

# UC Berkeley

## The 150 Women Project - Holding Series

### Title

Women in the Department of History

### Permalink

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# **Women in the Department of History: An Introduction**

## **Mary Elizabeth Berry, Class of 1944 Professor of History Emerita**

One hundred fifty years ago, on October 3, 1870, the Board of Regents unanimously approved the resolution: “That young ladies be admitted into the University on equal terms in all respects with young men.” Units across the campus are marking the anniversary by honoring “the remarkable women who have studied at, worked for, and contributed to UC Berkeley” and, more broadly, the “gender diversity and inclusivity in our vibrant academic community” (Carol Christ, in a letter of 4/12/20). Find extensive information about the project in the introduction to this collection (Gallagher, Humphreys, MacLachlan <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/38s6j3t5?>)

The contributions of our department to this project began with a focus on our women faculty. In June, 2021 we added “A Survey of Women Recipients of Ph.D.s.” with an aggregate data chart (1950-2019) as well as brief bios of 124 women who received the degree between 1919 and 1979. It will also take readers to a list, provided by the Department of History, of all Ph.D. recipients from 1950 to 2000. In addition to enriching this material and expanding it in time, we hope that members of our extended community will help build sections on current students, staff, and friends and family. Thematic sections would also be wonderful. No boundaries! Please be in touch with us by email: [meberry@berkeley.edu](mailto:meberry@berkeley.edu). We welcome partners ready to push past start on many topics. (Contributions to the “Voices” section are encouraged from everyone!) With great gratitude and admiration, I salute Maya Sisneros for her brilliant work on the department website.

This collection is organized into specific sections available as separate pdfs. All have been created and written by Mary Elizabeth Berry with the exception of the David Hollinger article.

Part I: [The Chronology of Faculty Appointments of Women, 1958-2000.](#)

Part II: [The First Nineteen Women Faculty Members, 1958-1999.](#)

An extended profile of Adrienne Koch (1958-65), written by David Hollinger, followed by short bios of her 20<sup>th</sup>-century successors written by Mary Elizabeth Berry.

Part III: [Voices: Personal contributions from some of the first nineteen.](#)

See the entry by Mary Elizabeth Berry for a broader history of the Department.

Part IV: [A Survey of Women who Received Ph.D. degrees from the Department of History, UCB with a Focus on 1919-1979,](#) by Mary Elizabeth Berry.

Introduction and statistical summary, profiles by decade.

Part V: [Documents:](#)

Adrienne Koch, "Two Cheers for Equality," 1963.

Elizabeth Colson and Elizabeth Scott, "Report of the Subcommittee on the Status of Academic Women on the Berkeley Campus, 1970. (<https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED04213.pdf>)

## [A Note to Readers Regarding This History of Women in the Department of History January, 2022](#)

The original material for the document that follows was uploaded to the website of the Department of History in August of 2020 and June of 2021. It included many embedded links to other websites that, for example, provide curricula vitae for the female faculty members and biographical details for the female recipients of history Ph.D.s who are described in the text. Few, if any, of those links will remain live in this PDF document. Hence, researchers will need to seek additional documentation themselves or consult a digital copy of the 150W website of the Department of History

held by the Bancroft library, which may enable more links. If they do not directly link, please copy them into your browser: <https://wayback.archive-it.org/16283/20210913182815/https://history.berkeley.edu/women-department-history>

The original material also included a section that listed and provided links to the major sources cited by authors of individual essays. Because that section has not been archived, I list those sources and web addresses below. (Please note that Adrienne Koch's "Two Cheers for Equality" has been added at the end of this PDF document. We include it in full, and provide an amplified biography of Koch, because information about this first woman on the department's ladder faculty is not widely available.)

History at Berkeley: A Dialogue in Three Parts, by Gene Brucker, Henry May, and David Hollinger  
(UCB: Institute of Governmental Affairs, 1998).  
<https://oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb8g5007t1&query=&brand=oac4>

"UCB History Department Oral Histories," Oral History Center, Bancroft Library  
<https://digicoll.lib.berkeley.edu/search?ln=en&cc=UCB+History+Department+Oral+Histories>

"The Marion and Herbert Sandler Oral History Project," Oral History Center, Bancroft Library  
<https://www.lib.berkeley.edu/libraries/bancroft-library/oral-history-center/projects/sandler>

University of California Academic Senate, In Memoriam.  
<https://senate.universityofcalifornia.edu/in-memoriam/index.php>  
To link to a particular obituary, enter the first and last name of the individual in the "Search Memorials" box.

"Report of the Subcommittee on the Status of Academic Women on the Berkeley Campus," co-chairs  
Elizabeth Colson and Elizabeth Scott, May 19, 1970.  
<https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED042413.pdf>

“Two Cheers for Equality,” by Adrienne Koch. Delivered as a speech at a UC forum in San Francisco during 1963 and printed, following Koch’s death, in the Maryland Historian III (Spring 1972), 21-31. <https://history.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/koch-1963speech.pdf>

“Adrienne Koch, Historian, Dies: Wrote on America of 1765-1815.” New York Times obituary, August 23, 1971. <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/08/23/archives/a-drienne-koch-historian-dies-wrote-on-america-of-1765-181-argued.html>

