two-year degrees. The state moved the Normal School from San Francisco to San Jose in 1870, the same year women were admitted to the university, thus making the older institution a less convenient option for San Franciscans who might have been content with a two-year program. Thus, the great importance of UC for California's young women was that it gave them the immediate opportunity of earning a four-year degree at a chartered secular college in their own state (Barth, 15-17).

Because it was the only secular institution offering a four-year college degree, it was open to women of all religions and no religion. Its status as a university also promised a far larger intellectual compass and a broader curriculum than the local women's colleges. Indeed, even the best women's colleges of the East, as Vassar's president John Raymond explained, had adopted a somewhat outmoded classical curricular model at the very time their male counterparts were moving beyond it (Rosenberg, 26). Some educators thought that women's colleges were not keeping up, especially in the sciences. Finally, UC's coeducational status, which would prove to have some costs, also guaranteed that women's educational experience would be equal to men's. They would feel less handicapped in competing for jobs or cooperating with male colleagues after graduation.

6 Campus View by Carleton Watkins, 1874 [UARC PIC 03:020]

The university's location (directly across the bay from the state's largest population center, San Francisco) was also expected to become an advantage. But to begin with, UC was in the middle of nowhere. When the new university started holding classes on its own Berkeley campus in 1873, it contained only two buildings for instruction, and it could barely cover the costs of those. The town was almost nonexistent (Stadtman, 59-60), so most of the few hundred students attending in the first decades commuted many hours daily to reach the isolated campus. UC hadn't been designed to contain any living or eating accommodations (Kerr, 93-97); indeed, the 1868 Organic Act specified that there should be "no dormitories". Although that prohibition was revoked soon after the Berkeley campus opened, the lack of living spaces remained a problem.

One early experiment in housing students on campus proved unsuccessful and may have discouraged further efforts. At the urging of President Gilman, in 1875 the regents built eight four-bedroom cottages for men and three for women, along the southern side of Strawberry Creek, which they leased to groups of students who were formed into clubs. The student clubs were responsible for maintaining the cottages themselves, but the regents found after several years that the buildings had deteriorated. They stopped leasing to students and sold the houses to faculty members (Stadtman, 158-9). Thereafter, UC relied for student room and board on the establishment of private boarding houses and self-financed student residence groups, like fraternities. Thus, as mid-twentieth-century UC President Clark Kerr noted, Berkeley was unlike many private Eastern universities and women's colleges, which were designed on the British collegiate model; but, built amid cow pastures and crop fields, it was also unlike the "German" urban universities (Kerr, 93), which were placed in already developed cities.

Even as the town grew during the next few decades, students often had to compete for scarce, hastily erected housing, a competition in which women were generally disadvantaged. The university's reliance on private student housing was to be an enduring trait, with many consequences for the history of the women in attendance. By 1888, President Edward Holden noted the complete lack of any women's buildings on or near campus for gathering, resting, eating, or sleeping; he plaintively mused in his *Biennial*

Report to the Governor that "Perhaps some woman, interested in the education of her sex, will come to our rescue in this matter" (*Biennial Report*, 17). As we'll see in the following chapter, the longed-for benefactor, Phoebe Apperson Hearst, would come to the university's rescue in the 1990s, but even her considerable resources could not house the growing number of women students. For decades into the twentieth century, most women would continue to live at home and commute to college while their male counterparts more easily took up residence close to campus. We should also note, though, that the hardships and inconveniences probably insured that the women who chose UC were willing to go far out of their way for an incomparable education.

Berkeley Women's Experience and the Controversy over Coeducation

Although coeducation was becoming normal in Western public state universities, it was still not universally accepted. Its spread, indeed, ignited a new battle in the long-running American controversy over women's intellectual capabilities shortly after the Regents passed their resolution. Reacting against pressure to admit women to men's colleges in the East, Dr. Edward Clarke, a former member of the Harvard medical faculty, claimed in an 1873 book to have scientific evidence that energy expended in the brain depleted women's fertility and nurturing capacities, resulting in physically stunted females prone to nervous disorders. Clarke's opinions were forcefully disputed by women graduates of Vassar and several Western universities, who testified that that they had enjoyed both academic success, robust health, and happy maternity. They did not entirely disagree, though, with the idea that women's intellectual natures were somewhat different from men's; instead they argued that coeducation could bring out the best of both sex's mental gifts (Rosenberg, 1-53).

Ironically, one of the most important outcomes of the controversy seems to have been an efflorescence of women's organized sports in the late nineteenth century, which were promoted at female academies and colleges partly to refute the claim that education would deplete women's physical vitality. Although the controversy over coeducation did not seem to discourage women from attending Berkeley, it may have indirectly inspired one of their earliest extracurricular activities. As President Holden noted in his 1888 report, most students of both sexes still lived too far from campus to allow for a cohesive student social experience, but even in the first decade, they began to organize group sports. The surprising first mention of a women's club can be found in the *Blue and Gold* yearbook for 1877: "At the beginning of the term foot-ball monopolized the attention of our athletes. A foot-ball club was even organized by the young ladies, whose fair forms could often be seen through the evening haze, like fairies at their capers" (Blue & Gold, 1877, 4). Even though football in 1877 was not the high-impact sport it is today, the fact that women organized a club to play

7*Blue & Gold* illustration; the ball is labeled "coeducation"

it indicates a strong determination not to be left behind by their male counterparts. The drawing illustrating their club shows both baseball and football, in the course of which one athlete seems to have lost her eyeglasses. At the time, women had no playing fields, physical education classes, or gathering places on campus, but they were apparently eager to demonstrate a combination of mental and physical vigor.

Women's Place

In 1877, 51 women, out of 316 total students, were enrolled at the university, either fulltime or part-time. That share, around 16% of the student body, was typical of the first decade. In the 1880s, their share began to grow, reaching as high as 23% in some years. Women were, therefore, a distinct but expanding minority. Yearbooks in those decades show that male students were organized primarily by a class-year hierarchy, into which freshman men were relentlessly initiated; the classes kept up a perpetual sporting contest for physical dominance. Moreover, there was as yet no overarching student governing body, but senior men were expected to keep rowdy younger classmen under control. Those organizing principles of student interactions obviously left women on the margins. To be sure, a few did manage to rise into leadership positions: in the 1877 yearbook, we find a woman serving as First Vice President of the Freshman Class: another is listed as class "Poet". As some literary and cultural clubs formed, there were also more openings for women's extracurricular participation. But during those first decades when most Berkeley students commuted from surrounding communities, few of them had much free time on campus.

While extracurricular activities were in such a rudimentary state, consisting mainly of hazing rituals, physical competitions for dominance, and boyish pranks, women probably didn't feel they were missing much. In the 1890s, though, when their share of the student body doubled to 46% without their status on campus improving greatly, they began to ask for a richer college experience. As we'll see in the next chapter, they complained of the restrictions they faced and asked for changes. They began organizing and making alliances in order to develop their own campus facilities, organizations, and activities. As their presence became more prominent, though, they also found themselves objects of satire. Echoes of Dr. Clarke's opinions about physically depleted coeds could be heard in the humorous writings of male Berkeley undergraduates, who stereotyped women students as scrawny, snappish, and awkward "pelicans" (Gordon, 73-77). The *Pelican*, indeed, became the title and the mascot of the undergraduate satirical magazine. No doubt the satires were in good fun, but they also indicate the dismissive treatment that kept women out of student leadership and led them to start their own, parallel institutions.

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Chapter Two
Struggling into the Light:
UC Women Build Their Own Organizations at the Turn of the Century

Two milestones from the year1896 epitomize the efforts of women students, alumnae, and benefactors to improve the status of women at UC. The first woman, Phoebe Hearst, was appointed to the UC Board of Regents that year, and the newly formed women's basketball teams of UC Berkeley and Stanford competed in the nation's first intercollegiate women's sports event. In the 1870s and 80s, women at Berkeley had largely been confined to the margins of extracurricular student life, but in the 1890s, they began organizing to increase their participation in campus affairs. Women's rights were also on the state's political agenda in 1896: an amendment to the California constitution allowing women's suffrage appeared on the ballot for the first time, although it would be another fifteen years before the state's voters approved it in 1911. Berkeley women were in step with the times during those years as they created their own activities, associations, and traditions. This chapter will explore the changing conditions, resources, and attitudes that made their activities necessary and effective.

The Exclusions that Motivated Women's Organizations

1 Students walking west from South Hall to the east entrance of California Hall 1906

Male students monopolized extra-curricular student life on and off campus, routinely excluding women from their organizations, activities, and governing bodies. Women paid dues to the ASUC, for example, but were not allowed to vote, serve on the executive committee, or hold most class offices. They were barred from clubs, and even student disciplinary procedures were conducted entirely by senior class men. They were kept out of the honor society (even though their average grade point average was higher than the men's), were initially not allowed in Harmon Gym (the only gym on campus), and couldn't even sit in the student rooting sections at intercollegiate games (Gordon, 52-79, passim).

The university's policy against providing non-academic student facilities also gave an advantage to male students, who had greater access to faculty, administrators, alumni, and donors. For example, the men used the alumni network to have a gymnasium built

for them by A. J. P. Harmon, the wealthy father-in-law of alumnus and faculty member George Edwards, who wanted a large indoor space to train the university's Cadet Corps (Stadtman, 110). In contrast, the needs of women students went unrecognized, and even after graduation they were made to feel unwelcome at Alumni Association gatherings. One alumnus, for example, admitted he had told two alumnae "that girls weren't wanted" at an Alumni Association reception for the new university President in 1886, "hoping they would spread the fact" (Clifford, 1998, 87). When a few alumnae showed up anyway they were seated at the most distant table with current women students. Women were thus dissuaded from entering the networks of power and patronage. Without representatives on the faculty or among the alumni, women students had no one to help them redress their campus exclusions.

Women's living conditions also often prevented their integration into campus life. They were far more likely than their male counterparts to commute to campus from their parents' homes in San Francisco or Oakland even decades after the founding. President Wheeler approvingly reported that whereas half of all students commuted in 1894, in 1900 71% of the student body was then living in Berkeley near campus. Wheeler called the change a "fortunate tendency; an important part of university training comes from that contact with university life" (*Biennial Report*, 1900, 11). However, it was the male students who accounted for the increase in "living at the University" and who reaped the benefits. The majority of women were still living at home and commuting well into the 1910s (*Annual Report*, 1914, 195). It's likely that most women commuted from home because there was a long-term housing shortage in Berkeley, and many boarding houses would not rent to women. Sororities (which began as ways to address the problem) barely existed: the first had opened in 1880, but only another three had been added by the end of the century. Living conditions for women had become so intolerable by the late 1890s, that a group of students asked Dr. Mary Ritter, their university-appointed medical examiner, to investigate the problem. After visiting the rented rooms of every enrolled woman, she found them generally "deplorable" (Stadtman, 1970, 159-161). Conditions were often worse for the students who could not even afford boarding houses and instead worked long hours as domestic servants for lodging in private homes.

Women's New Circumstances and Alliances at the Turn of the Century

The most important new circumstance affecting women students in the 1890s was the swift and disproportionate growth in their numbers. Their enrollments increased almost ten-fold during the decade: in 1889, there were just 87 women on campus, by 1898, the number had jumped to 819 and stood at 41% of the student body. At the end of the decade, the President's "Biennial Report" described the rising proportion of women for the last four years of the decade—"1896-7, 39.94; 1897-98, 42.2; 1898-99, 44.33; 1899-1900, 46"—and predicted that women would be 48% in the coming year. Men's enrollment during the decade increased only 3.3 times. The overall increase in the student

body was due to the State's growing population, and the steeper rise in women might also be attributed to the fact that in 1893 California had started to require the baccalaureate degree for high school teachers. According to the President's report, they congregated in the "General" as opposed to "Technical" colleges, making up "nearly two-thirds of the students in the Colleges of Letters, Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, and Commerce". Their academic concentration also seemed to indicate the women's intention to become teachers (*Biennial Report*, 1900, 13).

No doubt their increased numbers exacerbated some of women's problems, especially the dearth of places to live and enjoy recreation, but it also made them more visible while exposing their exclusion from student organizations as unjust and unreasonable. Why should almost half of the student body be barred from so many activities? Concentrating in larger groups and becoming majorities in some fields also made it more likely that they would be begin to create their own organizations for extracurricular activities.

Moreover, the upturn in women's enrollments at Berkeley in the 1890s was part of a larger regional trend toward producing college-educated women. Mills College in Oakland had been chartered to award the baccalaureate in 1885, and Stanford had opened as a full-scale co-educational university across the bay in Palo Alto in 1891. As the first institution that could truly compete with Berkeley for the region's intellectually ambitious women, Stanford had some real advantages that UC women immediately noticed. Both universities were tuition-free, and both had faculties mainly recruited from the Ivy League. But Stanford started out with many amenities that Berkeley had only acquired piecemeal through private donations (the library, the men's gym) or had no intention of building (a chapel, an art museum, and dining halls). Most importantly, it had dormitories for both men and women.

Berkeley alumna (1880) and future Ph.D. candidate (1898) Millicent Shinn published an article about the new Stanford campus just before it opened, in which she admired the facilities but also somewhat defensively contrasted them with the lack of housing at her alma mater: "I have more than once heard [UC] President Gilman . . . hold up for imitation the university that saved the most from housing itself to spend on great teachers, perfect laboratories, endowment of research" (Shinn, 1891, 342). Further developing the contrast, she remarked that Stanford's impressive structures "could only have been done by a rich man building his own university; no board of regents spending trust funds for the State" could have built so lavishly. But even as she defended the UC Regents' no-housing policy, she could not restrain her enthusiasm for the Stanford dormitories, which were to have elevators, steam heat, bathrooms on every floor, and even electric lights! Stanford's treatment of its students threatened to cast Berkeley in an unflattering light.

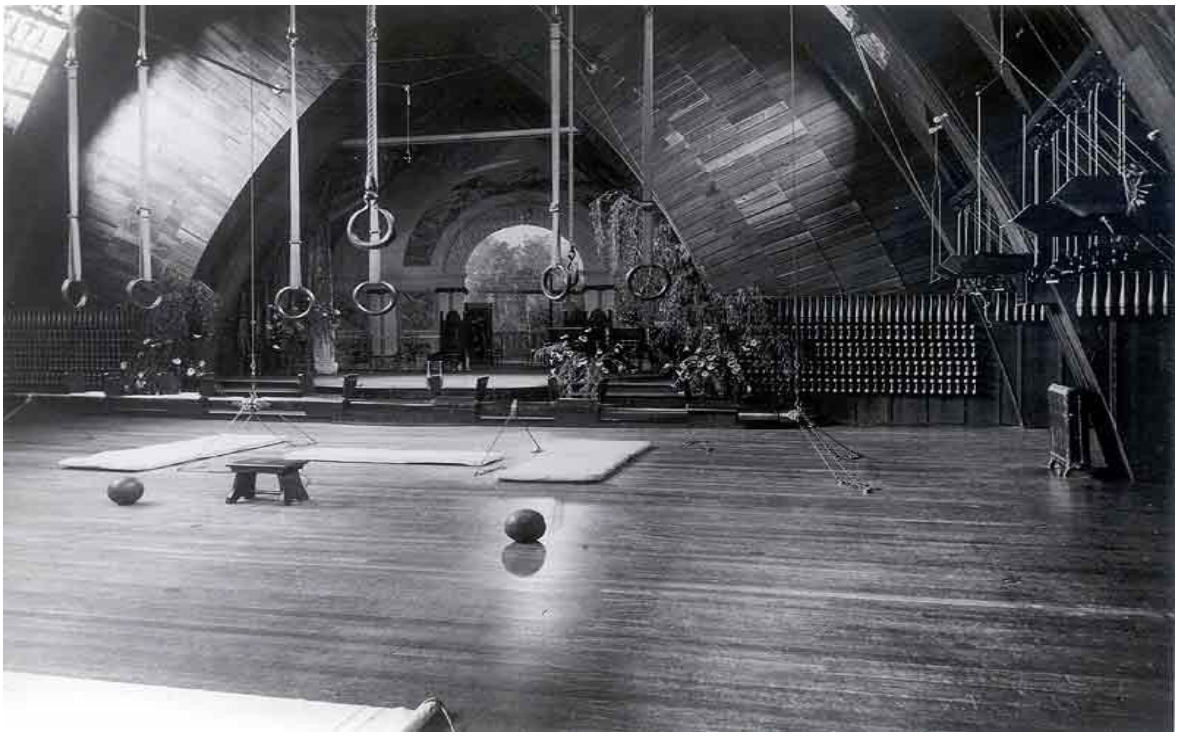
By the end of the century, though, a potential disadvantage for women of private university control had also become evident. Throughout the 1890s, the growth in the proportion of women in Stanford's student body kept pace with the rise of women at Berkeley, leaping from 25% in 1892 to 40% in 1899 (Rudolph, 323-4). But at that point, Jane Stanford (then widowed and heir to her husband's estate) had the power to impose a cap on any further growth. She froze female enrollment at 500, and the limitation stayed in place until the 1930s as the numbers of male students increased greatly. At public Berkeley, no such restrictions would have been legal.

Phoebe Apperson Hearst in 1895. (Library of Congress)

The example of Stanford was also important for the woman who would be the first appointed to UC's Board of Regents: Phoebe Apperson Hearst. Her arrival as benefactor was another of the important new circumstance of the 1890s. When women students began articulating their needs, organizing their own activities, and finding patrons to support them, she was the most munificent of their champions. A former schoolteacher and the widow of millionaire George Hearst, she had long had an interest in supporting education. By the time she was appointed a Regent in 1897, she had already been supporting women students since 1891, the year in which Stanford opened. She could easily see that some women students were living in poverty at Berkeley, and so she endowed scholarships exclusively for them to cover their room and board. Also aware that women had no place to gather and organize on campus, she held frequent receptions for them in her Berkeley home, helping to consolidate them into a community (Kantor, 5-7). Once appointed a Regent, she gave the women students a voice in the halls of power for the first time.

Hearst's encouragement, along with that of Dr. Mary Ritter, a local physician who served as their medical examiner and general advisor, furthered the students' campus organizing, and they also made alliances with other women's organizations that were forming around the university. The Association of Collegiate Alumnae, for example, established a branch in San Francisco in the mid-1890s, and many Berkeley alumnae, who felt unwelcome in the university's Alumni Association, became active members (Park, 25; Clifford, 1998, 91). The organization of faculty wives was another source of support, as were community church women who helped in the creation, starting in 1889, of the YWCA, which adjoined campus and became, like Hearst Hall, a center of women's activity (Clemens, 11-19). A dynamic synergy was thereby established, which would carry forward into the early decades of the twentieth century: women students cultivated

allies among well-established women in the community (alumnae, wives of faculty, and other community leaders) who would help them expand the roles for women at Berkeley.



3 The second Floor of Hearst Hall served as a gymnasium for the women students.

The Changes They Made

Women students' on-campus experience improved dramatically as a result of their organized activities. In keeping with the assumptions of sexual separation, they set up parallel institutions to those of the men. They requested and received some physical education classes, and were granted the use of the gym for ten hours each week. In 1894 they established the Associated Women Students, their version of the ASUC. The AWS spawned numerous other clubs, sports events, debating societies, and drama and music groups, in addition to academic societies (Park, 1998). By 1901, when the AWS president asked Dr. Ritter to help establish an honor society, which would represent all of the established women's organizations, there were dozens. That council of women student leaders, which became the Prytaneans (or "council of the chosen ones"), served as an avenue for further organizing and fund-raising for new facilities, like an infirmary and a lunch room. The new President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, who supported student self-government, encouraged this separate, women's branch of student organizing (Ruyle, 50-54). Turn-of-the-century activism thus lifted the morale of women students and made changes in their status on campus without challenging the university's unarticulated assumption that students should be sexually segregated in their extracurricular activities.

Moreover, it also reinforced the idea that those activities should often be aimed at self-help fundraising.

Their off-campus lives were also immediately enhanced by their alliance with Mrs. Hearst and Dr. Ritter. In 1900, Hearst gave them a building, Hearst Hall, to use as club house, a gymnasium, and a tea room. She also established the Hearst Domestic Industries to provide part-time employment for the many women who were supporting themselves. Together the two women alleviated the students' housing problem, by establishing a Club House Loan Fund, from which students could borrow to build "cottages" that housed fifteen students and a housemother; by 1910 there were twenty-three such cooperative clubs housing hundreds of women (Ruyle, 5-6; Stadtman, 159-61). Mrs. Hearst's model of philanthropy, like President Wheeler's, was also based on the idea of self-help. She funded the loans for building and furnishing housing, which the students were then expected to pay back. Once a loan was paid off, the women students could collectively convert the structure into either a sorority or a cooperative. In response to fears that philanthropy might make students passive recipients of charity, the university and its donors wanted to make sure it was seen as a way of stimulating students to help themselves.

And finally, the allied activism of women also amplified the voices calling for women faculty appointments. Out-going President Martin Kellogg remarked in his annual report of 1898 that "Since the coming of Mrs. Hearst on the Board of Regents, the question has often been asked, why not allow women a representation on the Faculty" (quoted in Gordon, 58-9). According to the university's course lists for 1900 only two women were involved in teaching that year: an assistant in Astronomy and Dr. Ritter, who in addition to being the women's medical examiner also taught "Physical Culture", or hygiene. Ritter had first served voluntarily at the request, in 1891, of some women students who needed medical certification in order to use the only gymnasium on campus. The students then asked her to give them lectures in hygiene (mainly human physiology and what we now call "sex education"). Later the course was made mandatory for all first-year women. Nevertheless, Ritter's position was not made permanent; she was given a salary only at the insistence of Phoebe Hearst, who also picked up the tab. Dr. Ritter resigned her position for health reasons a few years into the new century. Remembering those hygiene lectures in later years, she called them, "an unwelcome course pushed into the fringe of the orthodox curriculum by scarcely acceptable women students." She added, "I always felt that I was considered a sort of pariah in the

4 Mary Bennett (Ritter), medical school graduation picture, 1886

University" (Ritter, 206). Although she continued to work on women's student housing for decades to come, her resignation as both examining physician and course instructor deprived the students of an important spokesperson. At that point, Phoebe Hearst and the Association of Collegiate Alumnae began to lobby more energetically for a replacement for Ritter and for additional women faculty, insisting that such a large portion of the students should not be "without a voting member of the faculty to represent them." (quoted in Gordon, 62).

The first two women faculty were appointed partly in response to these efforts. Jessica Peixotto (Ph.D. 1900) was made instructor of Political Economy in the Economics Department1904 and became a full Professor in 1918. Lucy Sprague, a graduate of Radcliffe, was appointed Dean of Women in 1906 and given a courtesy lectureship in English, later converted to an Assistant Professor, just before she left the university in 1912. In those early years, Sprague later reported that they did not attend faculty meetings in their departments because "it would have prejudiced the men against us, and we already had enough prejudice to live down" (quoted in Gordon, p. 62). These women were thus apparently not yet *de facto* "voting" members of the faculty, but their appointments nevertheless set important precedents: the implicit Regents' ban on women faculty was broken.

The outsider status was most apparent in the case of Lucy Sprague, who had not been appointed on the basis of her academic credentials. She had a BA from Radcliffe, and while studying there she'd lived in the household of Harvard Professor George Palmer and his wife Alice Freeman Palmer, one of the most celebrated women academics of the late nineteenth century, who had been both the President of Wellesley College and the Dean of Women at the University of Chicago. Sprague became an integral part of the Palmer household, almost a surrogate daughter, and President Wheeler met her through mutual friends. Wheeler had the authority to make appointments without faculty consultation, and he invited Sprague to be Berkeley's first Dean of Women. The 25-year-old Sprague asked for a faculty appointment to give her position greater weight, but she devoted herself to increasing the sense of unity among women students, raising their morale, enriching their academic and extra-curricular opportunities, and persuading them to look beyond school teaching to a broader array of career options. She had a charismatic personality and succeeded in lifting their hopes and expectations (Sprague Mitchell, 190-212; Gordon, 63-7).

5 Lucy Sprague, Dean of Women & Assistant Professor of English

6 The first Partheneia celebrated great women in history, including Joan of Arc

Sprague held regular poetry-reading sessions with the women, and many aspiring writers brought her their own verse to critique. Reading the students' poetry inspired her to suggest the idea of an annual all-female dramatic pageant. These "Partheneia" which were written, cast, choreographed, produced, and performed by women students, became a campus spring rite, with a new version enacted every year from 1912 until 1931. Sprague later recalled, "The *Parthenia* meant more to me than just a successful show. It meant a big cooperative undertaking, planned and executed by more than twelve hundred women students—the first they had ever conceived of" (Mitchell, 198). However, she left Berkeley shortly after the first Partheneia, having married Economics Professor Wesley Mitchell, who soon accepted an appointment at Columbia University. Sprague Mitchell later became an influential educational theorist in New York. Most future Berkeley Deans of Women had administrative rather than academic appointments.

7 Jessica Peixotto, Professor of Economics

In contrast, Jessica Peixotto, as we'll see in more detail in later chapters, became an important member of the Economics Department and the founder of one its most popular programs: Social Economics. She earned both her BA and her PhD at Berkeley, only the second woman to earn a doctorate at UC. She was a prolific researcher and writer, and the program she built attracted hundreds of women who were interested in making careers in social welfare. She also nurtured the careers of younger women academics. In Peixotto's case as in Sprague's, President Wheeler knew her socially before he asked her to join the faculty. In the mid-1910s, he called on her to recruit other women for academic programs he hoped would give female students a practical education. Jessica Peixotto was an institutional innovator and an energetic promoter of the interests of faculty women. In the first decade of the twentieth century, however, she was unique. The first cohort of women faculty would not arrive until the mid-1910s (Ladies, 56; Dzuback, 155-56).

The Importance of "Physical Culture" and Organized Sports

To understand the major role played by organized physical education and exercise in the students' lives, we must recall the influential argument against women's higher

education made by Dr. Edward Clarke in 1873. He had claimed to have medical evidence that energy expended in the brain depleted women's fertility and nurturing capacities, resulting in stunted, sterile females prone to nervous disorders. Although immediately discredited by proponents of women's college education, his argument lingered in the public imagination and proved difficult to dispel. Both women's and coeducational colleges found themselves on the defensive, needing to prove that their female students were not being physically harmed by their studies. At the same time, those institutions were the very places where Dr. Clarke's theories could be tested and permanently disproved (Rosenberg, 1-27). At many institutions, students were weighed, measured, and given health assessments regularly, in an attempt to find objective "anthropometric" indicators of growth and shrinkage. And one of the first projects of the Association of College Alumnae was to survey 1,290 women graduates about any changes in the state of their overall health during their college years (Atkinson, 41-55).

But amassing evidence to prove that higher education was physically harmless to women was not enough. Many colleges and universities also tried to improve their students by reversing what they saw as the real threats to young women's health and strength: ignorance of their own anatomies, enforced "ladylike" physical inactivity, unhealthy diet, and restrictive clothing. Schooling for adolescent girls and young women was relatively new at the time, so forms of appropriate collective physical activity needed to be invented. Training in "physical culture", which included hygiene, exercise, and team sports, became a required part of the curriculum in girl's schools and colleges. Educational institutions serving girls and women recognized that their continued growth and acceptance depended on their ability to develop strong minds in strong and healthy bodies. Whether they were promising to turn out vigorous future wives and mothers or women who would, even temporarily, go into the labor force, they needed to inculcate habits of physical self-discipline, self-reliance, and healthful living.

It was in this national context that Berkeley women students asked in 1891 for the appointment of a woman physician who might teach them physical culture, and they requested the use of the university gymnasium for a few afternoons a week. In the early 1890s, they also began forming clubs for playing what were seen as appropriately genteel sports: the young ladies' tennis club, the boating club, and the archery club. As the decade progressed, though, the most popular team sport among college women was the newly invented game of basketball. It was only a year old when the physical culture instructor Walter Magee taught a modified version of the sport to UC's women, and they played their first extramural game against Miss Head's high school in 1892.

In 1896, they made history by engaging the Stanford women in the very first intercollegiate women's basketball game ever played (Park, 1998, 23-4). Several things about the way that particular game was conducted are clues to the role of women's sports at the time. The teams met indoors at the San Francisco Armory, so that neither team had to travel a great distance. The court and stands were closed off by heavy curtains, preventing the players from making a spectacle of themselves to casual observers. There were 500 spectators inside the curtained area, but all of them were female. No men were allowed to view the game. The sequestered situation of the game was supposed to protect the players from accusations of indecently displaying themselves to a mixed audience, but the prohibition can also be seen as a limitation on the women's ability to behave freely in a public space. The rules they played by also indicate of those limitations. They were designed to encourage coordination and teamwork while discouraging aggressive behavior: no snatching the ball. The players were confined to particular sections of the court, so that individuals couldn't run very far, establish much dominance on the court, or stand out as stars. In other words, although the teams were competing against each other, their internal relations were cooperative and polite.

8 Illustration of the nation's first women's intercollegiate sports competition, the Cal-Stanford game of 1896.

Nevertheless, the event was a turning-point in the history of women's sports, and the vigor and spirit with which the students played was a revelation. Mabel Craft, Berkeley alumna (1892) and reporter for the San Francisco *Chronicle*, insisted that there was nothing "effeminate" about the players, whose focus, concentration, and stamina were the equal of any man's. Craft had a keen sense of the importance of the event not only for women's sports but also for their general social status. A relentless campaigner for women's rights, as a graduating senior Craft had publicly challenged the university administration's decision to give the University Medal (the highest academic honor) to a man rather than to her, pointing out that she had the highest GPA. She would have been the first woman to receive the medal, and the incident was widely reported and interpreted as a sign of young women's refusal to accept their marginalization ("What Miss Craft Says", 5). Craft's reporting of the 1896 basketball game celebrated it as yet another sign of college women's new self-confidence. She was especially careful to clarify the event's implicit refutation of Dr. Clarke's 1873 polemic against women's higher education: "It is a game that would send the physician who thinks the feminine organization 'so delicate' into the hysterics he tries so hard to perpetuate" (quoted in

Grundy and Shackleford, 19-20). The process would be slow, but coeducation was gradually transforming both the image and the reality of women's physical and social experience.

Like other new activities for women students at the turn of the century, physical culture no doubt improved their lives. And yet sequestering physical performance inside the restrictions of sexual separation, which required that even women's tennis courts be surrounded by high hedges, must also have made them feel that their activities were not entirely normal, that they could not yet withstand the glare of public scrutiny. Thus, even as we celebrate the women students' accomplishments in making spaces for themselves on campus, and recognize the dedication and generosity of women like Dr. Ritter, Phoebe Hearst, and Lucy Sprague in supporting them, we should also recognize that their separatism was in part an accommodation to the persistence of their still inferior status in the putatively coeducational academy.

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Chapter Three
UC Women in the Suffrage Campaign of 1911

1. 1915 illustration shows women's suffrage on the march from the Western States to the East.

California's women got the vote nine years before the 19th Amendment to the US Constitution was passed, and this essay will explore the parts played by UC women in that achievement. Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, women campaigned for the vote throughout the United States, but their early successes were all in the West. Politicians in the new states and territories had various motives for enfranchising women: trying to attract female settlers, bolstering the power of particular voting blocs, and breaking legislative control by special interests. But whatever the particular reasons, they combined into a regional trend, which California suffragists tried to join for many decades before the breakthrough of 1911.

UC Women and the Suffrage Movement in the Nineteenth Century

2. Laura Gordon

The career of the earliest suffragists in the state intersected at an odd angle with the history of women at UC. A Sacramento newspaper reporter, Laura Gordon, attended the 1879 convention to revise the California constitution and lobbied the delegates for an equal voting rights provision. Failing in that attempt, she and her allies quickly switched to having an equal educational rights clause inserting into the new constitution: "No person shall be debarred admission to any of the collegiate departments of the State University on account of sex" (Mead, 41; Stadtman, 83, Babcock, 35-50). Once that clause became part of the state constitution, Gordon and her close friend and fellow suffragist Clara Foltz used it to win a civil suit against Hastings Law School, an affiliate

of UC that had refused them admission. By the time the case was won on appeal, Gordon and Foltz had already learned enough law to be admitted to the California bar and no longer sought admission to Hastings. But their efforts had secured the right of UC women to enter the professional schools of their choice, and Clara Foltz later declared that the State constitutional clause insuring that right had been the "light bearer" illuminating the road to the franchise (Babcock, 55; Stadtman, 133).

A younger suffragist, Berkeley alumna Mary McHenry (1879), soon took advantage of the opening created by Gordon and became the first woman to receive a law degree from UC in 1882. She practiced law briefly, but after marrying the prominent landscape painter William Keith, she devoted most of her time to women's suffrage organizing. As a leader of the Berkeley Political Equality Club, one of the largest suffrage organizations on the West Coast, she helped organize a state-wide Women's Congress to spearhead the drive for a suffrage referendum in 1896 (Weinstein, 96–98; Mead, 80-82). The energetic campaign mobilized hundreds of women across the state, but the measure failed to pass, doing especially poorly in urban areas. As we saw in the first chapter of these chronicles, women's suffrage was a popular measure in rural California. Thus, although the reasons for the failure were complex, at the time it was blamed on the persistent public belief in an alliance between women's suffrage and the anti-alcohol temperance movement, a cause that was especially unpopular in cities.

3. Mary McHenry Keith

The Suffrage Campaign of 1911

By 1911, voting women were even more normal in the Western states than they had been in 1896. Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Idaho, and Washington had all voted to enfranchise women by then, and none of those states had suffered any negative consequences. Moreover, women had become a much more organized social force in the first decade of the century. Just as the women students we discussed in the last chapter had started groups of their own in the 1890s, older women had also begun coming together in hundreds of clubs devoted to all sorts of causes and activities, and their voluntary work was generally appreciated. Although most of the clubs were not originally political, their existence made it far easier to reach women in groups and convince them to take the step from social to political activity.

Most importantly, though, in the first decade of the twentieth century, a progressive insurgency had broken the conservative Republican dominance of the California legislature, and reformist movements were remaking the political landscape. Indeed, both major parties were beset from within and without by reformers of all kinds:

anti-poverty campaigners, educational and child-welfare advocates, women- and child-worker protectionists, as well as legions of anti-corruption, anti-monopoly, and clean government crusaders. Smaller political parties had also appeared—Socialist, Populist, and Progressive. Suffragists therefore had many new potential allies, and they had learned from their setback in 1896 that they needed to make different kinds of alliances to broaden their appeal.

In their campaign speeches, slogans, pamphlets, and press releases, the 1911suffragists downplayed divisive issues like Prohibition and emphasized instead the connections between their cause and direct-democracy measures that had already been enacted, like the referendum and the recall initiatives. Enfranchising women was presented as one among many other reforms that would clean up local governments by reducing the power of political machines and monopolistic corporations. Women voters would add another purifying element to the electorate, helping to rid it of graft and cronyism. Their political activity would be a change, to be sure, but one that would protect society from the threats posed by industrial modernity and rapid urbanization. They would especially safeguard the interests of families and children by joining the fights against tainted food, contaminated water, and unsanitary neighborhoods. Suffragists, in short, segued from earlier rhetoric about women's natural moral superiority to the more modest and demonstrable claim that women's organizations already made up an essential element in the movements to reform government and extend its power to improve the lives of citizens.

One of the women responsible for the new public face of California suffragism was Berkeley alumna Mabel Craft Deering, who directed press relations for the entire state campaign. Craft Deering had always attracted publicity. As we saw in the last chapter, Mabel Craft had already achieved notoriety when a graduating senior in 1892 by challenging the university's decision not to award her the University Medal even though she had the highest grade-point average among her classmates. The public hullabaloo caused the young man named as the medal's recipient to decline it. After taking a law degree from Hastings (1895), Craft went into journalism, becoming a celebrity among newspaper reporters for her daring and persistent pursuit of stories. The San Francisco *Chronicle* rewarded her success by making her the Sunday editor of the paper in 1899, a uniquely high-status job for an American woman journalist. She worked with numerous women's organizations in the following decade, and once again became widely known for leading a campaign in favor of racial integration in the national women's club federation (Lapp, 164-5). Several years after her marriage to a prominent San Francisco attorney, she joined the College and Professional Equal Suffrage League, which was led by fellow alumna Fannie McLean

4. Mabel Craft

(1885). She made an effective press director for the 1911 campaign because she had already earned the respect of the California newspaper establishment and had access to editors and many state political leaders. She used the contacts and the skills that she'd acquired as a journalist—persistence, humor, and attention-getting—to popularize the cause of women's suffrage. With the organizing abilities of McLean and the press experience of Craft Deering, the College and Professional Equal Suffrage League took a leading part in the campaign.

In addition to appealing to a larger audience by changing their public image, the suffrage campaigners of 1911 actively made alliances across class, ethnic, religious, and racial boundaries. All sorts of associations were being made, often facilitated by the women's clubs. For example, African American suffrage leader Sarah Overton formed a racially integrated coalition organization—the Interracial Suffrage Amendment League—in San Jose to coordinate campaign efforts (Mead, 139). Federations targeted at college students and alumnae were also organized; there was the College Equal Suffrage League as well as the College and Professional Equal Suffrage League. Berkeley alumnae were often the officers and best-known speakers and pamphleteers for those organizations. As historian Rebecca Mead explains, they often connected the suffragists with an array of other activists "through their connections to social work, reform politics, and the labor movement" (Mead, 171).

They helped facilitate relations with workers' organizations, especially with the Wage Earner's Suffrage league, where they coalesced in support of women trade unionists who were trying to win an eight-hour day. They leafleted workers at the Southern Pacific Railway yard and campaigned among other city-dwellers whom they had not been able to win over in 1896. Seeking supporters among newly arrived immigrants from Italy, France, and Germany, as well as among Spanish-speaking Mexican Americans, members of the College Equal Suffrage league helped translate campaign literature into many languages. They sought and won some endorsements from Catholic priests, which they distributed especially to various ethnic congregations on Sunday mornings. They translated their flyers into Chinese and courted voters among the Asian-American merchants of San Francisco's Chinatown. An endorsement from a local Rabbi was appended to suffrage pamphlets that were passed out at synagogues (Mead, 137-45). In the more sparsely organized countryside, suffrage was already a popular cause, but writers like alumna Millicent Shinn (BA 1880, PhD, 1898) were asked to turn out the vote by reinforcing the message that the women voters were needed in the coalition to clean up the cities and prevent their vices from spreading to the countryside (Schaffer, 487). Student suffragists also drove to rural areas in automobiles (which were attention-grabbing novelties at the time) and drummed up enthusiasm among farm families by gathering audiences and performing comic skits in town centers (Schaffer, 489).

5. Maria Guadalupe de Lopéz

Women from previously ignored communities also became important leaders through the College Leagues. One well-known trailblazer was the Mexican American suffragist Maria Guadalupe Evangelina de Lopéz, the daughter of a blacksmith, who belonged to the College Equal Suffrage League of Southern California. The bilingual de Lopéz was said to be the first person to give suffrage speeches in both Spanish and English, and she toured the state, organizing rallies and campaigning in rural and urban Spanish-speaking communities. She also served as a Spanish-language translator for the California statewide suffrage movement and published an article in the *Los Angeles Herald*, arguing that equal rights for women were foundational in a democracy. Shortly before the vote, at the climax of the campaign, she was the featured speaker for the Votes for Women Club's largest rally in Southern California. De Lopéz was an of alumna the Los Angeles Normal School, and she later taught there. She remained on the faculty when the Normal School became the "Southern Branch" of UC in 1919 and when it was later transformed into UCLA (Gilbert).

In short, many of the new organizations and strategies that propelled the 1911 suffrage campaign to victory were created by women associated with UC. When the votes were finally counted, the effectiveness of the campaign was revealed. The yes votes still fell short in the cities of Oakland and San Francisco, but by a much smaller margin than they had in 1896. And the overall majority for women's suffrage had increased in southern California, rural areas, and small towns, which insured its passage. As historian Mead concludes, the victory thus, "confirmed the significance of modern mass-based methods in a diverse, heavily urbanized state" (Mead, 149). The California movement served as an organizational and strategic model for a series of other state campaigns between 1912 and 1914, and its innovations were built into the drive for the federal constitutional amendment of 1920.