# Part I

## The Chronology of Faculty Appointments of Women, 1958-2000

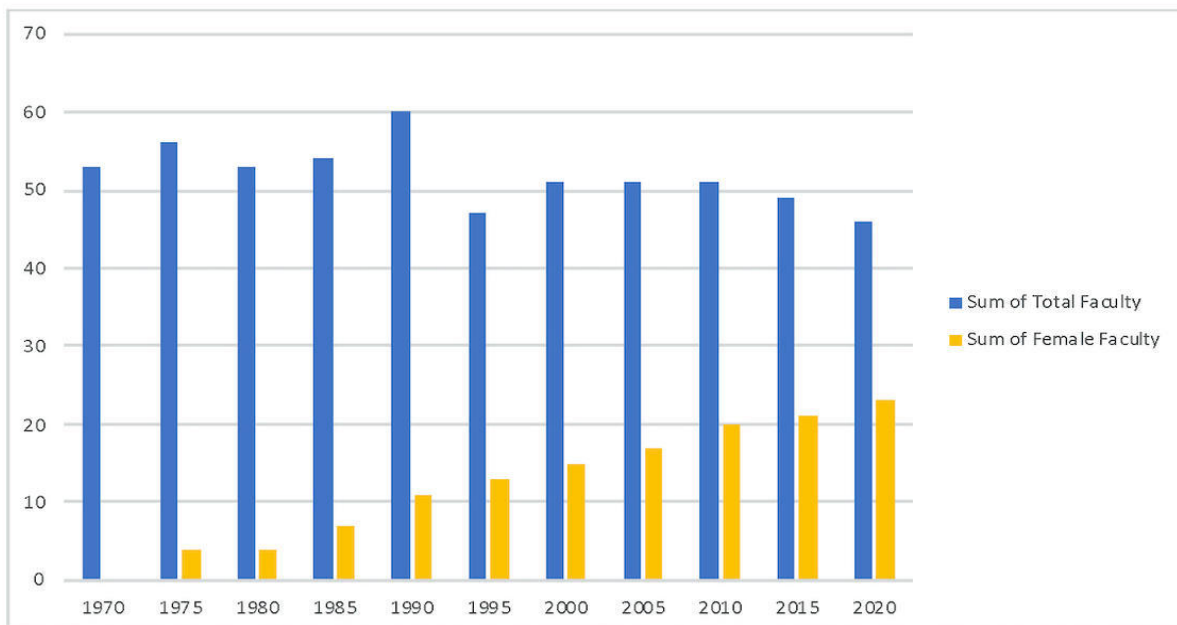
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<b>Year appointed</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Year of departure</b>	<b>Subsequent Vita</b>	<b>Title if current faculty</b>
1958	Adrienne Koch	1965	Assumed a position at the University of Maryland (1971 deceased).	
1971	Natalie Zemon Davis	1978	Assumed a position at Princeton University.	
1972	Diane Shaver Clemens	2006	Retired (2016 deceased).	
1974	Paula S. Fass	2010	Retired.	
1974	Lynn Avery Hunt	1987	Assumed a position at the University of Pennsylvania.	
1978	Mary Elizabeth Berry	2017	Retired.	
1981	Paula Fredriksen	1986	Assumed a position at Boston University.	
1981	Susanna I. Barrows	2010	Retired (2010 deceased).	
1982	Linda Lewin	2011	Retired.	
1987	Mary P. Ryan	2004	Retired.	
1987	Wen-Hsin Yeh			Professor
1988	Susanna Elm			Professor
1988	Robin L. Einhorn	2018	Retired.	
1989	Carla Hesse			Professor
1989	Margaret Lavinia Anderson	2010	Retired.	
1991	Tabitha Kanogo			Professor
1992	Margaret Chowning			Professor
1996	Cathryn Carson			Professor
1998	Leslie Peirce	2007	Assumed a position at NYU.	

2000	Michael Nylan			Professor
2001	Jennifer Spear	2008	Assumed a position at Simon Fraser University.	
2001	Maria Mavroudi			Professor
2003	Kathleen Frydl	2011		
2003	Rebecca McLennan			Associate Professor
2003	Maureen Miller			Professor
2005	Victoria Frede-Montemayor			Associate Professor
2005	Emily Mackil			Associate Professor
2006	Abena Dove Osseo-Asare	2014	Assumed a position at the University of Texas at Austin.	
2006	Prachi Deshpande	2010	Assumed a position at the Center for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta.	
2013	Janaki Bakhle			Associate Professor
2013	Caitlin Rosenthal			Assistant Professor
2013	Elena Schneider			Associate Professor
2014	Stephanie Jones-Rogers			Associate Professor
2015	Rebecca Herman			Assistant Professor
2015	Sandra Eder			Assistant Professor
2015	Christine Philiou			Associate Professor
2016	Diliana Angelova			Associate Professor
2017	Vanessa Ogle			Associate Professor
2018	Ronit Stahl			Assistant Professor
2020	Bernadette Pérez			Assistant Professor



Row Labels	Sum of Total Faculty	Sum of Female Faculty
1970	53	0
1975	56	4
1980	53	4
1985	54	7
1990	60	11
1995	47	13
2000	51	15
2005	51	17
2010	51	20
2015	49	21
2020	46	23



## Faculty by Gender and Year

These counts, of individuals rather than FTEs, are derived from the faculty lists that appear in UC Berkeley's General Catalogs (available online via the [Digital Collections](#) of the Berkeley Library). They include only active members of the ladder faculty, excluding emeriti and recalled faculty. They also exclude colleagues who held 0% FTE appointments in the department. The fall in the totals between 1990 and 1995 reflects the impact of the Very Early Retirement Incentive Programs conducted at UC in 1991, 1992, and 1993.

## Part II

# The First Nineteen Women Faculty Members, 1958-1999

## Adrienne Koch (1958-65)

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By David A. Hollinger

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Everyone agreed that she was really, really smart, and that she was an excellent historian. But in the 1950s women were almost never hired in leading history departments, no matter how good they were. Yet Adrienne Koch was able to break the gender barrier at Berkeley in 1958. “There was much opposition” to her appointment, one of her champions in the department later wrote. “If we had a woman in the department,” it was said, “we’d never be able to talk among ourselves with mutual understanding and confidentiality.” But it did happen, and Koch was soon promoted to the rank of Professor. She reluctantly left

Berkeley in 1965 to accompany her economist husband, Lawrence Kegan, to Washington, D. C., where she became a professor at the University of Maryland. She remained at Maryland until she died of cancer in 1971, a few weeks prior to what would have been her 59<sup>th</sup> birthday. By then Koch was sufficiently well known that the *New York Times* published a long obituary with her photograph.

During her seven years among the Berkeley historians Koch was a spectacularly successful teacher, with high-enrollment classes each semester. Students latter recalled that she was noticeably more demanding of women, alerting them that they had to be better than average to succeed in the world beyond the classroom. Koch also published several books that enhanced her reputation as one of the profession’s leading historians of the Revolutionary and Early National eras of American history. She had established her

leadership in that field earlier with her *The Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson* (1943) and with her most enduring book, *Jefferson & Madison: The Great Collaboration* (1950). But at Berkeley she developed the concept of “an American Enlightenment,” arguing that the intellectuals who designed the American political and constitutional order had crafted a distinctive, national variation on the eighteenth-century movement associated with the European *philosophes*. Her most important scholarly works during her Berkeley years were two books, *Power, Morals, and the Founding Fathers: Essays in the Interpretation of the American Enlightenment* (1961) and *The American Enlightenment: The Shaping of the American Experiment and a Free Society* (1965).

Koch was an active participant in national debates about the state of American democracy, contributing opinion pieces and reviews to the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, the *Nation*, and other magazines. She frequently mobilized Jefferson and Madison as ideological resources in contemporary discussions, yet also engaged sympathetically a wide range of twentieth-century thinkers. Her anthology of 1959, *Philosophy for a Time of Crisis*, reprinted selections from Martin Buber, Erich Fromm, Ignacio Silone, Reinhold Niebuhr, Jean-Paul Sartre and other popular voices of that era. Yet she was much more at home with the Cold War liberalism of the 1950s than with the radical left politics that was on the rise at Berkeley during the years immediately prior to her departure. From her later post at Maryland, she wrote with increasing impatience about what in the *New York Times* she once described as “infantile” radicals who in their extreme actions were ignoring what she invariably represented as the balanced wisdom of the country’s founders. She was identified with Sidney Hook, the New York University philosopher whose student she had been as an undergraduate, and whose criticisms of the New Left made him a political lightning rod during the 1960s and 1970s.

By closely identifying the Enlightenment of Jefferson and Madison with anti-radical politics, Koch inadvertently facilitated the relative neglect of her scholarship in the immediately following decades. Later studies often failed to acknowledge how ambitious and well-argued an interpretation of the American Enlightenment Koch had produced. Only in 2016, in *American Enlightenments: Pursuing Happiness in the Age of Reason*, by Stanford historian Caroline Winterer, did Koch regain the importance she once had as a figure to be reckoned with in Enlightenment scholarship. At the time of her death, however, she was embarked on a project which, had she lived, almost certainly would have improved her standing among self-consciously progressive historians. She had begun a study of Sarah and Angelina Grimke, important ante-bellum abolitionists and feminists. The Grimke sisters later became a highly popular topic when the history of women became a recognized field. One can only speculate how Koch’s reputation might have flourished were she to have been recognized as a student of the history of women as well as of the larger American Enlightenment, in which Koch believed correctly the Grimke sisters were creative and courageous participants.

Part of Koch’s distinction as a historian was the philosophical sophistication she brought into the field of American intellectual history. She earned her Ph.D. in philosophy at Columbia University, and had been a Guggenheim Fellow as a philosopher based on her study of Jefferson’s political ideas. “She could teach Charles Peirce with an expertise that the rest of us could not,” remarked one of the colleagues who recruited her into the Berkeley Department of History.

Koch kept her birth name professionally, but was also known as Mrs. Lawrence Kegan. Both Kegans had grown up in Jewish families in New York City, but had decided—in keeping with the anti-particularist ideology then popular on the liberal-left—not to identify as Jews. They presented themselves as Americans, full stop. Koch’s parents emigrated from Hungary shortly before her birth in 1912. Koch’s brother, Sigmund Koch, became a prominent psychologist and University Professor at Boston University. Her sister Vivienne Koch was a literary critic distinguished enough to have an article devoted to her—like Adrienne Koch—in *American National Biography*.

Koch and her husband lived in a spacious, Spanish-style home on Grizzly Peak Boulevard. The Kegans were the parents of twins who were in elementary and middle school during the family’s Berkeley years. Koch and her husband were regulars on an active dinner party circuit within and beyond the Department. Koch had a vivacious, vibrant personality. She dyed her hair blond and dressed impeccably in the fashionable styles of the era, wearing high heels and flaring circle skirts. There was nothing unusual about this cluster of traits other than being found in a distinguished professor of history.

In the early 1960s, Berkeley was the only major history department with a woman at the rank of Professor in the field of United States history. Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that Koch had an easy time of it with the Berkeley historians. Her no-nonsense manner made some colleagues uncomfortable. Her photographs show a woman unafraid to look you in the eye without a smile. She could be intimidating. Although she developed warm, collegial relationships with several of the junior men in the department, these individuals now recall that the senior men kept her at a greater distance and may have been frightened by her. Koch was always at the margins of governance decisions. She was not encouraged to supervise doctoral dissertations. Some of the senior faculty wives—then a social force of real consequence in the departmental community—always remained cool to her.

That Koch broke the gender line at Berkeley says much about her, but it also says something about Berkeley. Despite widespread reluctance and amid plenty of grouching, the Berkeley historians actually did it. They did what their counterparts at Princeton, Yale, Harvard, and other leading departments did not do until some years later. They hired and promoted to Professor a highly qualified, creative, independent woman in the field of American history.

What did Koch herself think about this? How did she feel about gender and its effect on her and on other women? Fortunately for us, we have a speech of 1963, “Two Cheers for Equality,” which she delivered at a UC-wide forum on “The Potential of Woman” held in San Francisco. It was a ringing demand for the full equality of women in academia and beyond. Written three years before the founding of the National Organization of Women and in the very year of Betty Friedan’s epoch-making *The Feminine Mystique*, this lecture mocked as wrongheaded the still popular notion that women were only “civilizers,” the guardians of “life, morality, and human compassion,” and not also able to “administer” and “solve practical public problems.” Invoking Simone de Beauvoir, Margaret Fuller, and the Grimke sisters, Koch declared that there should be “no prior restraint on seeing what, with proper training, women actually make themselves competent to do.” She complained that the nepotism rules then widely in effect in academia greatly limited the opportunities for women to be hired where their husbands were employed. At a time when pregnancy and motherhood were often treated as disqualifications, Koch called on campuses to provide

maternity leaves and security of employment. Although she voiced a measure of confidence that things were getting better for women, she expected it to be a long haul. “The ideal of equal rights is heavily compromised,” she said, and warned that women are often welcomed with so many strings attached—you can join our club if you never get pregnant, e.g.—that many women find it hard to proceed. The invitation that women too often receive is of the kind she quoted R. H. Tawney as describing in a different context: “the impertinent courtesy of an invitation offered to unwelcome guests, in the certainty that circumstances will prevent them from accepting it.”

Adrienne Koch was proud to be a member of the Berkeley faculty, and she seems to have done her best to get along with her male colleagues. But she was not afraid to say what was wrong with the gendered system those men kept largely in place.

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*This sketch of Adrienne Koch is based on a number of sources. These include the oral histories of Delmer Brown, Beverly Bouwsma, Richard Herr, Henry May, and Kenneth Stamp. Important, too, have been conversations with Koch's daughter, Nancy Kegan Smith, and with several of Koch's former colleagues at Berkeley, especially Robert Middlekauff and Sheldon Rothblatt. Others who knew her and have been helpful to me are James Gilbert, Daniel Howe, and Thomas Leonard. The Spring 1972 issue of Maryland Historian contains appreciations of Koch on the occasion of her death by philosopher Sidney Hook, historian Julian Boyd (a former president of the American Historical Association) and several others. The New York Times published an informative obituary, April 23, 1971. I, myself, have vivid memories of her as a presence in Dwinelle Hall when I was a graduate student. I did not really know her, but I did read her books. I still appreciate their analytic power. –DH*

See the [Documents](#) section of this Web site for the obituary in the New York Times, a full citation and link to Koch's essay, “Two Cheers for Equality,” and a link to the oral histories.

## **Natalie Zemon Davis (1971-1978)**



Natalie Zemon Davis began as a social and cultural historian of early modern Europe, and has now extended her research to North Africa and the Caribbean. She has tried to add anthropological and literary perspectives to the study of working people of the past. While at UCB in the 1970s, she founded a course on the history of women (Society and the Sexes in Early Modern Europe) and published her first book, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. At least two of her subsequent publications, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983) and *Women on the*

*Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (1996) grew from ideas initially developed at Berkeley. Interested in reaching a wider audience, she served as historical consultant for the film *Le Retour de Martin Guerre* (1982) and for Wajdi Mouawad's play *Tous des Oiseaux* (2017), which is linked to her book *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (2006). She served as President of the American Historical Association in 1987. In 2010, she was awarded the Ludwig Holberg International Prize in the Humanities.