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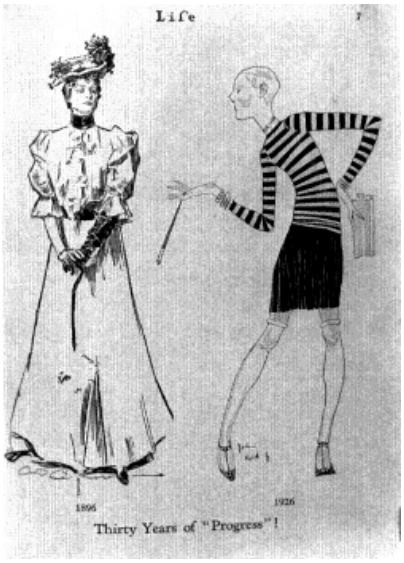
Women at Berkeley, the First Hundred Years

Part 2
WWI through the 1920s

Chapter Four
WWI, the Flu Pandemic, and Origins of 1920s Student Peer Culture

The year 1920 marked the end of an era at UC as Benjamin Ide Wheeler's twenty-year university presidency came to a close. Although his incumbency was disrupted in its last years by mobilization for the war in Europe and the 1918 influenza epidemic, Wheeler left a campus transformed by a program of building and landscaping that Phoebe Apperson Hearst had begun planning and providing for in the late 1890s. By the time Hearst died of the flu in 1919, she was reputed to have spent twice as much as the State on campus buildings (Douglas, 106).



1. Satirical *Life* magazine reflection on the changing image of women in 1926.

1920 also marks the beginning of the era when Victorian sexual attitudes were finally declared moribund. Early in the decade, movies, novels, and newspapers showcased young women defying nineteenth-century standards of behavior. Though many were no doubt exaggerated, such sensational pictures of the habits of "jazz-age" youth did register an actual cultural rift between the generations. The gulf had been widening since the late 1910s but was still news in 1920 because the crises of war and influenza pandemic had deflected the nation's attention. When those emergencies ended, though, it became apparent that young women and men were interacting in new ways. They mixed more easily and unrestrictedly than past generations had. They were going out on dates unchaperoned, dancing to jazz music, smoking cigarettes together, forming intimate emotional bonds, and even engaging in the limited form of sexual experimentation known as "petting". None of this conduct would have been respectable in their parents' generation, so its rise seemed to indicate a sudden revolution in gender relations.

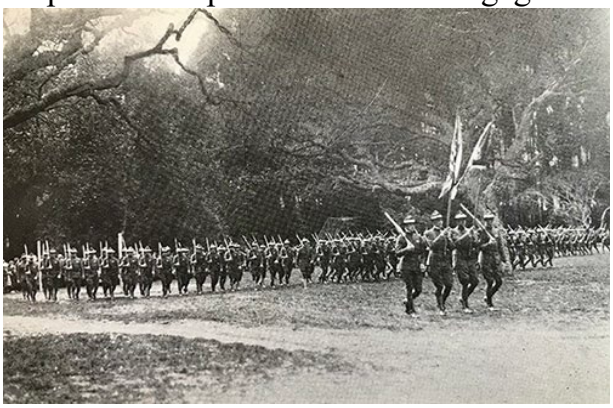
College students, according to historian Paula Fass, did not just follow the new trends; they invented them (Fass, 1977, 261-290). It was primarily university students in the decade after WWI, she argues, who created the first youth-oriented peer culture, which would dominate campus life for decades, become common to young people throughout society, and fundamentally reorganize gender relations. The alterations, moreover, were especially noticeable at large and expanding coeducational public universities, like UC Berkeley (Fass, 129-159; Horowitz, 193-219).

To get a better idea of how the transformation came about locally, this essay will look first at the crucial events leading up to 1920s, exploring how the war years accelerated changes in social relations, especially those between the sexes, at Berkeley.

The second part of the essay will ask to what extent Berkeley's undergraduate women participated in and benefited from the 1920s peer culture.

Wartime conditions accelerated gender change on campus

The combined crises of WWI and the 1918-19 flu epidemic catalyzed the changes in gender relations. Superficially it may be hard to see how those hazardous and somber events are connected to the atmosphere of youthful self-indulgence that followed. The crises, after all, called for collective self-sacrifice and unstinting service from the students. A closer look at campus life in 1917-19 can perhaps give us a better understanding of how the disruptions in university routines relaxed and sometimes suspended the previous rules of engagement between men and women.



2. WWI flying fleet 500, 1919 *Blue and Gold* photo.

First, we must keep in mind that the university in those years was overrun by servicemen. In total nearly 1,000 male students volunteered or were drafted, and yet there were soon more men on campus than ever before, both as students and as military men. The grounds, buildings, and equipment had been placed at the disposal of the War Department, which put up numerous barracks and converted playing fields into training grounds. There were men in every kind of uniform, for the campus contained an Army Training Center, a Naval Unit, and an Ambulance Corps, to say nothing of the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC), established in 1916, which absorbed the university's earlier Cadet Corps. The largest wartime program, the School of Military Aeronautics (in above picture), gave pre-flight training to over 2,000 pilots, with a peak enrollment of 1,500. Another 1,900 men came to Berkeley through the Student Army Training Center. Hence, despite an initial drop in male enrollments, the gender balance on campus itself was heavily tipped toward the masculine. Moreover, we should keep in mind that thousands of other college-age men were stationed or training in the San Francisco bay area, which added to the temporary demographic imbalance (Stadtman, 193-5).

Second, in addition to being constantly surrounded by military men, the women students were energetically recruited into the university's war effort; it was seen as a way to give them both new career goals and service opportunities. The university went so far as to divert the curriculum itself into wartime channels. Dean of Women Lucy Stebbins's exhaustive description of the university's war-related initiatives designed specifically for women stresses an array of new programs and courses: a curriculum for nurses; a course in "First Aid and Home Care of the Sick" to free the trained nurses in every community . . . for the critical needs of war time"; Home Economics courses that "(1) inform all

college women of the food problems created by the war, (2) train women in food conservation and the use of substitutes in the household, and (3) and equip specially qualified women to become community leaders in food conservation". Over a thousand undergraduate women registered for the new courses in the first semester, and as the war went on, they became an obligatory part of every woman's course list. In addition, the university offered to "refocus" women's college work through "short intensive training . . . in the special application of their previous education and experience" to war work: "Women who have been trained in physical education may become reconstruction aides . . . Those trained in manual arts and design may become teachers of occupational therapy and assist in the first stages of the reeducation of the wounded man for work. Women trained in scientific work may become laboratory technicians. Others with fundamental training in agriculture may become leaders of groups of women working on farms or in orchards and assist in meeting the shortage of farm labor." (*Annual Report*, 1918, 186).

3. Red Cross Poster recruiting women for the war effort.

The women's extracurriculum—that complex of student government, sports, and other organized activities that occupy students' time outside of the classroom—came in for equally radical changes (Horowitz, *passim*). At Berkeley, the extracurriculum was, as we've seen, the arena in which women had made noticeable progress in the 1910s by building an elaborate complex of women-only organizations and activities. Their efforts had the enthusiastic support and encouragement of the university president, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, who sought to harness student activities to his interconnected goals of self-government, character-building, and public service. He had intertwined the women's undertakings especially with a continual round of fund-raising for various campus projects. When the war started, the women's activities were turned almost exclusively in patriotic directions. They were expected to volunteer in the local campaign for food conservation, raise funds for War Relief and ambulance teams, and plant vegetable gardens. As the Dean of Women reported, "In the work rooms in Hearst Hall, knitted garments, hospital garments, children's clothing and surgical dressings were made by the students under the supervision of faculty women who have given generously of their time" (*Annual Report*, 1918, 187). Students were also encouraged to volunteer at the Berkeley Chapter of the American Red Cross to learn nursing skills. In many ways the war-course work and the extracurricular activities overlapped.

Some women apparently felt emboldened enough by their "war work" to use it in protesting against campus symbols of male privilege, such as the Senior Men's Bench at the southeast corner of South Hall. Even though the bench had lost its strategic placement when Wheeler Hall opened in 1917, a group of women dared to sit on it and knit garments for war relief in 1918 while another group invaded the men-only campus lunch counter (Gordon, 81). The men swiftly took back their territory, but the changing

physical and social shape of the campus in the 1920s would soon render such symbols irrelevant.

Most changes in those years would come about in less confrontational ways, through the adoption of different modes of socializing with members of the opposite sex. Universities provide three levels of interaction among students: the curricular, the semi-official extracurricular, and a third social level: "the basic friendship, living, and dating associations that consumed the largest part of the leisure time of . . . students" (Fass, 1977, 133). In 1917-19 at Berkeley, this social level, too, was dominated by the war. We are lucky to have an unusually vivid and personal account of how the military atmosphere affected the social lives of women students. In weekly letters, Agnes Edwards, a freshman in 1917, described the details of her new Berkeley life to her parents on the family farm in the Imperial Valley. Agnes Edwards was far from an average undergraduate; she insisted on grasping every opportunity the university offered, whether financial, scholastic, recreational, or social. Her atypical ambition allows her letters to reveal a set of interconnected changes that the war made in women's college life. We learn about her struggles to support herself while keeping her grades at competitive scholarship levels and about her career ambitions. Most importantly for our purposes here, though, she constantly reports on an endless stream of social engagements with young men—mainly cousins and relatives of hometown neighbors—already connected to her family.

Just weeks into her college life, the parental networks had put her in touch with numerous young men from all parts of the West Coast who were stationed in the San Francisco bay area. Entertaining them is clearly the part of familial social obligations she enjoys most:

4. Agnes Edwards with an aviation cadet in 1918.

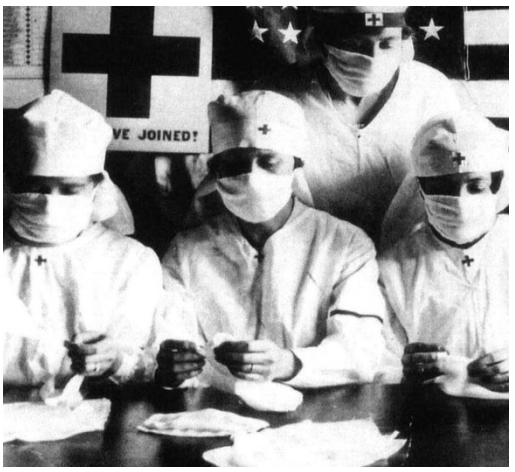
> I sent Mrs. Swain a card & she wrote right away saying Russell Graham [her nephew] was here in Berkeley at the School of Aeronautics, & gave me his address. Also gave me Frank's address [Kittie's son]—he was held over to the 2nd camp. I wrote both of them notes, & Russell came up last night to see me. He will only be here one week more, then has a week's leave [and] . . . will come back here to wait for orders. He is very nice indeed—doesn't act much like a lawyer. I'm going to the movies with him tonight—it's Sunday too—& then some night next week we are going down to a big hotel for dinner. Gee—I'm afraid I won't know what to do. Garrett is coming up here . . . soon, & Gerald may come later in the winter. A regular epidemic of cousins. Frank Swain is coming the first chance he gets . . . (Partin, 18).

In addition to the familial alibi, the wartime call to support the troops also kept her social calendar crowded and relaxed some of the usual rules governing the relations between young women and men. When cousin Russell arrived to take her to San Francisco for their movie date, Agnes and her landlady agreed that cousins do not

need chaperones and that Agnes is, after all, an unusually mature girl (Partin, 19). After longer acquaintance with the aviators (this picture shows her with one), she admits that some of them are "regular flirts", but they nevertheless get a pass: "I think they're rather spoiled because everyone entertains them so much. There are dances every week & they're in on all the college affairs". The abundance of men in uniform even prompts Agnes to adopt a tone of superior depreciation toward mere college boys: "Yes we had a peach of a time when the aviators were over. The fellows were very nice & the swellest dancers. Best time I've had for ages, because they were all so wide awake & are real men. These college fellows mostly act bored to death all the time" (Partin, 80). Between trips to the Presidio for dances at the Army Officers' Training Camp and boat rides to "Goat Island" (Yerba Buena), where the naval officers trained, Agnes debated which "war courses" to take, tried to find time to knit socks for the cousins once they move to other bases, made and boxed up candy for them. And she reports on all kinds of university events—Charter Day, graduation, pep rallies, football games—that invariably turn into war rallies. The war reorganized university routines for women in ways that wove the previously separate strands of academic, extracurricular, and social life into a more uniform pattern, with patriotic sentiment at its center. Agnes's letters let us see just how deeply wartime university life immersed women students in collective experiences that allowed for relatively unconstrained association and close emotional ties with members of the opposite sex.

Campus Women: The Unsung Heroes of the Influenza Pandemic

In the midst of this hyper-charged swirl of activity, in October of 1918, the flu epidemic arrived on campus, putting a near stop to the already diverted campus routines. The flu was first brought by aviators barracked on campus. The women students' activities were consequently redirected yet again; they were pressed into service as nurses and makers of the gauze masks that all citizens were required to wear. According to the *University Chronicle* for January 1919, over 1,000 students made masks in their spare time. The crisis, though, also required the services of hundreds of women volunteers doing more perilous work, for over 1,400 students and servicemen living on and around campus eventually needed treatment for the flu. The size and rapidity of the onslaught immediately overwhelmed the small infirmary, which had approximately fifty beds. Several of the larger barracks and the gymnasium were quickly converted into hospitals, but only for men. "To have men living in crowded boarding houses, fraternities and clubs at this time when infection was everywhere, was out of the question," Dr. Legge, the University Infirmary's director, explained in his annual report for 1919 (*Annual Report*, 1919, 98).



5. Like these Red Cross volunteers in 1918, campus women made tens of thousands of masks.

And yet, his report went on to admit, the suffering women students were simply left in their overcrowded housing. Many of them were recruited to care for the sick, but when they themselves fell ill, the university's very few beds were already full:

> During the period of the epidemic the women students were inadequately provided for, as but a limited section of the Infirmary could be reserved for their use. A service department was instituted by Drs. Lillian Moore, Romilda Meads and Ruby Cunningham of the Infirmary and these, with the cooperation of the Dean of Women, and student helpers, ministered to the women who were ill in sororities and club houses. Their services were crowned with success and without their help it would have been impossible to have provided adequate medical and nursing service to our college women. The Berkeley Chapter of the American Red Cross was our great angel of mercy." (*Annual Report*, 1919, 99).

As one historian explained, "The unsung heroines of the 1918 influenza epidemic at Berkeley were the university women" (Adams, 55). Three hundred and twenty students did maintenance work and nursing in sick rooms. Four campus women died nursing the sick: two professional nurses and "two unselfish and devoted" women students, Elizabeth Webster and Charlotte Norton". As Dr. Legge reported, they fell "in the service of their brothers in arms." In his report's closing peroration, Dr. Legge expresses a sentiment that was often heard when the crisis ended: "The memory of these four women should shine as an inspiration to all of what American women did for humanity when the call was sounded (*Annual Repor*t, 1919, 99)."

As Dr. Legge's description of the students dying "in the service of their brothers in arms" indicates, the pandemic deaths transformed these women into fallen heroes. Such patriotic sacrifices became yet another argument in favor of giving women equal civil and political rights. In his appeal to the U.S. Senate to pass the Nineteenth Amendment, for example, President Woodrow Wilson drew on the same sentiment: "We have made partners of the women in this war. Shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and right?" (Wilson, 406). Nationwide, the confluence of the two crises thus seems to have raised the status of women as citizens and even to have removed some of the opposition to their political equality.

Berkeley's Undergraduate Women and the 1920s Peer Culture

We've been tracing wartime trends—the greater freedom of association between the sexes in the social realm and the boost in political status for women—that might have prepared the way for the 1920s peer culture on college campuses. The next part of this essay will look at the effects of that peer culture itself on Berkeley's undergraduates with special attention to women students.

Let's first take a quick look at changes in the student body's size and gender composition from prewar to postwar. In 1916, enrollments stood at 5659, with 44% (2412) women; in 1920 they jumped to 9,689, with 45% women, before settling into a 1920s average of around 9,000 at mid-decade. Women accounted for a substantial share of the growth; in 1926, they made up 47% (4246) of the 9,036 undergraduates. Taken together with the enrollments at the newly founded UCLA, the increases indicate that a higher proportion high-school graduates were heading to UC campuses in almost equal numbers of male and female. With college becoming a more normal destination for middle- and upper middle-class California teen-agers, its social functions were bound to change.

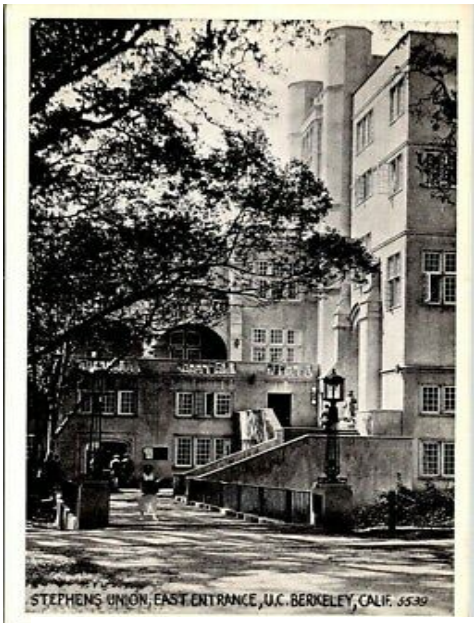
Some important changes in parity between male and female students did come about quickly after the campus returned to normal. The all-male ASUC and the all-female AWS, for example, merged in the early 1920s, and women were thus no longer excluded from the primary student governing body. The event was a milestone of sorts: the first time a previously exclusionary male student organization opened itself to women's full participation. Construction also began on a large new ASUC building (Stephens Hall), which was planned before the war and opened in 1923. Men and women thus shared not only an organization but also facilities that had previously been denied to women, the most important of which was a restaurant where they could finally buy lunch on campus for the first time. The old ASUC lunch counter had been men-only. The disappearance of such blatant exclusions made the campus a friendlier and more convenient place for the women, so the extension of the new ASUC's campus presence can be counted as a contribution to sexual equality.

When recalling this merger five decades later in an interview with the Oral History Center, former Prytanean member Ruth Norton Donnelly, who would later be an Assistant Dean of Women, ('25) makes it sound like a decision that was entirely up to the women:

> "We reorganized the A.S.U.C., and abolished the Associated Women's organization, on the theory that if we were a coeducational institution, we should have a student body organization that included both men and women. Obviously, we felt that women no longer needed to band together for protection. I shall not debate the matter of whether or not we were right" (Prytanean, 145).

There is a strong sense here of the 1920s marking the beginning of a new era for women students, which was no doubt an important part of the students' consciousness of their break with the past. Norton Donnelly indicates that women in the twenties saw themselves as pioneers primarily of a new social regime in which the sexes would associate more freely. Her description emphasizes the new social mixing rather than the more equal sharing of campus political power. The social and political changes were, of

course, compatible, but the stress on social life reflects a broader trend toward the elevation of "popularity" as the measure of an individual's campus status.

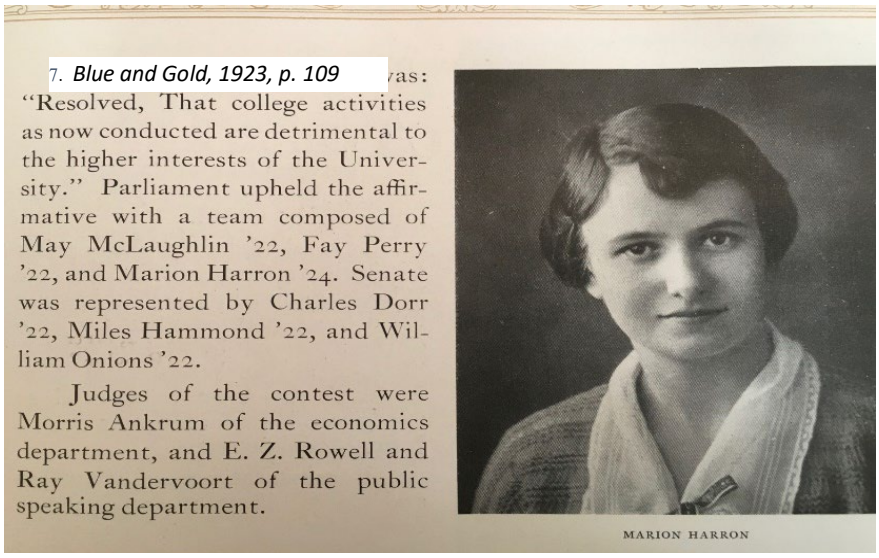


6. Postcard showing the Stephens Union, headquarters of the new, gender-integrated ASUC.

Another sign of growing gender equivalence that started in the early 1920s was the appointment of a Dean of Men in 1923. Women had had a Dean of their own since 1904, but men, as the unmarked majority of student body members, had not been perceived as needing special attention from the administration. Suddenly, it seems, they had become more problematic. Thus, although it was a continuation of separatism, the creation of a Dean of Men at least put the sexes on an even administrative plain. It also indicated the changing nature of student government: in the old regime, senior men maintained discipline and meted out justice for various kinds of student infractions in partnership with the faculty. But in the early twenties, when student tribunals became more lenient, the faculty dissociated itself from the process, turned its role over to the administration, and the new deanship was soon created. The ASUC still played a role, but it was directly overseen by the administration (Stadtman, 282-3), as student leadership focused less on discipline and more on stimulating and coordinating leisure-time activities.

The gender integration of the ASUC thus coincided with changes in the size and functions of student organizations and activities: they assumed new social roles, had greater campus centrality, and encouraged students to devote more time and energy to the extracurriculum. As historian Verne Stadtman points out, the Associated Students not only controlled "the bookstores, athletics, almost all special-interest activities, and many student services" (Stadtman, 282) but also concentrated power in the hands of the students with the largest amount of spare time because the majority of seats on its legislative council were for activities representatives. Its leaders were thus the people with the longest lists of extracurricular pastimes: "the glee clubs, bands, debate teams, athletic squads, class committees, spirit organizations, and publications" (Stadtman, 282). Such students were often affiliated with fraternities and sororities, which both populated the organized activities and mustered votes for winning ASUC elections. The Wheeler-era "moral overtones" of student activities were muted as they became increasingly bound up with the social lives of the campus's leisure class.

The structure of Berkeley's student government thereby gave disproportionate weight to organizations and activities run by undergraduates who came from the highest social-economic ranks. The resulting student culture marginalized or ignored the large number of students, male and female, who had little spare time for such activities: those who did not have wealthy parents supporting them and were working their way through college; those commuting from their parents' homes; or those who were carrying an inordinately heavy academic load in order to graduate early. The outsized power of fraternities and sororities in the system not only stratified the student body by class but also often denied membership on ethnic, religious, and racial grounds, compounding the problem of housing discrimination already rife in the town. The interdependence of Berkeley's student social structure with its student government in the 1920s might be said to have created and rigidified new categories of campus outsiders and insiders.



7. *Blue and Gold, 1923, p. 109*

…as: "Resolved, That college activities as now conducted are detrimental to the higher interests of the University." Parliament upheld the affirmative with a team composed of May McLaughlin '22, Fay Perry '22, and Marion Harron '24. Senate was represented by Charles Dorr '22, Miles Hammond '22, and William Onions '22.

Judges of the contest were Morris Ankrum of the economics department, and E. Z. Rowell and Ray Vandervoort of the public speaking department.

MARION HARRON

It's little wonder, then, that the concentration on student activities and certain aspects of the new modes of socializing were viewed by some as negative forces in student life. When the women's debating team in 1922 beat the men's debating team, as reported in the *Blue and Gold*, the topic was the campus's preoccupation with extracurricular activities. The women argued that "College activities as now conducted are detrimental to the higher interests of the University", and they won.

We also find a contrasting a pair of complaints in the annual reports of the Deans of Men and Women in 1924, which sheds light on the gender implications of the student culture. The Dean of Men blamed "the excessive attention given to undergraduate activities and to social affairs among student organizations" (*Annual Report*, 1924, 30) for both the rise in disciplinary problems (primarily drunken carousing among fraternity men) and the students' mediocre grades. Dean of Women Lucy Stebbins, however, complained that too many of the current activities failed to engage the students (Annual Report, 1924, 35). She recommended establishing additional student organizations to increase community spirit and cohesion in the female student body. It is striking that the two deans, looking at the same phenomenon of the campus culture, come to such opposite conclusions. The Dean of Men saw the problems it made for those at its center, who were distracted and sometimes corrupted by it, whereas the Dean of Women saw the problems for those on

the margins, who felt dispersed and disengaged. Why, in a decade known for integrating the genders, would these opposite perspectives still prevail?

Dean Stebbins's report indicates that the youth culture taking root at Berkeley may have integrated some women into its higher echelons—especially since fraternities and sororities served as filters for identifying plausible mates—while leaving many on the sidelines. Looking into the reasons for the women's disconnection, the dean points to the university's refusal to provide housing. Stebbins had long claimed that the lack of university-built dormitories disproportionately affected women, who often could not find affordable, safe, and sanitary accommodations. She warned in 1919 that the university's policy would limit its geographic draw: female students would increasingly be living with their families, she predicted. Her 1924 survey shows her forecasts had come true: women students were primarily local. Of 3852 women registered (up 1404 in five years, over a 50% increase from 1919), a majority of the women (1989) were "living at home" (*Annual Report*, 1924, 34). Most commuted from towns in the Bay Area, and 974 of them resided with their families in the city of Berkeley itself. Stebbins notes that some families felt obliged to move to Berkeley because of the lack of available student housing. "Sororities and clubs", on the other hand, served quite a small proportion of the women, only 13%, but had accrued great significance because the housing shortage had given them increasing desirability and selectivity. She frankly labels these trends "divisive".

Paula Fass has shown that the youthful peer culture in 1920s America developed fastest at coeducational *residential* universities where most students lived on campus, whereas commuter campuses like UCLA had modified versions. Berkeley, however, seems not to have fit either model but rather to have been a residential university for men but not for the majority of women. Just what the local consequences of this gendered pattern were for the absorption rate of the new youth culture would require more research, but Fass's generalizations about students who lived at home in the 1920s might give us some indications (Fass, 135-6). They tended to be only moderately involved in the extracurriculum, to be at least partially self-supporting, and to be more critical of the social hierarchy. They also tended to have above-average grades, and there is evidence that Berkeley's undergraduate women excelled academically: in the years 1922-24, for example, two-thirds of the seniors elected to Phi Beta Kappa were women (*Blue & Gold*, 1922, 298; 1923, 304; 1924, 364). Odds are that at Berkeley, as elsewhere, living at home served as a counterweight to the peer culture.

Counterweights, though, are also important for cultural transitions. As Fass notes, the women were the most active leaders in the social life of the students: "Men dominated the activities, women the social functions" (Fass, 1977, 200). To create freer manners and morals, they needed to set new standards for acceptable behavior as well as overturn the old ones. Sororities and boarding houses, for example, accepted the housemothers who functioned as chaperones, and all approved women's living quarters had parietal rules governing visits with men as well as curfews. And as couples spent

more time together privately, limits on sexual behavior also had to be enforced through more informal methods of gossip and reputation assessment. Such unwritten rules might have been easier to keep in a place where over half of the women still lived with their parents. Indeed, the oral histories (conducted in the seventies) of women who had been active in the twenties stress their lack of rebelliousness: "As for parallels to the student rebellions of the 60's, I think we had none of that. We were completely in sympathy with our professors . . . . We attended social events with them, and we felt very close to the controlling elements in the government of our university" (Prytanean, 135). The university women of the twenties seem to have sought greater social freedom and respect without disruption or rebellion.

Diffusing unobtrusively through the student body, the peer culture at Berkeley came to permeate even the groups most obviously excluded from its mainstream organizations. It spread, moreover, through a process similar to that undergone by the first generations of women students in earlier decades: in response to exclusion, they built compensatory parallel institutions and thereby expanded the reach of the extracurriculum. Correspondingly, the groups barred from fraternities and sororities on racial and religious grounds followed the exclusion-expansion pattern by founding their own Greek-letter societies. In later generations students would protest against the racist bigotry of the Hellenic system, but in the twenties the proscribed groups on campus duplicated and extended it. In 1923, Alpha Epsilon Phi, the first sorority for Jewish women, for example, was founded at Berkeley and was allowed to join the Panhellenic alliance.

8. Berkeley's Alpha Kappa Alpha chapter.

In 1921, two chapters of African American sororities, Delta Sigma Theta and Alpha Kappa Alpha, were established at Berkeley, and AKA was included in the Women's Council, where representatives of women's groups assembled. In her memoir, the chapter founder, Ida Louise Jackson, describes the qualifications for becoming a bonafide campus group: the members needed to qualify scholastically, to apply to the Dean's office for approval, and to have a regular meeting place (Jackson's house in north Oakland). Once approved, Jackson became their representative on the Women's Council, and "we began to feel we were a part of things" (*There Was Light*, 255). Despite meeting all of the necessary criteria, the African American sororities (and fraternities) went unrecognized by Berkeley's Panhellenic or Interfraternity Conferences. Moreover, when the AKA paid for a page in the *Blue and Gold* for a photograph of the membership, the page was cut at the last minute. Asian American Greek-letter groups like Pi Alpha Phi, founded in 1926, were also not accepted among the white fraternities and sororities. In short, the white peer culture pretended these groups did not exist, and yet the excluded groups established organizations on the same pattern because the need for peer-group recognition and respect extended far beyond the campus elite. The Jewish and African American organizations, moreover, were affiliates of national fraternal networks, and the African

American groups especially were becoming important symbols of identity for what one historian has called “black counterpublics” (Whaley). Their arrival on the West Coast demonstrates that college life in the twenties was remarkably uniform throughout the country.

The attraction of sororities, fraternities, and other house clubs was their generational autonomy; the students collectively controlled their properties instead of merely renting rooms in someone else’s house. Joining one, though, entailed submission to the relentless scrutiny and assessment of one’s peer group, which is why they have come to symbolize the overarching phenomenon of peer influence and conformity. There is no better indication of the predominance of that general impulse to adhere to peer standards than the diversification of Greek-letter organizations at Berkeley. It illustrates not that the excluded groups were mistaken in their response but that the peer culture of the twenties had such strong magnetism that it attracted even those it simultaneously kept at the margins.

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1. “Thirty Years of Progress!”, by John Held Jr., *Life*, 1926. From the chboothlibrary.org.

2. *Blue and Gold* 1918 photo of flight cadets. From “Concert will mark 100th anniversary of end of World War I”, *Berkeley News*, 8 Nov, 2018.

3. Red Cross poster by W. T. Benda. From Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca40832.

4. Photo of saluting Agnes Edwards. From *Student Life at the University of California, Berkeley, During and After World War I; the Letters of Agnes Edwards Partin, 1917-1921.* Ed. Grace E. Moremen. Edwin Mellen Press, 2006. Plate 9.

5. Photo of masked mask makers. From “Photos: How the 1918 Flu and COVID-19 Pandemics Compare”, by Radhika Chalasani, *ABC News*, 19 Sept., 2021.

6. Postcard of the new Stephens Union, 1926. From CardCow.com.

7. Report of the debate between the men’s and women’s debating teams over extracurricular activities. From *Blue and Gold*, 1923, p. 109.

8. Photo of the first UC Berkeley members of Alpha Kappa Alpha. From Alpha Kappa Alpha, Inc..

Chapter Five
The First Cohort of Women on the Faculty

Although women have been an important part of Berkeley's history for 150 years, professional academic women came on the scene in significant numbers only about a century ago, in the late 1910s. At first they were often excluded or marginalized by their male counterparts, just as the women students had been earlier by the undergraduate men. And they reacted in the same ways the students had: they built exclusively or predominantly women's organizations and pioneered women-friendly academic disciplines. Knowing what fields they came from and what departments and schools they entered and developed can help us to see their early challenges and the direction of their campaign for acceptance. Moreover, the early history reveals the ways in which women faculty would fundamentally change the university.

Prelude to the first wave: Ritter, Sprague

1 Mary Bennett Ritter

In an earlier essay, we briefly described Dr. Mary Ritter's path to teaching at Berkeley. She was a local physcian who became the women students' medical examiner on a voluntary basis in 1891, when they needed medical certification in order to use the only gymnasium on campus for a few hours a week. Ritter was later given a salary, paid for by Regent Phoebe Apperson Hearst, which allowed her to take time from her private practice to give medical attention and advice to women students as well as to teach them "hygiene" and "domestic sanitation". She also played the role of sanitary inspector, issuing or withholding certificates of University approval for every boarding house in the city that rented to the women, and she worked with Hearst to raise funds for students to build their own cooperative houses. Even after her resignation for health reasons in 1904, she continued to advocate and raise money for women's student housing through the 1930s. Moreover, when her husband, zoology professor William Emerson Ritter, established UC's Marine Biology Station near San Diego (which later became the Scripps Institute), Dr. Ritter became the field station's de facto manager and research associate. The couple's management of the research facility seems to have been especially inviting for women graduate students, and five of UC's first fifteen female PhDs did their dissertation research there (Merritt, 5-6). In short, Dr. Ritter was a combination Home Economics & Sex Education teacher, as

well as a public health worker, student counselor, unofficial dean of women, and unpaid research field-station manager. As she later explained, “I was the ‘crank’ that turned over the machinery for several innovations in the lives of the women students (Ritter, 201; 201-217).

Ritter was not a regular faculty member, but her UC career foreshadowed some typical traits of the teaching lives of the first wave of faculty women. Their courses, like hers, were often on the margins of normal academic fields. As Ritter put it, hygiene was in the "fringe of the orthodox curriculum" (Ritter, 206). And yet the women’s courses were also highly innovative. Ritter’s, for example, taught women to understand their own bodies and experiences through a modern, scientific lens; her domestic sanitation course introduced them to the idea of scientifically-informed household planning. Indeed, the subjects she taught remind us of the educational emphasis Jeanne Carr favored for women in the 1870s (see Chapter One), while they also point forward to the 1920s and 30s curricula in health sciences and home economics. Ritter was proud of her role as an innovator, later noting that her courses, were “the wedge which opened the way for the grafting of several strong branches onto the old university tree” (Ritter, 204). In addition to being unorthodox and productive of new university subjects, the academic disciplines pioneered by other early women faculty were often connected to areas of knowledge and occupations that had long been associated with women’s unremunerated, volunteer community work. The arrival of women on the faculty was part of a much larger trend toward the professionalization of middle-class women’s traditional social roles and functions. Both the change and the continuity were typified by Dr. Ritter, an M.D. whose mother had been a self-taught nurse and mid-wife.

Ritter's employment at UC ended in 1904, and very little progress in hiring faculty women was made during the rest of the new century’s first decade. Using the UC ClioMetric History Project’s online data, we found that by 1910, eleven women were listed in the course records, but most of them were physical education instructors or assistants in others’ courses (UC ClioMetric). Only two qualify as faculty: Assistant Professors Lucy Sprague in English and Jessica Peixotto in Economics, hired in 1904 and 1906, respectively, both appointed by Benjamin Ide Wheeler. Of those two, it was Sprague who took on some of Ritter’s responsibilities. Her faculty status, like Ritter’s, was questionable, for, as we saw in an earlier essay, she’d been appointed by President Wheeler to serve as Dean of Women. As she later told the story, he asked her simply, “to do something with the women students at the University; that vague statement expresses fairly accurately his state of mind” (Mitchell, 133). She even found herself teaching hygiene, later recalling, “Of all the queer things I was called upon to become at Berkeley at the age of twenty-seven, I think becoming a specialist on sex diseases was the queerest” (Mitchell, 200). Her English faculty appointment was an afterthought, and without even a Master's degree, she acutely felt her lack of academic credentials. She did

teach some courses, but her primary roles were to give the women a spokesperson in the administration, improve their morale, facilitate their efforts at organizing themselves in extra-curricular groups and activities, and expand their career horizons beyond the default choice of school-teaching. By the time she left in 1912, she had definitely made the women's lives better, increased their stature on campus, but her role was that of an administrator, mentor, advisor, and inspirational presence.

New Women in New Fields

Thus, despite Lucy Sprague's honorific title of Assistant Professor, it's fair to say that Jessica Peixotto was the only woman hired by the university deliberately to serve on the faculty during the first four decades of its existence. And Peixotto's role in setting the stage for the arrival of the first groups of faculty women can hardly be exaggerated. I say "groups of women" because most of Berkeley's earliest academic women arrived in clusters in particular fields, and understanding the fortunes of the fields will help us to understand the successes they achieved and the limitations the faced.


2 Jessica Peixotto

One of the clusters was Peixotto's invention: a wing of the Economics Department she called "Social Economics". According to historian Mary Ann Dzuback, the program oriented its research toward problems that concerned laborers, the poor, the unemployed, children, women," and other groups "who faced uncertain economic and social change" (Dzuback, 155-56). Because it studied the causes and remedies of such problems, it could be viewed by some as an academic extension of the charitable and philanthropic work often undertaken voluntarily by middle-class and wealthy women. President Benjamin Ide Wheeler was a supporter of the program and justified it to the Regents as "the field of constructive and preventive philanthropy" (*Annual Report*, 1912, 35). Indeed, Peixotto was herself active in charitable organizations. She was a friend and associate of Phoebe Hearst and first came to the attention of Wheeler in that context.

But there was nothing of the amateur about Jessica Peixotto. She published widely, so she had a strong national scholarly reputation as well as a prominent place in California's social policy discussions. During WWI, she was appointed to the National Council of Defense, Committee on Children. In 1918, she was promoted to full professor, the first woman in Berkeley's history to reach that rank, and she retired in 1935. In short, during her almost thirty-year career on the faculty, she was one of the campus's most influential social thinkers.

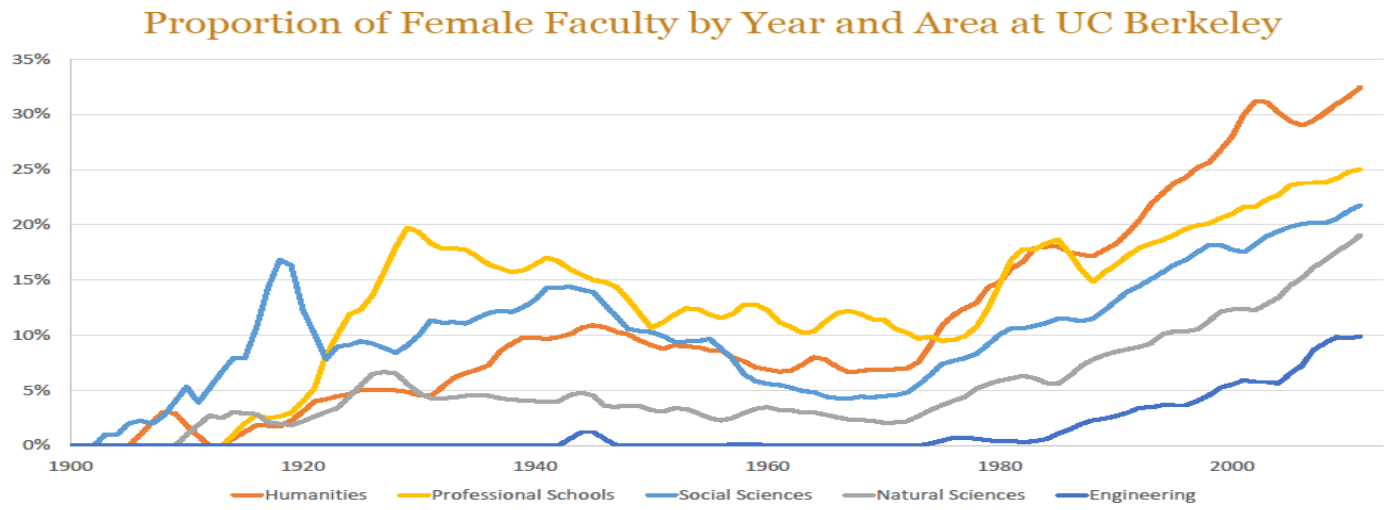
Peixotto's contributions to UC, moreover, went far beyond her own research, for she was a persistent institution-builder, whose academic program produced other prominent faculty women. Barbara Nachtrieb Armstrong, for example, who was the first woman to join the faculty of the Berkeley Law School and played a major role in the federal Social Security legislation of the 1930s, was Peixotto's student when she earned both a BA (1919) and a PhD (1928) in Social Economics. Another of Peixotto's students, Emily Huntington, returned to the Economics Department in 1928 after completing her doctorate at Harvard/Radcliffe, and remained until her retirement in 1961. Yet another Social Economics student, Lucy Stebbins, became the Dean of Women and built that position into an important branch of the administration. These core faculty women (whose careers we'll return to in later chapters) were joined in Social Economics by a number of women doctoral students and visiting women researchers. They actively disseminated their research to local, state, and federal government agencies, and were well known for creating the first clinical program for social welfare in the state, a forerunner of the School of Social Welfare.