## Diane Shaver Clemens (1972-2006)



Diane Clemens came to Berkeley from MIT, where she taught from 1966 to 1972 and completed *Yalta* (Oxford, 1970), the most detailed study to date of the negotiations there and one of the first to make use of Russian sources. A.J.P. Taylor welcomed the book as “a breath of cool fresh air after the stuffy rhetoric of the politicians” and “an outstanding contribution to historical scholarship.” Clemens subsequently completed “Averell Harriman, John Deane, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the

‘Reversal of Co-operation’ with the Soviet Union in April 1945,” which examines the turn from Allied wartime cooperation to Cold War conflict. She also assembled a large trove of primary sources and images for students, published in part by McGraw-Hill in *The Forging of America: 1492-1904, A Cultural Diversity Reader* (1993, edited with Richard Francis Allen). At Berkeley Clemens continued a lifetime of political activism against militarism and in support of civil rights. She served on the Academic Senate’s Sub-Committee on the Status of Women and Ethnic Minorities and as Faculty Assistant to the Chancellor on the Status of Women. She supported her students’ unionization efforts in the Association of Graduate Student Employees and their demonstrations urging the university to divest funds from the apartheid regime in South Africa.

## **Paula S. Fass (1974-2010)**



Paula Fass joined the History Department as an Assistant Professor in 1974 and retired as Margaret Byrne Professor in 2010. She had previously held the Chancellor's Chair and the Preston Hotchkiss Chair of History. She is the author of 10 books of social and cultural history in areas ranging from American education and immigration to youth culture in the 1920s, childhood in the western world, and the cultural consequences of globalization. She edited the first and

widely acclaimed three volume *Encyclopedia of Childhood in History and Society* (2004). Her most recent book is *The End of American Childhood: A History of Parenting from Life on the Frontier to the Managed Child*(2016). Fass also published a family memoir, *Inheriting the Holocaust*. She was faculty mentor to over 40 graduate students during her Berkeley career, students currently on the faculty of, among many other places, the University of Paris, Harvard University, Tel Aviv University, and the University of Victoria. Paula Fass was Distinguished Visiting Professor at Rutgers University, Kerstin Hesselgren Professor at Linkoping University in Sweden, and State Department Lecturer in Italy, and has also lectured widely in Turkey, France, Canada, Germany, and Israel. She is often interviewed on the radio, television, and in the press on matters of children and family, culture and media. A member of the American Philosophical Society and a Guggenheim Fellow, Fass was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Philosophy degree from the Linkoping University (Sweden) and is a past President of the Society for History of Children and Youth, which she helped to found.



## Lynn Avery Hunt (1974-1987)



Although Lynn Hunt's main research focus has been eighteenth-century France, especially the French Revolution of 1789, she has also written about the Atlantic origins of human rights, the visual sources of religious toleration, and the methods and perspectives of history writing more generally. The most concise example of the latter is *History: Why It Matters* (Polity, 2018). Her current research concerns the links between consumption, women's roles, new financial instruments, and military tactics in the late eighteenth

century. Personal reflections on her career as a historian can be found in her [Charles Homer Haskins Prize Lecture of 2019](#).

President of the American Historical Association in 2002, Hunt is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, member of the American Philosophical Society, and corresponding fellow of the British Academy.

## Mary Elizabeth Berry (1978-2017)



The work of Mary Elizabeth Berry, which focuses on Japan from around 1500 to 1700, explores the experience of prolonged civil war, the making of a durable peacetime polity, the creation of a vibrant print culture, and the widespread turn to stem family formation. She is now writing about economic culture and consumption in the 17th century. A representative and easily accessible publication is *Japan in Print: Information and Nation in the Early Modern Period* (UC Press, 2006). The

first woman to chair the history department (2007-12), Berry chaired three other UCB departments as well. She is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a former president of the Association for Asian Studies, and a recipient of the Award for Scholarly Distinction from the American Historical Association.

## Paula Fredriksen (1981-1986)



Paula Fredriksen, the Aurelio Professor of Scripture emerita at Boston University, since 2009 has been Distinguished Visiting Professor of Comparative Religion at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. She is also a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and holds honorary doctorates from universities in the USA (Iona), Sweden (Lund), and Israel (Hebrew University). In 2020, her Shaffer Lectures at Yale University focused on “Christian Identity, Paul’s Letters, and Thinking with ‘Jews’”.

. She has published widely on the social and intellectual history of ancient Christianity, and on pagan-Jewish-Christian relations in the Roman Empire. Her study Paul: The Pagans’ Apostle was recognized with the 2018 Prose Award by the American Publishers Association.

## Susanna I. Barrows (1981-2010)



Susanna Barrows, who taught at Mount Holyoke College (1974-1981) before joining the Berkeley faculty, first authored *Distorting Mirrors: Visions of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Yale, 1981), which explores the rise of crowd psychology in late nineteenth-century France as a response to bourgeois anxieties about urban life, class conflict, and the status of women. She subsequently edited (with Robin Room) two volumes on the cultural history of drinking: *The Social History of Alcohol* (1988)

and *Drinking, Behavior and Belief in Modern History* (1991). Until the time of her death she continued to work on a comprehensive study of café life in nineteenth-century France. A celebrated academic salonnière, Barrows hosted monthly dinners with graduate students as well as the Bay Area French History Group, both of them nationally famous venues where scholarly community was made over three decades. She had an uncanny ability to help students find their voices in congenial circumstances and supervised almost 30 dissertations, at least 27 of which have resulted in published books.

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## **Linda Lewin (1982-2011)**

As a social historian of Brazil, Linda Lewin has examined early republican political organization in Brazil's Northeast in terms of its underlying alliances constructed around family networks. Her two-volume analysis of inheritance law from colony to empire took the legal position of individuals born out of wedlock as the central focus, assessing a new family dynamic that eventually persuaded Brazilian legislators to restrict historic inheritance rights. Currently, she is finishing a book entitled "Slavery, Color, and Memory in Brazilian Popular Culture: *The Desafio of Romano and Inacio in Patos* (1874)." The letters of a German governess in Brazil, for which she has written an introduction and supplied historical notes, is intended as an undergraduate text that will be published next year. Lewin has been an active member of both the Latin American Studies Association and the Brazilian Studies Association since their founding, as well as a productive member of the Conference on Latin American History and the American Historical Association.

## Mary P. Ryan (1987-2004)



*Photo by John Dean Photography*

Mary P. Ryan is a professor of history emerita at John Hopkins University and the University of California, Berkeley. She has spent her career interrogating the history of the United States in order to address a range of issues, among them the difference gender makes, the formation of the middle class, and the democracy of public space. Much of her historical research has been situated in American cities: New York, New Orleans, Los Angeles, and the two subjects of her last book, *Taking the Land to Make the City*, Baltimore and San Francisco. She is now extending her study of city

formation by tracing the Mexican and Indigenous American origins of the first settlers of San Francisco. Her lifetime had been stocked full of urban pleasure and civic engagement, be it in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin or Paris, France, and from Baltimore to Oakland. She now resides in Berkeley, California.

## Wen-hsin Yeh (1987-Present)



Wen-hsin Yeh's work, which focuses on China from around 1795 to 1949, explores the experience of wars and revolutions, the reorientation of the educated, the making of a new culture of print, the reconstruction of the nation and the people, and Chinese rethinking about China's place in the world. A much cited publication is *Shanghai Splendor: Economic Sentiments and the Making of Modern China* (UC Press, 2007). The first non-white woman to chair the Center for Chinese Studies (1994-2000) and to serve as

Director of the Institute of East Asian Studies (2007-2013), Yeh raised millions for the campus and was recognized as a Builder of Berkeley. Internationally she was a recipient of the senior scholar distinction awards from the Humboldt Foundation and the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation.

## Susanna Elm (1988-Present)



Susanna Elm seeks to understand the transformation of the later Roman Empire into a Christian Empire through what she calls a social history of ideas. To that end she has published on topics such as the emergence of female asceticism and monasticism (*Virgins of God*, Oxford 1992, 2006); Christianity's role in the transformation of ancient medicine; the impact of administrative exigencies in the formulation of orthodoxy; the significance of tattoos (*stigmata*) in the lives of early

Christian clergy; and the role of education in the intense debates leading to a Christian vision of Rome's eternal universality (*Sons of Hellenism, Fathers of the Church*, UC Press 2012, 2015; winner of the Society of Classical Studies Goodwin Award 2013). Her current research focuses on gender and imperial representation (*New Romans*, UC Press forthcoming), and on slavery and the economy in the work of Augustine of Hippo. She is past president of the North American Patristics Association.



## Robin L. Einhorn (1988-2018)



Robin Einhorn has used taxation as a lens with which to understand the history of American politics after discovering its centrality through the archival research that culminated in her first book, *Property Rules: Municipal Government in Chicago, 1833-1872* (1991). She applied this insight more broadly to the Age of Slavery (previously known as the colonial era, the early republic, and the antebellum era) in her second book, *American Taxation, American Slavery* (2006), which was one of

the first studies to demonstrate the comprehensive and formative influence of slavery in shaping American political institutions. She has been following the tax story into the 20th century in her current work on the federal income tax. At Cal, her heart was always in the teaching. Because, well, Cal students.

## Carla Hesse (1989-Present)



Carla Hesse is Peder Sather Professor of History, and served as the first woman Dean of Social Sciences from 2009-2019, and as Executive Dean of the College of Letters and Science from 2014-2019. A Berkeley native, she received her B.A. degree from the University of California, Santa Cruz ('79), her M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Princeton University ('82, '86), and has been a member of the Berkeley faculty for thirty years. Hesse is a specialist in the history of modern Europe, with particular expertise in 18th century and Revolutionary France. She is the author and editor of numerous books and articles, including *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris* (UC Press, 1991) and *The Other Enlightenment* (Princeton UP, 2001). Hesse is the recipient of notable awards and prizes, including a Guggenheim Fellowship and the prestigious Aby Warburg Prize. She was inducted as a *Chevalier de l'Ordre des Palmes Académiques* in 1993 and was elected as a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2010. She is currently completing a book about the French revolutionary terror and writing about the publishing history of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

## **Margaret Lavinia Anderson (1989-2010)**



Margaret Lavinia Anderson came to Berkeley after 19 years teaching undergraduates at Swarthmore College. Her scholarship had focused on the intertwining of political and confessional conflict in Germany, beginning with a biography of the leader of the opposition in the Bismarckian Reichstag. At Berkeley she extended these interests to institutions and voting behavior

(*Practicing Democracy: Elections and Political Culture in Imperial Germany*, Princeton UP 2000; German trans., Steiner Verlag 2009) and to comparative studies that contested the view that Germany's practices and trajectory had, before 1933, diverged disastrously from the West's. Recently she's been investigating Germany's relations with the Ottoman Empire, from the decade of Armenian massacres in the 1890s through the genocide of World War I, and co-edited a volume entitled *End of The Ottomans: The Genocide of 1915 and the Politics of Turkish Nationalism* (I.B. Tauris, 2019). Her greatest challenge, however, and greatest joy, was teaching the undergraduate survey, History 5 "[The Making of Modern Europe, 1453 to the Present](#) (link is external)," originally podcast by the university.

## **Tabitha Kanogo (1991-Present)**



Tabitha Kanogo works in the field of African History with a research and publication focus on Kenya, colonialism, nationalism, women and gender, and childhood and youth. Her current book project is about various conditions of child and youth endangerment in Kenya. Her publications include *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau, 1905-1950* (Ohio University Press, 1987), *African Womanhood in Colonial Kenya, 1900-1950* (Ohio University Press, 2005) and *Wangari Maathai* (Ohio University Press, 2020).

Kanogo has served on the Board of Directors of the African Studies Association, the Advisory Board of the *Journal of Eastern African Studies* (2007-2018), and the Editorial Board of the *African Studies Review*. She was a Rhodes Fellow at Somerville College, Oxford University in 1982-1985, and a Fulbright Fellow at UC Berkeley in spring 1990.

## Margaret Chowning (1992-Present)



Margaret Chowning's work has taken different paths to understanding the impacts of big political transitions in late colonial and nineteenth-century Mexico on social structures and institutions. Her first book was a social/economic history of rich people in the state of Michoacán; her second was a story of a “troubled” Mexican convent from its foundation in 1754 to the beginning of the twentieth century; her third, due out in 2021, explores the historical origins of Mexican women’s devotion to the Catholic church (and by extension, how they came to serve as a bulwark of the Mexican right); and her fourth book, in its early stages, is on gender and urban space. It will examine how liberal city planning and reformism in the middle of the nineteenth century transformed some neighborhoods from feminine spaces anchored by convents to masculine spaces centered on army barracks and the new homes of military officers. Chowning was a member of the UC Press Editorial Committee for five years and chaired the committee in 2018-19.

## Cathryn Carson (1996-Present)



Cathryn Carson works on the history of modern science, looking at the interplay between intellectual trajectories and institutional settings. She came to history through philosophy, physics, and science, technology, and society (STS). Along with historical works, including her book *Heisenberg in the Atomic Age: Science and the Public Sphere* (2010, Cambridge), she has published in continental philosophy and computational condensed matter physics. She has brought a historian's mindset to

administrative service, leading or co-leading campus efforts to create Berkeley's undergraduate data science major, with its strong interdisciplinary flavor, and its Division of Computing, Data Science, and Society, established in 2019. She served for a decade as the Director of the Office for History of Science and Technology, and then as associate dean in both the Division of Social Sciences and the new Division of CDSS.

## Leslie Peirce (1998-2007)



Leslie Peirce began her career as an academic historian in 1988, after working as a teacher of English as a foreign language at Bosphorus University in Istanbul and then as a test writer at Educational Testing Service. It was during the latter occupation that she received her Ph.D. at Princeton; and it was the writing of the dissertation that persuaded her to become an academic. She taught at Cornell for ten years, Berkeley for eight wonderful years, and finally NYU, until retirement in 2018. Her field is early modern

Ottoman history, with a focus on gender relations and women as they appear in both royal and provincial contexts. Two books are concerned with the dynamics of the imperial harem (1993, 2018), while another explores the workings of a provincial law court (2003). A short book on Ottoman slavery is forthcoming in Central European University's series *The Natalie Zemon Davis Annual Lectures*

# Part III

## Voices

**Personal contributions from some of the first nineteen, with photos dating, when available, from the time of appointment. We hope for many more contributions from colleagues, female and male alike, appointed at any time.**



# Margaret Lavinia Anderson (1989-2010)

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When I came to Berkeley after nearly two decades at Swarthmore, I felt that I had died and gone to heaven. The brilliant colleagues! The eager graduate students, so hungry for knowledge! The humane teaching load! There were, however, some snags. No kind administrator had thought to introduce me to some of the more important local customs. So when I arrived for my first class punctually at 10 and found no one in the vast lecture hall except a young couple passionately making out on the last row, I was mortified.