Moreover, in the 1910s she was an important advisor to President Wheeler, who loaded her with campus service responsibilities. He charged her with the task of chairing a faculty committee to determine the function and organization of a Home Economics program at Berkeley (Nerad, 51-63). The job was difficult, time-consuming, and controversial, but it eventually led to the founding of two new programs with predominantly female faculties: Home Economics Science and Home Economics Arts, originally combined as a single Department inside the College of Letters and Science (Nerad, 67-71).

Thus, partly because of Peixotto's strenuous efforts, the next decade saw relatively strong progress in hiring faculty women. By 1920 (UC ClioMetric), sixty-three women are listed as teaching. The majority were still in the "teaching assistant", "lecturer" and "instructor" categories, but many of those had master's degrees. Moreover, the number of women holding assistant and associate professorships had jumped to twenty-two. Although not all with professorial titles held doctorates, some of the women holding instructorships and lectureships did. In all, there were twenty female PhDs and two medical doctors on the faculty in 1919-1920. Adding those holding professorial appointments to those PhDs teaching with other titles, we count twenty-eight.

Granted, this is a small group of women, less than 5% of the total faculty, but they were the core around which a women's faculty would form. And when we look at their disciplinary distribution, we can see that many were appointed in a constellation of biological and social sciences that were just coming into their own at the end of the 1910s. The course lists from 1919-20 show a few women teaching in academic departments that were quite stable, like mathematics and foreign languages. The majority,

though, were appointed in emerging fields that were just beginning to differentiate and define themselves. The department of Hygiene, for example, would go on to become Public Health; the Social Economics curriculum would spawn a graduate program in Social Services; Mental Development, which was then in Philosophy, would soon become the new Department of Psychology. Hygiene brought faculty from medical schools and the biological sciences together with statisticians and sanitation experts. Pedagogy, a forerunner of the Department of Education, drew from numerous disciplines. Perhaps most important for hiring women was the new Home Economics Department, which had two branches: Home Economics Sciences (primarily PhDs in Chemistry and Physiology) and Home Economics Arts (led by landscape and textile specialists). Many women faculty thus first appeared in specialties that were separating from older academic departments and recombining in new formations. They were in the process of creating new university homes.



3 Chart by Zachary Bleemer

This chart by economic historian Zachary Bleemer, which traces the percentage of the faculty that was female throughout Berkeley's history, shows the shifting distribution. Between 1915 and 1919, the female percentage of the social science faculty rose from 7% to 16%, the highest proportion in any division. The rise probably reflects the founding of Home Economics and its original placement in the College of Letters (now Letters and Science). As we've seen, the growth of Social Economics inside the Economics Department also contributed several social sciences women in these years. Then, as professional programs and schools were formed in the 1920s, some women faculty seem to have migrated to those units. Home Economics Science became an independent department in 1920, still in L&S, and was then moved to the College of Agriculture in 1938. The percentage of women in social sciences dropped sharply between 1920 and 1929 (from 19% to 9%); concomitantly, the percentage of women in the professional school faculty rose from 4%

in 1920 to 20% in 1930, reflecting larger changes in the number of such programs and the fields of professional training. In short, the chart records not a rise and decline of different faculty in two areas, but the arrival of many women faculty in the years leading up to 1920 and then their reclassification in the subsequent decade. It's a picture of the disciplinary and institutional flux surrounding the first cohort of faculty women.


4 Olga Louise Bridgman

An example of the disciplinary elasticity of these early women academics can be seen in the career path of Dr. Olga Bridgman, a pioneer in child and developmental psychology. Since the field had not yet come into existence, Bridgman combined several different kinds of training. She came to California in 1913, two years after getting her M.D. from the University of Michigan. At Berkeley she earned a master's and a doctorate, and in 1920, we find her listed as an Assistant Professor of Philosophy teaching "Abnormal Psychology". Concurrently, she taught Pediatrics at UCSF. Only in 1922 did she find a more appropriate home in the newly created Psychology Department. She continued researching and teaching at both UCSF and Berkeley for forty years ("Olga Louise Bridgman").

For all of their variety, though, the new disciplines shared one thing: they emerged in the context of the socialization, professionalization, and increasing governmental oversight of activities that had belonged to women in earlier generations: community healthcare and hygiene; charity and community relief; childcare and education; nutrition, and household production and management. Through churches, women's clubs, and private charities, women had tried to solve such pressing social and medical problems as educating slum children, feeding, and clothing families, caring for orphans, establishing clinics and infirmities, and combating urban delinquency and rural poverty. Then in the early decades of the twentieth century, the scale of the problems became too large for private charities and volunteer organizations. Government resources were needed, which came with state oversight and certification, leading universities throughout the country to offer professional training in new academic programs (Solomon, 83-90; 137-140).

The professionalization of these sectors in California created the need for academic preparation and eventually the formation of either new departments or special schools and programs at the university. We can see this private-to-public dynamic at work, for example, in the career of alumna, and later Lecturer, Katharine Felton, who graduated from Berkeley in 1895, received graduate training in Political Economy at the University of Chicago, and was made the Director of the Associated Charities of San Francisco in 1901. That position brought her to prominence as a chief organizer and administrator of the coordinated federal, state, and city emergency relief efforts following the 1906 earthquake and fire. Her influence on San Francisco's social services continued for decades; she reorganized the care of orphans in the city, pioneering the move to foster homes from impersonal orphanages (Leiby, 174-180; Mitchell, 198-99).


5 Katharine Felton

In the twenties, the work Felton had initiated and coordinated through private charities was taken over by public agencies, and she smoothly transitioned to a public administrative role, which made her especially interested in the training and qualifications of the many young women who joined the new profession of social worker. Planning for their education kept her connected to her *alma mater*, where she not only helped develop the Curriculum in Social Service, initiated by Peixotto in the Social Economics program, but also taught as a Lecturer in the Department of Social Welfare from 1926 to 1940 (Burton; "Katharine C. Felton").

The Example of Home Economics

Perhaps the best known—and most controversial—example of women's work becoming an academic discipline, though, was the creation of Home Economics departments throughout the country in the first decades of the century. Members of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae at first disapproved, fearing Home Economics would downgrade women's college education by reducing it to household training, which would merely channel women back into homemaking. But others saw Home Economics as an opening for women in the sciences; they thought it would make "household management, scientific cookery, and sanitary science legitimate areas of scientific inquiry" (Nerad, 34). Many hoped that university programs in the subject would raise the status of women's work generally while opening more faculty positions to women (Solomon, 85-88). The debate may have been short-circuited by the requirement of home economics in public high schools, which forced colleges to train teachers in the subject. Nevertheless, ambivalence about its effect on the status of women faculty continued.

Berkeley's experience with a Home Economics Department illustrated that both sides of the debate were right: the department both quickly raised the number of women on the faculty and also marginalized them. As historian Maresi Nerad explains, Home Economics had the full support of President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, who initiated its departmentalization in 1916 and thought the unit would provide vocational training for homemakers. The women faculty, however, viewed themselves not just as teachers but also as researchers seeking new evidence about daily life that might ultimately yield fundamental scientific insights. Because the university in general had such a limited view of the field, though, the women it recruited had to struggle constantly for space, meager resources, academic legitimacy, and recognition of their accomplishments (Nerad, 17-71;).

A few new faculty women brought into the university through Home Economics, like the nutritionist and department chair Agnes Fay Morgan, managed to carry on crucial research and make important discoveries within its confines. A person of unusual focus and determination, Morgan put off motherhood until after her promotion to full professor in 1923, even then keeping the fact under wraps. As one colleague recalled, "her research was in chemistry, and so she usually wore a long smock, and when her son arrived on the scene, everybody was startled because nobody knew that he was on his way" (Nerad, 77). She studied the biochemistry of vitamins and the nutritional value of foods, while shaping the entire department and building one of the most important programs in human nutrition in the country. Nevertheless, her research was repeatedly thwarted by lack of money and inadequate facilities. Underfunded by the university, she sought money from California's food industries for analyzing such topics as the effects of canning on the vitamins in tomatoes. For that unapproved initiative, the university cut her research budget even further. After many such travails, she eventually gained recognition as a scientist: the American Chemical Society awarded her its Garvan Medal in 1949, and the Berkeley Academic Senate chose her to be the first woman Faculty Research Lecturer in 1951. In 1962, after her division of Home Economics had been rechristened the Department of Nutritional Sciences, the building housing it was renamed Morgan Hall.

6 Agnes Fay Morgan, 1930

Despite the hard-won eminence ultimately achieved by Morgan and a few of her colleagues, the devaluation of the Home Economics sciences as women's vocational education kept the junior faculty from finding space and money to undertake their own research. The department thus had trouble retaining the younger women it recruited. Finally, in the early 1960s, when high schools stopped requiring home economics

courses, it was disbanded. The program in Nutrition stayed at Berkeley, and other divisions of Home Economics moved to the Davis campus. As we'll see in a later chapter, the reorganization led to the disappearance of dozens of faculty women.

Home Economics is an extreme example of both the perils and promises of the growth in feminized fields in the early twentieth century. The new fields created areas of interdisciplinary inquiry, were encouraged and sometimes even mandated by the era's growing public service sector, and they made women university teachers and researchers much more common. But because they were consigned to the periphery of academic interests, the status and tenure of the women who entered them remained insecure.

New Women in Old Fields

There were also, to be sure, academic women teaching in more traditional academic departments in 1919-20. What can be learned from comparing a few of their career paths with those of the women in the new fields?

7 Rosalind Wulzen

One department with four faculty, Physiology, included two women, Rosalind Wulzen and Lillian Moore, as Instructors. Both women had received their PhDs from Berkeley within the previous six years. As historian Karen Merritt has discovered, Berkeley's early female PhDs, unlike those from other American universities, were predominantly in science and mathematics: "While the largest numbers of women who earned Ph.D.'s at American universities in the late 1800's were in the fields of English, Latin/Greek and Pedagogy (Education), only one woman each received a UC Ph.D. in English and Pedagogy before 1916. Instead, ten of the first fifteen completed their doctorates in the sciences and mathematics" (Merritt, 2). Moreover, seven of those ten were in the biological sciences, in marked contrast to the first fifteen Berkeley PhDs awarded to men, all of which were in science and math but none in the life sciences (Merrit, 5). Given what seems to have been a gender-related preference among women for the biological sciences in post-graduate study, the presence of two women on the four-person Physiology faculty looks less surprising.

"Instructor" was a common entry-level title for both men and women at the time, but the difference in status between the genders in Physiology appeared in their rate of promotion. Wulzen held the Instructor title for fourteen years, from 1914 until 1928, while her male colleagues went up through the professorial ranks. She finally resigned to take an assistant professorship at the University of Oregon. Her departure from Berkeley was described by Nello Pace as part of an "upgrade" for a stagnating and overly inbred department (Pace, 12). And yet in Oregon, where she found support for her research, she made the important discovery of a compound in molasses and unpasteurized cream—which was named the Wulzen factor after her—that could protect the joints of mammals against calcification. She taught at both the University of Oregon's Eugene campus and at Oregon State in Corvallis, finally settling into the Zoology Department there and retiring as a full professor in 1954 ("Rosalind Wulzen"). The year after Wulzen moved to Oregon, Lillian Moore (who had been promoted to Assistant Professor) died suddenly of a rare blood cell disorder. Except for a one-year stint by Dr. Evelyn Anderson Haymaker (later a professor at UCSF), the Department of Physiology appears not to have employed anymore faculty women until the 1950s, when the unit was merged with Anatomy (Pace, 12-16).

Wulzen's career pattern of very slow or even non-existent progress into and through the professorial ranks, was common for faculty women in this period. Annie Biddle, for example, was the first woman to be awarded a PhD by the Berkeley Mathematics Department in 1911. After marrying in 1914, she began teaching, holding titles usually given to graduate students: teaching fellow, assistant, associate. The titles may indicate that she preferred part-time teaching because she'd started a family. Finally, she was made Instructor in 1924, a decade after earning her PhD. But when the economic depression hit and the department was forced to reduce its size, she was laid off on the grounds that she was a married woman whose husband could support her (Greene and LaDuke, "Andrews, Annie Dale Biddle"). This pattern became prevalent in the following decades, when married women were repeatedly told that men needed their jobs. Wulzen's and Biddle's experience might also indicate that women who entered departments where they'd earned their doctorates had a difficult time overcoming their previous status as graduate students; it might have looked as though they were hired partly because they were readily available.

Even women coming from other prestigious graduate programs often made slow progress through the ranks and retired without tenure. Alice Post Tabor came to the German Department with a PhD from Chicago in 1916. For sixteen years, she taught as an Instructor at every level—including graduate seminars in German Literature—until she was finally given an Assistant Professorship in 1932 ("Alice Post Tabor, German: Berkeley"). Looking at the Department course lists in 1920, we see three PhDs with Instructorships, two men and Tabor. In 1930, only one, Tabor, had not been moved to the

professorial ladder. In 1948 when Tabor retired as an Assistant Professor, both the men had long held tenured professorships. It appears that women did not necessarily benefit by coming from outside the institution. Nor did they have an easier time in longer established or more stable and traditional departments. Where they were competing with more men, they faced different kinds of challenges from those encountered in the feminized fields.

* * *

This first generation of pioneering academic women made contributions of time and energy to the university and the public good that were disproportionate to their numbers. And although they were underfunded and usually underappreciated, they often expressed genuine gratitude for the opportunities the university gave them to live stimulating intellectual lives with a keen sense of purpose. They were not, to be sure, completely insensitive to their unequal treatment. For example, in 1917, when Jessica Peixotto's Social Economics program was attracting hundreds of new students, she complained to President Wheeler that the Economics Department stymied her progress: "When it is a question of promotions in our department, I am invariably the last to get any evidence of merit. Later comers get first place" (quoted in Nerad, 40). And yet her consciousness of discrimination did not interfere with her unremitting dedication to the university and the public service she was sure it provided. As we celebrate their accomplishments in 2020, we may wonder how much more these women might have done if they'd received the full support and acceptance of their male peers. From their historical perspective, though, they clearly perceived that they were a newly privileged female intellectual elite, harbingers of a brighter future for women in higher education.

They had, moreover, an acute consciousness of their roles as test cases for the viability of women faculty in general, believing that if they, in the first significant cohort, proved their worth, women faculty would gradually gain acceptance. Consequently, they felt responsible for promoting the interests of women as a group and building organizations that would make the lives of their own peers and of future faculty women more sociable, comfortable, and productive. Our next perspective on their activities will examine their foresight and leadership in establishing institutions to promote women's collegiality and public presence at Berkeley.

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Chapter Six
Why Did Berkeley Women Need to Create Their Own Faculty Club?

1 Front entrance of the Women's Faculty Club

The independent (but university sanctioned) establishment calling itself "The Faculty Club" refused to admit women as members. Some were occasionally allowed to attend functions as guests, but they were not eligible for membership. The club's sexual restriction might not have been noticed in 1902, when it was built as a one-room clubhouse, since no women were then on the faculty. However, by the close of the 1910s, the clubhouse had been greatly expanded and over a score of new women had been added to the faculty, so the continued bar on their membership seemed unjustifiable. Still, we might wonder what was so important about having a club.

The women were, after all, voting members of their departments as well as members of the principal faculty organization, the Academic Senate, whose power was then increasing. Indeed, the women's desire for a club coincided exactly with the chapter in UC history known as the "Revolt of the Faculty", in which that group as a whole took a decisive step toward enhancing their own standing in relation to the administration, especially in the matter of professorial appointments and promotions (Stadtman, 239-56). In Benjamin Ide Wheeler's day those powers belonged to the President, with the consent of the Regents. With his resignation in 1919, the Academic Senate began campaigning for the system of shared governance that Berkeley has practiced ever since.

The simultaneity of the campaign for a Women's Faculty Club and the general expansion of collective faculty power raises the question of possible links between the two efforts. We can't say for sure that there was a direct connection, but what's known about the circumstances prompts the speculation that the women leaders, whose programs had often received Wheeler's support, might have been wondering how to proceed as the

balance of power shifted toward the faculty. They thus might have been especially alert to signs of disrespect from their male colleagues, and yet they were also no doubt eager to claim their share of the faculty's growing authority. Within this broad context of organizational change, there were many other reasons, both practical and symbolic, that made a Women's Faculty Club seem indispensable.

The Practical Reasons for a Club

To begin at the simplest level, the exclusion was not only insulting but also a significant impediment to leading a comfortable and sociable campus life; it even interfered with simply having lunch. A place for all to purchase meals conveniently may sound like an obvious requirement for a growing public university, but in the late teens, the campus was still a complete food desert for women. Thus, at the simplest and most literal level, exclusion by men from the only faculty club was a bread-and-butter issue.

The university, as we've noticed several times in these essays, had a policy against providing living or eating facilities, so all such places had to be created by independent associations, like the ASUC and the Faculty Club, both of which were exclusively male in 1919. Thus, as an early member of the Women's Faculty Club explained, all women on campus "who did not live close enough to walk home for lunch either carried it or went to a public restaurant off campus". The men, in contrast, had provided themselves with two places: the ASUC lunch counter in the basement of North Hall "was sacred to the men students"; and the male faculty had their club (*The Women's Faculty Club*, 82). The eating restrictions illustrate once again how the university's refusal to provide services made life particularly hard for women. They were not only constant reminders of their second-class citizenship but also sources of discomfort and inconvenience, costing them time and energy.

The faculty women thus keenly felt the need for a place to meet one another, enjoy relaxed conversation with peers, engage in social activities, hold meetings, give parties, have meals, and even find housing. And in providing one for themselves, they were following a pattern already well established at Berkeley: when women were excluded, they built separate, parallel institutions. Indeed, they had the recent example of the establishment of Senior Women's Hall by the students in 1911. The senior men's leadership organization, the Order of the Golden Bear, had built Senior Men's Hall in 1905-6 as a place to hold private, informal discussions with alumni, faculty, and administrators. Not allowed to enter that

2 Meeting at Girton (Senior Women's) Hall, c. *1913*

hall at any time, women students soon began raising money for a clubhouse of their own. Like all the clubs, it was built on land given by the Regents and with the approval of the administration (*Girton Hall*, 7-8), and architect Julia Morgan donated her labor (Darnall, 60). Throughout the 1910s, Senior Women's Hall was the primary assembly place for female students on campus. It did not have dining facilities but, fittingly, did have a small kitchen.

Although partly following this earlier pattern, the building of the Women's Faculty Club in other ways departed from it. Like earlier club builders, the women faculty sought the approval of the administration and asked the Regents to allow them to build on university land. They raised money from the sale of bonds, took out a mortgage, and they asked John Galen Howard, the primary university architect, to design the building. But the Women's Faculty Club was a much bigger and more expensive project, built not only for meals, assembly, and recreation, but also residential purposes. It took four years to plan and build, and the leading lights of the women's faculty (incorporated as the Building Committee) were personally involved in all stages of the process (*Women's Faculty Club HSR,* 42-52). The sheer extent of their dedicated efforts indicates how much more than mere lunch was at stake in their enterprise.

The Symbolic Need: Public Recognition of Faculty Status

The exclusion of women from membership in the Faculty Club was tantamount to a denial of their faculty status. And in response, the faculty women did something unprecedented: they took an action on their own behalf that differed from their earlier behavior. Previously when campus women had organized (combining with donors, alumnae, and faculty wives) they had done so for the benefit of women students. Even the first appointment of a woman to the faculty, Lucy Sprague, was supported on the grounds that the students needed an older mentor and spokeswoman. But in response to the faculty club's exclusion, the academic women publicly banded together for the first time to advance their own interests. The 1919-20 foundation of the Women's Faculty Club was thus a turning point in the history of women at Berkeley because it showed the rise of a new collective identity, that of women academic professionals, and it manifested a new collective determination to advance their welfare, careers, and campus status. To be sure, it also promoted the cause of gender equality, but it was specifically focused on applying that principle inside the ranks of professional academics.

The number of women on the faculty, however, was still too small (under 5% of the total faculty) to be an adequate membership base for a substantial club housed in a building of its own. Thus, according to this 1920 description of the founding event, the plan was always to include women beyond the faculty: "On September 29, 1919, Miss Lucy Ward Stebbins, Dean of Women, called together the women of the University of California in a meeting which resulted in the organization of the Women's Faculty Club

whose active members are the women of the faculty and of the administrative staff of the University, and whose associate members are chosen from professional women and women in public service in this community, and which has for its purpose the forwarding of the professional and social interests of these groups." (Club records, quoted in *Women's Faculty Club HSR*, 29). Thus even in looking outside the faculty for members, the planners emphasized that the club was to promote women's *professional* interests.

A note among the minutes of a 1920s meeting of the members further indicates that the founders were fully conscious of how different their own organization was from the many women's clubs springing up at that time, which were dedicated to philanthropy and civic improvement programs. Discussing the possibility that a general "college women's club" might be in the offing, they decided that "since the college women's club is to promote social ideals and interests of a social and educational nature, while the Women's Faculty Club is more professional, a club for contacts rather than programs, it seemed hardly possible that any duplication of effort or interest could occur" (Quoted in *Women's Faculty Club HSR*, 32). This was to be a club devoted to providing professional benefits to its own members; it was not to be a service organization assisting others. Its rationale thus marks a break from the altruistic, service-oriented reasons normally given for women's organizations. And it represents a step, like several noted in the last essay, from women's occupational volunteerism to fully fledged professionalism.

Professionalism, as this note indicates, gave the club a way to expand without becoming simply another women's club. But, of course, it also entailed exclusions and even occasionally created a sense of internal hierarchy. One later member, who came up through the administrative ranks, for example, reported that she'd perceived the academics as "snobby" and believed they had only offered membership to women in managerial jobs out of economic necessity (*Women's Faculty Club*, p. 5). Such comments in the club's oral histories might seem to indicate mere matters of personal attitude or behavior, but they point to a structural paradox going far beyond individual intentions and failings. Obviously, the WFC's assertion of its members' professional status ruled out membership for most of the campus's women employees, and the emphasis on professionalism had socially variable implications even inside the club. The very name of the place indicates the original primacy of the academic women's need for professional recognition, and yet the club's survival has always depended on a much wider constituency. It was inevitable that different groups of members would sometimes see the professionalism issue from conflicting angles. Seeking the same status privilege as their male counterparts looked egalitarian to the academic members, but to others it could seem elitist.

Another layer of complexity is added by the fact that the academics who were most deeply involved in founding the club were also those most engaged in socially and

politically progressive research. The growth in female faculty numbers by 1920, as noted in the last essay, had been greatest at the points in the curriculum where the academy intersected with public service: e. g., health, nutrition, family and child welfare, education. WWI intensified these activities, and in the 1920s and 30s, the list would grow. The faculty found themselves not only educating women for new professions but also giving expert advice and serving on committees and commissions at various government levels. Thus, the more interested a faculty member was in bringing about change beyond campus, the more she would want to display her professional credentials.

Statistician Elizabeth Scott recalled how humiliating it could be for a woman to participate at such meetings in the men's Faculty Club even as late as the 1950s. While advising a state agricultural group at the men's club, she explained, "We hardly made any progress at all when in came a man called Mr. Smith who was a desk, a counter employee. He ordered me to leave. Because I wasn't a member, therefore, I could not be eating in this room, only members were allowed to eat in that room" (Scott, in *Women's Faculty Club*, 158). Everyone at that meeting left in protest, but the incident nevertheless illustrates why being able to hold meetings and host contacts in a respectful environment seemed a necessity.

It is little wonder, then, that the club's early leadership contained many women whose academic work entailed extensive contacts and experience in public service. They had broad university administrative experience, which gave them an overview of the general condition of women on campus, and they were also widely respected and influential beyond the campus. The founders were convened by the Dean of Women, Lucy Stebbins, while the campus was returning to normal in the wake of WWI. She had taken over from the first Dean, Lucy Sprague, who departed in 1912, and like her predecessor was a graduate of Radcliffe. Stebbins had been a social worker in Massachusetts before returning to her home state of California. She served as Sprague's assistant for two years in addition to playing an active role in the early years of the Social Economics program. By 1919, she was an assistant professor and had proved her administrative worth by guiding the women students through the crisis of the war years and the deadly influenza epidemic. Each year, Stebbins drafted a full report on every aspect of women's lives at Berkeley. Moreover, she'd become central to the efforts to increase curricular offerings and recruit more women faculty when President Wheeler sent her to the east coast to find candidates for jobs in the new Home Economics Department, whose leaders she recruited (Nerad, 65). No doubt her role in hiring such key women faculty strongly motivated her to look after their interests once they had arrived.

3 Lucy Stebbins

Stebbins enlisted the help of Jessica Peixotto, with whom she had earlier worked in the Social Economics program inside the Economics Department. According to historian Mary Ann Dzuback, the program had a clear policy orientation toward research concerned with "laborers, the poor, the unemployed, children, women, and the living conditions of middle-class families and citizens of California, who faced uncertain economic and social change" (Dzuback, 155-56). In 1918, Peixotto had been the first woman promoted to full professor at Berkeley. Widely published, she had a strong national scholarly reputation and a prominent place in policy discussions. During the war, she'd been called to advise the National Council of Defense's Committee on Children. In short, her credentials and scholarly respectability were unquestionable. Moreover, as we saw in Chapter Five, she was an important advisor to President Wheeler, who had given her the responsibility of chairing the committee to create the home economics programs, just as he'd given Stebbins the job of recruiting their personnel. Like Stebbins, Peixotto had a comprehensive knowledge of the faculty women, a strong investment in their collective welfare, and a desire for a convenient place in which to maintain and enlarge her network of connections.

4. Jessica Peixotto

5 Barbara Nachtrieb (later Armstrong) in 1915

Stebbins and Peixotto thus took the lead, and they recruited a rapidly rising young female faculty star, Barbara Nachtrieb Grimes (later Armstrong) who had also been hired in Social Economics in 1919. She had graduated from Berkeley in 1913, received her law degree in 1915, and served as executive secretary of the California Social Insurance Commission until 1919 while working on an Economics PhD (completed in 1921). She was then given a joint appointment in Economics and Law, the first woman to have a faculty appointment at the law school of a major American university. Later in her career, she published a ground-breaking study of social insurance programs (1932), was summoned to Washington D.C., and became an influential consultant in the drafting of the Social Security Act of 1935 (Buck, n.p.).

Many other early members of the WFC worked at the intersection of academic research and social and governmental policy. There was Margaret Beattie, in the Hygiene Department (later Public Health) whose WWI service in a field laboratory of an American Expeditionary Forces hospital in France had led to a career of reforming medical laboratory procedures. Sophia Levy, in Mathematics, became Director of Mathematics Instruction for the Army Specialized Training Program during WWII, which resulted in a book about artillery. And the redoubtable Agnes Faye Morgan's professional public service ranged from reforming the food service at San Quentin Prison to serving on the Governor's Committee on Agricultural Chemicals. The number of

Women's Faculty Club founders whose professional work relied on networks beyond the university allows us to see the overlapping practical and symbolic importance of the club.

There were also, to be sure, important WFC leaders whose service remained more campus oriented, like Pauline Sperry in Mathematics and Alice Tabor in German, "who handled the finances that were done most successfully, and were responsible for the short time before our club was all ours and the mortgage cleared", according to Lucy Stebbins's assistant, Margaret Murdock (*Women's Faculty Club*, 30). Even though their work brought fewer nonacademic professional contacts, though, Sperry and Tabor practiced an ardent political and social activism in accord with the concerns of the principal founders ("Sperry", Greene and LaDuke, 2-3).

The careers of the Women's Faculty Club founders display the characteristic opportunities and dilemmas of women academics as they developed toward professional parity. They brought a strong consciousness of the social problems of their day as well as a progressive belief in government's ability to ameliorate them. They added confidence in their own ability to point the way, through research and scientific methods of analysis, toward the solutions. Their ambitions, in other words, don't seem far from those of earlier intellectual women, but their faculty status gave them the additional need for professional authority, which replaced the earlier desire for mere moral influence. The consequences of the transition from influence to authority were multiple. With their growing opportunities to exercise power in the outside world came anxiety about campus practices that undercut the professional basis for that authority. Thus, they continued to need a separate enclave of operations, and the two faculty clubs did not find a viable mode of blending their memberships until the mid-1970s. And finally, the professional insistence of the women faculty unintentionally opened a status gulf, small at first but not soon to be bridged, between the career academics and other campus women.

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Women at Berkeley, the First Hundred Years

Part 3

WWII through the 1950s

Chapter Seven
The WWII Mobilization of Berkeley Women

WWII militarized the campus in many of the same ways WWI had. It was once again filled with young men in uniform, some taking regular courses and others receiving separate training from military instructors. Their numbers more than made up for the undergraduate men who had enlisted in 1941-2 and left campus. This time, most of the student housing around campus was requisitioned by the military: Bowles Hall (the only men's dormitory at the time), International House (which had been emptied of its foreign students), the sparsely-occupied fraternities, and even the sorority houses (from which the women were removed) were quickly filled with soldiers. Barracks and other temporary facilities were put up on campus as well.

Although Berkeley in 1941-45 recalled scenes from 1917-1919, California was much more centrally involved in the Second World War than it had been in the first. Not only had America's participation started with the Japanese attack on the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, putting the whole West Coast on high alert, but its victory would depend on the state's rapid development of war industries and its accommodation of the two million new residents needed to arm and support the forces. The kind of war being fought was also on a far larger scale than the first and was so much more technologically sophisticated and reliant on new scientific discoveries that universities needed to be closely integrated with the military. Thus, the unprecedented mobilization of the state as whole extended throughout the University of California and included many of its women.

1 1944 Recruitment Poster

As historians have pointed out, WWII relied on women's labor far more heavily than any major conflict before it (Hartmann, *passim*). To be sure, American women had made important contributions in WWI, sometimes by taking on men's manual labor, but often by performing traditionally female roles (nursing, rehabilitation, nutrition, and education) in newly militarized contexts. WWII, however, deepened and broadened women's modes of involvement, and this essay will look at the ways Berkeley women embraced the novel opportunities. For the first time, they were able to travel to war zones as correspondents, enlist in the regular military services, recruit and train servicemen, produce weapons, and plan for their use. In

short, Berkeley women joined the national trend toward participating in types of war work previously restricted to men.

Telling War Stories

War correspondent was one of the career opportunities that WW2 officially opened to women. During WW1, the War Department had explicitly banned female reporters, but in the 1930s a few American women became famous by covering the Spanish Civil War, where numerous volunteer international brigades fought without authorization from their governments. Those reporters no doubt inspired younger women to follow suit in the 1940s, but they needed government permission to enter the tightly controlled arenas. Although there was opposition from some in the military, the U.S. War Department did accredit 127 women as official war correspondents, stipulating that they were not to cover actual combat, a limitation the women found numerous ingenious ways of circumventing.


2 Marguerite Higgins in 1950

One young writer who got her start in those years was Berkeley alumna Marguerite Higgins (1941), a French major who had started her journalism career by writing for and then editing (in 1940) *The Daily Californian*. After graduation, Higgins moved to New York and became a reporter for the *Herald Tribune* while studying for her MA at Columbia Journalism School. Her editor was opposed to giving a woman an overseas post, so Higgins went over his head and appealed to the owner's wife, Helen Rogers Reid, who was active in the paper's management and a feminist. Rogers Reid believed Higgins "had the courage of a lion. There was no story that she wasn't prepared to go after" (May, A., 64-5). Soon she was on her way to London, then Paris, and finally Germany in 1945. On April 29, she advanced with the troops of the U.S. 7th Army to liberate Dachau and reported the release of "33,000 prisoners at this first and largest of the Nazi concentration camps. Some of the prisoners had endured for eleven years the horrors of notorious Dachau" (Higgins). One of only two reporters present at the liberation, Higgins was given an Army campaign ribbon for her assistance at the surrender of the S.S. guards (May, A., 86-92).

Higgins went on to report many of the most important events of the postwar period: the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, the blockade of Berlin, and the outbreak of the

Korean War. In Korea, she penetrated so close to the action that an Army General tried to evict her from the country until he was overruled by Commanding General Douglas MacArthur, who telegrammed, "Ban on women correspondents in Korea has been lifted. Marguerite Higgins is held in highest professional esteem by everyone" ("Last Word"). She received a Pulitzer Prize for her Korean War reporting. In addition to her journalism, Higgins wrote numerous essays and four books.

Berkeley's military women

3 Colonel Katherine Towle

The women who actually entered military service during WW2 were also exploring untried professional and social territory. Alumna Katherine Towle (BA '19, MA '35), who eventually became Berkeley's first female Dean of Students, was also the university's most prominent—and highest ranking—woman WWII veteran. She retired as a Colonel from the Marine Corps in 1953. Towle was an administrator at the UC Press when the war broke out, and she soon became aware that women in all walks of life, not just nurses, were being recruited into the various branches of the military service for the first time. In the oral history she recorded decades later, she describes the country's sense of its vulnerability: "The country was not prepared for war. So desperate were our manpower needs that we were in danger of invasion and defeat" (Towle 98). That critical shortage, she goes on to explain, led to a revolution in women's military service:

> Each of the services--Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard--knew that every man possible must be made available. Many were then performing routine [noncombatant] jobs--jobs which could in an emergency be filled by women. All of the services, of course, had civilian employees and it was possible to obtain more. They would not, however, be susceptible to orders, to discipline, or to mobility to the same degree as women actually in military service. The Congress passed enabling legislation opening the way for women to join the military services. Hence, the formation in midsummer 1942 of the women's branch of the Army (WAAC, later changed to WAC), followed by the WAVES of the Navy, the SPARS of the Coast Guard, and finally the Women Reservists of the Marine Corps" (Towle, 98).

Towle was commissioned a Captain in the Marine Corps Women Reservists immediately after its establishment. One of seven women officers coming from civilian life (she was on leave from her job at the Press), she served on the staffs of various Commanding Officers at training camps and then at Marine headquarters. Her main responsibility during the war was to advise the Corps on women's issues, and apparently they needed a great deal of advice. The Marine Corps was the last and most reluctant branch to admit women, and at first they allowed them only into the Corps' clerical jobs, freeing the men in the offices to join the fighting. Later, though, they filled other noncombatant jobs: "Forty percent of the women were eventually assigned to aviation posts and stations. They were Link [flight simulation] trainers, aerologists, parachute riggers--they did all sorts of things" (Towle, p. 107). Towle's account of how the Marine Corps expanded and diversified women's jobs as the war proceeded accords with the histories of the other branches of the military: many women in uniform were crossing into new vocational opportunities (Hartmann, 31-48). Towle continued her military career long after the war ended and became the highest-ranking woman in the Marine Corps before she resigned to become Dean of Women Berkeley and then Dean of Students.

Even beyond the opening of career horizons, though, Towle reported that the most important advantage for women of serving in the military was their increased experience of citizenship: "the feeling of complete commitment [to the national good] with which everyone, man and woman, accepted whatever they were given to do". Serving in the military deepened their sense of individual responsibility for the country's destiny: "For most of the women in uniform the sense of sharing in a national crisis had a profound effect on them personally. I know it did on me, and I think I wasn't any different from a great many others" (Towle, 110-11). From historian Susan Hartmann's description of military women's wartime recollections, it's clear that Towle's experience was, indeed, typical: "Servicewomen experienced profound satisfaction in rising to the diverse challenges of military service. Above all, they enjoyed the opportunity to fulfill the most demanding role of citizenship" (Hartmann, 47).

We do not know how many other Berkeley students, alumnae, and employees joined that first cohort of military women, which nationwide totaled 350,000 volunteers (Hartmann, 47). We do, however, know of two extraordinary alumnae who gave their lives in the cause; they deserve to be mentioned here.

Alumna Margaret Sanford Oldenburg (‘31) signed up for military duty when the war broke out, joining the Women Army Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs) squadron. Sanford Oldenburg was already a practiced pilot, having taken up flying in 1933 after meeting Amelia Earhart. Her squadron trained women to fly military planes between bases, freeing male pilots for combat assignments. Oldenburg was killed in a training accident in Texas in 1943. According to the account of fellow trainee, “The weather in Houston had been terrible and the planes were grounded. When the weather cleared, the students from 43-4 were eager to practice spins in the PT-19s. But something went wrong with one of the flights and Margaret and her instructor dove straight into the ground. The training command ordered that the accident be kept quiet. Since these women were not considered as military at the time, they were not entitled to burial expenses or survivor's benefits”. Technically, the 1,100 pilots in this program were civilians, although they functioned under Army discipline and flew military planes. Indeed, they were sometimes the test pilots for new models. The Army both needed their services and refused to give them full military status. Consequently, fellow pilots took care of all the burial expenses for Margaret Sanford Oldenburg and escorted her body home to Oakland (“Women Airforce Service Pilots”; “Oldenburg”).


4 Margaret Sanford Oldenburg

Alumna Esther English Richards (’18) had the distinction of serving in both World Wars, although only once in the U.S. Army. In the earlier war, women serving in the US armed forces belonged to the Army Nurse Corps (ANC), which was established in 1901. When the US entered WWI, the Corps was small (403 nurses on active duty and 170 reserve nurses), and though it grew over the next few years, most American nurses served through the Red Cross. Richards had enlisted in the Army Nurse Corps in 1918, but when she tried to reenlist during World War II, she was denied because of her age. Determined to serve, she joined the Red Cross and was stationed in the Mediterranean. She was wounded while serving on the HMHS Newfoundland, a British hospital ship torpedoed in September 1943, off the coast of Italy during the U.S. invasion of that country. The ship was destroyed by fire and had to be sunk, but Richards survived. Early the next year, however, at the Battle of Anzio, one of the


5 Bombed evacuation hospital at Anzio, like the one where Esther Richards served

bloodiest of the war, she was fatally injured while working in a field hospital ("Military on campus").

Organizing women workers in home-front war industries

WWII put hundreds of thousands of women workers into manufacturing jobs that would ordinarily have gone to me. To understand how novel the situation was, we must remember that both the war industries and the workers were new to the state. The combination of new industries and the novice labor force might have led to major labor-management problems if unions and industrial representatives had not cooperated with the military to insure the steady production of supplies; they formed the National War Labor Board, which acted as an arbitration panel. To represent the interests of the new women workers and make sure they had a place at the table, unions first needed to organize them without hampering the war effort: no strikes or slowdowns were allowed. Under these conditions, organizing women who were unfamiliar with unions, like the many Black workers from the South who arrived in the Los Angeles area, was a challenging task.

6 Women labor organizers: Helene Powell is on the right.

One young Cal alumna, Helene Powell, (B. A. '41) took on the assignment when she was appointed as an International representative for the Warehouseman's (ILWU) union in L. A. Powell was born and raised in a small Black community in San Jose; she moved with her family to San Francisco in her teens, and started at Berkeley in 1937 (Kaplan). Like most women (and most Black students of both sexes) she lived at home while studying at Cal. Her career in the labor movement followed easily from her politically active undergraduate life; she served as President of The Negro Students' Club for two years and also belonged to the Student Workers' Federation. In her oral history for the California Historical Society, she explains that her cohort of students formed the core of the state's Black professional class, which stood ready to serve and lead California's rapidly expanding Black population during and after the war (Powell, part 5). Powell organized and represented many women in the growing L. A. military supply industries, especially the large number of Black women who worked in the sector of reclamation, a crucial component of the war effort. In the transition to the peace, though, she became disenchanted with the ILWU's retreat from gender equality. Both Blacks and women, she recalls, began disappearing from the higher paid jobs in the late 1940s despite the efforts of women organizers like herself to maintain nondiscrimination policies (Powell, part 13).

Student mobilization

The largest mobilization of women on the Berkeley campus was the training program for technical and managerial employment in the region's burgeoning ship and airplane manufacturing plants. The training program was the most visible evidence that the university recognized women's new importance to military success. During the war preparedness period of 1940-41, the College of Engineering joined a federally financed program, which lasted throughout the war, to train women for technical and managerial jobs in war industries. The federal program (Engineering, Science, and Management War Training, or ESMWT) brought young people to many universities to get the knowledge and skills that would allow them to fill labor shortages as men went off to war.