I waited. Five minutes passed, the couple left, but still no one showed up. The taxpayers of California were paying me to teach; dare I just leave? Then what would happen? Or should I just go ahead and lecture to an empty room? Finally, at 10 minutes after the hour, students began pouring in. I later learned that – regardless of the catalogue's listing my course at 10:00 – "everyone" knew that at Cal, courses always began at 10 after the hour. Thus, my experience as a visitor, in 1987. When I returned permanently in 1990, I had forgotten about that embarrassing contretemps - and so repeated it, although this time, after fidgeting for 7 minutes, the light suddenly dawned and serenity returned.

The other startling local custom was the expectation among our undergraduates that, if they were smart enough to get into Cal, they would get A's in all their courses. At Swarthmore I had never had to face a student angry over a B+. In fact, the campus bookstore sold a popular tee shirt emblazoned with the message: "Swarthmore: Anywhere else it would have been an A." In ignorance, I applied the same standards at Cal that I had always used. The line at my office hours after the mid-terms was long. Determined to stick to my guns, I complained about the grade-chasing to my husband, who taught at a neighboring institution. He brought me up short: "Grades are the currency of academic life. You can't just make up your own currency. And just as you can't import your own state's currency when you travel in another country, you can't just import your old currency here; it won't work." He was right. I changed. But looking back, I fear that I was still probably too tough. I can remember two Cal undergraduates from 1998-99 whose grades, if I could only locate them today, I would surely raise.

# Mary Elizabeth Berry (1978-2017)



I had intended to write a short piece about joining the faculty in the 1970s but, when refreshing memory, found myself immersed in the texts that constitute the closest thing we have to a public history of the department. As I grappled with what they tell us about the early recruitment and reception of women colleagues, I ended up writing at some length—both to draw out the disclosures I found in the record and to advance the story into more recent times. My remarks here, the first I have set down about our past, reflect almost forty years in the department, five of them as chair.<sup>1</sup> They are personal and incomplete, intended as no more than a preliminary exploration of a subject that deserves a new *History at*

*Berkeley*.

The inaugural *History at Berkeley: A Dialog in Three Parts* was the departure point for my dive into the sources. It opens with Gene Brucker’s Faculty Research Lecture of 1995, continues with a Comment written by Henry May following a faculty conversation about the lecture in 1996, and concludes with an Afterword by David Hollinger.<sup>2</sup> I turned, then, to the transcripts of the oral histories of departmental colleagues that were prepared by the Regional Oral History Office of the Bancroft Library (known, since 2014, as the Oral History Center). There are 21 oral histories, recorded between 1996 and 2012: 17 of male colleagues, 3 of female colleagues (Natalie Davis, Paula Fass, and Lynn Hunt), and one of a faculty wife (Beverly Bouwsma). Many transcripts are long (two run well over 400 pages) but those of the women run short, averaging 100 pages. The funding constraints that ended the series had probably set in. (For citations and links, see the “Documents” section of this site.)<sup>3</sup>

One theme common to the texts is the sheer growth of the faculty until 1970. The department had 5 members in 1935, 25 in 1954, and 55 in 1968.<sup>4</sup> The spectacular hiring of the ’60s is made vivid by an Appendix in Hollinger’s Afterword that chronicles 45 appointments during the decade. (Faculty numbers would generally hover in the lower 50s thereafter, dropping into the 40s in recent years. See the “Chronology” section of this site.)

<sup>1</sup> Paula Fass and I, exactly the same age, are the longest-serving women. Paula joined the faculty in 1974 and retired in 2010. I joined the faculty in 1978 and retired in 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Like Brucker and May (but not Hollinger!), some names mentioned here may be unfamiliar to younger readers. Information about active and retired colleagues is available from their Web sites, about deceased members from the typically pithy obituaries in the UC on-line collection, *In Memoriam*. See the link in the “Documents” section.

<sup>3</sup> “The Department of History Oral History Series” includes 19 completed transcripts and 1 transcript “in process” (that of Tulio Halperin). One more colleague, Thomas Laqueur, was interviewed as part of “The Marion and Herbert Sandler Oral History Project.”

<sup>4</sup> I use Henry May’s figures for 1935 and 1954 but not 1970—when May puts the total at 65 (*History at Berkeley*, 26). I don’t know how he counted. The *General Catalogs* put the figure at 55 in 1968 and 53 in 1970.

An accompanying theme is the sheer excellence of the hires made during the '50s and '60s, in the wake of what Brucker describes as the revolt against the old guard (the *baroni*) by the “young Turks” who sought to “bring into the department young, talented scholars who would raise its academic standards and enable it to compete with major eastern universities” (*History at Berkeley*, 6). Ringing with the names of the new men and encomia to them, the sources evoke what Brucker calls a “golden age.”

For those of us who joined the faculty in the 1970s (and long after), the large number and daunting eminence of our seniors were defining facts of life. A “huge generational cohort” that “remained largely intact until the 1990s,” in Hollinger’s words,<sup>5</sup> included many colleagues recruited in the '50s<sup>6</sup> and a large majority of those recruited in the '60s.<sup>7</sup> Lynn Hunt, speaking in 2012, still conjures almost breathlessly the mind-bending lineup:

So there was a kind of younger group. Then there was a very large group of incredibly well-known historians, in a wide variety of fields. There was Bill Bouwsma and Gene Brucker, in my field, and Natalie Davis, of course; and Peter Brown and Bob Middlekauff. There were just an endless number of— Henry May and Nicholas Riasanovsky and Martin Malia, all of whom were in this kind of older generation. Reggie Zelnik was kind of in an intermediate spot. Then there was a new group of us who were just arriving, who, I felt, were in a very different place from these others. The more senior people— Gerry Feldman, Tom Bisson—there were just endless numbers (27).<sup>8</sup>

The group was diverse in one major respect since, as Henry May points out, an “important achievement of the fifties is the surprisingly sudden and complete ending of discrimination against Jews.” He continues: “There is no fact more crucial to the rise in quality both of faculty and students” (*History at Berkeley*, 28). But other barriers remained in place, for none of the 45 appointments made in the '60s went to a person of color or a woman. Albert Raboteau briefly breached the color barrier in the late 1970s before moving to Princeton. Waldo Martin was recruited only in 1989. The gender barrier, breached by Adrienne Koch (1958-65), was broken when Natalie Davis joined the faculty in 1971 and helped focus attention on female candidates (notably, Hunt herself). The early female hires included two women of color: Wen-hsin Yeh (1987) and Tabitha Kanogo (1991).