"Classes in mechanical designing prepare many girls to take jobs in nearby aviation plants and shipyards" *Campus on the March*

Berkeley's engineering program was specifically designed to supply thousands in the technical and managerial staffs of the shipbuilding and aircraft industries that were new to the region. According to alumna Bernice Hubbard May ('23), who was the general administrator for the program, the "professional courses" offered by the university often took a year to complete. There were also shorter "drawing and detailing, or junior drafting" courses that could be finished in "three or four months—eight hours a day". Most of the trainees, May recalled, were "recent graduates and housewives. And lots and lots of soldiers' wives". Applicants were at first required to have taken "trigonometry, mechanical drawing, and solid geometry and so on. Later, the pressure was so great that we began just asking applicants, 'Can you add your bridge score?'" (May, B. H., 78-9). The program enrolled, trained, and placed 3,500 female draftsmen, as well as hundreds of women with other kinds of mathematics and managerial skills.

A 1942 film, *Campus on the March*, shows these classes while the voice-over describes "girls" learning to make blueprints as preparation for jobs in "nearby aviation plants and shipyards", implying, rather misleadingly, that the trainees were undergraduates in regular university programs. To be sure, the classes were college-level and taught by regular faculty, but the ESMWT courses did not in fact carry academic credit, and the trainees were usually not part of the regular student body. They also tended to live closer to the places where they planned to work than they did to campus, and their intensive, uninterrupted eight-hour class days left them little time for student social activities (May, B. H., 79). The special courses prepared them for immediate

employment, and hence students who weren't willing to interrupt their educations would have joined them either just before or after graduation. Thus the trainees and the undergraduates were normally separate groups, seldom intermingling. Although not folded into the Berkeley student body, they were nevertheless Berkeley products, taught by the College of Engineering faculty and recruited, advised, and placed by Berkeley staff.

Moreover, their presence on campus was a sign of the times, one of the many indicating that undergraduate women would be welcome in fields they had not previously been encouraged to enter. The message was reinforced in special appeals from the administration and individual academic programs, as well as campus publications. As Charles Dorn notes in his groundbreaking article on Berkeley's women in WWII, the university produced and distributed a *Training for War Service* directory, listing all of its courses in "nationally needed professions" and containing a special section for women (Dorn, 541-3). The pamphlet does mention some traditionally feminine fields—nursing, public health, social welfare, and education—but it pointedly also recommends that women take courses in "engineering, public administration, and medicine" and in "scientific fields important in the war effort such as chemistry, physics, metallurgy, and the like" (quoted in Dorn, 542). The university sponsored "work forums" to make undergraduate women more aware of openings in such fields and help them navigate the job market. Much recruiting for war industries appealed to the women's patriotism, making the connection between their ability to enter new jobs and the country's ability to turn out powerful weapons. A writer for the *California Monthly*, for example, reporting the launching of a new warship in record time, exulted that it was due to: "college trained womanpower. . . University of California women are to be found in all phases of shipbuilding at the Richmond yards" (quoted in Dorn, 544). Others stressed the advantages to the women themselves; the College of Pharmacy, for example, claimed that, "The opportunity for women in pharmacy is greater now than ever before", and assured them "of postwar positions as well" (quoted in Dorn, 543).

From 1940 to 1945, the message was consistent and relentless that women should be thinking beyond their usual vocational categories, and President Sproul reported in 1942 that the response was substantial: double the pre-war number of women had enrolled that year in the premedical program, and four times as many were in College of Chemistry courses. (*Annual Report*, 1942, 41). By the war's end, according to Dorn, Berkeley women had received twice their pre-war number of Bachelor's degrees in mathematics. Engineering, which had poured its energy into short-term training for immediate employment, also saw a rise in the number of women taking its regular courses, from two to thirty-eight (Dorn, 541).

It's doubtful, though, that recruiting regular undergraduates into "nationally needed professions" had much of an effect on the war effort itself, for normal academic programs could not be finished in time to supply many new professionals. It is also unlikely that many women received immediate advantages from entering male-dominated fields. A student entering at the beginning of the war in 1941-2 would not have finished her Bachelor's degree until after VE-Day, by which time the war industries were winding down. If she'd chosen her field of study because it had a manpower shortage, she would have entered the job market just in time to compete with returning soldiers. She would have faced both steep competition and social disapproval for taking a man's job at a time of demobilization. Little wonder, then, that the postwar period saw women retreating from traditionally masculine fields. WWII and its aftermath might have demonstrated their potential to succeed in those fields, but it also demonstrated how swiftly any gains could be erased.

The Mobilization of Career Academic Women

There were, of course, women graduate students, researchers, and faculty members who already had the training needed to join the university's war efforts from the start. Faculty in fields like nutrition, nursing, and bacteriology were asked (as they had been during WWI) to devote some of their instruction to the nation's needs. Every student was required to take one National Service Course, such as "Wartime Problems in the Food Industry" or "Nutrition in Peace Time and War" (Stadtman, 312), so the faculties were busy preparing new courses. Moreover, since the students in the Navy's officer training program were taught by the regular faculty, women were sometimes called on to give courses geared to their needs. In the Mathematics Department, for example, Associate Professor Pauline Sperry taught navigation for the Navy ROTC (Greene and LaDuke).

Given the intense pressure to hasten scientific progress, there was also plenty of opportunity for female "computers", lab assistants, and graduate students to become involved in war-related research. Some women were even recruited to work on aspects of the fighting itself. Three graduate students, two in Mathematics and one then in Astronomy, were asked by Professor Jerzy Neyman, the founder of Berkeley's Statistics Laboratory, to oversee work on a project for the Army Air Force that developed probability tables on which bombing policy could be based. The task was to find the optimal plans for impending bombing runs, so the work was extremely urgent. The three women, Elizabeth Scott, Evelyn Fix, and Julia Bowman Robinson, would eventually finish their dissertations and become faculty members, but their war work absorbed much of their time and energy from 1942-45 (Golbeck, 64-69).

8 Mathematician Julia Robinson

Her colleagues later recalled Fix spending "days and nights at her machine, aided by a group of students and faculty wives, so that the needed results could be transmitted on time, usually to New York but occasionally directly to England" ("Evelyn Fix"; Humphreys). The women supervised teams of female computers, who did the calculations, while they worked to solve what Scott later recalled as an impressive list of "messy" problems, which made the young mathematicians "experts in practical statistics" (Golbeck, 68). Julia Robinson, an immensely talented mathematician whose career would be temporarily set back because she married a faculty member in the Math Department, did not stay in the field of statistics. However, her war work on that project did form the basis for the first publication in her distinguished career: "A Note on Exact Sequential Analysis" (Feferman, 456).

Women in the race for atomic weapons

The Los Alamos Laboratory, the top-secret site in the New Mexico desert where the first atomic weapons were assembled and tested, was a UC Berkeley facility, under the direction of Berkeley Physics Professor Robert Oppenheimer. Relatively few of the thousands of people who worked there—640 of whom were women—had prior Berkeley connections, but the Los Alamos laboratory put Berkeley at the center of the international effort to create an atomic weapon. Berkeley, moreover, was no arbitrary choice, for its faculty and researchers had already played key roles in laying the scientific foundations for such weapons. UC had taken an early lead in the field of atomic research when Professor Ernest O. Lawrence invented the atom-smashing cyclotron, for which he won the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1939, and it was Lawrence who later insisted that the US Army should pay serious attention to atomic technology's military potential. It was also at Lawrence's expanded cyclotron and radiation laboratory that researchers in physics and chemistry isolated a number of elements, including plutonium, which would be basic to nuclear physics. And, finally, Berkeley was the place where a task-force of scientists met regularly to do preliminary planning for an atomic weapon under Oppenheimer's leadership in the summer of 1942.

9 Women's Army Corps division at Los Alamos

When the remote Los Alamos Laboratory was set up to test their ideas, it drew over six hundred women from all parts of the country: technicians, clerks, librarians, human "computers", scientists, engineers, and an entire division of Women's Army Corps military personnel. A few examples can help fill out our picture of women's expanding roles in the history of modern warfare.

Explosives technician Frances Dunne, for example, was part of the assembly crew for the Trinity test, the world's first nuclear explosion. A Swarthmore graduate, she field-tested mock bomb assemblies, and was especially useful because her small hands and manual dexterity allowed her to adjust the trigger in the high-explosive shells better than her male counterparts ("Women of Los Alamos").

Explosives Technician Frances Dunne at Los Alamos

One of the women scientists at Los Alamos, Lilli Hornig, was working on her PhD degree at Harvard when her husband was recruited to a Los Alamos team developing a specialized explosive charge for nuclear weapons. She had been assured that the project would welcome her help as a chemist, but when she arrived she was asked how fast she could type. "I don't type," she said, and soon after she was put to work on plutonium chemistry ("Short History").

Los Alamos, of course, was only one of the many sites where the international Manhattan Project (of the UK, US, and Canada) oversaw research directed toward atomic weapons, and several important women scientists contributed to the effort from other locations. Of that far-flung group, the woman most closely associated with Berkeley was Chien-Shiung Wu. Having done her undergraduate work in China, Wu came to Berkeley

in 1936 and began graduate work under Ernest Lawrence's direction, working closely as well with physicist Emilio Segre. She completed her dissertation on uranium fission products in 1940. Wu's early career illustrates how resistant academic physics departments were to hiring women professors as well as the role the war played in breaking down some of that resistance. Both Segre and Lawrence recommended Wu most highly; indeed, the Chair of the Physics Department, Raymond Birge, reported that Lawrence claimed Wu was "the most brilliant student he has ever had, either male or female" (Leimbach and Einstein, 5). Nevertheless, she could not find an assistant professorship at a research university, so Lawrence gave her a post-doctoral position at the Radiation Lab, where she worked on several teams that made important discoveries from 1940-42. She married a fellow physicist, Luke Chia Yuan, and reluctantly took a job on the east coast, at Smith College, where she had no research opportunities. Finally, in 1944, the Manhattan Project allowed her to get back into her chosen research field, working on gaseous diffusion for uranium enrichment.

21 Physicist Chien-Shiung Wu

The Manhattan Project also brought her to Columbia University, where she became an associate research professor when the war ended and eventually one of the most famous members of her department. Often referred to as "the First Lady of Physics", she won many awards, including the National Medal of Science (1975). In 1956, she played a key role in experimentally demonstrating the principle of parity nonconservation in Beta decay, a paradigm-changing discovery for physicists. Two theoretical physicists who helped inspire the experiment were awarded the Nobel Prize, but Wu's role was not honored until 1978, when she was awarded the first Wolf Prize (Benczer-Koller).

Effects of the mobilization

Although the postwar years saw a return to the gendered *status quo ante* in many academic fields, the mobilization did have some lasting effects. As we've seen, it played a crucial role in advancing individual careers, like those of Marguerite Higgins, Katherine Towle, Helene Powell, and Chien-Shiung Wu, which later became emblematic of what women are capable of achieving even in male-dominated arenas. And, although the collective efforts of the mobilized women fell out of public memory and took a few

decades to be retrieved and appreciated, they also became inspirational for later generations: Rosie the Riveter's "We Can Do It" poster was a 1970s feminist icon.

Moreover, even while the women's contributions to the victory were being ignored, there seems to have been a subtle change in the terms of the debate about their higher education during the postwar years. Their wartime record gave strong evidence that women were capable of excellent performance in traditionally male roles. Perhaps it was partly because of their success that the reasons later given for freezing them out of such jobs seldom relied on the idea that they were innately incapable. As we'll see, when a debate over what women should be educated *for* erupted in the late 1940s and 50s, it took a new and different form.

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Chapter Eight
UC Women Lead the Student Body
While Classmates Undergo Racist Internment

An important milestone on the road to gender equality at Berkeley was reached in September of 1943, when Natalie Burdick was elected the first woman president of the ASUC. Burdick's election was not an overnight phenomenon; it was prepared by several long-term tendencies that were accelerated by wartime conditions. Her election signaled that new kinds of women leaders had come to the foreground of student government. This essay will examine some of the milieus from which they came and the causes they championed.

The ASUC, Stern Hall, and Student Housing

One of the long-term tendencies resulting in Natalie Burdick's election was a growing dissatisfaction with business-as-usual at the ASUC, where women had been given representation but were consigned to second-class citizenship. In a previous installment of this series, we saw that until 1923 Berkeley's official student government had excluded women's participation, leading them to form a separate Associated Women Students organization. When the AWS merged with the ASUC to form a gender-integrated organization in 1923, women's leadership roles were still limited. The office of ASUC Vice President, described as "Hostess", was set aside for a woman on the assumption that the guaranteed post would be sufficient female representation among the top offices.

There had always been those who questioned that assumption, however, and in 1942, when women were being encouraged to take on new roles, a group of students challenged the fairness of reserving the presidency for men. Led by Vice President Catherine Henck, they proposed an amendment to the ASUC constitution explicitly affirming women's eligibility to run for president. As Charles Dorn's account of that campaign shows, the amendment, which required a two-thirds majority to pass, failed in

the fall of ‘42, but it succeeded when put back on the ballot in the next spring. Then, in the very first election after women became eligible for the office, Natalie Burdick was elected president (Dorn, 545-548; Stadtman, 315).

The outcomes of that series of votes were no doubt affected by their timing in relation to the outbreak of war. Men were still a majority of the undergraduates on campus in the academic year 1942-3, outnumbering women by 2,000 (6,781 to 4,783). The percentage of women had fallen at the beginning of the Great Depression and stayed relatively low throughout the 1930s; apparently families with reduced incomes tended to spend them on their sons. But by 1943-4, when men were leaving college for the armed forces, their percentage reached a historic low of 46% (4,388 out of 9,537 students). The drop was probably already taking place in the spring of 1943, when the amendment passed, and had increased by the fall of ‘43, when Burdick was elected. The female majorities of the last two war years thus certainly helped equalize gender opportunity in Berkeley’s student government.

But the demographic shift was not the only factor; other campus concerns in those years brought a new type of female leader into prominence. ASUC President Natalie Burdick, unlike most women student government officers before her, was *not* affiliated with a sorority. As we saw in an earlier episode of this series, non-Hellenic women were usually underrepresented in the ASUC. Because such a high proportion of women commuted to school, the small minority that actually lived near campus in sorority houses had an advantage in gaining leadership positions. They were well-known to each other as well as to fraternity men, and they often had leisure for many extracurricular activities. In 1942, though, the usual living patterns were suspended: sorority houses were commandeered by the military, and simultaneously, Stern Hall, the first university-owned residence for women, opened its doors. President Natalie Burdick, a public speaking major with a minor in art, came from Stern Hall, and had already served as one of the first presidents of the Stern Hall Association (Finacom, Dorn, 547). Prior to Burdick’s election, only one other ASUC president had been chosen from outside the Greek-letter establishment, a resident of the first men’s dormitory, Bowles Hall. Thus, even these first, modest attempts at breaking with Berkeley’s historical practice by building residence halls made independent students more electable. Although Stern Hall housed just 137 out of over 5,000 women students—and it would be decades before more residence halls opened—its existence created a center of women’s organized student life free from the social exclusions that sororities practiced.

We can get a sense of life at Stern Hall in the war years from the oral history of one of its early residents: alumna, philanthropist, and university benefactor Rhoda Haas Goldman (’45). Her description reveals what Stern Hall signified at the time. Rhoda Haas was, to be sure, an uncommon resident: the granddaughter of donor Rosalie Meyer Stern, who built and gave Stern Hall to the university. Young Rhoda had visited the site when the residence was being planned and heard her grandmother explain that she was building it because she had learned that some women students lived in cellars and garrets in Berkeley. Living in the residence hall her grandmother had built was no doubt a point of pride, but Rhoda Haas’s choice of housing was also motivated by having faced the unwillingness of most sororities to accept Jewish members:

1 Stern Hall, funded by Rosalie Meyer Stern and finished in 1941, was the first women’s dormitory at Berkeley.

> I had maybe half a dozen bids [to rush sororities], and I went. After the first round I got invited by two to return. I can’t remember the name of one of the sororities, and the other one was Alpha Epsilon Phi, which, of course, was the Jewish sorority. I didn’t pursue it, as I just wasn’t interested. But there again was the Jewish situation, of elimination (Goldman, 18).

Goldman explained that anti-Jewish discrimination could be practiced in the sororities, which were private and “had their own rules”, but not in university-run residences. Stern Hall in the years immediately after its opening, she recalled, “had a wonderful spirit . . . because everybody was thrilled to be there. It was a great group of women” (Goldman, 12). The new residence hall, in short, represented an alternative to a Hellenic system segregated along racial and religious lines.

Natalie Burdick’s campaign for ASUC President was launched from Stern Hall, and it also highlighted the issue of affordable student housing. Vice President Catherine Henck, the author of the amendment that made Burdick’s presidency possible, had been campaigning for dormitories since her sophomore year; she was secretary of the Student

2 The ASUC Housing Board in 1941. The gender disproportion shows the extent to which dormitories were a women’s issue.

Housing Board, a primarily female committee, and she was the student member on the University administration's Committee on Living Accommodations (Moorsteen). Burdick's campaign tied the dormitory issue to that of higher student wages. By linking those two issues, she framed the housing questions as a matter of social equity: university housing would help to equalize the students' living and studying conditions. She promised to work for both a higher campus minimum wage and university-financed residences to control rising rent costs (Dorn, 548).

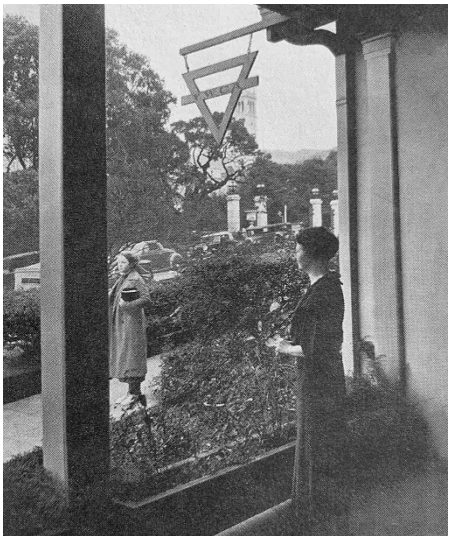
As new wartime residents crowded into the city, room and board became scarcer and rents increased, while students who worked on campus to support themselves had their wages frozen by government anti-inflationary measures. Burdick's campaign thus highlighted conditions that especially affected low-income women and minority students, whose housing options were limited even in normal times. Although the ASUC under Burdick's leadership actually did manage to win a raise in the student workers' minimum wage (Dorn, 548), the university's stubborn opposition to building student housing remained throughout the war and even into the postwar period, despite the fact that all other major public universities had already provided dormitories by the forties.

The YWCA

Burdick was by no means the only woman leader to link student housing to social justice during the war. Indeed, her efforts worked in tandem with those of the University YWCA, whose activities can help us see how housing emerged as a civil rights issue. Advocating dormitories might seem to be an apolitical attempt to improve student welfare, but in practice it was often coupled with the more obviously political issues of racial and religious discrimination. In Berkeley during the1930s, 40s, and 50s, the difference between apolitical and political speech was tremendously important because UC had a system-wide prohibition—Rule 17—against politics on campus. Students interested in social reform were thus attracted to issues that could import a message onto campus without setting off Rule-17 alarm bells. Student housing, putatively nonpolitical but nevertheless politically adjacent, was a convenient bridge for students who wanted to introduce issues of wide social concern onto campus.

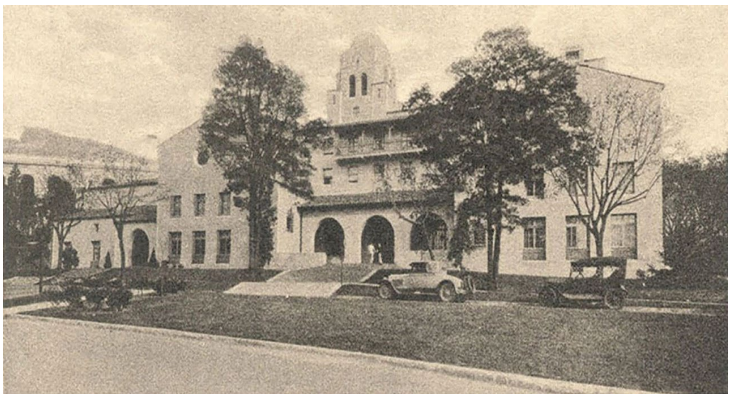
Rule 17 would trigger the Free Speech Movement in 1964, but before that momentous event, one of its primary effects was the growth around the campus's periphery of lively political locations, such as the space south of Sather Gate, which is now Sproul Plaza but was then city property. Of the many church and community centers that allowed students to organize politically, the headquarters of the two "Y"s, YWCA and YMCA, were the most important. Unlike the ASUC, the "Cottage", which housed the YWCA offices, and the larger YMCA Stiles Hall, where both men and women held

public events, could mount overtly political action. Moreover, their meeting and assembly rooms could be rented for use by all sorts of other political groups.


3 Looking out from the YWCA Cottage in the thirties, with Sather Gate in the distance

UC President Clark Kerr explained in his 2001 memoir that the Ys came to play a central role in the campus's political ecology: "Stiles Hall . . . was the most important off-campus center for student activism in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. The administration informally encouraged it as a safety valve. Campus politics pitted the independents around Stiles Hall against members of the fraternities and sororities, and the latter were always dominant in campus politics" (Kerr, 96). Always dominant, that is, except during the war years, when the rise of independent women leaders and the decline of fraternities and sororities went hand-in-hand, and the YWCA especially emerged as a dominant force. As Kerr notes, the evolution of the Ys into political forces resulted from the pressures of Rule 17 and the absence of other places (e.g., dormitories) where students could gather off campus. Thus, the organizations' very centrality evidenced the absence of university housing and other independent student facilities.

The YWCA's off-campus location was not the only reason it became an advocate for racial integration, however. Originally founded to encourage protestant Bible study and charitable action, the YWCA also helped train missionaries and to work among women in immigrant communities. It therefore encouraged its members to learn foreign languages and acquire a knowledge of other cultural traditions. Its developing multi-culturalism eventually made it an influential champion for minority welfare and civil rights (Park, 480-84). By the late 1930s the University YWCA, was an ecumenical establishment, open to all religions and races, and attractive even to secular students who wanted to join an organization with an active civil rights agenda. The national YWCA wrote a widely disseminated open letter to President Roosevelt protesting racial segregation in the armed forces in the early forties, and the University YWCA chapter had been speaking out against boarding house owners who refused to rent to minority students since the thirties (Clemens, . In the early forties, it had over seven hundred dues-paying members, including Catholics, Jews, Blacks, Chicanas, and Filipina-Americans, as well as 136 international students (Dorn, 553), and its members often tied their civil rights agenda to the quest for housing reform.



4 International House in 1930

For example, the YWCA had been active in promoting the building of International House, which opened in 1930, "to foster intercultural respect and understanding, lifelong friendships and leadership skills for the promotion of a more tolerant and peaceful world". I-House was a haven for both foreign students and American minorities. According its founder, the site on Piedmont Avenue near the Greek-letter houses was chosen in order to "strike bigotry right hard in the nose" ("International House"). International House soon became another of the political zones on the campus's periphery.

When I-House was requisitioned by the Navy in 1942 (Stadtman, 314), YWCA students redoubled their attempts to find "fair housing" in the community. Off campus, where they could be frankly political, they worked with local church groups and lobbied city council members to oppose racist real estate covenants. Most important for our purposes, they brought the issue of racial discrimination onto campus by linking it to the problem of student housing. Dorn catalogues their on-campus initiatives during the war years:

> YWCA members surveyed minority students regarding the challenges many confronted in securing adequate and affordable housing and conveyed their findings to university administrators. They established a housing bureau to assist minority students in locating accommodations and, by refusing to list facilities that discriminated, pressured landlords to open their units to students regardless of race. Urging the student body to pledge not to seek accommodations in boarding houses refusing to serve minorities, they . . . convinced the ASUC to endorse a resolution opposing racist and religious discrimination in student housing and supporting efforts to have boarding house owners sign a pledge of nondiscrimination before being placed on the university's list of approved accommodations (Dorn, 557).

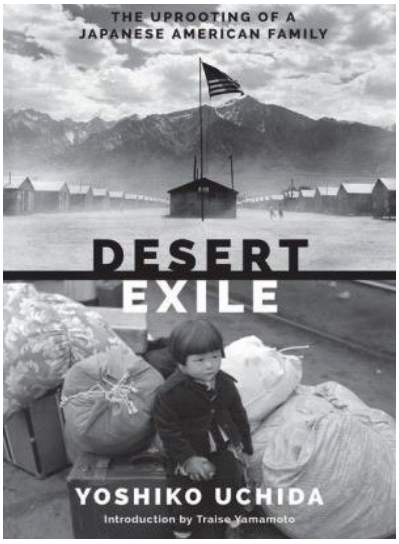
In short, the University YWCA's status as an off-campus organization with an on-campus presence allowed it to promote its political and social vision through a campaign for student welfare, thereby making it eligible for on-campus student government action. It was another route by which the non-Hellenic women set the agenda during the war years.

Nisei Student Internment

5 May 1, 1942, baby Nisei internee shows an identification label from the window of a bus leaving Berkeley for the Tanforan camp.

The most outrageous and disgraceful civil-rights violation of the war years was the removal of over 117,000 people of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast states and their incarceration, first in hastily constructed "assembly camps" and then in remote inland locations, often barren wastelands where dust storms and blizzards were common. Both Japanese immigrants (Issei), who were "ineligible for citizenship", and Japanese American citizens (second-generation Nisei) were removed from their homes and confined. In April of 1942, 1,319 Berkeley residents, 500 of whom were members of the university community, including faculty, staff, students, and their families, were given approximately ten days to sell their property or leave it behind, pack only what they could actually carry, and report to the First Congregational Church for transportation to Tanforan Assembly Center (Kell, Uchida, 40). The removal had been made possible by an executive order signed several months earlier by President Roosevelt, giving the army permission to designate coastal areas as "military zones" from which residents with ancestors who came from enemy nations could be banned. In theory, the order cleared the way for the transportation of German and Italian Americans as well, but only the Japanese were actually moved out of their home states and put in concentration camps. Hundreds of Nisei UC students found themselves rushing to finish course work before they would be separated from their classmates and incarcerated. It's an understatement to say their educations were interrupted; the whole fabric of their lives was unraveled.

The fullest first-person account of this chapter in Berkeley's history was written by alumna Yoshiko Uchida ('42) in *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese American Family* (1982). Uchida was a Berkeley native who, like many of her Nisei classmates, lived at home and was a leader in Japanese American groups, both on campus and at the YWCA. In the days of frantic packing and selling off belongings before their removal, she and her friends "became sentimental and took pictures of each other at favorite campus sites. The war had jolted us into a crisis whose impact was too enormous for us to fully comprehend, and we needed these small remembrances of happier times to take with us as we went our separate ways to various government camps throughout California" (Uchida, 44). This reaction of feeling sentimental about their Cal days, rather than angry or bitter about the egregious denial of their rights, has puzzled later generations, who have wondered why the Nisei yielded to the order with such stoical composure. A letter to *The Daily Californian* written by an anonymous Nisei, though, shows that containing their anger, channeling it appropriately, and seeking allies might have been an effective way of appealing to the public. The letter's conclusion, which Uchida says expressed "the feelings of most of us at that time" (45), has a rhetorical power that can still be felt:



6 Cover of Uchida's Desert Exile, showing Camp Topaz

> True, we are being uprooted from the lives that we have always lived, but if the security of the nation rests upon our leaving, then we will gladly do our part. We have come through a period of hysteria, but we cannot blame the American public for the vituperations of a small but vociferous minority of self-seeking politicians and special interest groups. We cannot condemn democracy because a few have misused the mechanism of democracy to gain their own ends . . .. In the hard days ahead, we shall try to re-create the spirit which has made us so reluctant to leave now, and our wish to those who remain is that they maintain here the democratic ideals that have operated in the past. We hope to come back and find them here. (Quoted in Uchida, 44)

By presenting the Nisei students as people willing to cooperate with the authorities, the letter seeks to dispel any suspicion of their disloyalty and signals instead their patriotic faith in the long-term processes of democracy. While recognizing the injustice, the letter blames the removal on the "vituperations of a small but vociferous minority". It then contrasts those "self-seeking politicians and special interest groups" with the university community's adherence to "democratic ideals", thus absolving its campus readers of guilt and bringing them into solidarity with the victims.

Uchida's book, to be sure, tells us how much the actual hardships exceeded the expectations of the students and their families. The dehumanization, humiliation, harshness, squalor, and disorganization coupled with the unsanitary, exposed, and half-finished dwellings took an increasingly larger toll as their time in the camps lengthened. After an initial six months at Tanforan (a hastily converted race track in San Bruno where they lived in horse stalls still smelling of manure) they were moved to a site of uncompleted barracks in one of Utah's high deserts called "Topaz". Uchida's book also records the untiring efforts of the internees to organize, educate, comfort, heal, feed, and entertain each other.

7 Book cover with drawing by Okubo

All those aspects of life in the camps were also documented by alumna and artist Miné Okubo (B.A. 35, M.A.'38), whose artistic productivity during her imprisonment was displayed in her 1946 book, *Citizen 13660*, containing 206 of the over 2,000 drawings she made of everyday experiences while incarcerated. With a spare and dispassionate text, Okubo's primarily graphic narrative was the first account of an internee's experience to be published, and it filled the gap in the public's understanding of the internment caused by the banning of cameras from the camps. In addition to creating a record, Okubo and other interned artists generated the sense of community that comes from the transformation and sharing of a group's transitory life experiences in works of art. Okubo helped establish art schools at Tanforan and Topaz, where children and adults (including Uchida) flocked to find expressive outlets (Spring).

While these Berkeley women endured their ordeal and continued to lead their peers, the UC community helped and supported them in small and large ways. In the days of anxious preparation before removal, the YWCA helped families with paperwork and childcare (Clemens, 16), and the organization continued monitoring their condition in Tanforan and at Camp Topaz (Park, 488-501). Both the general secretary of the YW and Berkeley's Assistant Dean of Women visited Uchida and her family while they were interned (Uchida, 84). The most important Berkley initiative, though, was the creation of paths out of the camps for hundreds of students. Indeed, even before the war started, while tensions were building between the US and Japan, a group of prominent UC figures came together to plan strategies for the protection of Japanese Americans. The group included President Sproul, former President Barrows, and a former missionary, Galen Fisher, who was a lecturer in Political Science, chair of the board of trustees of the

Pacific School of Religion, and a friend of Uchida's family. Historian David Hollinger explains that although they couldn't prevent the internment, they did assemble a coalition of church groups, political organizations, and academic leaders that had some influence on the War Relocation Office, which managed the camps (Hollinger, 155-59).

Uchida recalls visits from Galen Fisher in Tanforan and explains the significance of his work especially for Nisei college students:

> Fisher . . . realized the importance of getting the Nisei, particularly the students, back into schools as soon as possible in communities acceptable to the War Department [i.e., not in West Coast states]. To accomplish this, a Student Relocation Committee was organized in Berkeley under the leadership of the YMCA- YWCA, several university presidents, other educators, and church leaders. This group was extremely helpful in assisting students to leave the "assembly centers." In May, the Student Relocation Committee merged with other groups working on this issue, and under the aegis of the American Friends Service Committee (a body that worked tirelessly for the Japanese Americans throughout the war) formed the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council, later headquartered in Philadelphia (Uchida, 85-6).

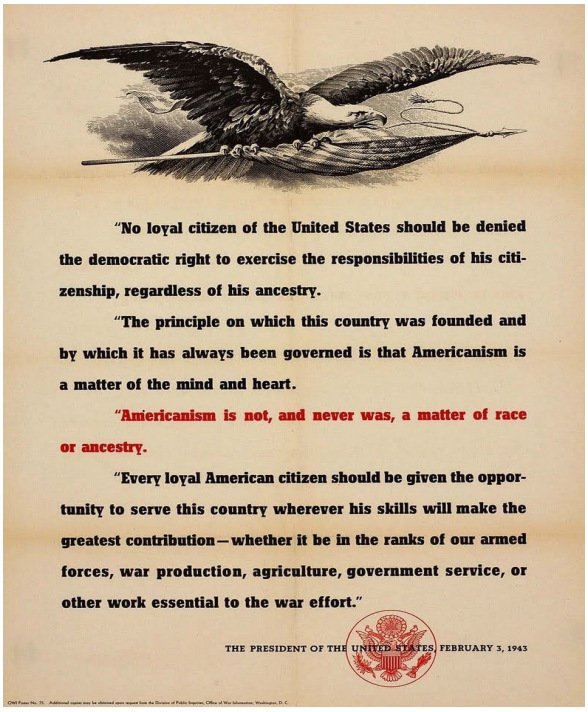
The Student Relocation Council coordinated the release from the camps of more than 4,000 Nisei students and their placement in over 600 Mid-Western and East-Coast colleges and universities (Austin).

Consequently, most Berkeley students whose educations were interrupted did not sit out the war and then return to finish their degrees; instead, they became students at institutions where there were few or no other ethnic Japanese. This exit route for students began to appear just months into the internment. Yoshiko Uchida, who received her Berkeley B.A. while at Tanforan, passed up the opportunity for release to a graduate program during that first summer because she felt the community needed her work as a teacher. But after the harsh desert winter at Topaz, she was urged by her family to take a graduate fellowship at Smith College. Her older sister, Keiko, was hired at Mt. Holyoke College in their Education Department's preschool, and the two sisters left Topaz in the spring of 1943. Okubo stayed until 1944, documenting daily life at Topaz in the Camp magazine *Trek*, until *Fortune* magazine invited her to work as one of their illustrators in New York (Hong). The release and relocation effort that saved numerous students' college careers fit into the War Department's increasing tendency to disperse detainees instead of keeping them locked away. Under controlled circumstances they were allowed to join the Army, to be agricultural field hands, and to work in other industries away from the West Coast. Many of the organizations that had protected their interests also cooperated in their dispersal.

***The Daily Cal* vs. the American Legion**

Scattering the Nisei has come to be criticized as forced assimilation, which was damaging to a minority culture (Park, 500-515), but at the time it was attacked as a form of "molly-coddling" them. Indeed, the most vociferous public censure of Japanese American internment came not from advocates of civil liberties but from rightwing critics of the Roosevelt administration. Their voices grew louder as the relocation efforts increased in 1943, putting the protectors of the internees in the position of defending the new status quo. The American Legion led a noisy campaign to take the camps out of the civilian control of the War Relocation Office and place them under the Army's auspices, effectively turning the Japanese Americans into war prisoners. Roosevelt pushed back and further inflamed the American Legion by signing a new

executive order declaring that all citizens regardless of race had equal rights to do "work essential to the war effort". As a consequence, both Nisei men and women were recruited to become regular servicemen and women. According to Joyce Nao Takahashi, the U. S. Cadet Nurse Corps "recruited in the internment camps with the result that more than 350 Nisei women joined the cadets." Other Nisei women were recruited to join the WACs and to work in the Military Intelligence Service (Takahashi, 13). While young Nisei were leaving the camps for the military, the WRO was moved even deeper into the civilian part of the government by being taken out of the War Department and put into the Department of the Interior. These liberalizing developments further incensed the American Legion and its allies.



8 1943 Government Poster could be used for recruiting Nisei into the army once they were reclassified as eligible.

In the fall of 1943, one of the American Legion's attacks on the Roosevelt administration's policies had explosive reverberations on campus and around the Bay Area. At its national convention in San Francisco in the summer 1943, a leading Legionnaire had declared, "This is not the time to take the Japanese out of the camps and put them back into universities" (quoted in Dorn, 549). The convention delegates then went on to adopt a resolution that called for the military control of internment camps, the expulsion of all Japanese from the armed

services, forced labor under armed guards instead of college for internees, and a national policy about how to deal with the "problem" of Japanese Americans after the war.

As Charles Dorn has shown, the editor of *The Daily Californian*, Mary Ogg ('44), retorted to the American Legion's resolution with a forcefully derogatory editorial. Like the Ys and International House, the editorial office of *The Daily Californian* was another place that attracted students interested in promoting social change. According to Marguerite Higgins's biographer, "the newspaper challenged the status quo through editorials and investigative reporting" in the late thirties and early forties (A. May, 35-6). Mary Ogg's outspoken judgment on the American Legion's resolution was very much in the tradition of *Daily Cal* editorializing:

> It has often been said that if Fascism comes to the United States, it will be called Americanism. Newspaper reports of the San Francisco convention reveal that this militant, well-organized, politically and economically influential, and purportedly 100 per cent American organization contains the seeds of Fascism.
>
> The group in control [of the American Legion] has laid down a policy which is rampantly nationalistic, intolerant of other nations and other peoples, intolerant of minorities within the United States, lacking in regard for the rights of citizens, and strongly emotional in its approach to social and political problems.

She concluded that their resolution gave "fair warning . . . that the American Legion is a potentially dangerous organization" (quoted in Dorn, 549). The editorial was picked up and reprinted in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Sacramento Bee*, which led to a torrent of angry letters accusing Ogg of being unpatriotic and disrespectful to her elders (the Legion was composed mainly of men who fought in WWI).

Ogg's turn as editor came to an end shortly after the brouhaha started, but the next editor, Virginia Bottoroff continued the fight with a critique of the Legion's resolution that brings its immediate context into sharper focus. The resolution, Bottoroff emphasizes, is directed against "the *proper* authorities", the current managers of the camps, who were already, she claimed, taking appropriate action. She accuses the Legion of itself being disloyal by trying to place itself above the current government: "Taken point by point the resolution is indicative of the American Legion's policy of discrediting the United States government and its agencies and thus reflecting credit on itself" (quoted in Dorn, 551). The irony is that Bottoroff needed to defend the rights of the internees by claiming that the government responsible for their incarceration was acting properly and should be allowed to exercise its authority. She justified the status quo to fend off the threat of even worse treatment.

The episode came to a dramatic climax when the local Legionnaires asked Bottoroff to come in person to a meeting in Oakland to explain *The Daily Cal*'s position. There she told the large crowd, "The fact that you have worn the uniform of your country does not make your opinion sacrosanct. It does entitle you to a certain amount of consideration but not to the point of allowing your expressed sentiments against liberty and democracy to go unchallenged" (quoted in Dorn, 551). There was a bit of an uproar at one point, with a man shouting the question, "Do you happen to be a child of a man who didn't join the Legion?" (Dorn 552). But the next day in *The Daily Californian*, Bottoroff politely thanked the members of the Legion for the attention with which they listened to "the opinion of thinking college youth" (Dorn, 552). Once again, she argued that the Legion was wrong to call for changes in the status quo; the War Relocation Office should continue its work.

It no doubt took considerable bravery for these *Daily Cal* editors to pick a fight with the American Legion, and yet their statements were limited by the wartime context. They shared the dilemma faced by all of the defenders of the internees: in order to mitigate the confinement and release the maximum number of people, they needed to support the the Roosevelt administration. Most defenders of the Japanese Americans adopted the same strategy: avoiding the forthright expression of their opposition to the internment, they concentrated on ameliorating the conditions in the camps and recruiting a network of volunteers to work with the War Relocation Office in dispersing and resettling thousands of California's Japanese Americans (Hollinger, 157).

The experience of the defenders of the internees might prompt us to reflect on the paradox of the war's impact on women in campus politics. It did bring women undergraduates with social justice agendas into leadership positions from which they urged significant reforms and even accomplished a few. Moreover, some of them found their life's work in their wartime student activism. For example, Mary Ogg (later Barnett, '44) the fearless editor of *The Daily Californian*, spent the next fifty years as an investigative newspaper reporter. She exposed corruption in local government and environmental exploitation in both California and New Mexico. In her December 2014 obituary in the *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, her family asked readers to "honor her memory by booting out a corrupt official in her name" ("Mary Ogg Barnett"). And Catherine Henck (later Lovell '42), who led the effort to allow women to run for president of the ASUC, spent twenty years working for public

9 *Daily Cal* editor Mary Ogg (Barnett) became a life-long investigative journalist.

service organizations (many of them involved with public housing) before taking a PhD in Public Administration and teaching at UC Riverside until her retirement 1988 ("Catherine Henck Lovell").

Of course, the war also constrained their political expression, and its conclusion ended the short span of their leadership by unleashing the influx of an extraordinarily large number of male students. The arrival of the war veterans dropped the proportion of women down to just 29% of the student body in 1948, their lowest level since 1891. But it is precisely because theirs was a brief ascendancy that their accomplishments need to be remembered here. They stand out in vivid contrast to the period of campus quietism that would soon follow while anticipating the student activism that would revive in later decades.