In all, 5 women would join the faculty in the 1970s; 9 in the 1980s; 4 in the 1990s; 10 in the 2000s; and 11 in the 2010s. Progress was reasonably steady but nonetheless gradual, given the halt to growth and the opening of slots primarily through retirement. Compare 39 female hires over 50 years with the 45 male hires in the '60s. (I can’t resist doing the math. One man was hired every 2.7 months in the '60; one woman was hired every 15.4 months subsequently.)

<sup>5</sup> *History at Berkeley*, 35. Much of the Hollinger essay (35-54) addresses generational issues.

<sup>6</sup> William Bouwsma, Robert Brentano, Gene Brucker, Martin Malia, Henry May, Nicholas Riasanovsky, Charles Sellers, and Franz Schurmann.

<sup>7</sup> Of the 45, 1 died young, 5 failed to receive tenure, and 7 moved to other institutions (David Brading to Yale and Cambridge, Perry Curtis to Brown, Robert Paxton to Columbia, Henry Rosovsky to Harvard, Carl Schorske to Princeton, George Stocking to Chicago, and Thomas Bisson to Harvard [although not until 1987]).

<sup>8</sup> Here and below, numbers refer to the pages in the oral histories of the persons quoted.

If women made up an ever-increasing fraction of the faculty, it took two generations to approach half.<sup>9</sup> (See details and figures in the “Chronology” section of this site.)

Why did change on the gender front come so late? And what finally enabled it?

Henry May is refreshingly blunt about the resistance he faced when urging the appointment of Koch: “[T]here was much opposition to her appointment on several grounds, including, quite overtly, the undeniable charge that she was a woman. The old, hallowed, clubby arguments were trotted out. If we had a woman in the department, we’d never be able to talk among ourselves with mutual understanding and confidentiality” (*History at Berkeley*, 28). Several unusually personal remarks in otherwise tactful interviews intimate continuing unease. Asked about Koch, Nick Riasanovsky calls her “an impressive person” after mentioning that, although just one woman, “she counts for several. As Henry May said, he argued for her promotion more or less as Saint George saving the maiden. It turned out she was the dragon” (106). Ken Stampp describes Koch as a “fairly aggressive and able woman, sort of taking on all the men and feeling that they were all her rivals, which I thought was rather unfortunate.” He continues: “I guess I felt that from now on, we’re going to have more than one woman or no women, but never again just one woman in the department. This sort of token woman was a terrible thing” (263).

Here, a visionary scholar of race conflates what he labels aggression in a woman with bad behavior, person with gender, and individual with group. Larry Levine provides perspective: “When Adrienne left, a lot of nice people said, ‘That’ll be the last woman we hire for a long time.’ She was called a ‘bitch,’ you know, that kind of—and it seemed to me that she didn’t do anything the men didn’t do; but it’s one thing coming from a male; it’s another coming from a female” (281). (See David Hollinger’s profile of Koch in “The First Eighteen” section for a judicious appreciation.)

Several colleagues do rue the absence of women. Levine: “When Adrienne Koch left it suddenly occurred to me we’re all male, and we’re all white. I was deeply involved in the civil rights movement, and here I am, happily ensconced in an all-white male department. Now, what I wanted to say was I didn’t blame the department for the condition, but I blamed the department for not being upset about the condition” (449). And Brucker, reflecting on pressure from the university to hire women: “All very legitimate because women had been woefully underrepresented. No question that they had been discriminated against, certainly in our department” (66). And Dick Herr, reflecting on the climate for graduate students: “There were good women doing very good work in the sixties, and you had the sense—and they were very upset that they were not being considered, because I remember one of them, Orysia Karapinka, who is now still teaching, I think, at the University of Pittsburgh, telling me that Ray Sontag had told her that—‘Why are you doing this? You should get married and have children.’ This was my dear friend, Ray Sontag” (146).

In general, though, the texts are longer on explanations for the female absence before the ’70s than disquiet over it. May’s reference to a clubby culture aside, most colleagues focus on problems with “the pool.” Bob Brentano: “One of the reasons used, when I first came here and asked why there were no women in the department, they said—whoever *they* were—was that it

<sup>9</sup> Of the 46 current members of the department, 23 are male and 23 female.

was impossible to attract strong women because they were either single and so wouldn't want to come to the West—it was implied that they had to come from the East—or they were married, and their husbands' careers would be more important to them than their own. So, for instance, when I thought it would have been interesting to get Hanna Gray, whom I knew well in graduate school, to come here, I was told for various reasons she would never come. And she probably would have, *then*, I think, come. But that was an excuse that was used" (158).<sup>10</sup> So, too, Brucker, remembering a conversation with Bob Middlekauff "when the question of hiring women came up. He made the point that there was a very fine woman scholar in colonial history in the East; her name was Pauline Maier. She taught, I think, at MIT, and he said, 'There's no way we can persuade her to come to Berkeley because her husband, Charlie Maier, is a professor at Harvard. So forget about Pauline Maier.' I mean, he was making the point that again, it's a small pool and the number of people who we would consider qualified are just so small that we would be defeated" (66). Stamp: "Unfortunately, at the beginning of the movement [to recruit female colleagues], the supply of women was not very great" (263). Bouwsma reiterates the point while saying the otherwise unsaid: "The pool of able women historians was pretty limited at that time, and those who were available were pretty well-situated already. We did not make a concerted effort to locate such people" (86).

Well, in truth, the pool was not large, but neither was it negligible. Nationally, women received 10 to 12 percent of Ph.D. degrees awarded in history by Tier 1 institutions between 1958 and 1966. (The figure would rise to 30% by 1988.)<sup>11</sup> At Berkeley, (imperfect) records indicate that a total of 205 Ph.D. degrees in history were awarded in the 1960s, 25 of them to women—just over 12 percent.<sup>12</sup> I looked up only Orysia Karapinka who, yes, joined the Pitt department in 1967 as one of two female hires. I did gather some information on the four women who received Ph.D.s from our department in the 1950s, the most eminent of whom—Anne Newton Pippin Burnett—joined the University of Chicago faculty in 1961 and eventually became chair of the Department of Classical Languages and Literatures. She held the Sather Professorship at Berkeley in 1993-94.

Active searching in this pool was likely to reward effort. A cursory riffling of the AHR in the 1960s turned up a substantial number of well-received books by women. And, during the same decade, women received, for example, 3 Bancrofts, 2 Pulitzers, and 14 Rome Prizes in Classical Studies and Archeology. The Radcliffe Institute, founded in 1960, might have been a good hunting ground. So, too, the great women's colleges.