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Chapter Nine
The Postwar Decline of Women Students

In the years after WW2, the university as a whole benefited from the well-known fruits of the Allied victory: it maintained its importance to the federal government's defense needs, which allowed it to grow its faculties and facilities not only in science and engineering but also across the disciplines. The university's women students and faculty, though, did not have an equal share in the postwar growth. For them, the postwar years might be seen as the end rather than the beginning of a period of progress. The drop in the proportion of women on the faculty will be explained in the next installment. In this essay, we'll look at the factors keeping women students' numbers disproportionately low as well as the consequences of their reduced minority status.

Women Undergraduates Displaced

1 Cover of the Pelican shows soldiers and sailors going into the International House (called Callaghan Hall during the war) and coming out civilian students.

After the war, men far outnumbered women among both graduate and undergraduate students. As historian Barbara Solomon has shown, the disproportion was a national phenomenon: veterans were given priority in admissions and flooded into campuses all over the country; they were even admitted to some women's colleges (Solomon, 189-91). At Berkeley as elsewhere, women's access was severely limited, and their share of the total undergraduates dropped abruptly from a high of 63% in 1944-45 to a low of 29% in 1948. Berkeley's overall student population was enlarged by thousands of men using the GI Bill to finance their college educations. Enrollments rose from just under 15,000 in 1945-6 to over 20,000 in 1946-7. To be sure, the undergraduate numbers did drop again in the 1950s, but they continued to average a few thousand higher than the prewar enrollments. Even after the initial surge of new male enrollments subsided, Berkeley's student body remained disproportionately male. The absolute

number of women students, moreover, stayed below the prewar level until 1960: in 1938-9 there had been around 5,500 undergraduate women, and twenty years later, there were fewer than 5,000. What kept postwar women both a smaller proportion of all students and a diminished minority on campus?

Several postwar changes, in addition to the GI Bill, contributed to the decline and flattening of women's enrollments. Paradoxically, the drop at Berkeley was partly due to a growth in the number of college options for California's women. Middle-class high-school graduates of both sexes increasingly saw college as a normal step on the way to adulthood, and the marketplace in higher education expanded accordingly. Some were attracted to out-of-state liberal arts colleges across the country as long-distance travel became easier than ever. And within California, the options also increased. Stanford had discontinued its 500-woman enrollment cap in 1933, although it still aimed to keep women at approximately 40% of the student body until the 1970s ("Leland's Journal"). Other private college options in California were also growing, but most importantly, public higher education in the state expanded. UCLA, for example, had only 3,900 female students in 1939, but it averaged around 1,000 more throughout the late '40s and '50s. Berkeley's losses might easily have been UCLA's gains. The College of Santa Barbara, which had previously been in the California State College system, was made a UC campus in 1944 , and the Riverside campus opened its first classrooms in 1954 (Stadtman, 1970, 344-48; 352-55). The State College System, which was so angered by the loss of Santa Barbara that it sponsored a clause in the California State Constitution outlawing future UC depredations, soon embarked on its own expansion and became an ever more attractive option for commuting women, especially if they intended to teach. The State Colleges gave B.A. degrees only in education until the late 1940s. In the fifties, though, they opened their curriculum far beyond teacher-training and extended their geographic reach into all corners of the state: ten new California State Colleges were built between 1947 and 1960. ("CSU History"). In short, women's low enrollments at Berkeley were not due to a declining interest in getting a college degree. While veterans crowded into Berkeley, it made sense for many women to attend college elsewhere.

2 Lack of adequate lunch rooms forced student to eat in the main stairway at Stephens Union.

An additional reason to choose against Berkeley might have been the congested campus's derelict physical condition, resulting from years of neglect during the depression and war as

well as from the university's stubborn refusal to invest in student facilities. In 1946-7, the California Alumni Association studied the state of the campus and concluded that the university facilities were pitifully inadequate. Stephens Hall, then the student union, was far too cramped. The size of its cafeteria was insufficient and there was nowhere else on campus to buy food. The campus lacked playing fields, a modern gymnasium, paved walk-ways, gathering spaces, and landscaping. The scarcity of nearby housing, moreover, forced students to drive to campus (50% of women still commuted from home), so roads and most open spaces were crammed with cars. The Alumni Association published a report in 1948 recommending major investments in grounds and facilities, but the university took no action for another decade. All students suffered from the postwar crowding and dearth of accommodations, but women were at a greater disadvantage, especially when it came to finding housing.

As a dwindling minority, women were a low priority, and their needs were often sacrificed to the exigencies of accommodating the returning vets. For example, the university chose to house veterans in a project originally planned to house undergraduate women. Construction on what were to have been seven buildings, called the Fernwald Dormitories, was begun in 1940, but completion was delayed by the war and scaled back. An announcement as late as the spring of 1945 still stated that "Quarters for 480 women will be provided in three living units, two buildings to each unit, and a ‘commons’ will have central eating facilities. Two of the units will be completed by the opening of the Fall term October 25, [1945] . . . caring for 360 girls" (*Smyth-Fernwald Historic Structures Report*, p. 9). However, the completed four buildings, the first residences ever built by Berkeley using public funds, were instead given over almost entirely to the veterans. By 1946, the Fernwald complex housed almost 400 men and only 78 women. The story is typical of the times: it was specifically the women undergraduates who lost housing to the vets, just as they had lost seats in the admissions process. Boarding houses were also increasingly renting to the larger numbers of men, and only one new women's cooperative residence, housing around 50 women, went up, in 1953. The shortage of living space discouraged women's enrollment and heightened the desirability of sororities for undergraduate women. It was a major factor in the renewed

3 Long lines formed around the housing office as veterans flood campus

prestige and power of the Greek-letter organizations after the war (Kerr, 97-105; "Student Housing").

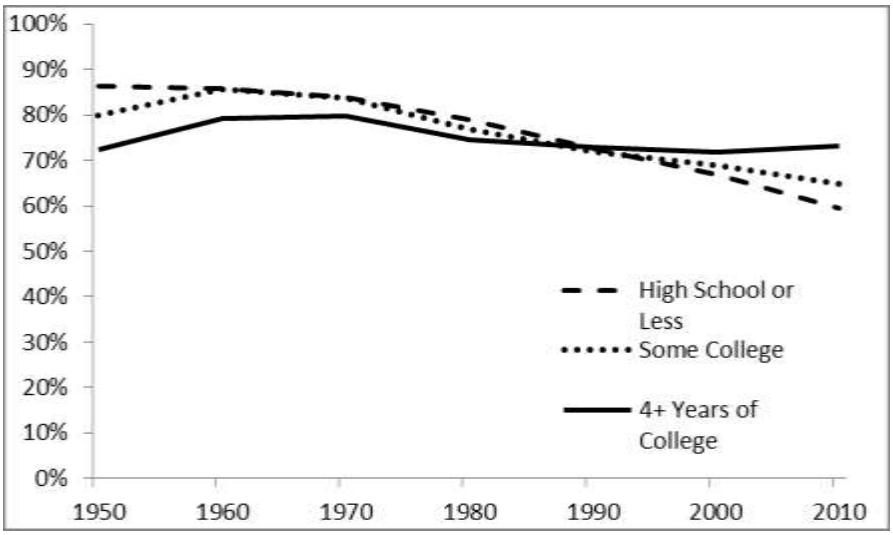
In the fifties, the administration made other changes that left women students in a weakened position. Early in the new decade, the formerly independent Dean of Women was subordinated to a (male) Dean of Students, ending the era when women undergraduates had a direct channel to the Chancellor. Dean of Women Katherine Towle recalled that under the new chain-of-command she was sometimes left out of the decision-making on policies affecting all students. Her effectiveness, moreover, was decreased by the necessity to communicate with the Chancellor mainly through the Dean of Students. She managed to prevent a further demotion in her status when the Dean of Students proposed that her title be changed from Dean to Advisor, but the administrative reorganization nevertheless tended to mute the voices of the women students she represented (Hartman, 109; Towle, 167-73).

In the mid-fifties, the administration took another step toward dismantling the women-centered institutions that had been put in place earlier to make up for the exclusions women suffered. Chancellor Clark Kerr announced that the Home Economics department would be folded at Berkeley and moved to the Davis campus. Its strongest academic component was to be kept and renamed the Department of Nutrition, but the rest of the "miscellany" as Kerr later described the department, was deemed unworthy of a great university (Kerr, 87). The banishment rid the campus of "embarrassing" courses; Kerr singled out "'Marriage' with ten lectures, the first on 'courtship' and the last on 'venereal disease'", familiarly known as "From Courtship to Venereal Disease in Ten Easy Lessons" (Kerr, 87). But it also ousted a chunk of the already dwindling women faculty, and getting rid of the program probably did nothing to assure women students that the administration was thinking of their interests. To be sure, relocating the Dean of Women in the Dean of Students office and closing Home Economics could be seen as progressive changes because they reduced the institutional segregation of the sexes. In the long run, the reorganized dean's office allowed Katherine Towle to become the first female Dean of Students in1960. However, in the postwar period, such changes reduced the number and power of the faculty and administrators who could serve as models or advocates for the already depleted ranks of women students.

The Country's Incomplete Pivot on Gender Roles

The changes at Berkeley were part of the country's attempt to limit women's vocational roles and ambitions. Instead of being coaxed to learn new skills and explore new professional avenues, they were being told that they should expect to concentrate on domestic life after college. It's often said that postwar America returned to conventional domesticity, as if the nation merely defaulted to earlier gender relations. In fact, though, the switch from mobilizing women to sending them back home was more complex and fraught with contradictions than we sometimes realize. This was especially the case in relation to college women. Previous patterns of their behavior were altered when they were asked to prioritize family life, and family life itself was also eventually changed by their adjustments.

College students were certainly receptive to the pervasive postwar cultural message that young people generally, and women in particular, should marry and start families early. Since the war had delayed courtships, some women students dropped out when peace came to complete earlier marriage plans. Most women apparently agreed with the national consensus that returning veterans deserved preferential treatment, not only in university admissions but also in the job market, so training for a career might easily have seemed futile or even selfish (Hartmann, 101-116). And despite the fact that more women than ever went to college in the postwar years, college was also increasingly seen as a place to meet a suitable future spouse. Most women students reported that they viewed their educational and career ambitions as ancillary to the goal of starting a family.



4 Graph shows what proportion of women, of various education backgrounds, were married

The near unanimity of that ambition, though, was actually new among college women; it didn't signal a return to prewar attitudes. As we saw in a previous essay, undergraduates had been increasingly socializing together and dating each other since at least the 1920s, when extra-curricular activities became more sexually integrated. Yet despite the

interwar rise of college as a potential setting for courtship, by1947 merely 69% of women college graduates were married, as opposed to 87% of women with only high-school educations. The proportion of women college graduates remaining single in the 1920s had been even higher, around 35% (Horowitz, 218). As this graph from a recent paper on marriage and cohabitation shows, the gap began to narrow during the 1950s, when college women's marriage rates increased and noncollege women's decreased (Lundberg and Pollak, 8). Given the overall growth in college attendance and the postwar context, the merger of the two lines is not surprising: as it became more ordinary for middle-class women to attend college, their expectations about their futures also tended toward the norm for their sex. We might conclude that the postwar delivered the *coup de grâce* to the waning but nevertheless still viable category of the spinster. Planning for an unmarried future—a life course followed by a third of college women in the previous generation—came to seem downright eccentric.

Single women in the interwar years had played crucial social and economic roles, which often determined their unmarried state. They had faced a starker choice than the postwar generation between marriage and employment outside the home. In the twenties and especially the thirties (to ration jobs during the depression), many large employers, including thirty-four state governments and a whopping 87% of all school districts, had explicitly banned the hiring of married women and fired women who married while on the job (Goldin, 1991, 516-519). The bans often applied to the positions for which college women trained: teachers, librarians, nurses, and social workers. Faced with the impossibility of marrying and working, a significant proportion of college women apparently chose to forego marriage.

In the postwar period, though, when the marriage prohibitions had been swept away by the wartime need for women to do men's jobs, it became legally easier for married college women to keep their work. Certainly barriers to equal employment opportunities persisted as well as some degree of social disapproval, but blanket prohibitions against hiring married women disappeared. The combination of those factors—fewer qualified single women and no bars to hiring the married ones—meant that the expanding postwar economy recruited wives; indeed, by1950 the married portion of the female labor force was larger than ever before and growing. Thus the cultural emphasis on domesticity had an ironic economic outcome: more working wives. In earlier periods, working-class women had been the most likely to take employment outside the home, but employers after the war sought better educated women to fill the rising demand for clerical, service, and retail workers in addition to the need for more teachers as the population boomed. The statistics on married women's employment in the

1950s and 60s show that the higher a woman's educational level, the more likely she was to be employed after her marriage (Goldin, 2006, 1-8). Despite the relentless depiction of married women as fulltime homemakers, the percentage of them entering the workforce shot up in the 1950s and 60s, from 25% to 46% for women in the 35 to 44-year-old age group. Far from permanently retreating after a brief working life into exclusively domestic pursuits, college-educated married women in the 1950s, whose children no longer needed their fulltime attention, were becoming common in the working world.

These countervailing cultural and economic winds touched off a new postwar round in the old debate about the suitability of women's higher education to their actual lives. This time the discussion was not about their intellectual capabilities or social restrictions but instead centered on their chances for happiness and personal fulfillment. The disagreement was primarily among leaders of women's colleges over revisions to their curricula. In 1946, Lynn White, the male president of Mills College, provocatively recommended changes that would create a "feminine" version of liberal education, helping women to be more creative and knowledgeable family managers and community leaders. Although White's proposal can be seen as an early call for "relevance" in college courses, at the time it seemed a retreat from equal educational standards. In response, leading women's educators defended the traditional liberal arts curriculum as the best preparation for most roles women would be called on to play (Soloman, 191-4; Fass, 1989, 173-190). White's ideas had little resonance at Berkeley, but they were widely and heatedly debated throughout the postwar period, indicating the extent of the national disunity over the role of women in society and hence the purpose of their higher education.

It's little wonder, then, that undergraduate women were often confused and discouraged by the contradictory messages they received about the purpose and value of their educations. Some signals told them that married life would itself be an all-consuming vocation, but that didn’t comport well with the message that they should take their studies seriously as preparation for the future. Nor did it tally with the social reality they saw around them, in which married women were an increasingly large percentage of people doing a wide variety of jobs. Even as the culture seemed bent on domesticating women's ambitions, the economy was actually in need of many more married women than it had employed during the war years, and that trend would only increase in the coming decades.

Mixed Messages and Opportunities at Berkeley

Berkeley's version of these contradictions might have been especially perplexing. The institution took no official notice of the low numbers of its women students and did nothing to better accommodate them. Whereas other universities started special courses for women in the postwar period, Berkeley eliminated them (Fass, 1989, 65-9). Simultaneously, though, the administration acknowledged the importance of domestic life at the university by providing special accommodations for married veterans. Almost half of the men on the GI Bill nationwide were married, and Berkeley took responsibility for housing its share of their families, first by leasing apartments for them to rent and later by building them a small village in Albany. The postwar campus was thus both male-dominated and newly family-oriented.

These were striking departures from the university's earlier indifference to student living arrangements, and they had an effect on the campus climate, which seemed to exude a "domestic contagion" (Solomon, 190-1). As late as 1960, one researcher reported that Berkeley's undergraduate women lived inside an "anticipatory haze of romantic notions about matrimony", which inclined them toward earlier marriages upon graduation (Heist, quoted in Fass, 1989, 181). Indications of subsiding intellectual ambitions in women also began to appear. Although they continued to perform well academically, their enrollments in science courses dropped, and fewer of them reported plans to pursue graduate studies. There was a drop as well in the female proportion of graduate enrollments; above 30% throughout the thirties, it dipped below 25% in 1948 and stayed in the low twenties until 1962.

The political atmosphere on campus, which had a bearing on gender relations, might also be seen as a locally aggravated case of a national condition. Campuses were generally apolitical in the 1950s, but Berkeley seemed to be suffering from an almost post-traumatic political numbness, a wary quietism about all controversial issues following its notorious Loyalty Oath crisis of 1949-50. That crisis occurred when UC tried to preempt the efforts of anti-communist crusaders in the California Assembly, who wanted to investigate and fire left-wing university employees. Imagining that the Assembly would back off if sufficiently assured of UC staff's patriotism, the Regents (at the suggestion of President Sproul) voted to require all employees to swear that they did not support "the overthrow of the United States Government". We'll return in the next installment to the issue of how the Loyalty Oath damaged Berkeley's academic status. Suffice it to say here that although it did nothing to dispel public suspicions about UC, the crisis constrained political expression and discouraged student initiatives like those that had been undertaken just a few years earlier by the women who led the ASUC during the war. Thus, although many American campuses became more conservative in the fifties, Berkeley had a particularly strong reason to hold itself aloof from all political controversy, which encouraged apathy in the student body until the end of the fifties.

5 Didion (right) with fellow *Daily Cal* editors

The conventional gender roles and expectations aligned with the prevailing political and social conformity; the Greek-letter houses were the undergraduate institution that most actively enforced the norms. They quickly reestablished their dominance over the organized student body after the wartime interruption, partly propelled by the housing crisis. At the end of the fifties, 27% of the undergraduate women belonged to sororities, a higher percentage than at any time in the past, and their cultural influence was even more widespread (Green). When writer and alumna Joan Didion ('56) arrived on campus in 1952, it was simply assumed that she would join a sorority, which she did. Although she moved out and began living in a shared apartment in her sophomore year, she nevertheless depicted the experience of sorority life as typical of postwar Berkeley. In a famously devastating depiction of Cal for *Mademoiselle* in 1960, she recorded candid conversations with "affiliated" undergraduates:

> " ... I wish we could go somewhere besides fraternity parties," a pretty girl tells you wistfully, and another, a transfer from a smaller California college, adds: "I used to go out with boys I wouldn't dream of marrying. Sometimes now I miss that." She sounds quite as if she were expressing a desire to see the far side of the moon, and she is, in her terms, doing just that. Her entire modus vivendi is oriented toward the day when she will be called upon to pour coffee in her own living room. Losing sight of that eminently sensible goal is wandering down the primrose path indeed and is regarded with the same wonder in her circle at Berkeley as it would be in a Jane Austen novel. . . . They have come to Berkeley to prepare for adult life, and adult life is that "Scarsdale Galahad" or his California equivalent (Didion, 1960, quoted in Colvig, 114).

Granted, in this article Didion portrayed the most traditional slice of campus life rather than the one where she eventually found her appropriate milieu and intellectual peers: the editorial offices of the *Daily Californian* and the literary magazine *Occident* (Rainey). However, another contemporary, who interviewed "the most talented and creative college women" at Berkeley in 1960, encountered surprisingly similar attitudes, especially about the primacy of matrimony in their plans for the future. Paul Heist, a researcher at Berkeley's Center for the Study of Higher Education, reported that "it was surprisingly infrequent to find a young woman genuinely committed to a discipline, a professional future, or a career . . . For those senior women interviewed, not already married, all saw

marriage as a culminating goal of great if not first importance" (Heist, 1962, quoted in Fass, p. 176).

It appears, then, that a large number of Berkeley's women undergraduates, like their peers at other universities, found it difficult to plan beyond the immediate horizon of graduation and the hope of an early marriage. And since they would tend to marry younger and at higher rates than previous generations, their expectations were often met. Moreover, they can hardly be faulted for not envisaging their subsequent working experience, for that part of their futures was seldom ever represented. College women's lives were becoming segmented into alternating stages of child care and employment outside the home. After graduating they would go to work, often in jobs for which they were overqualified; then they would marry and raise children; then they would return to work (Fass, 1989, 165-73). Even if they had recognized the likelihood of such a trajectory, it still wouldn't have pointed toward "a discipline, a professional future, or a career", the very things that Paul Heist was disappointed not to discover among the bright and talented undergraduates he interviewed.

And yet it's also important to acknowledge that the postwar graduates became the first generation in which large numbers of college women combined marriage with gainful employment, albeit often discontinuously. Somewhat accidentally, as a result of their determination to marry, they commenced a fundamental rearrangement of women's domestic and economic spheres of experience.

6 Didion receives National Humanities Medal in 2007

7 Hong Kingston receives National Medal of Arts 2014

Berkeley in the 1950s also did manage to prepare many women for distinguished careers, and in conclusion, we'll look at two alumnae, both ground-breaking writers, whose undergraduate training led to national fame. Joan Didion and Maxine Hong Kingston received the nation's highest honors for their work: National Book Awards, the National Medal of Humanities, and the National Medal of Arts. They were born fifty miles and six years (1934 and 1940) apart in the central valley. Joan Didion's family had been in the Sacramento area for several generations, and Maxine Hong was the child of Chinese immigrants recently settled in Stockton. Growing up, both had mothers who spent a good deal of time telling them stories. Didion started at Berkeley early in the fifties, in 1952, and Hong arrived toward the end of the decade, in 1958.

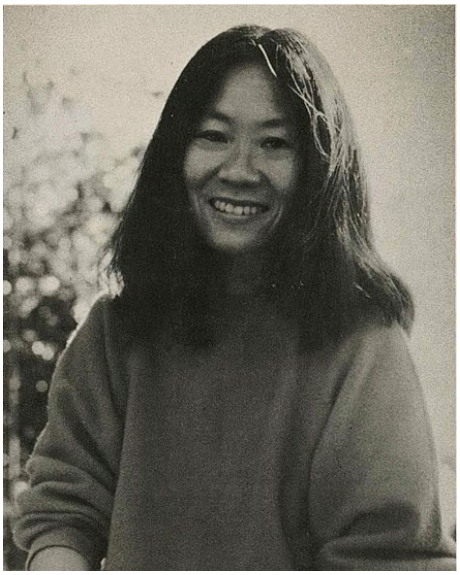
Didion seems to have chosen a writing career early in her college years and to have pursued it single-mindedly. Part of her preparation came from working on campus publications and part from her English major. At the *Daily Californian* she was trained in one of the few professions, journalism, where women kept and even increased their wartime gains during the postwar period. In 1950, women comprised a third of the nation's editors and reporters (Solomon, 196). And Berkeley's campus publications conformed to the national trend: women held on to their positions of leadership at the *Daily Californian*, the *Occident*, and *The Blue and Gold*. Didion started writing for the *Daily Cal* shortly after her arrival in Berkeley, and she sharpened her skills with a summer internship at *Mademoiselle* in New York and a six-year stint at *Vogue*, her first professional position after graduation. The precision and economy of all of her writing are probably due to her rigorous training as a journalist.

Even in Didion's undergraduate years, though, her goals as a writer went far beyond reporting. She published her earliest fiction in the campus literary journal *Occident*, which she also edited. Her way of handling both fiction and nonfiction was inspired, she later explained, by her English courses: "The whole way I deal with politics came out of the English department. . . . If you start analyzing the text of a newspaper or a political commentator on CNN using this same approach of close textual analysis, you come to understand it in a different way. It's not any different from reading Henry James" (Meyer, 1). Didion's habit of using the same tools to read fiction and nonfiction carried over into her writing style as well. She imported many techniques from fiction into her magazine essays, using detailed description, first-person point-of-view, and a mixture of opinion and detached observation. She thereby helped to launch the bold American literary movement, dubbed "New Journalism" in the 1960s, which melded previously separate categories of writing. Her broad knowledge and love of earlier literature shine through in her five novels as well as her seminal works of cultural criticism and memoir (such as, *Slouching Towards Bethlehem* (1968), *The White Album* (1979), and *The Year of Magical Thinking* (2005)).

8 Didion with a fellow editor of Occident

Maxine Hong Kingston also invented techniques for intertwining fiction and nonfiction, especially in her first book, *The Woman Warrior* (1978). An experimental mixture of memoir, history, and myth, it was so original that a controversy broke out about how to categorize it. Didion and Hong Kingston can thus both be credited with developing the field of writing we now call literary nonfiction. Hong's UC, though, was quite different from Didion's. The younger writer came to Berkeley on the cusp of the sixties, in 1958, entering a student body that was beginning to demand change, and she faced a more tumultuous time on campus and in the community. A left-wing political party (SLATE) had started that year in the ASUC; the next year, President Clark Kerr replaced the infamous Rule 17, which prohibited political speech on campus, with a more lenient set of regulations to control it. And in 1960, UC students engaged in nonviolent civil disobedience in San Francisco, protesting against the US House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee's investigation of local activists (Van Houten, pp. 30-33).

Hong seems not to have been politically involved during her student years, but her undergraduate decisions seem inspired by the calls for greater freedom of expression. She spent her freshman year fulfilling requirements for Engineering, but the program proved too restrictive for her. As she later explained, "I felt like I was in prison" (Knudsen). In her second year, she switched to English. Although Chinese American women students were then uncommon in the English Department, she felt liberated by the change: "To be an English major was fun. All we did was read and talk about reading. ... Just the whole process of learning in the English department is so free" (Knudsen). On graduating, she married classmate Earll Kingston and gave birth to their son in 1964. They inhabited the local bohemian arts scene and taught high school, but as Berkeley's counterculture became increasingly agitated in the late 1960s, they sought a peaceful refuge in Hawaii, where she taught for ten years.



9 Maxine Hong Kingston, c. 1976

Then in 1976 *The Woman Warrior* became a national best seller, winning the National Book Critics Circle Award. It's not hard to imagine why this rich and innovative work was so long in gestation. As Professor Colleen Lye of the Berkeley English Department explains, it "was the first and most widely read work of Asian American literature. Indeed, it could be said to have launched the field itself, despite the fact that Kingston always insisted that her work was about the Chinese American experience specifically, rather than about Asian American experience in general" ("Maxine Kingston Wins National Medal of Arts"). The book was also taken up by feminists and treated as a primary instance of what has come to be called the intersectionality between explorations of ethnic identity and the awakening of feminist consciousness. The formal creativity of the book was equally groundbreaking. Giving voice to various generations and cultures, it flows among the genres of memoir, fantasy, myth, historical speculation, and the coming-of-age novel. Two books later, in 1990, Hong Kingston returned to the Berkeley English Department as a Senior Lecturer. She retired in 2003. "It is the most wonderful feeling to have a lifetime *alma mater*," she told an interviewer. "I wouldn't teach at any other school" (Knudson).

Such spectacular successes among Berkeley's 1950s alumnae remind us that the postwar setbacks for women students were, after all, temporary. And some of the postwar

changes—especially the tacit expectation that women would combine marriage and a working life—even turned out to be barrier-breaking. By 1961, women made up 40% of the undergraduates, a return to their historic average. Full gender parity would not be achieved until 1998, but at least progress toward it continued unabated after 1960.

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5. Picture of *Daily Californian* editors, Spring 1953. From *Blue and Gold*, 1954.

6. Photo of President Obama with Joan Didion at the House White ceremony for the presentation of the National Medal of the Humanities. From https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/photo s-and-video/photo/2013/07/president-obama-awards-national-humanities-medal-joan-didion.

7. Photo of President Obama and Maxine Hong Kingston at the White House ceremony for the presentation of the National Medal of Arts. From *Berkeley News*, July 28, 2014. https://news.berkeley.edu/2014/07/28/maxine-hong-kingston-wins-national-medal-of-arts/

8. Photo of Joan Didion as editor of *Occident* in 1955. From *Blue and Gold*, 1955.

9. Photo of Maxine Hong Kingston, c. 1976. From *Wikiwand* https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Maxine_Hong_Kingston.

Chapter Ten
How Women's Share of the Faculty Dwindled in the Postwar Years

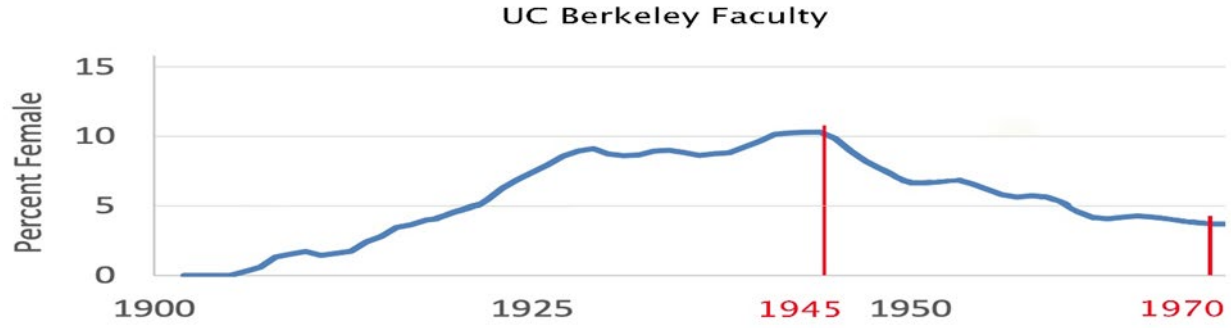
In 1942, when the university was mobilizing its undergraduate women for war work by encouraging them to enter "every field of endeavor", a pair of student writers had some doubts about the sincerity of the institution's commitment to women's professional careers. If the university really thought their abilities were equal to men's, they wondered, "Why have there been relatively so few women professors?" (Leimbach and Einstein, 4). They put this question to six department chairmen and published the answers in the campus magazine *Folio*. The chairmen generally avoided attributing the small number of women faculty to innate mental differences: only the chair of Physics speculated that women might lack a conceptual aptitude for truly abstract thought, but even he immediately qualified his generalization, "and spoke of Dr. Wu, a Chinese girl, whom he said Dr. Lawrence considers the most brilliant student he has ever had, either male or female" (Leimbach and Einstein, 5).

Most blamed the low numbers of female faculty on the inconstancy of women's professional commitments. After declaring that he'd always advocated hiring women in his department, for example, the chair of Zoology complained, "the trouble is that after three or four years of training a fine woman student, she'll go off and get married, and usually that will be the end of her work with us" (6). Without ever citing any specific examples of women being given full-time faculty positions and then quitting to get married, the chairmen repeatedly assert that *if* they were hired, they'd probably quit or (just as bad) devote too much time to their families: "women too often are apt to obtain positions which are of a permanent nature, only to use them as temporary occupations before marrying" (5). Thus, they implied, women's low faculty numbers resulted from their own ambivalence about academic careers.

These 1942 interviews remind us how easy it was for the faculty to assert both that women were men's intellectual equals and that it wouldn't be wise to hire them. Previous rationales for limiting women's academic participation on the grounds of natural inferiority were mainly gone, but they also weren't necessary. If anyone asked (and they seldom did) the preference for male faculty could be defended just as easily using these social and psychological arguments, which did not seem to contradict the university's current drive toward attracting women students into traditionally male fields. After all, the mobilization would only be temporary, and when the war was over, the women would happily cede their places. These presuppositions also made it unnecessary to spend time

looking closely at the quality of women applicants' work; if they seemed likely to start a family someday, they could be generally overlooked. And finally, if a woman was obviously not the marrying kind, then an exception could be made.

The 1942 article points to one of the primary factors causing the continuous decline of women's proportion of the faculty over the next three decades: the reluctance of most academic departments to hire them during the decades of rapid overall postwar faculty growth. The reluctance was no doubt also reinforced by the trend among women college graduates that we examined in the last essay: they were opting to start families instead of careers at an unprecedented rate. This chart, adapted from Zachary Beemer's research, shows the result: whereas women had made slow but steady progress during the decades leading up to WWII, the postwar decades erased their modest gains.



3 This chart shows the modest but steady early 20th-Century rise of the percentage of women on the Berkeley faculty, followed by their decline.

In a time of slower overall growth, the reluctance to hire women might have been less ruinous, but the size of the faculty more than doubled by the end of the 1960s while the number of women faculty remained approximately the same as it had been before the war. By 1969, the first Academic Senate committee to examine the issue of faculty gender ratios reported that the women's share had fallen since 1939 from a high of just under 10% to only 3.6% of the total (Report of the Subcommittee, 28).

The resistance to hiring women and the corresponding pressures that drew them into domesticity earlier in their lives, though, are only part of the story. To understand specifically how women fared on the postwar Berkeley faculty, we'll look at a few other local factors. First, we'll tell the postwar stories of the academic fields where women had been predominant. The rise in the percentage of women through WWII was mainly owing to a small number of women-centered programs, and the postwar dwindling followed their later transformations into male-majority units. Second, we'll examine the impact of the campus's personnel policy barring many women, who were both qualified and willing, from being hired. While the older cohort of faculty women was retiring, the university's anti-nepotism rule rendered many in the next generation ineligible for faculty status.

These developments will be viewed in the context of the Loyalty Oath crisis and its aftermath. The controversy damaged the institution's academic reputation, and a vigorous effort at recovery was made throughout the 1950s. The AAUP had officially censured the university, famous faculty members had resigned in protest, and many educators predicted that Berkeley would be unable to recruit comparable replacements (Kerr, 23-38). Chancellor Clark Kerr's response was to create a quick turnover of faculty in many parts of campus, to jettison or move vocationally-oriented units, split "applied" from "basic" science, and cordon off degrees stressing practice in separate professional schools. Although these initiatives were not intentionally directed at women faculty, they had a disproportionate effect on their employment.

The End of the Women-led programs in the postwar university

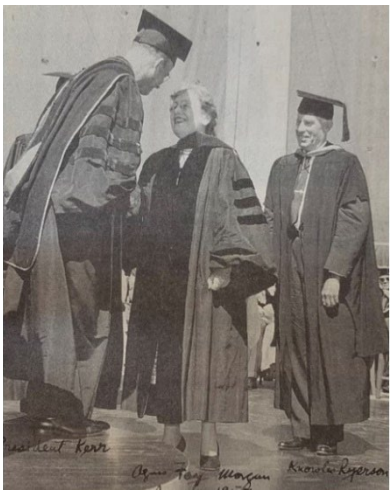
In 1959, over a third of the faculty women were concentrated in just three units: Nutrition, Design, and Social Welfare. These were the inheritors of the three women-led programs whose origins were outlined in previous essays: Nutrition was the gender-neutral offspring of Agnes Fay Morgan's Household Science in Home Economics; Design was the latest version of what began as Home Economics' Household Arts; and Social Welfare continued the tasks of Jessica Peixotto's Social Economics branch of the Economics Department Report, 28). Each of these programs had carefully balanced three tasks in previous decades: vocational training, primarily for women students; the development of serious graduate curricula in new fields; and the pursuit of basic research by the faculties. The balance among these elements, which was always delicate, became harder to maintain in the postwar period. Paradoxically, moreover, the programs' attempts at adaptation often prepared the way for their eventual dismemberment, transformation, or absorption into adjacent fields. Looking back from the 1960s, it would seem that the original women's programs had simply grown irrelevant and disappeared, but in fact they had changed their names, grown larger, and started hiring men almost exclusively. The retirement of the women gradually obliterated the histories of the programs and the extent of the earlier faculties' contributions to their fields.

Household Science

The postwar transformation of the largest of these programs, Nutrition, formerly Household Science, has been insightfully analyzed by Maresi Nerad. She explains that after decades of stinting the faculty's research and implying that the department should concentrate on training teachers, the UC administration reversed course and abolished the Home Economics/Household Science program altogether, saving only the research component of Nutrition in a separate unit (Nerad, 127-141). To be sure, by the early sixties Home Economics was disappearing at most universities, but Berkeley's elimination of the subject was especially early and abrupt. Suddenly gone were the days when the department's home-economics mission secured its place in the curriculum as a

public service; now its *raison d'être* was to be its research. Consequently, more men were added to the faculty.

The irony of the situation was that the department's female leadership had long been attempting to minimize their vocational assignment and prioritize their research. Agnes Fay Morgan, who chaired the unit from its founding in the mid-1910s until 1954, and her fellow scientists Ruth Okey and Helen Gillum had gone so far as to ask in 1924 that the program be allowed to change its name to Human Nutrition, arguing that the change would make it easier to win competitive grants and give a more accurate impression of the department's main academic emphasis (Nerad, 121-22). After the request was denied, they helped to create an interdisciplinary Ph.D. program in Nutritional Sciences, which Morgan directed in the postwar WWII years, from 1946 to her retirement in 1954 (Nerad, 107-111). The interdisciplinary program partly protected the unit's PhD students from the disadvantages of a Home Economics degree.



4 Agnes Faye Morgan receives Honorary LLD from Chancellor Kerr in 1959

By these programmatic ambitions and their own well-received research, Morgan and her colleagues had constantly stressed the scientific professionalism of their unit, but they were faced with a paradox: the program existed because special curricula for women had once seemed appropriate. If that assumption were removed, could the unit survive? At Berkeley, the answer to that question turned out to be no. The program's campaign to establish a different rationale, resting on scientific excellence instead of women's vocational needs, anticipated the direction that the administration would ultimately take on the issue. Their leadership had already loosened the commitment to the Home Economics project, making it easier to replace the earlier unit with a Department of Nutritional Sciences after Agnes Fay Morgan stepped down as chair.

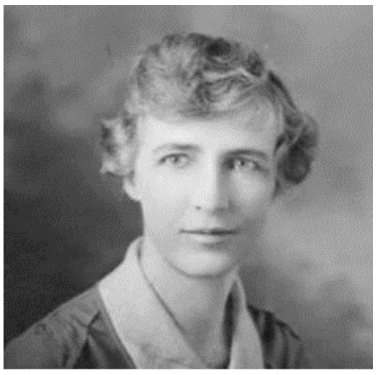
Thus began the unit's "transfiguration", as Clark Kerr called it, into Nutritional Sciences. The timing and manner of the change, though, were entirely unanticipated. It was presented not as an upgrading of Household Science but as its abolition. The department had been expanding in the postwar years; in 1954 a new building had just been completed to house it. Moreover, none of the department's faculty, including Morgan, were consulted about the plans that were announced in 1955. Home Economics was to be folded at UCB and moved to Davis, which was becoming an independent university (Nerad, 127-130). Both Nerad and Kerr

5 Nutrition lab in the new Home Economics Building, 1954

explain the abrupt decision as part of the attempt to restore Berkeley's academic reputation after the humiliation of the Loyalty Oath controversy. Kerr, the newly appointed Chancellor, sought the opinion of Academic Senate committees, but not the unit itself, when he determined to "drop" Home Economics. It was a while before the additional plan to keep the unit's "best part", Nutrition, was announced (Nerad, 131-133; Kerr, 85-7). As Kerr acknowledges in his memoir, the "reconfiguration" was actually "a very bitter series of battles" which ended in the appointment of a male chairman, George Briggs, in 1960. After the gender balance began to shift and Briggs complained to Chancellor Strong that "Home Economics" was an "embarrassing" name, the program's decades-old request for rebranding was finally granted (Nerad, 123).

The subsequent decline of the proportion of women on the faculty was swift: in 1960, the unit had ten female faculty and two male; by 1964, Nutritional Sciences, had nine men and four women (Nerad, 97). Under women's leadership, nutritional science had become a significant research field; the women scientists had struggled to raise its status and partially overcame its gendered association with the kitchen. Their efforts made it a respectable academic field that could then attract a higher-prestige male faculty. When Nutrition took over the new building from which Home Economics had been recently removed, the faculty at least had the good manners to memorialize their origins by naming it Agnes Fay Morgan Hall (Nerad, 127-141).

Household Art



6 Lila O'Neale, Home Economics Art, 1932-48

Faculty women in Household Art, the second branch of the original Home Economics Department, made similar efforts to improve their academic standing, and had considerable, if only temporary, success. Through a development that was in many ways the inverse of Household Science's, the unit went through a series of changes that resulted in a postwar male-majority faculty. Household Art specialized in the study of textiles in the 1930s and 40s. In the earlier years of its existence, the program had very little academic standing: its two Senate faculty appointments were trained in the fine arts and lacked post-graduate credentials. In 1932, though, the unit was transformed by the appointment of a recent PhD from the Anthropology Department, Lila O'Neale, who gave the program a new specialty in the study of weaving generally, both textiles and basketry (Jaknis, 184). O'Neale was forty when she arrived in Berkeley in 1926 for post-graduate work with the university's premier anthropologist, A. L. Kroeber. She already had wide experience in teaching the textile side of Home Economics—fibers, weaving, processes for manufacture, and dye analysis—at various high schools and colleges. Kroeber, who had just returned from fieldwork in Peru with a large collection of woven works, needed a textile expert, and found O'Neale to be "outstandingly superior" to all others he had worked with, partly because she was herself a highly skilled weaver.

When she set out to do fieldwork for her own dissertation, O'Neale adopted Franz Boas's "ethno-aesthetic" approach, investigating "the subjective attitudes of the weaver" and "determining individual reactions to craft aspects" (O'Neale 1932, 5). She wanted especially to know what individual makers were striving for by asking other weavers how they reacted to the works. O'Neale showed her basket-weaver informants—Yarok and Karok women living in the Klamath River region—photographs of older baskets from the university's Museum of Anthropology, asking them to tell her what was salient about the objects and to discuss singular variations in their use of materials and motifs. Her emphasis on individual expressiveness was part of a larger movement in Anthropology to view ethnographic objects as artworks by specific creators.

O'Neale was then hired in Household Art, and her appointment was followed by those of two other Anthropology PhDs, Anna Gayton and Ruth Boyer. Together they brought a new academic bona fides to the program. The students were held to a higher level of technical, ethnographic, and historical knowledge, and at the same time, they needed to keep aesthetic issues in mind. By 1939, the academic emphasis had changed so much that the department's names—"Home Economics, Household Art"—seemed outdated and misleading. O'Neale and her colleagues wanted to recruit students of both sexes with large ambitions and training in architecture, anthropology, art practice, and art history, so they asked that the name be changed. Unlike Household Science's request for a name change, though, theirs was successful: Household Art became Decorative Arts in 1939. The name change also helped recruit male faculty: Winfield Scott Wellington (1897–1979), the director of the University Art Museum, was the first man to join the department (Jacknis, 184-88).

7 Lila O'Neale with a Klamath River weaver

The change also, though, opened the door wider to art practice, and in 1948, O'Neale's untimely death weakened the ethnographic emphasis. New male faculty members from the modern art world joined the department in the 1950s. Partly inspired by the aesthetic turn in Anthropology, they began using what had previously been considered craft materials to make non-utilitarian artworks, and the department's emphasis shifted further from scholarship to art practice with the invention of a new category: fiber art. Anxious to dispel any suggestion of femininity or dilettantism still lingering in the phrase "Decorative Arts", in 1964 they again changed the program's name, to Design.

Household Art's transformation appears in many ways to have been the inverse of Household Science's: whereas the transition to Nutrition had marked the triumph of scientific rigor over vocationalism, the conversion to Design spelled the victory of art

practice over academic scholarship. The consequences for the gender balance in the two departments, however, were similar. Before the war, Decorative Arts had a faculty of five women and no men; even though most of the Design department's students remained female, by 1969 the unit's faculty had four women and ten men (Jaknis, 187-89). The women's push for academic respectability via Anthropology had led by a circuitous path to a new a new art form but had not kept up the numbers of women faculty.

Social Economics

The earliest program at Berkeley to be led by a woman was Social Economics, started by Berkeley's first female professor, **Jessica Peixotto**. She developed it into a highly productive program inside the Economics Department. The program never had more than a few fulltime Senate faculty, but the story of its decline gives us another angle on the programmatic changes that shrank the number of faculty women. Social economics focused on issues of poverty, labor, and family and child welfare, and it was viewed in the early decades of the 20th century as a means of professionalizing the charitable and philanthropic work that women had long undertaken voluntarily. Clearly drawing on that association, President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, who supported the program, described it to the Regents as "the field of constructive and preventive philanthropy" (*Annual Report*, 1912, 35). As historian Mary Ann Dzuback has shown, the program helped give the state's welfare system a grounding in empirical studies of poverty while also training social workers and future policy makers. Women students flocked to the program, and Peixotto sought out and appointed women as teaching assistants and lecturers who had worked in social welfare agencies, giving them the opportunity to finish master's degrees and doctorates. The program also supported women post-doctoral scholars from other universities, who wanted to collaborate on larger research projects. It was thus a women-centered program even while Peixotto was the sole professor (Dzuback, 157-160).

Despite its popularity with students, Social Economics had only a small fraction of the Senate faculty in Economics. The women who did join its ranks in the interwar period showed a remarkable ability to move fluidly between academia and public service. Barbara Nachtrieb Armstrong, as we noted in a previous profile, served the state and federal governments in planning social insurance programs. The increasing need for social services during the Great Depression both caused the program to grow and turned its attention more toward training for social work, ultimately revealing some of the vulnerabilities of a program situated between academia and government service. The Social Economics group had started a Social Services Certificate program, accredited by the state in 1928; as Jeffrey Edleson notes, it was the earliest professional training for social workers on the West Coast (Edleson, 10). After first directing the certificate program, Martha Chickering completed her PhD and was appointed to the faculty in 1936. However, she served only three

8 Martha Chickering, Social Economics, 1930-39

years before leaving the university in 1939 to become the Director of the California State Department of Social Welfare. Chickering's career veered away from academia and into fulltime government work partly because the certificate program she had led was no longer needed at Berkeley. A new Department of Social Welfare had come into being, led by a male faculty member, Harry Cassidy. In 1944 that department was upgraded to the School of Social Welfare. We can certainly see this as a success for the programmatic goals of Peixotto and her colleagues. But it was also another one of those postwar programmatic shifts that diminished the number of women faculty on campus: by 1948-9, the School of Social Welfare had seven male faculty and one woman.

9 Emily Huntington, Social Economics, in 1950

Meanwhile, Social Economy was also fading from the Economics Department's curriculum. Another former student of the program, Emily Huntington, had received her PhD from Radcliffe and returned to her alma mater as a faculty member shortly after the start of the Great Depression. Throughout the 1930s the California State Relief Administration drew heavily on her research into the consumer spending of the poor when it estimated its unemployment budgets, administered relief, and gave other forms of public assistance. During the war years, Huntington became the senior economist with the United States Department of Labor; she later took the directorship of Wage Stabilization for the National War Labor Board on the West Coast, which played a key role in controlling wartime inflation (*UC In Memoriam*, "Huntington"; Huntington, 75-76).

When Huntington returned to academic life in the postwar period, though, she found changes in both the Economics department and the general university environment. As she explained in her oral history, one reason for her early retirement in 1961 was her sense of methodological distaste for the mathematical formalism that was making great strides in Economics during the 1950s. Although she had always used statistical mathematics in her empirical work, she nevertheless felt "distressed" at the need to explain everything in terms of mathematical formulae. The development, she thought, led to the "neglect of other types of methodology and analysis" that were more appropriate to the economic questions she found compelling. Moreover, she feared that the level of mathematical knowledge required for understanding the analyses would limit the audience for the new work, an understandable fear for an economist whose career stressed the dissemination of economic research in the public sphere (Huntington, 89).

For Huntington a sense of dissatisfaction with the institution's direction may also have lingered from the Loyalty Oath controversy of 1949-52, in which she was a

passionately committed participant. The requirement to sign a Loyalty Oath caused a crises of conscience in the minds of many UC faculty. As a matter of course in those days, university employees signed an oath of allegiance to the constitutions of the U.S. and the State of California along with annual appointment agreements, but in 1949, they were told that they must sign an additional oath before their appointment letters would go into effect (Stadtman, 324-25). The new oath specified "that I am not a member of the Communist Party or under any oath or a party to any agreement or under any commitment that is in conflict with my obligations under this oath". Like many other members of the faculty, Huntington believed that the requirement cast aspersions on the loyalty of university employees in particular, set a bad precedent of monitoring political beliefs, violated the right of the Academic Senate to oversee its members' activities, and posed a general threat to academic freedom. She refused to sign it and became one of the leaders of the "nonsigners", who eventually went to court to stop the Board of Regents from requiring it as a condition of employment.

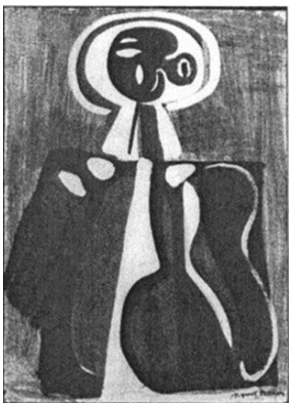
Despite the fact that the oath had originated as an attempt by President Sproul to preempt the California legislature from imposing even greater political control over the university, the controversy played out as a confrontation between the Regents and the faculty (Stadtman, 335-7). The Regents precipitated a crisis by announcing in 1950 that all faculty who were attempting to have the oath requirement rescinded must either sign it or be fired. The ultimatum posed a direct challenge to normal university procedures and the right of tenure, since it would allow for the dismissal of tenured professors without due process. Huntington was among those who argued that the Academic Senate's Committee on Privilege and Tenure was the proper place to investigate if a faculty member had "violated the principles of integrity and objectivity in his teaching" (Huntington, 78). When that committee did actually step in and hold hearings, she appeared before them and testified on her research, public service, and political connections. However, no evidence of any subversion was found (Huntington, 81).

The Regents nevertheless ignored the faculty committee's conclusions and voted to dismiss the thirty-one faculty members, including Huntington, who still refused to sign the oath, giving them a few weeks before the dismissal became effective. At that point, the group of thirty-one shrank to eighteen, as individuals confronted the total upheaval in their personal and professional lives that would immediately ensue. "I simply could not face this prospect," Huntington explained in her oral history, "so I signed two days before the deadline. This was a very sad day in my life. . . . . Many had been non-signers for some time and had finally signed for reasons similar to mine" (82). The California Supreme Court eventually reversed the firings and found that the university could not require a separate oath of its employees, which allowed for some reconciliation between the parties. But the damage to the morale of individuals like Huntington seems to have been lasting: "I have always regretted my decision to sign . . . I would now be a much prouder person had I stayed to the end with the faculty members who I think saved our

University from the disaster proposed by the Regents" (83). She stayed on the Economics faculty for another eight years, but with a diminished sense of belonging.

Although it is tangential to our narrative about postwar attrition specifically in women-led departments, we name here the three faculty women among the final eighteen Loyalty Oath nonsigners who "stayed to the end" and lost their jobs. Margaret Hodgen (BA, '13; PhD, '25) was also a product of the Social Economics program, who taught for twenty-five years in the small Department of Social Institutions, a precursor to Sociology. A prolific author of books on the history of technological change, she took early retirement when she was reinstated after the Supreme Court decision and continued her research at the Huntington Library ("Hodgen"). Pauline Sperry (profiled in an earlier essay) taught in the Mathematics Department for thirty-three years. Since she was older than the mandatory retirement age when the Supreme Court handed down its decision, she was reinstated as Emerita. In retirement she continued to campaign for the expansion of civil liberties through the ACLU ("Faculty Member Non-Signers"; "Sperry").

Margaret Peterson (O'Hagen) (BA '26; MA '31) was a Professor of Art, with twenty-two years' service at Berkeley, who decided not to return after the Court's decision. She moved to the Pacific Northwest, where she had a long career in painting that was influenced by the Native American artists of Vancouver Island. UC's Townsend Center for the Humanities held a retrospective of her works in 1999, shortly after her death ("Faculty Member Non-Signers").



10 A work by Margaret Peterson O'Hagen

The Anti-Nepotism Rule

Tracing the demise of the women's programs has given us insights into both the trajectories of individual careers and the overall contexts of institutional change. But to understand the steep decline in the female share of the faculty, we must look more closely at the failure to hire women in the departments that were growing. We noted at the outset that the university-wide gender disproportion in hiring stemmed from the mutually reinforcing reluctance on the part of departments and the pressures on women to marry early, have more children, and stay at home while their children were young. No doubt that combination created a pool of job applicants for university faculty positions that was lopsidedly male in all fields.

Nevertheless, there was also a particular university policy in place during those years that heightened the opposition between family and career and discouraged departments from hiring women who were both highly qualified and readily available. The anti-nepotism rule forbade the employment of more than one "close relation" in any academic unit or overlapping field. The rule was partly a hold-over from attempts to ration jobs during the depression (like the bars to married women's employment discussed in the last essay), and the justification for maintaining it in the boom times of

the fifties and sixties was that it served as a safeguard against introducing academically extrinsic issues in personnel cases. Already accused of imposing a political test for employment, UC might have been especially loath in the fifties to revoke a rule ostensibly designed to protect impartiality. Berkeley's rule did not forbid all employment of a close relation, just faculty membership, and it did not specify which member of a married couple should leave. But it was assumed that women would make the sacrifice, accepting lectureships or research appointments, or leaving for faculties elsewhere, often at less prestigious schools. The first attempt to assess the rule's impact on women at Berkeley was made by the same Academic Senate Sub-Committee in 1969 that discovered the shrinkage in women's fraction of the faculty. They polled male faculty members on the question of whether their wives' employment had been adversely affected by the rule, and fifty-eight said yes. Twenty-three, whose wives had doctorates, complained that they were kept well below their deserved level in the academic hierarchy. And others whose wives had lesser degrees were also said to be under-employed because of the rule or employed only as unpaid research labor for their husbands (Colson, et al, 10-15).

Of course, we can't know how many of the women whose husbands complained about the anti-nepotism rule might have ended up on the faculty if it hadn't existed. Nevertheless, it is remarkable how many eminent women scholars at Berkeley, who were finally appointed to the faculty, had been rendered ineligible in the postwar decades by the rule. We'll conclude this essay by profiling a few of them.

11 Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Researcher 1940-56; Professor of Psychology 1956-58

Else Frenkel-Brunswick was an Austrian Jewish academic psychologist, who received her doctorate in Vienna in 1930. She and her husband, who also had a doctorate in Psychology, were among the many intellectuals who emigrated from Austria to America to escape the Nazis in the late 1930s. Her husband, Egon Brunswick, was offered a faculty position in the Berkeley Psychology Department, and the couple arrived in 1940. Unable to join the faculty because of his employment, she took a research post at the Institute of Child Welfare, where she shaped an interdisciplinary approach to personality studies. Frenkel-Brunswik is best known for her contributions to *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), a work she co-authored with, among others, the critical theorist Theodor W. Adorno. The book is considered a milestone work in personality theory and social psychology, and it raised her profile as a researcher and writer. In the mid-1950s, her husband became incurably ill and took his own life. It was only then, with her husband's death, that the members of the Psychology faculty felt free to offer Frenkel-Brunswik a professorship; they voted on her appointment December 1957. Gained at such a cost, though, the offer could hardly have seemed an unalloyed boon. She remained

disconsolate over the loss of her husband and took her own life in 1958 (Marasco, 804; Freidenreich).

Catherine Bauer also arrived in Berkeley in 1940, invited to be a Visiting Lecturer in the new Department of Social Welfare on the strength her 1934 book, *Modern Housing*, a classic in the field which had led her to become the primary author of the U. S. Housing Act of 1937. She was both immensely knowledgeable about public housing and a passionate advocate for it. At Berkeley she met and married William Wurster, the San Francisco architect who designed U.C.'s first women's dormitory, Stern Hall. Bauer later became a Lecturer in the department of Architecture and convinced her husband that Berkeley would benefit from an interdisciplinary program similar to one then being formed in a joint MIT-Harvard initiative, where city planning, public housing policy studies, and architecture were combined. She encouraged her husband to take an advanced degree in Cambridge, and when the couple returned to Berkeley they worked together to create the College of Environmental Design. However, only William was given a regular faculty appointment. Catherine Bauer Wurster continued as a part-time Lecturer, mainly in City and Regional Planning, until her husband retired due to illness in 1963. In 1963-4, she was voted a full professor but held the appointment for only one year, dying in a fall while hiking on Mt. Tamalpais in 1964 (Oberlander and Newbrun, 183-89, 247-254, 302-7).

12 Catherine Bauer Wurster, Lecturer 1940-63; Professor of City & Regional Planning 1963-64

The brilliant mathematician Julia Robinson (BA '40, MA '41, PhD '48) was ineligible for a professorial position in Mathematics at Berkeley in the postwar years because she was married to Professor Raphael Robinson. As we pointed out in an earlier essay, she did research in Berkeley's Statistical Laboratory under Jerzy Neyman during the war and for some years thereafter. In the postwar years, she was occasionally invited to teach in the Math department, holding the title of Lecturer, and she taught part-time in other programs as well. Despite the institutional neglect, she spent the postwar years seeking answers to some of the most difficult questions in mathematics concerning "algorithmic solvability and unsolvability of mathematical problems". In particular she was noted "for her part in the negative solution of Hilbert's 'Tenth Problem'" (Feferman, 3, 20-22). Despite her

13 Julia Bowman Robinson, Lecturer and Researcher 1941-76; Professor of Mathematics 1976-85

important breakthroughs and the university's abandonment of the nepotism rule, the Math department showed no immediate sign of any interest in hiring her even after her husband retired in 1973. Indeed, they identified her simply as “Professor Robinson’s wife” in 1976 when the university press office called them for information after her election to the National Academy of Sciences (Reid, 1490). Once they realized that they had a famous person in their midst—the first female mathematician to be elected to the NAS—the department finally offered Julia Robinson a professorship. In 1982 she was elected the first female president of the American Mathematical Society.

The renowned immunologist Marian Koshland also experienced spousal exclusion during a crucial stage of her career prior to arriving at Berkeley, and yet (she later explained) she turned it into a research opportunity. Marian and her husband Daniel Koshland received their doctorates at the University of Chicago, did post-doctoral work at Harvard, and then went on to research positions at Brookhaven National Laboratory (Long Island). However, when they arrived at Brookhaven, the department head balked at employing Marian, stating flatly “We are not going to have the wife of anybody” (Guyer, 9). Since the couple had four young children at the time, Marian Koshland considered quitting science altogether. Her husband, though, convinced her that she could make a creative adaptation to her joblessness by "undertaking high-risk projects that a tenure-track scientist could less afford to do” (1996). She traded lab space and a technician for editing Brookhaven's biology symposia papers, and was able to do groundbreaking work in immunology as a part-time researcher. By the time the Koshlands came to Berkeley in 1965, Marian as researcher and Daniel as a professor, the importance of her work was widely acknowledged. In 1970, when her children were grown and the anti-nepotism rule was set aside, she accepted a professorial appointment and went on to serve as Chair of the Department of Microbiology and Immunology from 1982 to 1989 ("Marian Elliott Koshland"). She was also elected president of the American Association of Immunologists in 1982. Koshland often said that even if she had not been excluded, she might have preferred a research position without professorial responsibilities while her children were young, and she used her experience to advocate for greater flexibility in academic work (Koshland, xiii).

14 Marian Koshland, Lecturer and Researcher 1965-70; Professor of Microbiology and Immunology1970-89

These examples—and many more that could be adduced—suggest that the decline in the percentage of women on the faculty had many causes: male skepticism, a cultural atmosphere that weakened women's will to succeed, and the dismantling of separate women's programs were all to blame. There was as well, though, systematic discrimination that kept women in jobs for which they were clearly overqualified. The

wonder is that so many women achieved so much for academic institutions that seem to have been intent on undervaluing them.

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1. Modified version of a chart labeled "Faculty Percent Female" in Bleemer, Zachary, "Gender and Ethnic Equity at the University of California: A Historical Accounting". Unpublished presentation. With permission.

2. Photo of Agnes Faye Morgan receiving an Honorary LLD from Clark Kerr in 1959. From Nerad, Maresi, *The Academic Kitchen: A Social History of Gender Stratification at the University of California* Berkeley (State University of New York Press, 1999), p. 119. With permission.

3. Photo of the Nutrition Lab in 1954. From Nerad, p. 116. With permission.

4. Photo of Lila O'Neale, Home Economics, Household Art. From "Lila Morris O'Neale", Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology website. https://hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu/lila-morris-oneale/.

5. Photo of Lila O'Neale with a Klamath River Weaver. From cover of O'Neale, Lila M. *Yurok-Karok Basket Weavers*, Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, The Regents of the University of California, 1995.

6. Photo of Martha Chickering, Economics and Social Welfare. From School of Social Welfare Website, March 2, 2020. https://socialwelfare.berkeley.edu/news/berkeley-150w-celebrating-womens-leadership-berkeley-social-welfare.

7. Photo of Emily Huntington in1950, by Wayne Miller. From Huntington, Emily H., *A Career in Consumer Economics and Social Insurance*. An Interview Conducted by Alice Greene King. Intro Charles A. Gulick. The Regents of the University of California, 1971, inserted between pp. 88 and 89.

8. Photo of a work by Margaret Peterson O'Hagen. From the Townsend Humanities Center website. https://townsendcenter.berkeley.edu/events/retrospective-margaret-peterson-ohagen

9. Photo of Else Frenkel-Brunswik. From the Shalvi/Hyman Encyclopedia of Jewish Women at the Jewish Women's Archive website. https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/frenkel-brunswik-else

10. Photo of Catherine Bauer Wurster in the 1940s. From Stephens, Suzanne, "Women of the Bauhaus: Catherine Bauer Wurster", Architectural Record, 6/1/2019. https://www.architecturalrecord.com/articles/14119-women-of-the-bauhaus-catherine-bauer-wurster

11. Photo of Julia Bowman Robinson. From the "AMS Presidents" page of the American Mathematical Society's website. http://www.ams.org/about-us/presidents/47-robinson

12 Photo of Marian Elliott Koshland. From the American Association Immunologists website. https://www.aai.org/About/History/Past-Presidents-and-Officers/MarianEKoshland.

Women at Berkeley, the First Hundred Years

Part 4
The Sixties and Seventies

Chapter Eleven
Sexual and Political Rebellion in the Sixties

"Agitators on other campuses take their lead from activities which occur at Berkeley," wrote FBI director J. Edgar Hoover in 1966, alluding to the Free Speech Movement of 1964 as the original model of on-campus student civil disobedience. By 1966, to be sure, the escalation of the Vietnam War and expansion of the military draft were sparking campus rebellions across the country quite independently of anything that had happened at Berkeley two years earlier. Moreover, Berkeley students had learned their tactics from black students in the Jim-Crow Southern states, whose early sixties sit-ins to end racial segregation were the acknowledged inspiration for all Northern campus activists. But Hoover was right to point to Berkeley students' originality in rebelling against their own university. This essay will examine the reasons for that novelty while explaining its connections to the changing roles of women in the student body.

The story of sixties student activism in Berkeley can be told as a series of protest movements with overlapping but also shifting emphases—Civil Rights (1962-4); Free Speech Movement (1964); Anti-War Movement (1965-72); Third World Liberation Strike (1968-9)—toward the end of which Women's Liberation emerged. It's generally acknowledged that women played important parts in all of the political battles of the sixties, and this essay will examine their contributions. Unlike the standard accounts, though, it will also show how they were partly shaped and propelled by gender and sexual rebellions that were components of student activism throughout the decade. In the fifties, women students had remained limited by sexual prohibitions and strict standards of respectability that were translated into rules for their behavior on and around campus. It was up to the women of the sixties to overthrow those impediments to their personal freedom in what became known as the sexual revolution. This essay will trace the campaign for greater freedom of sexual expression and autonomy for women, showing its intersections, parallels, and collisions with other branches of the sixties movements.

Part I: Before the FSM

Sexual Liberation and Free Speech

It's well known that the Free Speech Movement was closely tied to earlier political protests but less often noticed that Berkeley students first tested UC's revised limitations on their free expression by seizing on a sexual issue. The early elements of sexual rebellion in that first protest would eventually bring greater changes for women students than for men. In the spring of 1960, an assistant professor of Biology at the

University of Illinois, Leo Koch, had written a letter to the student newspaper, commenting on a campus scandal about "petting parties": "A mutually satisfactory sexual experience would eliminate the need for many hours of frustrating petting and lead to much happier marriages" (quoted in Van Houten, 74). There was an immediate public outcry against this endorsement of "free love" (i.e. premarital sex) on a college campus, and the University of Illinois fired Koch, prompting a wider, nationwide controversy that melded the over-heated issues of student sexuality, academic freedom, and taboos against public discussions of sex.

Koch was a UC alumnus, and the brouhaha over his firing quickly migrated to Berkeley when the Executive Committee of the ASUC, in a purposeful violation of UC's rule against taking stands on "outside issues", passed a resolution condemning "the actions of the University of Illinois for this firing" and strongly urging "that Professor Koch be reinstated" (Seaborg, 430). Chancellor Seaborg, recognizing that the ASUC's executive committee action was intended to test the university's rules, directed the students to reverse their decision, which they refused to do, and the stand-off was widely debated in the press. The *Daily Cal* editorials supported the students on the grounds of free speech and de-emphasized the sexual issue as incidental to the conflict. In contrast, the commercial press foregrounded the "free love" aspect, in both sensational and satirical modes, and ignored the students' explanation that they were defending Koch's right to endorse premarital sex, not endorsing it themselves.

1960 could be seen as a national tipping point for the debate over sexual expression and censorship. In 1959, a U. S. Court of Appeals Judge had ruled that several literary works previously banned as obscene could be published on the grounds they had "redeeming social or literary value" ("Grove Press"). The case grabbed headlines across the country and opened the way for the first U. S. editions of such modern novels as D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*. Moreover, since the publication of the Kinsey Reports in 1948 and 1952 had shown the large discrepancy that existed between Americans' espoused sexual morality and their behavior, taboos on sexual topics had increasingly come to seem hypocritical. In the context of the liberalizing culture, the argument made by lawyers for the University of Illinois that Koch's words were "offensive and repugnant, contrary to commonly accepted standards of morality" (quoted in Seaborg, 441) probably did not reflect the views of most students at the secular universities.

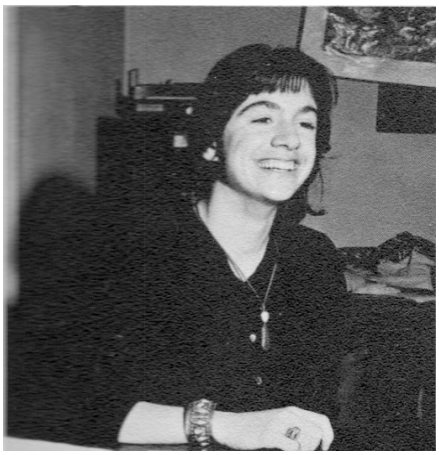
Thus, although in the vanguard of public opinion, ASUC's position was not outlandish; the high-profile censorship cases in the news had already made a strong link between free speech generally and sexual *expression*. The press coverage of the Berkeley controversy, though, stressed that Koch recommended a change in student sexual

behavior, and the ASUC advocates of free speech were not prepared to defend the substance of his recommendation. They tried to keep the focus on the issue of free speech by staying neutral on Koch's ideas while championing his right to express them. But since Koch's opinions about how students should behave was the fillip that drove newspaper coverage, the free-speech argument was drowned out. The conflict ended when an ASUC executive committee of a more conservative stripe was elected the next semester and reversed the original resolution. They too, however, declined to comment on the value of Koch's advice and merely noted that the original resolution had violated UC regulations by taking a stand on an off-campus issue.

The topic of student sexuality, it seems, overwhelmed the issue of free speech, revealing a pattern that repeated itself during the decade: sexual politics and the new left were twins that could neither be separated nor fully reconciled. Although student activists could not avoid the issues of sexuality and gender relations, they were often hesitant to include them. From the defenders of Koch at the decade's outset to the of women's liberationists at its end, those who stressed sexual politics often found themselves either just ignored or accused of trivializing the movement by creating merely frivolous—even laughable—distractions from "serious" political purposes. Noticing this continuing tension can help us to understand why it took so long for new left activists to recognize gender-specific discrimination as a legitimate issue.

The campaign for franker sexual expression on campus, though, did not immediately go away after the Koch case. The 1959 U. S. Court of Appeals hadn't done away with obscenity laws, although it had carved out important and enticingly vague exemptions for works with "redeeming social or literary value." It thus inspired writers in the cultural vanguard—including Berkeley students—to test the limits. In the spring of 1961, the editor of the *California Pelican*, Don Wegars, caused a national stir and was almost expelled for publishing a cartoon that showed an American flag with the Soviet hammer-and-sickle in place of one of the stars; it was captioned, "Run it up yer ol' wazoo" (Carroll, Martin). The cartoon may have alluded to the student demonstrations at the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings the previous May, but the hubbub it set off in the press centered on the possibly obscene meanings of the caption's neologism, "wazoo". Wegars was suspended for a semester, and the OED still attributes the first use of the term "wazoo" to that issue of the *Pelican*.

Far from bringing student publications into line, though, the administration's punishment of Wegars stimulated a competitive drive for notoriety, according to Wendy Martin ('62), who was then editing *Occident* and is now a professor of English at the Claremont Graduate University. She recalls, "wanting to publish something in the literary magazine that would be even more provocative than the *Pelican*'s cartoon" (Martin). For the fall of 1961, she deliberately sought some transgressive, attention-getting content, which she received and published in the form of a short fictional piece featuring inter-racial fellatio. Martin remembers being bitterly disappointed when the story failed to cause a scandal or draw university censorship. One can imagine, though, that the administration was not eager to attract more attention to its rebellious student publications, especially if the question of "redeeming literary value" might be at stake.



15 Wendy Martin, editor of *Occident* in 1961

The students who made these links between erotic expression and free speech had various motives—satirical, political, and literary—but they all registered long-term changes in the culture that had already begun by 1960. By the end of the decade, Koch's advocacy of "mutually satisfactory" premarital sex as a healthy alternative to endless foreplay would be seen as completely uncontroversial. The rebels at the beginning of the sixties were still early in the process of creating a general consensus that sexual liberation and freedom of expression were related aspects of personal autonomy. The changes, though, did not come automatically, and their meaning, especially in women's lives, would be redefined several times throughout the decade. Moreover, the students would continue to cast the university as an impediment to both political and sexual change, and the administration often played that role with gusto. The two issues of sexual freedom and free speech were an unstable compound, but they would develop along interwoven paths as complaints against the university mounted.

Dormitory Discontents and the Sexual Double Standard

In the middle of the decade, the question of sexual freedom was subtly broached by women students in the dormitories, who lived under stricter rules than the men. It's one of the ironies of Berkeley's history that major improvements in student facilities and services set the stage for rebellion. For the first time in its history, the university in the early sixties used public funds to build large dormitories for housing both men and women while also helping to finance a new student union complex—complete with a ballroom, lounges, meeting rooms, cafeterias, and offices for student government. Four

sets of high-rise residence halls for undergraduates of both sexes were raised in the four years between 1960 and 1964. When the FSM erupted, therefore, students had learned to expect university facilities for their use on campus and affordable housing nearby. Those were things that other American universities had provided for decades, but at Berkeley they were new, and they altered student life. The change was especially dramatic for women because, as we've documented in previous essays, housing for them had always been scarce, forcing many to commute from home. Two of the buildings in each of the four new dormitory complexes were for women. Pictured here are the namesakes for the first two high-rise women's buildings—former Dean of Women Mary Blossom Davies and Alice Deutsch—posing with a model of Unit One, which opened in 1961. As the dormitories opened in the early years of the decade, the percentage of women in the student body climbed out of its postwar lows in the 30%-range to around 42%, where it stayed during the sixties and seventies.

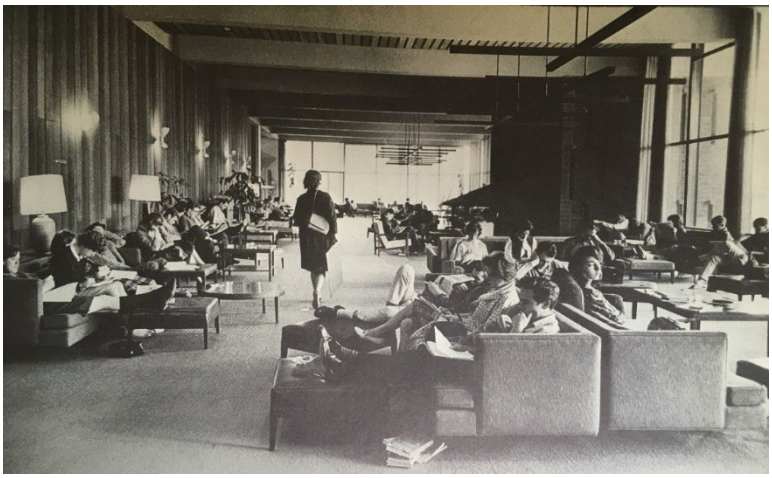
16 1959 dedication of the new dorms, which would open in 1961.

The new student spaces certainly had a democratizing and liberalizing effect on the campus. They created the conditions for organizing student groups that could challenge the dominance of fraternities and sororities, which had controlled both student governments and extra-curricular activities in the postwar years (Kerr, 105-109). Moreover, the new student facilities opened at the very time when the Greek-letter houses were becoming politically problematic because they practiced racial and religious exclusion. Indeed, in 1959, California Attorney General (and soon to be Governor) Edmund Brown ruled that "the university can in no way officially recognize groups which practice discrimination", and the general counsel for the Regents recommended "a wall of separation between the university and the fraternity and sorority system" (Kerr, 383). Although eventually the Greek-letter houses agreed to sign non-discrimination pledges in the mid-sixties, by that time their reputation for bias had caused a steep slide in their popularity.

In contrast, several of the student groups recruiting dormitory residents were also trying to draw attention to broader issues of social justice. Organizations like SLATE (a left-leaning group that backed a slate of candidates for each ASUC election) offered an organized progressive political campus agenda but also found themselves constantly brushing up against the UC rules, as we saw in the Koch case. Despite the limitations, the dormitories helped shift the center of political gravity away from the Greek-letter houses toward more open spaces, like the large dining commons near the student union, where currents of thought from inside and outside mixed informally on the edge of campus. Across Bancroft Way, the YMCA and YWCA continued their traditional roles of sponsoring forums for political organizing and recruitment still forbidden on university

property. In short, the left-leaning student organizations found larger residential constituencies and centers of activity.

While these new facilities created the spaces for students to congregate, they simultaneously limited the kinds of activity allowed; groups could not, for example, advocate, plan, or raise money for off-campus causes or campaigns. Restricted use of the buildings thus became a source of grievance in itself. When Clark Kerr became President of UC statewide in 1958, he modified the rules against political activity somewhat, but they were still more restrictive than those at most universities. Indeed, students at both Stanford and San Francisco State had greater latitude in using campus venues for political purposes than Berkeley students had (Stadtman, 442-3). Moreover, some of the new facilities actually encroached on areas that were not under university control earlier. When the student union was built and Sproul Plaza created, the space south of Sather Gate, where students had earlier promoted their causes, was lost. Political activity was displaced south and confined to a narrow band of pavement between Bancroft Way and the plaza (Finacom). That strip of land would become the flash-point that ignited the FSM. In a complicated dynamic, which historians call a revolution of rising expectations, giving the students what they'd been requesting for decades prepared the way for rebellion.


3 The Student Union shortly after its opening in 1961

Anger against the curtailment of political speech rose with the dorms, and women residents were additionally irritated by the surveillance and regulation of their private lives. Those were the conditions that thrust sexuality and gender disparity into the foreground. Imagining itself to be *in loco parentis* (in the place of parents) vis-à-vis its students, the university thought it had a duty to supervise their behavior. As one university administrator later regretfully recalled, "While the new residence halls were attractive, they had many rules and regulations that restricted the freedom of students who lived there", (Van Houten and Barrett, 27). And the women's dorms were the most restrictive places of all. Some vestiges of early-twentieth-century regulations surviving in the new dorms applied to both men and women, like the "parietal" rules forbidding members of the opposite sex from straying from the common rooms (where visitors were received) to the residents' rooms. But women were additionally required to "sign out" when leaving the premises at night and sign back in by specific hours (midnight on weeknights and 2:00 a.m. on weekends), or be locked out. The rules were ostensibly

made by the Associated Women Students, the organization that had represented women before they became full members of the ASUC in 1923. The AWS had not disbanded in the early twenties when it merged into the ASUC, though; instead it had continued a separate existence in which one of its main functions was to make rules—mainly by rubber-stamping the Deans' rules—about how undergraduate women should conduct themselves. The idea had carried over from earlier eras that women students needed to safeguard their collective reputation by making and enforcing a code of sexual behavior.

When dormitory residents objected to the restrictions in the sixties, Dean of Student Housing Ruth Donnelly could therefore deny responsibility, insisting in 1966 that the university had never imposed different rules on women: "These rules have been made by the women students and are now made by the women" (Donnelly, 91). The AWS, though, was not really a representative organization by the 1960s; it tended to be controlled by the sororities, whose ideas of proper behavior came to seem petty and outdated. Dorm women, for example, were not allowed to wear pants to dinner in the early sixties; then the Dean of Women relented and said they were allowed but only at meals where the students served themselves cafeteria-style. Thus, at the majority of dinners, they were still required to wear stockings, high-heeled shoes, and dresses. In the spring of 1964 (before the FSM), the *Daily Cal* reported that Davidson Hall residents planned a boycott of the Sunday meal, complaining that the dress code interfered with their ability to work continuously in the library, to take courses with late-afternoon laboratory requirements, or attend evening courses ("There's Unrest in the Dorms Again"). The dress code, they claimed, hindered their academic work and distorted their priorities, but it was also just the most obvious symbol of the university's attempt to control women residents' lives minutely. Perhaps when such rigid enforcement of class and gender norms was practiced in private sororities, where group conformity was an accepted principle, they might have been regarded as self-imposed and therefore, even if annoying and old-fashioned, tolerable. However, when applied to women who never chose to submit themselves to their peers' control in such matters, they seemed intrusive and dictatorial.

Moreover, when unequal rules were instituted in the dormitory context, where large numbers of men and women lived close together in clusters of buildings, which shared some common social spaces, they appeared downright discriminatory. The stringent sign-out and curfew rules, which were aimed at controlling the women's private lives, became the most deeply resented restrictions. Why should the men be free from curfews if the women had to sign back in by midnight? The lockout rules were an obvious instance of the sexual double-standard, in which women's extramarital sexual activity was judged much more negatively than men's. The double standard was evaporating in the mid-1960s, but the dormitories required women to prove they were not spending the night elsewhere by getting back to the dorm in time for the curfew, which served as a form of reputational certification. Even in the first years of the 1960s, the women rebelled against the university's double standard by their "yearly exodus from the

halls into less restrictive living environments", which "left the high-rise dorms devoid of upper-class leadership and put additional students into the community without significant ties to the campus" (Van Houten and Barrett, 27). Paradoxically, by the middle of the decade, Dean Donnelly had to admit that a higher percentage of women lived outside of approved housing in apartments than ever before, a situation she blamed on their "permissive" parents' willingness "to sign their residence cards if they are under 21. They weren't so willing to before" (Donnelly, 100).

The university was clearly lagging behind the general culture's willingness to acknowledge that women students should be entitled to as much freedom as men. Rather than simply opting out of university housing, some residents stayed and continued to organize for gender parity. By the spring of 1964, before the FSM, they had convinced the ASUC to ask for revised rules, allowing each living unit to make its own visitation policy. In response, Dean Towle explained that the students couldn't govern themselves in this very delicate matter because the university had "an obligation to the student himself, his parents, and society at large to leave no doubt as to what kind of social standards and cultural values it endorses" (quoted in Morrow, 39). Towle concisely stated the *in loco parentis* position: the university enforced the sexual values not of some individual parents but of social authority in general. Not imposing the standards would give students the false impression that they don't—or shouldn't—exist.

After the FSM, as the university slowly backed away from its *in loco parentis* dormitory policy, student efforts resulted in a few adjustments regarding who could visit student rooms and for what length of time. However, it wasn't until 1968, after years of friction with the university housing administration, that the residents of each dormitory were allowed to determine the guidelines democratically. They immediately ended the discriminatory curfews and greatly liberalized the visitation policies. Toward the end of the decade, moreover, the first co-educational residence opened for upper-class undergraduates and graduate students, in which men and women lived on alternate floors. By that time, students were finding ways of obtaining contraception and premarital sex was losing its stigma. For most of the turbulent years of the 1960s, though, dormitory life forced hundreds of UC women to face the daily reality of sexual discrimination, an experience that prompted some to fight for the rights their male peers already enjoyed. Most upper-division women students, though, simply moved out of campus housing. As we've seen in earlier essays, there had always been more women than men living at home and commuting to campus, but in the sixties more women lived independently in the Berkeley community.

The struggle for gender equality in the dorms hastened several other important changes. It increased women's awareness of sexual inequality and allowed for the articulation of an important new principle: that sexual autonomy was an essential component of women's empowerment. Later in this essay, we'll take a closer look at other routes through which that insight spread on campus post-FSM. The slow collapse of

the special rules for women's residences demolished the last vestiges of official sexual segregation in UC's administrative structure. With the ending of the parietal and curfew rules, the separate Dean of Women's positions and the AWS lost their rationale; thus, several institutions originally put in place to raise the status and improve the living conditions of women students fell into obsolescence as the decade went on. The student body became more sexually integrated, and many male and female extracurricular activities also began to merge; even the notoriously rowdy masculine preserve of the men's football rooting section was penetrated by women in the mid-1960s.

That shift intensified what was already a strong feeling of generational identity and peer-group solidarity among the students: women and men were henceforth to be considered equally competent to manage their own private lives. While consolidating the generational group, though, the shift ruptured lines of continuity that had linked generations of women. Perhaps every generation imagines itself to be revolutionary, but sixties women truly were unique in this one regard: they publicly and collectively sought sexual self-determination. No matter what their personal, individual choices were, they refused as a group to remain subject to separate norms. Although there had always been women who broke the rules, no previous generation had made it a matter of explicit principle that separate regulations would not be tolerated. Because that aim seemed to repudiate many of the standards of behavior on which their mothers and grandmothers had prided themselves, generational tension between women increased. In her oral histories, for example, Dean Ruth Donnelly uses tactful language when judging the conduct of sixties women, but her disapproval is nonetheless palpable. The turmoil in the dorms was just one manifestation of that pivotal change in women's lives, which often seems too private to make it into the history books. For women's history, though, it's hard to overestimate the transformative significance of this turning point.

Berkeley's "Second Culture", Civil Rights, and Gender

In the first half of the sixties, the university administration seemed unwilling to acknowledge that its student body was changing, even though many of the changes were caused by the university itself: students were more independent of campus culture. Exodus from the dorms was only on cause; another was the California Master Plan for Higher Education, which was signed into law in 1960 and called for an expansion of all three tiers of public post-secondary education: four-year Community Colleges, which were to be open to any high-school graduate; the State Universities, which would accept those in the top third of their classes; and University of California campuses, which drew from the top 12½%. Although it created a pyramidal structure, transfers between the tiers were to be facilitated; a student could move from a community or state college to a UC campus without losing credits. Since Berkeley's enrollment was capped at 27,500 and its graduate population was rapidly increasing, the plan had the effect of decreasing the proportion of lower-division students.

The overall student population was thus getting older and more sophisticated; undergraduates came to Berkeley after one or two years of college elsewhere, and they viewed themselves as adults. Apartment dwellers were the majority in the sixties, so to understand the history of UC in those years, we need to get a sense of the larger context they inhabited, which historian Verne Stadtman has called "Berkeley's second culture". "Its members", he explains, "attended classes on the campus and used its facilities for study and recreation. But they were beyond the reach of campus tradition and student government" (p.430). They were alienated, he admits, "but alienated by choice." Above all, they "resented the invasion of their private lives by University authorities" (Stadtman, 430). The university administration nevertheless clung to its *in loco parentis* policies and increased the students' antipathy by forbidding the use of the campus for political advocacy.

The culture in which most of the students lived, though, was being rapidly politicized. In the early 1960s, Berkeley went through a dramatic transformation into a left-liberal polity; the City Council had a majority of liberal democrats for the first time in decades, partly owing to the racial diversification of the postwar period. They soon embarked on initiatives to outlaw housing discrimination and integrate the public schools. Both changes prompted opposition, so the city experienced a local struggle over civil rights, which attracted student interest and participation (Wollenberg, 126-34). Student and community activism almost completely merged in 1963-4, during an even bolder, multi-city campaign to force Bay Area businesses to hire black people. That campaign was launched by a coalition of community and student groups, and it differed from the earlier civil rights protests by introducing the tactic of nonviolent civil disobedience, borrowed from Southern Black students.

The coalition, called the Ad Hoc Committee to End Racial Discrimination, was typical of Berkeley's second culture, and its charismatic leader was a recent Berkeley High School graduate named Tracy Sims. She had joined the W.E.B. DuBois Club as a teen-ager. Although Sims was not a UC Berkeley student (she started at SF State like many black high-school graduates), her energy and eloquence put her at the forefront of the Bay Area's aggregated student movement in the spring of 1964, a time when various campus, religious, and community groups had joined forces. Sims became the spokesperson for the large regional coalition, which set up picket-lines around the Sheraton-Palace Hotel to protest the discriminatory employment practices of the hotel industry. The protests culminated in a mass demonstration and sit-in, where approximately 1,500 people (mainly college students) occupied the lobby and 167 were arrested. As a result of the sit-in, Sims and her team were able to negotiate a pact with the hotel-owners association, which agreed to hire Black people in higher paying jobs with greater visibility.

4 Tracy Sims, with SLATE leader Mike Meyerson, announcing the agreement between the Hotel Owners' Association and the Ad Hoc

Later that spring, the coalition used the same tactics to win a negotiated deal for more Black employees at the auto dealerships. At the age of nineteen, Sims had become the main spokesperson for the largest and most successful civil rights campaigns in Bay Area history. For those opposed to the protests, her age and sex became a sign of the movement's illegitimacy; one *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist asked how "responsible Negro leaders" could "allow themselves to be represented by an eighteen-year-old girl in the full flush of adolescent arrogance" (quoted in Freeman, 78). But for the many young women she inspired to join the movement, including numerous Cal undergraduates like the writer of this essay, Sims embodied its youthful vitality and openness to female leadership. She heralded change in both the racial and gender hierarchies.

Part II: Gender in the FSM

The Free Speech Movement, which began and ended in the fall of '64, grew out of the springtime civil rights protests (Freeman, 1997, *passim*). Many of the FSM's

participants fought their first skirmishes for social change at those demonstrations, committed their first acts of nonviolent civil disobedience there, and won their first political battles through those tactics. They had gained a strong sense of their own power and responsibility for making social change. Moreover, some of those protestors (most famously, Mario Savio) had been so deeply impressed by their experiences that they answered the national call of the organizers of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to undertake the far more dangerous work of Black voter registration attempts in Mississippi, where they had gained a visceral knowledge of how important it was to end racial injustice throughout the country. So when the university administration suddenly barred political advocacy by students on the strip of land at the intersection of Bancroft and Telegraph, a free speech zone used by students of all political stripes, the shock reverberated throughout the student body but was most strongly resented by the civil rights activists, who were renewing the spring's momentum. Moreover, they were the students best prepared to put into practice the lessons learned in the previous six months.

There were, nevertheless, differences among the students about applying those lessons, and this section will look at the women leaders of the FSM, asking how they differed from the men as the free-speech battle unfolded. We'll examine the gendered division of labor in the FSM leadership as well as the women's individual contributions. And we'll reflect on why they've tended to be obscured and get a new angle on the FSM by using their experience as the window.

The night after learning that they had lost their free-speech zone, representatives from all of the campus's student organizations met and formed a united front, choosing Jackie Goldberg to be their primary spokesperson. Goldberg (who would later serve as a California State Assemblywoman as well as member of the L.A. School Board and City Council) was a senior, active throughout her college career in SLATE and Women for Peace; and she was a veteran of the spring civil-rights demonstrations. The administration had consulted no student organizations when it issued its ban, not even the ASUC. The newly appointed Dean of Students, Katherine Towle, merely sent each group a letter announcing the *fait accompli*. The leaders of organizations across the political spectrum thus felt betrayed and humiliated, and thus they came together for the first time. As Goldberg explained decades later, "Groups that would shout at each other from card tables at Bancroft and Telegraph were suddenly potential allies. Only the University administration could have accomplished that" Goldberg, J. 2002, 107). After a debate lasting for hours, Goldberg stepped into the leadership partly because, although on the left, she had a reputation for being able to build consensus. It didn't hurt that she belonged to a sorority, albeit one of the few that allowed Jewish members (Goldberg, J., 2002, 107-8).

Goldberg had many advantages as a leader in the earliest phase of the crisis. She'd completed three years at Berkeley, knew the students in the other organizations, and had a firm base of support. Moreover, she knew and was known by people in the administration. Just the year before, she and Dean Towle had crafted a successful strategy for convincing the sororities to sign a pledge promising not to discriminate on racial or religious grounds. She was able to reach the dean by telephone on the afternoon of the announcement, learning that Towle was personally opposed to the ban but had been outvoted and believed the decision was irreversible. Over the next few weeks under Goldberg's leadership, the students sent a petition to the administration, which was ignored, and then took increasingly defiant and confrontational actions, setting up tables deeper into campus territory, collecting hundreds of names on further petitions, and arriving at deans' offices with large delegations of students demanding free speech, but the administration remained obstinate (Cohen, 84-5). Goldberg, soon accompanied by Savio and others, continued to parley with Towle, but the dean produced only a weak concession: putting the tables back but still not allowing political advocacy (Cohen, 106-7). Rejecting the offer, the student leaders decided they should only speak to the highest administration officials, Chancellor Strong and President Kerr (Cohen, 109-10).

5 Jackie Goldberg addresses the crowd in Sproul Plaza, photo Ron Enfield

As the rallies and public displays of defiance progressed, Savio's extraordinary talents as an orator emerged, and he became the de facto spokesperson and charismatic leader of the movement, eclipsing Goldberg. Thus, by October 1, when the administration committed the outrage of calling the police to arrest Jack Weinberg, leader of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) chapter, for setting up a table in front of Sproul Hall, the center of power inside the FSM seems to have been already shifting away from Goldberg. It continued to shift as the administration kept blundering; calling the police onto campus undercut the administration's claim to be protecting the university from outside interference and handed the more militant members of the FSM, who had the greatest contempt for the administration, a public relations victory. The spontaneous sit-in of over a thousand students, forming around the police car and keeping it immobile for two days, was a turning point for the movement. The roof of the car was the platform from which the students exercised their first-amendment rights and articulated their demands. Savio served as the master of ceremonies, and the central aim of the movement

became the abolition of all special UC regulations on political speech and activity, rather than just the restoration of the *status quo ante*.

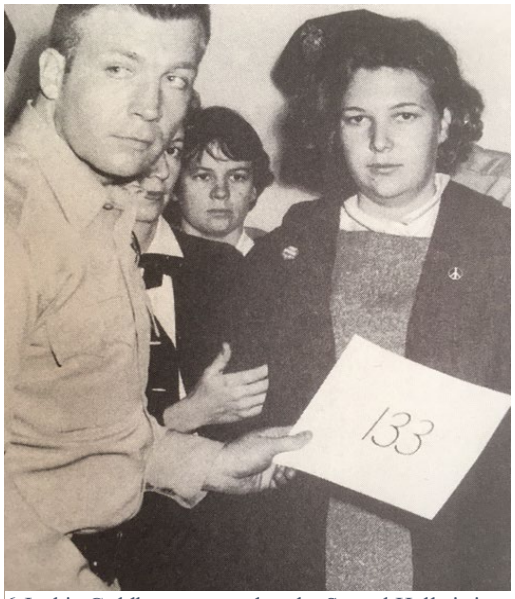
In many ways, Jackie Goldberg's ideas and tactics evolved along with those of the majority. For example, several hours into that action, she and Savio took a large contingent—around 500 students—into Sproul Hall. When Goldberg made her way to Towle's office, and the police threatened to arrest her, she declared that if she couldn't get into the Dean's office, then no one would be allowed to get out. The students following her promptly sat down; it was thus under Goldberg's leadership that the first Sproul Hall sit-in took place. The stalemate over the dean's office was broken that evening when a group of faculty members promised to press Clark Kerr to negotiate; in exchange the students left the building and returned to the sit-in surrounding the police car, which continued through the night, the next day, and into the night of October 2, when hundreds of policemen assembled on campus in a threatening show of force (Cohen, 106-7).

Thus, while the student negotiators from the united front were negotiating with Kerr, there was real danger of violence against the demonstrators, which evoked very different responses from the two leaders. It made Goldberg anxious to reach a deal; a polite negotiator, she took a more conciliatory tone in the talks with the UC president than did Savio, who later described himself as belligerent (Cohen, 1994, 112). Kerr widened the gap between the two leaders by talking mainly to Goldberg and calling her by her first name; she was, after all, still the official spokesperson. Savio, on the other hand, contemptuously issued demands and at first would brook no compromise, even though the university's position had obviously softened since the day before, when they refused to negotiate. Largely through Goldberg's efforts, a pact was finally reached to end the immediate crisis: the university would try to deed the free speech zone to the city, the other issues in dispute would be referred to university committees, allowing the continuation of negotiations, and no charges would be brought against Weinstein. In return, the students would peacefully disperse, and the police would leave campus. Although Savio helped disperse the students later that night, he always privately believed that the "Pact of October 2nd" was a sell-out, for which he blamed Jackie Goldberg.

The pact did, however, bring the students time to reorganize, recruit, and officially turn themselves into the Free Speech Movement; the reorganization, however, gave Savio the opportunity to "purge" Goldberg (Goldberg, J., 2002, 109). The new organization kept the united front in the form of a large executive committee, but it concentrated the leadership in a much smaller executive committee of nine people. When it came time to select that group, Savio argued vehemently against Goldberg on the grounds that she had been too conciliatory as a negotiator. Although not immediately dropped, she found herself consigned to the second tier of leadership within weeks. She stayed active on the

Executive Committee and later described the hard work involved: “We were able to write, publish, and distribute ten to twenty thousand leaflets within hours. We communicated regularly with the press, with other campuses, with elected officials, and with an enormous Berkeley campus. We fed people at mass rallies and at long meetings. We were able to speak to living groups, apartment dwellers, and commuters at a variety of venues” (Goldberg, J., 2002, 109). At the final, climactic crisis of the movement in early December, after negotiations had broken down and the university had made further blunders, she was one of those arrested in the second occupation of Sproul Hall. But she was no longer in the inner circle or on the negotiating team.

Jackie Goldberg’s sidelining was emblematic of the shift away from UC’s old-guard student leadership and toward the new-left activists. The old guard, based in the campus culture of approved living groups and sometimes cozy with the administration, was viewed with suspicion by the new-left leaders, who were based in Berkeley’s “second culture” and connected with community activists (Cohen, 1994, 124-6; Stadtman, 430-31). Before the FSM, the distinction was evident even inside leftwing student organizations like SLATE, where it also seemed aligned with a gender divide. According to Goldberg, more militant SLATE members routinely used “the old apartment dwellers tactic” of dragging out debate over particularly controversial proposals “until the women in the dorms and other living groups had to go home for curfew” before votes were taken (Goldberg, 106). SLATE women living inside the paternalistic university rules were assumed to be moderates who would vote against radical motions, and their more militant peers used the university regulations to marginalize them. To be sure, not all apartment dwellers were male just as not all SLATE moderates were women, but the stereotypes of the hardline radical man and the flexible moderate female informed the way the students perceived each other. Thus, the gendered assumption that had given Goldberg the leadership in the first place (that she wouldn’t be too militant because she lived inside the campus women’s culture) probably also stoked Savio’s distrust.



6 Jackie Goldberg arrested at the Sproul Hall sit-in

Robert Cohen, Savio's biographer, describes the episode's consequences for women in the movement: "While not explicitly sexist, the displacing of Goldberg by Savio . . . was a setback for gender equity." The movement, he explains, had other prominent women in its leadership, but it was undoubtedly "male-dominated—so much so that . . . women had difficulty making themselves heard in FSM Executive Committee Meetings" (Cohen, 1994, 448, N.17). Suzanne Goldberg (no relation to Jackie), the first graduate-student delegate to the FSM and a member of the Steering Committee (who would later become Savio's wife), recalled "Frequently I would state a position in meetings that would be ignored, only to be restated later by Jack Weinberg or Mario. Then they would be taken seriously. Yes, sexism existed in the FSM" (Goldberg, S. 559). Even Bettina Aptheker, at the top of the FSM hierarchy, recalled that Savio often had to intervene on her behalf before she could get the floor at meetings (Cohen, 1994, 558).

In the next phase of the semester-long battle, when the leadership began negotiating with members of the administration and faculty as agreed in the Pact of October 2nd, the earlier gender pattern began to be repeated between Savio, who was impatient and rude, and the primary woman leader, now Bettina Aptheker, who was calm and polite. Kenneth Stampp, a professor of History, described the contrast: "Savio was always sitting on the edge of his chair . . . ready to jump up and leave if things didn't go his way," though "he never did go actually" Aptheker "got along best with the committee" and even "sort of apologized for Savio's behavior" (quoted in Cohen, 1994, 140-141). Stampp attributed the difference to Aptheker's upbringing in an old-left family, where she'd been taught political discipline. The daughter of a well-known Communist Party leader, she was certainly used to the political hotseat, and her family's old-left brand was at that point dedicated to coalition politics and taking the long view of social progress. Savio, on the other hand, was a newcomer to politics, and (again quoting Stampp) an "undisciplined free spirit" (Cohen, 1994, 141).

7 Suzanne Goldberg, Bettina Aptheker, and Mario Savio in discussions with the Committee on Campus Political Activity

The contrast no doubt partly stemmed from the difference between old-left training and new-left spontaneity, but it's also highly probable that Aptheker and Goldberg played the conciliatory roles in the negotiations because they'd been raised female and had been expected to develop emotional understanding and tamp down personal confrontations. Moreover, Aptheker's politics had no angry edge of generational rebellion; her activism was instead a family inheritance. The women's political roles were thus in some ways stereotypically female, but they were nonetheless effective; they made negotiations possible, which then allowed the FSM to elaborate and articulate its position. If Jackie Goldberg's accomplishments went unappreciated because she was suspected of trying to make a dishonorable peace, Aptheker's influence has also often been undervalued, partly because the progress made in the negotiations was not enough to settle the dispute. The administration's position did soften during the talks, and it made a proposal that seemed promising to some observers: the students would be allowed to advocate on campus as long as they did not promote illegal activities (i.e., civil disobedience). That limitation was unacceptable to the FSM's leadership, but the administration had retreated a step from its original ban on all political advocacy by the time the negotiations broke down.

When the committee disbanded, Aptheker cautioned the FSM steering committee not to resume direct action immediately, explaining that they shouldn't appear to be acting without sufficient proximate cause. She proved right when an attempted sit-in failed because the momentum had flagged. After the aborted sit-in, she again advised that they wait and watch for some new blunder by the administration, which she thought might come soon and serve as a justification for more demonstrations. Within a week she was proved right again when the deans attempted to submit four students, including Jackie Goldberg and Mario Savio, to new disciplinary action. The arbitrariness and spitefulness of the punishment brought the FSM hundreds of new adherents, attracted many faculty members to their side, and drew a crowd of six thousand to a Sproul Plaza rally on December 2, which ended in the arrest of hundreds. It was one of the largest acts of civil disobedience in American history and made national headlines; the vindictive

roughness of the police was especially noted in the press. Even Aptheker couldn't have imagined how well her strategy would work.

To top it all off, a week later, when President Kerr suspended classes and held a massive meeting in the Greek Theater to address the crisis, it was Aptheker who heightened the appeal of Savio's dramatic attempt to speak to the crowd. He had suggested leaping up onto the platform at the end of the meeting (with a supporter to run interference) and grabbing the microphone, but Aptheker explained that such a sudden action would look so aggressive that it might lose them the sympathy they'd been gaining. She suggested he walk slowly and peacefully toward the platform and let his supporters in the crowd call for him to take the podium, which he did. But before he could speak, two policemen attacked and dragged him away. Fifteen thousand people watched the unprovoked assault on a man peacefully approaching the microphone while reporters from all over the country snapped photos. No more graphic enactment of the suppression of free speech could have been devised. The crowd reacted with loud boos, chants, and a furious rush of students onto the stage. Kerr, who was too shocked even to begin taming the chaos, retreated. Ten thousand people then marched to Sproul Plaza to hold yet another rally (Cohen, 1994, 212-13). The performance was Savio's but the choreography was Aptheker's.


8 Savio's arrest at the Greek Theatre

In the wake of those events, the Academic Senate met and voted 824-115 that "the content of speech or advocacy should not be restricted by the University" (quoted in Cohen, 1994, 215). The vote was such a decisive faculty endorsement of the FSM's position that the administration could no longer oppose it, and UC Berkeley became a campus where political speech in public spaces was regulated only by the first amendment of the US Constitution. As Robert Cohen notes in a recent essay posted on this website, the numerous key roles played by women in the FSM have not been fully understood and appreciated partly because writers prefer to tell the story from the standpoint of the heroic protagonist, Savio (Cohen, 2021). Cohen's article is a concise guide to the most visible women FSM leaders. It helps us not only to understand Berkeley women's history but also to see the gendered dialectic inside the student movement that changed Berkeley fundamentally. The success of the semester-long campaign—especially the sympathy it eventually won from the faculty—relied on patient negotiations and open dialogue as well as confrontations and mass mobilizations.

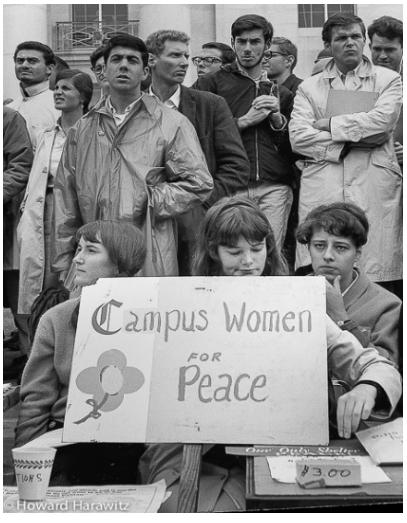
Part III: After the FSM

After the success of the FSM, students by no means let up on their criticism of the university and their demands for change. The university had not, after all, entirely given up its restrictions on the behavior students, especially women students, and new campaigns were yet to be mounted on that issue. After the FSM, activist students' views of the university became even more censorious than they had been before, the problems they saw were more various, and the solutions they proposed ran the gamut from the relatively attainable to the impossible. This section will trace the trajectories of three kinds of student activism, with special relevance to women, that dominated the second half of the sixties.

Gender in the Anti-War Movement

Women had been leaders in the peace and disarmament movements during the early sixties. Women's Strike for Peace, the largest national women's peace organization, held marches, fielded political candidates, and lobbied incessantly for the nuclear test-ban treaty that was finally passed in 1963. Campus Women for Peace was affiliated with the national organization, and its most prominent member, Jackie Goldberg, was a leader in the FSM. The threatened war that mobilized women's organizations in the early sixties, though, was a future nuclear conflagration that might annihilate everyone on the planet. It didn't seem to menace men more than women; in fact, its indiscriminate carnage put nuclear war at the apex of murderousness against civilians. It would massacre men, women, and children indifferently, doing away with the distinctions between warriors and civilians, fighting front and home front. It's little wonder, then, that so many women joined the cause of nuclear disarmament, which accorded with their traditional roles as peacemakers and protectors of their families' futures.

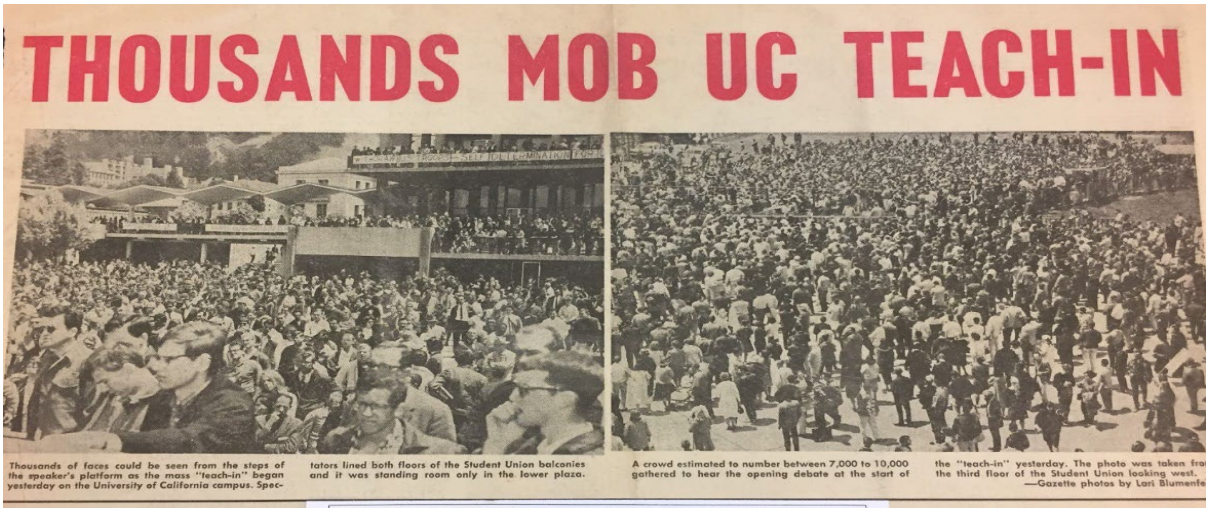
But as the campus peace movement transformed into the anti-Vietnam war movement, its gender markings changed. The issue of how best to protect American civilians was sidelined as activists confronted the realities of a present-tense war, with a growing daily toll of casualties among American men and Vietnamese civilians. Young men, both soldiers and draftees, were the most centrally concerned Americans, and perhaps inevitably the movement came to revolve around them. To be sure, the older women's peace organizations did not disappear; indeed, they were often highly effective. A former draftee recalled being set upon by a crowd of middle-aged women at the Oakland induction center in 1968: "One woman with her dead son's picture around her neck grabbed my ankles as I went up the steps and begged me not to give my life for the evil war. 'Go to Canada,' she urged. . . The five minutes or so



in that crowd seemed like a lifetime. More thought was prompted in my young mind than ever before" (May).

9 Campus Women for Peace were active in the FSM

The mothers of soldiers and draft-aged men adjusted and found new rhetorical footholds in the movement, but college-aged women found it harder do define a role. The first mammoth anti-Vietnam war event at Berkeley—a marathon teach-in—was held on May 21-22, 1965, toward the end of the academic year that had started with the FSM. It took place outdoors and lasted an entire week-end, featured dozens of entertainers and speakers, and attracted audiences of up to 15 thousand. The coalition of student and ad-hoc faculty organizations that organized it had asked for a large chunk of campus property—the site of the future lower Sproul Plaza, then a softball field—for the weekend-long event, and the university easily granted permission (Rorabaugh, 91-2). Thus, the difference made by the FSM in creating an open campus was vividly demonstrated.



THOUSANDS MOB UC TEACH-IN

Thousands of faces could be seen from the steps of the speaker's platform as the mass "teach-in" began yesterday on the University of California campus. Spectators lined both floors of the Student Union balconies and it was standing room only in the lower plaza.

A crowd estimated to number between 7,000 to 10,000 gathered to hear the opening debate at the start of the "teach-in" yesterday. The photo was taken from the third floor of the Student Union looking west. —Gazette photos by Lori Blumenfe

However, there were no women among the forty speakers at the Viet Nam Day Teach-In, and neither the women of the FSM nor those of the earlier peace movement seem to have been leaders in the planning (Aptheker, 180). Jackie Goldberg recalled the rapt attention of the thousands of undergraduates in attendance, and she mentions having been a "marshal", but she doesn't indicate that she played a major role in the organizing (Goldberg, J., 1999). Nor did women become prominent after the teach-in. Although present in large numbers at all anti-war demonstrations and meetings, they didn't establish themselves as leaders. One reason for their low profile might have been the tactics of the male leadership that came to be dominant for a few years in Berkeley. The Vietnam Day Committee, founded during the teach-in by Jerry Rubin (recently arrived from New York) and mathematics professor Stephen Smale, organized off-campus demonstrations and civil disobedience to disrupt the war effort: attempting to stop troop

trains and obstructing the entrance to the Oakland induction center. As the war escalated, their activities became riskier and more provocative in attempts to attract as much press coverage as possible, and some women objected to their departures from the nonviolent standards of earlier movements. Bettina Aptheker, for example, recalled a 1966 episode in which the VDC leaders had refused to ask the Berkeley police for a street demonstration permit, even though their past requests had been routinely granted, purposely inviting police violence. The police came down heavily on a Berkeley high school student:

> Thin, red-haired, and freckled, he was bleeding profusely from a head wound. We carried him into a nearby bookstore. Someone called an ambulance. . .. This experience moved me greatly. I knew the violence was unnecessary. Both weary and wary of Jerry Rubin's tactics to provide the media with an "event", I drifted away from the campus antiwar protests. Instead, I put my energies into building the national mobilizations against the war" (Aptheker, 193).

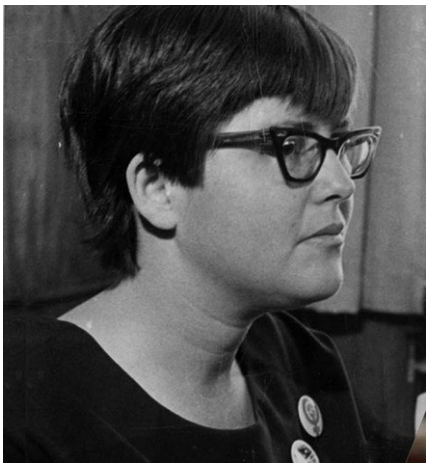
Aptheker went on to help found the national Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which successfully coordinated annual student strikes against the war.

The participation of women was also played down by the local newspapers and most local authorities. The press sought sensational confrontations, and conservative politicians, especially in Oakland, were eager to depict anti-war activists as riotous draft-dodgers, so they focused on the most militant men and ignored women activists. On one occasion, even campus authorities fell into the pattern. In October of 1966, when the VDC protested the war effort on campus by surrounding a navy recruiting table with an impromptu sit-in, the administration asked the police to arrest just six well-known activists, all male and mostly not students. Karen Lieberman Wald, a leader of the Students for a Democratic Society who had been among the action's planners, shouted at the departing police, "You ****ing male supremacists, arrest me, too! (Rorabaugh, 109). The outburst expresses the frustration many women probably felt in being considered too insignificant for detention.

Historian W. J. Rorabaugh notes that the macho self-presentation of the militant anti-war activists might also have arisen from their need to counter the accusation of cowardice attached to their refusal of military service. As their tactics became increasingly confrontational and they battled the police more frequently, however, they lost UC student followers of both sexes; by the fall of 1967, when a week-long succession of sit-ins to stop the draft at the Oakland induction center ended in a riot, there were only 15 Cal students among the 317 arrested (Rorabugh, 117-118). For different reasons, the more moderate campus anti-war protestors also focused on male students, especially when changes to the draft law threatened many with the loss of their student

deferments. In the spring of 1968, a new group called Campus Draft Opposition held a "Vietnam Commencement" ceremony in lower Sproul Plaza, where 866 graduating seniors, one third of the men in the class, pledged not to allow themselves to be drafted into the war. A crowd of some 8,000 spectators attended, so the all-male ceremony was the largest anti-war event on campus since the 1965 teach-in.

A convergence of various circumstances thus gendered the anti-war movement male, and many women who were active in the cause were relegated to subordinate status. As historians have noted, women who experienced such marginalization eventually felt the need to form organizations that would focus specifically on the problems they faced. Alumna and FSM veteran Jo Freeman, for example, organized a women's caucus at the 1967 National Conference for a New Politics (held in Chicago), the group that launched the California Peace and Freedom Party. When the caucus members attempted to present their ideas on the last day of the conference, though, they were prevented by the chairman, who exclaimed, "We have more important issues to talk about here than women's problems!" Freeman responded by founding the first feminist newsletter of the sixties, *Voice of the Women's Liberation Movement* (Hall, 58-62). In 1967-68, according to Freeman, clusters of women who were active in New Left causes began forming women's liberation groups in reaction to the sexism of their male peers (Freeman, 1973, 801-2).



10 Jo Freeman

Sexual Liberation After the FSM

It's often said that the FSM ended the in loco parentis rationale for the university's regulation of student political behavior. However, when it came to other arguably parental functions—providing health services, counseling, and advising—the students in the late sixties asked for more, not less, university involvement. Even the majority lived off campus, they pressed the administration to increase the resources that went into undergraduate services. Post-FSM students seemed to want slightly incompatible things: that the university 1) stop interfering in their lives, and 2) start helping to solve more of their problems. In some cases, like academic counseling and advising, the university easily agreed to augment its efforts; in others, though, it resisted student demands, and those became new areas of student activism.

Both sides of the new student activism are apparent in a campaign for sexual liberation that began shortly after the FSM and ran parallel to the efforts to end women's dormitory restrictions. The issue of student sexuality was an obvious subtext in the dormitory agitations, but it was discreetly blended into the general call for personal autonomy. Emboldened by the FSM's success, though, a far more explicit campaign for sexual liberation, often overlooked by historians of the period, began with the founding of the Campus Sexual Freedom Forum in 1965. It lasted only a few years, but the CSFF was the first campus organization anywhere to formulate the principle that the university should make all forms of contraception, including the Pill, available to its students. As historian Kelly Morrow has shown, they were the first of the country's "'sexual liberation activists' who offered students a new framework for understanding their sexual and emotional relationships grounded in the principle of equality" (Morrow, iii). Their ideas were later taken up by coalitions of students and physicians at universities across the country. Berkeley's Sexual Freedom Forum thus took an initial step toward a demand that would become central to the women's movement: the concept of reproductive rights.

The CSFF's most general purposes were to break the taboo on discussing sex in public and to educate students on all aspects of sexuality. It sponsored panels and set up a table for the distribution of information "to help combat the widespread ignorance on homosexuality, VD and its prevention, abortion, birth control, sex laws, etc., caused by cultural taboos [on] these subjects, and to give people the information to make intelligent decisions" (quoted in Morrow, 85).

11 Photo of Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin

It invited openly gay and lesbian activists to speak on campus, including Berkeley alumnae Del Martin ('43) and Phyllis Lyon ('46), who decades later became the first same-sex couple to marry legally in California. When CSSF invited them to speak on campus, they were the leaders of the Bay Area's first lesbian organization, Daughters of Bilitis (Gordon).

Although the CSFF was by no means an exclusively women's group, one of its most active members, Holly Tannen, maintained that sexual education and liberation were especially crucial for the emancipation of women:

> We were working to build a society in which individuals would feel free to engage in open, honest relationships with each other. More inhibiting than outside pressure is the inside pressure: feelings of guilt and shame; an

> internalized double standard whereby any woman who'll have sex with you is a whore, therefore an object, thus not worthy of respect as a human being (Tannen, quoted in Morrow, 86).

Tannen argued that sexual suppression caused feelings of shame and dehumanization that spawned a culture of "pornography and topless night clubs" ("Students: The Free-Sex Movement"), and the organization supported the campaign for the revocation of the special restrictions in women students' dorms. One pamphlet, "The Second-Class Sex", accused the administration of consigning women to "second-class status" through curfews and sign-out rules. The university, it claimed, treated "women as children because of their sex" and thereby violated their civil rights (quoted in Morrow, 93). The CSFF pamphlet combined FSM and Civil Rights Movement rhetoric, applying both to the cause of women's right to equal treatment.

In an even more important breakthrough, they campaigned for the student health service to make birth control available. They first broached the issue by sending out a questionnaire to universities across the country asking about their policies regarding contraception. The questionnaire misleadingly implied that Berkeley was about to make some innovation in that regard, and the press picked up the rumor. The administration, finding itself slipping into a new scandal, immediately issued public denials and disciplined the student who had sent out the questionnaire. But the incident nevertheless raised questions about the health service's complete refusal to provide any medical treatment, counseling, or even information on sexual and reproductive issues.

The administration held a private discussion among the student-services directors on the reasons for such a total embargo. According to historian Kelly Morrow, some of the directors thought student services should at least provide birth-control information, but the head of student health, Dr. Henry Bruym, maintained that "good medical practice" required them to refuse all "premarital" advising, exams, or contraceptive prescriptions. He insisted that such issues should be handled exclusively by "the doctor who will be caring for the family, thus providing a continuity of medical care" (quoted in Morrow, 75). Bruym had argued the previous year in a Daily Cal interview that undergraduate women would probably not use contraceptives even if they had them: "In the back of her mind, the girl usually thinks 'if I get caught we can get married and everything will be all right'" (Cramer). The doctor's assumption—that sexually active "girls" were really aiming to get married quickly and form a family—was not only insulting but also remarkably anachronistic in the mid-sixties. It indicates how great the cultural gap had grown between women students and those the university paid to care for them.

In 1966, the CSFF agitated the issue of birth control more purposely, this time giving the student body an opportunity to clearly state that they wanted the student health service to enter the modern age and help make their sex lives safer. CSFF mounted a referendum on the issue, and the student body voted overwhelmingly in favor of a proposal that the university provide at low cost "prescriptions and devices for the purpose of birth control to women students who are 18 years of age or older, or married". The referendum also instructed "the health service to establish an open policy that sex and contraceptive information, advice and referral service be given any student who requests it" (quoted in Morrow, 90). The students thus clarified that they wanted more than just the abolition of outdated rules; they wanted the university to take action that signaled its willingness accommodate their values and needs.

The proposal went unmet by the university until the following decade when, as Morrow notes, "legislation, court cases, and college curricula across the United States had begun to align with many of sexual liberation activists' beliefs and programs" (Morrow, 250). The CSFF, which dissolved soon after 1966, failed to build momentum on the issue after the referendum at Berkeley. Holly Tannen (who later received a graduate degree in Folklore and became a traditional ballad singer and songwriter) indicated that the group may have begun to lose its appeal to some women students when it held parties where, she complained, "all the old degrading games go on" (quoted in Morrow, 97).

Later in the decade, it would become even clearer that sexual liberation was a necessary but by no means a sufficient condition for women's liberation. Ironically, the rapid changes in sexual mores, which originally held the promise of putting men and women on an equal footing, seemed merely to disinhibit some prominent men on the new left. Reports of their sexually demeaning and predatory behavior alienated many women activists, but they also spotlighted the issue of women's continuing inequality, which the movement had left obscure.

Even though a confused, distorted, and male-dominated version of "sexual freedom" appeared in the late sixties, the CSFF had nevertheless played an important progressive and feminist role in 1965-66. It had taken the sexual revolution at Berkeley far beyond its pre-FSM state, succeeding in publicizing the connections among women's control over their reproductive lives, gender equality, and sexual liberation. It had also used the combined force of those objectives to expose the university's failure to recognize and remedy women students' problems, and it would serve as a model for the reform of other campus's health services.

Educational Democracy after the FSM

FSM's leaders routinely complained about the impersonality and "irrelevance" of Berkeley's undergraduate education and promised that if they were successful they would go on to create a more democratic academic culture, in which students would have more of a say in designing courses and majors.

In the wake of the FSM, numerous student-led educational efforts were launched to compensate for gaps in the curriculum: the massive Vietnam teach-in and the CSFF's birth control information campaign are examples of such student-controlled educational projects. Another example, which signaled a growing feminist awareness among students, was the founding of the Women's History Research Center in 1968 by Social Sciences major Laura Murra ('71), who used the name Laura X. She was motivated to collect and microfilm material documenting the contemporary women's movement by hearing a Berkeley history professor express doubt that there was enough historical material on women to fill a one-term course. To guarantee that the current movement would not lack an archive and encourage women's historiography—dubbed herstory—the WHRC collected periodicals, newspaper and magazines stories, pamphlets, songs, leaflets, fiction, poetry, and graphics, in addition to research papers and theses. In the early seventies, they joined the national effort to launch women's studies courses by publishing directories of films, tape recordings, art works, course reading lists, and bibliographies ("Women's History Research Center").


12 Laura X in 1992

The university also began encouraging students to plan new courses: departments added undergraduates and graduate students to course committees, and the Academic Senate created "Student Initiated Courses", proposed by undergraduates, who recruited faculty to serve as official instructors. The courses were then submitted to a Senate committee to be approved for credit. Usually such

courses attracted little attention and proceeded smoothly, but in 1968 a course initiated by the Afro-American Students' Union became the source of a controversy that led, through a chain of events far too long and convoluted to be outlined here, to one of the most tumultuous episodes in campus history (Taylor, 257; Rorabaugh, 83-86). A coalition of students, united under the banner of the Third World Liberation Front, called a strike aimed at forcing the administration to set up a new college of ethnic studies departments, controlled by its students. Since those demands could not be met without the university abandoning its educational authority, the TWLF strike was unresolvable. And yet, after months of commotion, negotiations finally accomplished something important. When the dust settled in 1969, a new educational entity had been established: the Ethnic Studies Department, with programs in African American, Asian American, Chicano, and Native American Studies. The TWLF tested the limits of the principle of educational democracy, but it did not squelch the impulse. Ethnic Studies was the first but not the last department at Berkeley to owe its existence to student initiative, and it was the model for the various "Studies" programs and departments that followed, including Women's Studies.

Several women leaders emerged into the political scene during the TWLF strike. One was Vicci Wong, a cofounder of the national Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA), the group that originated and spread the term and concept of Asian American. Wong came to Berkeley from Salinas when she was 17, and was invited by graduate students to help create a new kind of political group, one that would forge a common identity for Asians of all kinds. That new identity provided the basis for her activity in the Third World Liberation Front in the following year 1969. As this photo from her archives shows, the students of the AAPA were spirited participants in the anti-war protests of the period. Vicci Wong remained an activist and became a writer and reporter in the Bay Area (Hossaini; "Mountain").

13 AAPA Members at an anti-war rally in SF, 1968 *Archive*

Betty Nobue Kano emigrated from Japan with her family at the age of 3 and arrived at Berkeley as a graduate student in Fine Arts in the mid-sixties. She participated in both the FSM and the TWLF, and later credited those experiences

with giving her a sense of social responsibility and a readiness to organize others to change their lives. For example, in the eighties, when she attended a women artists' conference and saw only four Asians represented out of 800, she founded the Asian American Women Artists Association (AAWAA) to represent their interests. She became a well-known artist and art teacher at SF State, and continued to be an active community organizer in the Bay Area throughout her career ("Betty Nobue Kano"; "Mountain").


14 LaNada Means Boyer War Jack on Alcatraz

LaNada Boyer War Jack came to UC Berkeley in 1968, when Native American students were extremely rare. She had been raised on the Shoshone Bannock Tribes' reservation in Idaho before being relocated to San Francisco in 1965 by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In SF's Mission District, she encountered the pan-Indian movement and the organizations that helped her apply to Cal. Once at Berkeley, she recruited other Native American students to apply and, as they arrived, formed the Native American Student Organization (Terry). As the chair of that organization, she joined the TWLF strike and helped found the Native-American program inside Ethnic Studies. While still an undergraduate, in the fall of 1969, she became one of the organizers of the Native American Occupation of Alcatraz, an 18-month action that brought international attention to the plight of America's native communities and led to major changes in federal policy (Boyer; Winton). Her role at Alcatraz made her a national figure and a life-long spokeswoman for Native Americans. She finished her bachelor's degree after the occupation and went on to study law and Political Science (Boyer; Winton).

Conclusion

Undergraduate gender relations had certainly changed fundamentally by the end of the decade, and the university administration was still struggling to keep up with the pace of social transformation. Given its starting point at the beginning of the decade, we could say that it had made substantial progress by the end: the unequal treatment of men and women in university housing was gone, as were the last remnants of gender-segregation in the Dean of Students offices. Of course, without a Dean of Women was also no one in charge of the special needs or requests of women students, many of which went unmet. Reproductive health services were still lacking, and when the ASUC tried to establish cooperative day-

care centers for students with young children, the administration undercut the effort. Nevertheless, the very fact that the fact that the deans had gone from arguing over dinner dress to day-care facilities is an indication of progress.

The processes that would lead to the most dramatic changes in the status of women in all sectors of the campus community, though, had barely begun in the last years of the sixties, and they would not become a part of the institutional framework until the late 1970s. Those changes required the active campaigning of academic women, both graduate students and faculty. The next chapter outlines their revolt, which forced the demographic shifts of the late twentieth century.

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Chapter Twelve
1970s: Academic Women Reverse their Declining Fortunes

In 1969, women comprised a smaller share of the faculty (3.6%) than they had in 1929 (8.3%); as we explained in an earlier essay, they had been steadily losing ground since 1940. Then suddenly, at that low-point, they began a concerted effort to reverse the decline. A new organization called the Women's Faculty Group devised a plan that would bring about deep and lasting changes to the university as a whole, not just to faculty women. Beginning as an attempt to assess and improve the status of academic women, their efforts caused major reforms. UC altered its personnel policies in hiring and promoting faculty, research, and administrative staff; improvements were made in graduate-student selection, fellowship support, employment, and departmental cultures; and the relation between the university and the state and federal governments also changed. The Women's Faculty Group motivated the legal and procedural methods that would alter the faculty's gender proportions from 3.6% female in 1969 to 34.4% fifty years later. The consequences for the university's culture continue to ramify.

To be sure, faculty women were not the only people advocating gender change on campus. Graduate students were beginning to form women's caucuses, which worked to insure equitable admissions standards, fellowship, and teaching awards, while also lobbying for courses in which women's accomplishments, experiences, obstacles, and social roles would be examined. Their efforts would change the curriculum, put pressure on individual departments to hire more women faculty, create entirely new sub-fields in several disciplines, and stimulate interdisciplinary research and teaching. Several essays on our website document the activities of that younger generation of aspiring academic women.

The women's movement of the seventies, though, was comprised of more than one generation; nationally as well as locally, it was a partnership of established professionals and younger people, who had only recently graduated from college (Freeman, 796-8). This essay will concentrate on the older, established academics who worked to bring change both inside the institution's official channels and outside, through the proliferating networks of feminist organizations. They had arrived in academia under the old dispensation of routine sexual discrimination, so they understood how difficult it would be to extirpate. From our historical perch, it may look as though the change was inevitable. But they were at the bottom of a long decline when they determined to reverse it, the way up did not look easy, and they nevertheless built the steps that the rest of us climbed.

Phase I: Planning to Raise the Status of Academic Women

The Women's Faculty Group, which took its name from its meeting place in the Women's Faculty Club, included various kinds of academic women: researchers, lecturers, and even some advanced graduate students, as well as a few women among the professorial ranks. It was founded at the beginning of 1969, as the offshoot of a group that had been meeting since the spring of 1968. Two of its founding members—Statistician Elizabeth Scott and Law Professor Herma Hill Kay—were among those invited by the UC President's office to meet and discuss remedies for the nation's "urban crisis", a topic that President Charles Hitch had proposed as a university-wide research project after Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination and the ensuing civil unrest in the spring of 1968. The dozen women who met that summer were interested in tackling the problem of inequality through public education, and their discussion turned specifically to the educational handicaps of women and girls. The group had an impressively wide range of non-ladder-ranked researchers and lecturers in fields related to public policy: higher-education planning, bio-chemistry and medicine, and industrial relations. Their train of thought about educational reform soon encountered the question of why there were so few faculty women at Berkeley and such low numbers of women in the academic graduate programs. In order to answer those questions as well as to bring pressure on the university to increase women's participation, they formed a separate group, the Women's Faculty Group. The WFG thus began by investigating the problems of a disadvantaged racial minority and soon discovered that the group to which they belonged was also hindered by bias (Golbeck, 5-15).

Their trajectory was common in the late 1960s; women working on civil-rights issues noticed that they were seldom recognized as people who also suffered from discrimination. For example, the main national women's coalitions—the National Organization for Women and the Women's Equity Action League—had formed in 1966 and 67 to counter the refusal by federal officials to protect the employment rights of women under the Equal Employment Opportunity Plan (Freeman, 798-9). The national organizations would eventually become involved in the Berkeley effort, so a brief sketch of their emergence can help us to understand the local story. Many of the national leaders had been included in JFK's 1961 President's Commission on the Status of Women, which put out a report (*American Women*, 1963) showing how many rights and opportunities women still lacked; their report especially focused on legal and economic handicaps. However, even after discrimination in women's employment became an official civil rights issue, with the 1964 addition of the category "sex" to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, there was still reluctance on the part of most federal agencies to enforce the rules for women. In 1967, an additional Executive Order, 1375, was signed, which made federal contractors, including universities, more accountable to federal anti-bias rules than they had been previously. The Order specifically forbade "federal contractors"

from practicing bias (including sexual bias) in hiring, and it mandated that they "adopt and implement 'affirmative action programs' to promote attainment of equal employment objectives" (Kay and Green, 1063). One of the national women's organizations—Women's Equity Action League—began using the new Order in 1970 to file complaints with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare against numerous universities, few of which by that point had taken any affirmative action plans to insure gender equity in hiring. In 1971—a year after members of Berkeley's Women's Faculty Group had released a study of the campus's hiring record—WEAL filed a complaint against both the UC system as a whole and the California State University System.

In 1968, the women who would make up Berkeley's Women's Faculty Group could see that academic women were seldom hired in regular faculty positions, but they had no overview of the history of academic women's employment on campus. In an earlier essay we explained the causes of the steady shrinkage of the proportion of women on the faculty during the 1950s and 60s. While it was occurring, however, no one called attention to the decrease (Page-Medrich, 16-24). And the first mention of the systematic exclusion of women from the faculty seems to have been made in the context of the postwar academic labor shortage, rather than in any concern about discrimination. In 1958, the Letters & Sciences Dean asked departments whether, when facing recruiting problems, they might "consider hiring qualified women if no men were available" (Seaborg, 282). Bio-Chemistry and Zoology both indicated that they wouldn't, but even more revelatory is the phrasing of the question: not "will you hire well-qualified women?" but "if no men are available, would you consider hiring well qualified women?" The question assumed that men will, of course, be preferred over women, and that departments need not even consider women applicants if hirable men have applied. Bias against women wasn't hidden; it just so deeply ingrained that it went without saying. Nor was the very low percentage of women on the faculty entirely unknown. When in 1959 Professor Catherine Landreth, then in Home Economics, suggested to Chancellor Seaborg that "the role of women in the university" be systematically studied, because the issues "must be faced up to in the near future", nothing was done (Seaborg, 283). When in 1960, the Chancellor responded to a questionnaire on the "nation's intellectual force", he easily laid his hands on the statistical information: "Women on the Berkeley faculty. . .accounted for 3.4 percent of the professors, 6.1 percent of the associate professors, 5.5 percent of the assistant professors, and 5.4 percent of the instructors—for an overall total of 4.7 percent women" (Seaborg, 385). But the numbers didn't seem unusual or surprising enough to merit any comment.

Thus, when the Women's Faculty Group began examining the history of gender imbalances in academic training and employment, they were almost starting from scratch. Despite the enormity of the research task, though, they were from the outset committed to mobilizing for change in addition to discovering the roots of the problem. In the summer of 1968, when the women were still meeting to discuss the urban crisis, law professor Herma Hill Kay argued vehemently that they should transform themselves from a mere study group into a "pressure group" that could influence campus policy on women. The WFG was the incarnation of that idea. Kay also noted that the Academic Senate could be a vehicle to give their efforts official sanction and greater reach. Since she was serving at the time on the Academic Senate's Policy Committee, she volunteered to ask for the creation of a Senate subcommittee on the status of academic women. The strategy of action was thus two-pronged. Forming the WFG would give them the opportunity to invite more women into the organization, especially women in the professorial ranks, who could work within the Senate while also coordinating with other women's advocates (Golbeck, 11-12). Working within the Senate would give them campus-wide contacts and resources as well as the standing and procedural mechanisms to change policies and practices.

17 Herma Hill Kay

Herma Hill Kay would go on to become one of the nation's leading scholars on women's employment discrimination, co-authoring works with Ruth Bader Ginsburg on the topic, and she would remain at the forefront of campus anti-bias activism throughout her 50-year Berkeley career. At the beginning of 1969, she played the crucial role of overseeing the establishment of the Academic Senate's subcommittee to report on the status of academic women, thereby also creating a dual-organizational framework, comprised of a women's pressure group (the WFG) and a cadre of ladder faculty working within the Senate. The structure for action was thus her brainchild as well as her institutional invention. Kay recruited anthropologist Elizabeth Colson to chair the Senate subcommittee (Colson, 183), and the appointments of statistics professor Elizabeth Scott (the other full professor on the original urban-crisis panel) and psycholinguist Susan Ervin-Tripp (then in the Rhetoric Department) completed the female majority on the Senate subcommittee.

Phase II: Researching and Reporting the Status of Academic Women

Herma Hill Kay thus first conceived of the organizational structure for bringing major changes to the lives of women at Berkeley, and the team assembled at the nexus of

the institutional juncture she created had just the right combination of talents and dedication to actualize its potential. The key actors in the next phase of the campaign, which included the researching, writing, and release of the subcommittee's report, were its women members: Colson, Scott, and Ervin-Tripp. The subcommittee also included two men, Sociology Professor Herbert Blumer and Law Professor Frank Newman, but, as Chair Colson later reported, the men left the main work—the collection of data, its analysis, and the writing of the report—to the women, aided by a few advanced graduate students in Sociology (Colson, 184; Golbeck, 212-213). Two of the graduate students also make substantial contributions to the report: Lucy Sells, who had wide knowledge of research in the field because her thesis was on a similar topic, and Arlie Hochschild, who served on the board of the WFG (Golbeck, 212). True to the original plan, the subcommittee women continued to rely on the WFG's growing network of academic women for advice and information. The dual structure also insured that the three members on the Senate subcommittee would understand and represent the viewpoints of the vast majority of academic women on campus, who were not eligible for Senate membership.

The Women's Faculty Group began its work as the Policy Committee was making its appointments, and Statistics Professor Elizabeth Scott had already taken the lead in gathering data from all of the academic departments by the time the subcommittee convened in May (Golbeck, 214). Once the women were working under the auspices of the Academic Senate, though, their task became easier. The very fact that a Subcommittee on the Status of Academic Women had been appointed signaled that the routinely different treatment of female job candidates was becoming an officially recognized problem rather than a given. Announcing the appointment of the subcommittee—and using information already gleaned by the WFG—the Policy Committee was the first to state the obvious fact, in the spring of 1969, that women were under-represented in academic life: "It is surprising that so few women—only 15 at the present time—achieve the rank of full professor at Berkeley. A relatively small number of women are enrolled in graduate schools on this campus and elsewhere" (quoted in Golbeck, 213). The Academic Senate is the central organ of faculty governance, and since academic hiring and promotions are primarily controlled by the faculty at the departmental level, the Senate's initiation of an investigation into women's exclusion was a sign that it was willing to take responsibility for its own gender imbalance. Soon after the subcommittee started its work, moreover, it discovered another indication that the Senate was taking an independent interest in the problem: the Budget Committee (the Senate's top review body for faculty hiring and promotions) had already started a study of women's advancement through the professorial ranks, which was sent to new subcommittee (Golbeck, 215).

The Senate auspices no doubt also encouraged the university administration to help uncover information about the problem. Administrative offices in every corner of the campus shared their records and sometimes prepared reports for the subcommittee. And the Chancellor's office conducted its own survey on the topic in the summer of 1969, when Vice Chancellor William Bouwsma asked all deans, directors, and department chairs for their views on "the advantages and disadvantages of having women colleagues and their suggestions on how to improve the status of academic women" (quoted in Golbeck, 216). The carefully non-judgmental language ("advantages and disadvantages of having women colleagues") seems almost offensive now, but at the time it probably made its readers feel free to air the negative stereotypes that needed refuting. The memo also encouraged full disclosure of the reasons for relegating women to non-ladder-ranked jobs: "departments no doubt have their reasons. It is in the interests of the academic community that these should be made explicit so that they can be subject to examination and the test of research" (quoted Golbeck, 216). But the memo also made the university's interest in improving the lot of academic women clear, remarking that the small proportion of women faculty could be "an indication of the poor training which Berkeley and other major universities are providing for women students" (Golbeck, 216). Either universities were not training women well or they were denying well-trained women sufficient career opportunities. Since they were both the producers of the academic workforce and its employers, the universities could not escape their responsibility for letting a significant proportion of it decline.

Thus, by the summer of 1969, the Academic Senate and the university administration had joined the WFG's efforts to look for the roots of the deterioration of women's academic participation and to find remedies. The official administrative cooperation, moreover, confirmed WFG's sense that their strategy was working effectively. The plan continued to produce results throughout the academic year 1969-70 and into the summer of 1970, when the subcommittee's report was released. The very extent of the participation, though, required constant coordination and the ability to oversee the collection of data and its quick analysis, for the subcommittee was slated to finish its report early in 1970.

Statistics Professor Elizabeth Scott emerged during this phase as the single most crucial member of the subcommittee and its co-chair. We briefly profiled Scott's graduate career in an earlier essay, which dealt with her WWII work. In the late 1960s, she was chairing the Department of Statistics, had been on the urban crisis panel, and was an enthusiastic founder of the WFG when she was appointed to the subcommittee. She assumed the leadership role and became the subcommittee's co-chair both because Chair Elizabeth Colson needed to be away from Berkeley for much of 1969-70, and because her talent and professional experience prepared her for the urgent tasks of shaping the research questions as well as processing and analyzing the data that could provide reliable evidence about the roots and extent of the women academics' problems. Scott would continue to be fascinated by some of the statistical issues she encountered in the study would devote many years to . . . She also proved to be an adept and persistent publicist.

18 Elizabeth Scott

Scott's task was huge, conceptually complex, and unprecedented. The report was to be the first historical overview of women's roles in teaching and research at Berkeley, going back to the beginning of the 1920s. It couldn't be only a snapshot of the current state of academic women, for that would not reveal the dynamic processes in play. Getting the historical information was time-consuming, but the results were galvanizing. For example, when Scott received the information on women from the Budget Committee in the summer of 1969, she immediately discovered the soon-to-be scandalous fact that out of 1,721 full time tenure ladder faculty, only 60, or 3.4% were women. Access to the historical percentages allowed her to see the drastic decline in women's share of the faculty over the past thirty years, from 9.3 in 1939. Ladder-faculty women, she realized, were in danger of becoming extinct. With characteristic efficiency, Scott then quickly disseminated the information she'd uncovered and even used it to recruit participation in the study. While still in the initial stages of collecting data, she had the subcommittee send a letter to all the women academic professionals at Berkeley (the 60 Senate faculty, 233 lower level teaching faculty, and 234 researchers), which began with the 3.4% statistic and the explanation of its historical significance. The statistical slide illustrated the seriousness of the problem: women's academic status had sunk to a thirty-year low. That framing created a sense of urgency, motivating the women to fill out and return the enclosed questionnaires. It also helped spread the word throughout the campus about the severe erosion of women's status at Berkeley and the existence of the subcommittee's work (Golbeck, 212-221).

Thus, the subcommittee's means of gathering information expanded awareness about academic gender inequality, which in turn raised the level of curiosity about the impending release of its report. And yet, while framing the status of academic women as problematic at the outset, the subcommittee presented itself as committed to a dispassionate appraisal of the problem. Its official status, reliance on university data, surveys, and historical contextual analyses, all of those features projected the image of a trustworthy, discrete, and objective panel.

When the *Report of the Subcommittee on the Status of Academic Women on the Berkeley Campus*, was released in June 1970, it also fit that profile: momentous in its findings, while solidly evidence-based, reasonable, even conciliatory in its tone, and moderate in its recommendations. The mode of its release immediately set it apart from routine Senate reports, which go through a lengthy process of vetting and commentary by various individual committees before they're presented to the full faculty. But interest was already so heightened that copies were sent to the entire Academic Senate even before its recommendations were discussed by the Policy Committee, which nevertheless prefaced it with a short endorsement: "the most detailed and thoughtful study of the status of women on the Berkeley campus that has ever been prepared." The Committee also explained that it was being distributed "in the hope that it will serve as the basis for sustained discussions next year by the Berkeley Division and in the hope that it may serve to stimulate similar studies on other campuses" (*Report*, np).

Even more remarkably, the UCB administration held a press conference to publicize the *Report*, at which Elizabeth Scott, Elizabeth Colson, and Sanford Kadish (Chair of the Senate Policy Committee) presented the findings and answered questions from the local newspapers. Chancellor Heyns's administration thus signaled its goodwill by publicizing it, although the local press received it as a critical assessment of the university: "No Equality for Women on Faculty" the Oakland *Tribune* reported; and the San Francisco *Examiner* article concluded that "The University of California is not using the talents of the women it helps to train" (quoted in *Golbeck*, 249). Nevertheless, by framing the problem as one that they were already tackling, the administration tried to put itself on the right side of the issue. The press conference was held even before the Academic Senate saw the *Report*. In short, both the Academic Senate and the administration began signaling their support for the *Report*'s findings, if not for all of its recommendations, the moment it was finished.

Looking at the *Report* (posted on our website *here*), we can see why it garnered such quick support before its official approval. Sixty-eight of its seventy-eight pages are taken up with appendices, at the back of the document, summarizing numerous sub-

reports and various kinds of evidence, often in statistical tables. There the conditions, expectations, and handicaps faced by women in all stages and aspects of their professional lives are analyzed, described, and compared to those encountered by men: their graduate training, their unequal treatment on the academic job market, their consignment to untenured jobs, their restriction by nepotism rules, their slower advancement through professorial ranks, their low status on Academic Senate committees, their non-appointments to administrative posts. And yet despite all of these objective impediments, the statistical evidence also showed surprisingly similar levels of scholarly accomplishment and publication between comparable men and women. Thus, the commonly held views that women drop out of post-graduate degree programs or produce less than men as faculty members were refuted by the evidence. There were, as well, the depressing tables showing how much conditions had worsened for Berkeley's academic women, how much support and power they had lost over the previous thirty years. Not only had progress not been made, but regress had become the norm.

Although providing the evidentiary basis of the report, the fifteen separate appendices that comprise those last sixty-eight pages were not synthesized into a continuous presentation. Consequently, some of their potential, cumulative reproving power was dissipated. The *Report*'s general conclusions were given in a more cohesive, five-page "Background" section sandwiched between the recommendations, which came at the beginning, and the appendices. Although firmly asserting that the "hard facts" fully justify "the fears of academic women that they will be denied equal opportunities and recognition" (*Report*, 5), the "Background" section also insisted that the *Report* not be read as an indictment of past treatment, but as a harbinger of change: "It is a waste of time to raise cries of prejudice and to attempt to cite this department or that department or research unit as guilty of it, though. . .we have collected evidence relevant to such situations." The sly hint that one can assign guilt by reading the evidence is followed immediately by an affirmative prescription: "address . . . the positive changes necessary to ensure the increased employment of women and the recognition of academic and professional contributions" (*Report*, 9-10). The opening parts of the *Report* are optimistic and meritocratic; they assume that the problems can be solved by leveling the university's academic playing field, even though it had been radically tipped against women for over a hundred years: "We are not recommending that the University should lower its standards, but rather that it should broaden its vision" (*Report*, 10). The only hint of penalties for not hiring women seems to have come from outside of the institution, when federal regulations are briefly mentioned that require the university to take "positive action to correct discriminatory practice, as evidenced by differential rates of employment" (*Report*, 5). This announcement that the low percentage of women on the faculty automatically requires some affirmative action "to forestall possible federal

intervention" implied that merely implementing the report's recommendations would suffice. This, we'll soon see, was an unrealistic forecast.

The "Background" section of the *Report* was drafted by Elizabeth Colson, who later recalled that the subcommittee's rhetoric was purposely nonthreatening: "We didn't want to antagonize people. We were trying to be very polite, but at the same time point out how the university was failing. At that point, we thought it might be a little bit better to deal with them as though they were rational creatures" (Colson, 187). The conciliatory tone was a deliberate rhetorical choice, but Colson and the other committee members also held their meritocratic beliefs sincerely: "What we were asking for was the right to compete" (Colson, 190), and thus they attempted to demonstrate that putting women at a disadvantage in graduate training and hiring "didn't fit with other standards that the university said that it was concerned about, such as intellectual standards, merit, et cetera" (Colson, 185).

19 Elizabeth Colson

The three pages of recommendations that open the *Report*, moreover, are also consistently and optimistically meritocratic. Some of them recommend remedies that now seem self-evident: women must be reviewed for promotions regularly; faculty jobs must be advertised, and women candidates considered on their merits; women should be appointed to important Senate committees; quotas shouldn't be used to limit women's graduate-school admittance; fellowships should be awarded on merit without regard to women's marital status; and nepotism rules should be eliminated. Other recommendations indicate the more intractable and still current problems stemming from women's larger share of family responsibilities: maternity leave; part-time faculty appointments; support for childcare centers. Only one seems to give women any kind of preferential treatment to compensate for the history of discrimination: creating a pool of FTE for new women faculty, which could be used especially in departments with few women faculty but many women graduate students, such as Psychology. More typical of the proposals for increasing women's hires, though, is simply encouragement for departments to strive for a number of women on the faculty proportional to the women trained in the field. The recommendations aim to remove the most obvious barriers that prevented women's employment and advancement, to give moral support for hiring women, and to help them to pursue academic careers. But there aren't any suggestions about penalizing departments that don't change their ways, or even monitoring their efforts. A request to establish a permanent Senate committee on the Status of Women

alone points to the need for a watchdog, albeit one without teeth. The tone the *Report* as a whole is consistently conciliatory, encouraging, and collegial. It assumes that the members of the Academic Senate are ready to upgrade and expand women's academic participation voluntarily.

Phase III: Implementing the Report's Recommendations and Seeking Federal Intervention

The first year following the *Report*'s release saw some administrative action on the recommendations, both from the UCB Chancellor's and the UC President's offices. Consideration by the whole Academic Senate was slower because the report came early in the summer, and it needed to wend its way through various committees before a full Senate discussion. By the time Senate voted on the Report in April of 1971, though, the ground had shifted under the university's feet, and the conditions for cooperation between the women in Women's Faculty Group and the administration were somewhat less stable. First, California economy went into recession, and UC was hit by steep budget cuts, which restricted new hiring and limited the institution's ability to implement some of the *Report*'s recommendations. Second, a national organization, Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), began filing complaints with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare against universities using the federal Executive Orders. And third, some members of Berkeley's Women's Faculty Group became impatient with what they saw as the slow pace of UC action and filed a civil rights complaint against the university with HEW. Thus, in the spring of 1971, the women in the WFG who wished to sign on to the HEW complaint formed yet another organization, the League of Academic Women (LAW), whereas others continued their efforts inside the university channels. The WFG persisted as a clearing house, while different paths were pursued, the "inside" route and the "government" route, as Susan Ervin-Tripp later described them (Ervin-Tripp 1995, 3). We'll trace the course of events in the years after the *Report*'s release by following the paths taken by its three women authors: Colson, Scott, and Ervin-Tripp.

Elizabeth Colson, the most senior of the three, adhered to the "inside" track and quickly moved deeper into the university hierarchy by an appointment to the Senate's Budget Committee after the *Report*'s release. Colson's career as an anthropologist had trained her to understand social dynamics and the difficulties of integrating new groups into existing power hierarchies; her belief in the efficacy of fair play was by no means naïve. She knew it would be necessary both to make new rules and to monitor their implementation, so she became the first women ever to serve on the powerful Budget Committee, which oversees academic personnel cases. She then became its first female Chair, later recalling, "I've integrated more committees than I wish to remember—I used to think of it as a process, something like that of a birdwatcher. You kept very quiet until

they got used to your being there, and then you could move" (Colson, 190). Birdwatching is a good metaphor for Budget Committee work as well because from that vantage point, she could also "look right across the campus, and look right across the individual's record from the beginning of that person's arrival on campus . . . in comparison with what was happening to other people." Colson also insured that the Budget Committee would continue to do audits of the records of all kinds of academic women, including researchers. As she later recalled, the BC was the best place to discover women who were being undervalued or not regularly reviewed for advancement: "somebody who was in the lectureship position perhaps [who] should be considered for a regular faculty position" (Colson 197).

The panoramic view was not the only advantage of working on the Budget Committee. When a report from another Academic Senate committee is sent to that BC for action or comment, the task of drafting a statement is assigned to the one member among the nine who is most knowledgeable about the topic. Thus, the Budget Committee's lengthy memos commenting on the *Report* in February and March of 1971, although signed by the Chair, were no doubt the work of Colson. In that guise, she both validated the subcommittee's work and helped plan the ways in which its recommendations would be implemented. Acknowledging the discriminatory effect of the nepotism rule, the BC called for its revision or abolition. Moreover, in one of its memos, the Committee went even further than the *Report* by suggesting that the imbalance in hiring tenure-track faculty could be corrected by temporarily instituting preferential hiring favoring women (Golbeck, 304). Mainly, though, the Budget Committee echoed the *Report*'s recommendations on tenure-track hiring, job advertising, and anti-discriminatory candidate reviewing, and it strongly stressed that changes had to be made at the level of departments and colleges (Golbeck, 302-305).

Shortly after the Budget Committee memos were written, the university's Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs made a momentous announcement to all deans and department chairs: they would need to "demonstrate that for every new appointment proposed an adequate search has been made for possible women appointees" and that such searches had reviewed "women currently holding non-ladder appointments on the Berkeley campus" (Raleigh). These may seem like obvious requirements, unless we remember that academic hiring was usually done at the time without even announcing the job openings, let alone advertising them. When departments had faculty positions to fill in 1970, they could simply ask distinguished scholars in the field at other universities to send them the names and dossiers of their most talented students or younger colleagues. Getting the best jobs thus depended on working closely with nationally influential professors—practically all male—at a handful of schools. Of course, the favorite students and close collaborators of most male professors were young men. The Vice Chancellor's

memo was thus saying something revolutionary: from that time forward deans and department chairs proposing new candidates for appointments would need to describe their searches, demonstrating that they'd reached out to qualified women. The memo was, of course, only a beginning, and hiring procedures would need to be elaborated and revised many times over the years, but it was the earliest example of "affirmative action" (which only later came to be thought of as preferential treatment) in academic hiring at Berkeley. It was designed to replace the old-boys' network with the open, nation-wide academic job market that we take for granted today. The requirements to advertise openings nationally, seek women and minority applicants, and keep records of the demographic information and reasons for deselection of all applicants would follow.

The Budget Committee memos were not the sole cause of that announcement from the Vice Chancellor's office. There had been continuing lobbying by the WFG, and rumors that a national organization might soon file a complaint with the HEW were circulating. Moreover, an earlier memo in February from the system-wide President Charles Hitch to the Chancellors had called attention to *de facto* discrimination, which put "a rather large proportion of women members of the faculty . . . in non-ladder positions". Hitch asked campuses "to take care to make certain that all cases are considered strictly on their merits" (Hitch). The Berkeley memo, though, placed much more responsibility on the hiring units to take specific actions, conforming to the Budget Committee's emphasis. Because the administration was seeking campus consensus, it's likely that they gave considerable weight to the Budget Committee's views, shaped by Colson. Campus women benefitted greatly from her willingness to guide the direction of an existing organization by working within it.

Although her work on the Budget Committee was confidential and couldn't be discussed with other women in the WFG, Colson continued to belong to that group and, like others working in regular university channels, benefitted from its wide range of perspectives. In the year after the *Report*'s release, two new permanent committees on the status of academic women were established, one by the Senate and the other by the administration, both of which were largely staffed from the WFG's membership. The sheer number of the people officially appointed to investigate and report annually on the issues had increased considerably (Ervin-Tripp, 1995, 3).

And yet the WFG not only continued its incessant lobbying for more official cooperation at Berkeley, but also increased its outreach to other universities and national organizations. Elizabeth Scott, who earlier took the lead in gathering and analyzing the data for the subcommittee, played a key role in extending the effort beyond Berkeley. She began by disseminating the *Report* throughout the country, giving other academic women a model for how to proceed. During 1970-71, she saw to it that thousands of copies of the

Report were printed as handy pamphlets (known as the "blue book") and mailed around the country (Golbeck). They were sent to politicians, journalists, professional associations, learned societies, and foundations, as well as women's groups and individual academics, and the response was enthusiastic. Legislation on the topic was introduced in the California State Assembly, the California Education Department revised its guidelines, and various California legislators became active in the cause of affirmative action. Portions of the *Report* were read into the U. S. Congressional Record.

Scott's outreach efforts were also motivated by her intellectual curiosity about the mathematical, statistical, and other methodological questions arising from such complex social and economic issues. By contacting individual researchers at other universities and through professional associations, like the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the American Statistical Association, she formed networks of people who were collecting more information. She hoped to improve the methods for analyzing it and build a solid base of evidence for policy decisions. In the years from 1972-4, she conducted groundbreaking studies of salary disparities in higher education for the Carnegie Commission and Council on Higher Education, thereby becoming a nationally recognized expert on the topic. One of them showed that similar achievements led to significantly lower salaries for women than for men, and the discrepancies diverged as the careers lengthened. Another study showed the gap between the number of women actually on the faculty and the number that would have been expected given the availability of women in the pools of PhDs in different fields (Ervin-Tripp, 1995, 3). In 1974, she began working under the auspices of the American Association of University Professors to develop a "Kit" for universities that would allow them to do self-evaluations of the gender and racial equity of their salaries. Published in 1977, it allowed them to flag "personnel for whom there is apparent salary inequity" and achieve equal pay for substantively equal work (Golbeck, 501-505).

Scott's career in the 1970s shows a remarkable level of integration between her professional intellectual pursuits and her ability to advance the cause of academic gender equity nationwide. It also shows an ambition to have a broad impact in academia by helping universities and other professional institutions diagnose and solve their own problems. She greatly extended the reach of the "inside" route.

Susan Ervin-Tripp was the only one of the three authors of the report who took what she later called the "government" path to gender equity. When several members of the Women's Faculty Group filed a civil rights complaint with the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1971, they did so as members of a separate group—the League of Academic Women—which also included many graduate students. Its members, Ervin-Tripp later recalled, were impatient with the administration's tactic of relying on departments and colleges to reform their own hiring practices. Their complaint drew attention to the absence of penalties that we noted in the *Report*'s recommendations, and it assumed that if under the threat of the suspension of federal contracts, the university would be more aggressive about penalizing departments and colleges that did not hire women. Although the Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs' memo in March of 1971 implied that new hires would not be made unless they had resulted from non-discriminatory searches, it didn't describe criteria for such searches, mechanisms for monitoring them, or standards for progress in recruiting women, so it seemed too little too late. Ervin-Tripp felt as early as November, 1970, that additional pressure needed to be exerted from the outside. She wrote a message to campus women explaining that UC was included among the institutions against which the Women's Equity Action League had already filed complaints and asking them to send any helpful information they might have to the leader of WEAL, Bernice Sandler, if they wanted "a stronger affirmative action program sooner" (Ervin-Tripp, 1970).


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Although HEW's intervention may have motivated the university's production of affirmative action plans for both non-academic and academic employees, it also set up a series of stand-offs between the agency and the university, which seemed to delay progress. The stalemates resulted partly from the fact that in 1970-71, HEW had only recently been given the job of enforcing the Executive Order relevant to higher education, and they had had neither experience nor guidelines for doing so. It wasn't until October of 1972 that their "Higher Education Guidelines" were issued, and consequently their positions in the negotiations with the university were often halting and inconsistent (Kay & Green, 1064-65). HEW also did not understand the university's reluctance to turn over academic personnel files containing confidential letters; they suspected the adherence to confidentiality was merely a screen for hiding bias. For its part, the university, still smarting from the damage to its reputation done by the Loyalty-Oath fiasco, wanted to protect its employees from political interference and argued that if HEW could force them to turn over information on individuals, then so could other governmental bodies

with more dubious motives. It took months to resolve these issues that had little to do with affirmative action, to which the university kept stating its principled adherence. The result was frustration on the part of the women who were waiting to see the finished HEW guidelines and a university affirmative action plan.

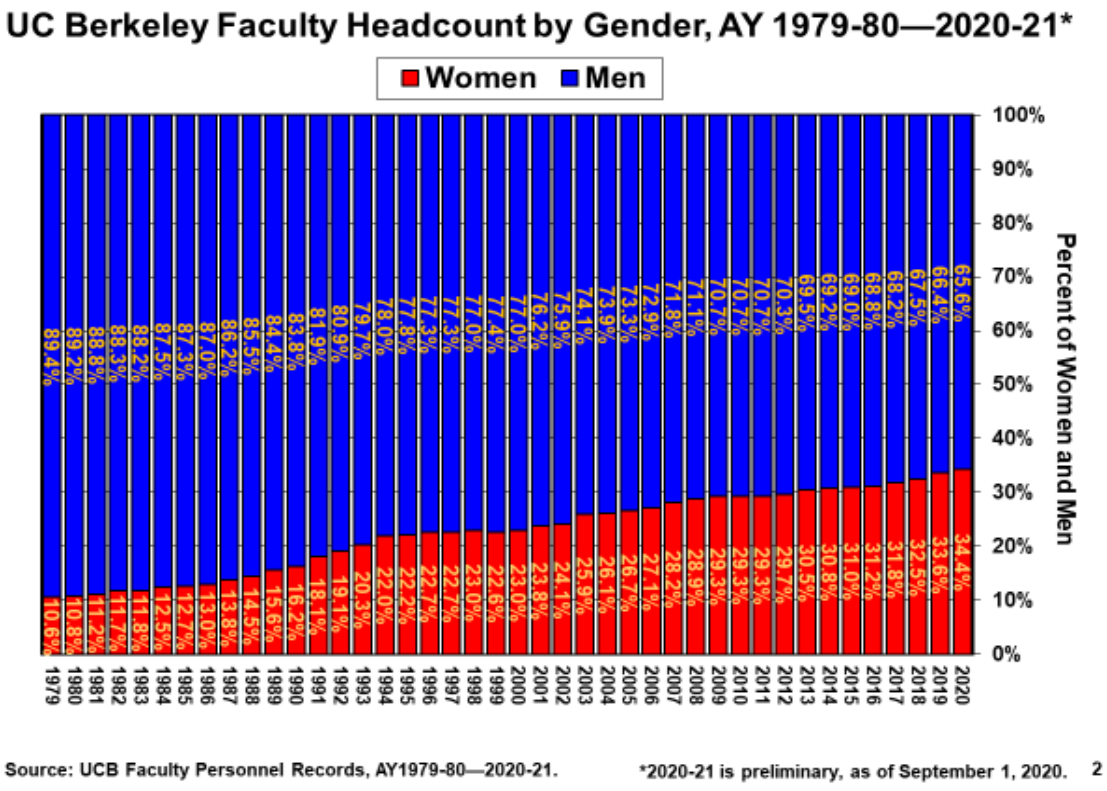
Indeed, the League of Academic Women began taking an alternate route to justice in February of 1972, when it filed a lawsuit against the university with the U. S. District Court in San Francisco, for "Injunctive and Declaratory Relief" under the Civil Rights Act. The lawsuit ultimately became entangled with the HEW's investigation of the campus, which continued to be adversarial after the new guidelines were issued; the university wasn't declared "compliant" until 1975. The lawsuit was then dismissed. We should note that the lawsuit differed from the other remedies pursued in that it sought not just non-discrimination in the present and future but also redress for past wrongs in the form of "back-pay" for the plaintiffs (League of Academic Women). It thus introduced a recriminatory element into the effort that, although justified, made a striking contrast with the original attitude of collegiality adopted by the subcommittee's *Report*. It was a frank expression of the anger that many women felt after decades of exploitation.

Ervin-Tripp always held that it was the combination of inside and outside pressures that resulted in effective affirmative action at Berkeley, and she energetically pursued both channels. In addition to co-authoring the *Report*, she chaired the Senate's *Committee on the Status of Academic Women*, monitoring searches, investigating complaints, and advising on various drafts of affirmative action plans. Moreover, she mentored young women who were recruited to the faculty, held lunches at which they could meet and discuss their difficulties, even wrote a guide to help assistant professors navigate their way to tenure. She arranged meetings between assistant professors and members of the Budget Committee so that they could better understand the review process (Colson, 192). She also worked alongside the trade union AFSCME to combat sex discrimination in non-academic university jobs. (Ervin-Tripp, 2016, 53-55).

Conclusion

Looking back at the struggle for women's inclusion on the faculty, it seems clear that the most effective changes were rooted in the recommendations of the subcommittee's report. The basic requirements of fair employment practices—the end of the nepotism rule, the demand that jobs be publicly advertised, that women applicants be considered on their merits, that departments undertake and report on efforts to recruit qualified women and minorities, and that women faculty be given maternity leave—were

all crucial. The affirmative action that mattered was the enforcement of those rules, and their result can be seen in the following graph.



21 1979-2020 yearly percentages of the Berkeley faculty by gender

In 1969, women were at 3.6% of the faculty, and in every decade since, their share has grown between 5% and 7%, with the exception of the decade 2009-2019, which fell slightly short. When we take into consideration the slow turnover in academic jobs and the shift in faculty positions from fields like social sciences and humanities, where women PhDs are relatively plentiful, to engineering and technology, this gradual but steady increase in the percentage of women on the faculty seems progress worth celebrating. The fact that keeping the playing field level through consistent oversight of has worked for women at universities across the country shouldn't surprise us after examining their history: they had always been the overeducated reserve army of the underemployed in academia.

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5 Chart showing 1979-2020 yearly percentages of the Berkeley faculty by gender. From the Office for Faculty Equity and Inclusion. This chart, ending in 2020, has been updated with a new chart, including fall 2021 statistics. https://ofew.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/faculty_profile_over_time_fall_2021.pdf.