So, why not explore opportunity? Levine discusses a potential candidate (unnamed) who "had a manuscript rather than a book." The "fear, which was articulated, was 'could we fire her? Could we deny her tenure?'" In the era of second-wave feminism, when anticipation of public backlash might foreclose stringent review of pre-tenure women, perhaps "better not to hire them, though this was never said. But it was the *Zeitgeist* that I felt" (452). More arresting to me is the

<sup>10</sup> Hanna Gray is listed as a "visiting associate professor" in the 1970-71 *General Catalog*.

<sup>11</sup> William G. Bowen and Neil L. Rudenstine, *In Pursuit of the PhD* (Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 32-34. These institutions awarded a total of 252 Ph.D.s in history in 1960, 248 in 1962, 327 in 1964, 371 in 1966, and 407 in 1968 (p. 388).

<sup>12</sup> At present, I have only a list compiled by the department, which is incomplete. I await a list from the Graduate Division.

identity of the two compelling (if unattainable) female colleagues named in the transcripts: Hanna Holborn Gray (who was tenured at Chicago in 1964) and Pauline Maier (who started teaching at U. Mass Boston in the late '60s). Insofar as interest in hiring women did emerge, the names suggest sights trained on stars (rising in Maier's case), a proven body of work, and personal knowledge. These were not criteria for the appointment of men, many of them finishing graduate school and first encountered at AHA conferences or the like.<sup>13</sup> It's hard to resist the conclusion that the criteria kept the goalpost for women beyond reach. Significantly, an interest in safe-ish bets would persist. Of the 18 women appointed before the 2000s, only 4 came directly from grad school or post-docs (Carson, Einhorn, Hunt, and Yeh) and one came from other employment (Elm had worked at Morgan Guaranty Trust).

What changed in the 1970s? Bouwsma: “[G]radually, the number of able women in the profession of whom we were aware—I’m not saying that we were aware of them immediately—but the pool of distinguished women who were able scholars in history certainly increased. My impression is that the department never made a very concerted effort to discover able women.” Q: “Even in the seventies and eighties?” Bouwsma: “Even in the seventies and eighties, but they simply emerged” (86-87). Underplayed here is Bouwsma's role in the celebrated hire of Davis, whom he brought to the department as a visitor in 1968 and, with Brucker and others, championed for a regular appointment. And from the start, Brucker emphasizes, part of her role was “to be the first of many women to come. Because she did talk about the need, and I remember she talked about ‘critical mass.’ She said one person isn’t going to do it here; if we’re going to change the department, we need more women. Of course this is precisely what the administration was pushing for, and what I would say the department accepted” (66).

For Davis herself there is a key to adding women: “Well, just be on the hiring committee and find good people. Well, just have [your] eyes open and notice these [women] were out there and they were good.” And what of complaints that the pool lacked sufficient quality? “Well, whenever I hear this, I think, ‘Well, you just aren’t looking, or you are just confusing quality with a certain style.’ I never take that seriously at all” (70-71).

Alert hiring committees, including women, certainly made a difference. But so, too, did structural change. Many colleagues mention pressure from both the campus administration and the federal government to increase female and minority hires. Brentano goes into the procedure that the campus developed to help ensure fair searches: “It was extremely tedious and unpleasant and artificial in some ways. But it made people be careful. My sympathies were completely with that.” He also goes into a federal investigation into possible discrimination in campus hiring that led to demands “to turn over all our papers, including all our letters,” which were refused (153).

<sup>13</sup> Tom Laqueur: “But then right out of Oxford before I had my Ph.D., I got *this* job . . . Just before me, Randy Starn, my colleague, got the job when . . . Gene Brucker called up the History Department at Harvard and said, ‘We need a Renaissance historian.’ And they said, ‘Well, here’s the person.’” He continues: “I had no formal interview; I didn’t give a talk—but I did actually meet some faculty over coffee at the AHA.” “Certainly [my hire] was not through a meritocratic process” (10-11).

Nonetheless attenuated, I think, are the gravity and findings of the federal investigation,<sup>14</sup> the major shifts in law that preceded it,<sup>15</sup> and the campus activism that led to the formation of the Academic Senate's Subcommittee on the Status of Academic Women on the Berkeley Campus. The subcommittee issued a seminal Report in 1970 (co-chairs Elizabeth Colson and Elizabeth Scott)<sup>16</sup> and was instrumental in establishing the procedures mentioned by Brentano to monitor searches. (See the oral history of Susan Irvin-Tripp of the psychology department for details on these matters.)

But probably the biggest game-changer for academic women was Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.<sup>17</sup> If women “simply emerged” (in Bouwsma's words) and hiring committees were able to “find good people” (in Davis's), it was because Title IX transformed the conduct of searches: announcements of jobs had to be publicly placed and selection procedures both formalized and submitted to scrutiny. Advertising. Not targeted phone calls.

My own appointments—first at the University of Michigan in 1974 and then at Berkeley in 1978—followed procedures new at the time but familiar to all who came later. I responded to advertisements, submitted (copious) material, arranged for letters of recommendation, participated in preliminary interviews at professional meetings (largely replaced of late by Skype), and made campus visits that included lectures, grueling questioning, personal meetings with colleagues, and good food and drink at receptions. (Meetings with grad students were not yet routine, nor were classroom visits.) Later, as a member of search committees and chair of several departments, I learned about the ever-more-stringent procedures (elaborated to this day) that attend internal review. Big picture? Search plans must be certified, candidate pools quantified, long-short lists and short-short lists approved, “de-selection” criteria specified for each rejected candidate, and full reports on completed searches filed. All this apart from the work of the Budget Committee, ad-hoc committees, and the campus administration (now recorded in detail).

<sup>14</sup> “On November 27, 1972, OCR [Office of Civil Rights] sent UCB a detailed 120-page letter of findings describing the deficiencies in UCB's equal employment opportunity posture, particularly in the utilization of women in academic positions. Specifically, OCR found, among other things, that UCB (1) failed to affirmatively recruit qualified women, (2) underutilized women in many departments, (3) used different or more stringent standards for women than for men, and (4) maintained policies discriminatory to women. The letter requested that UCB develop a program within 30 days to overcome these deficiencies.” The Comptroller General of the United States,

*More Assurances Needed that Colleges and Universities with Government Contracts Provide Equal Employment Opportunity*, Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, p.28.

<sup>15</sup> The Equal Pay Act of 1963 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

<sup>16</sup> A link to the Report appears in the “Documents” section of this site. It received wide national attention when it was included as an Appendix (pp. 1143 ff) in “Discrimination Against Women, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, ninety-first congress, second session, 1970.”

<sup>17</sup> “No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.”

I survey this labyrinth to suggest the near-revolutionary change in the recruitment process—legally mandated and institutionally enforced—at the forefront of female hiring. Delmer Brown, the only colleague to discuss the requirement for advertising, remained a skeptic: “I do not think any appointed historian was brought to our attention solely by that individual’s personally submitting an application” (178). Delmer is a lodestar to me. But I suspect, if he is right that conventional inquiries to external colleagues brought to light most strong candidates, the canvassing must have been far more extensive and the replies far more inclusive in a time of new vigilance. The habits of the ’60s did not die spontaneously.

And what of the consequences? To Brentano, the addition of women from 1971 appeared untroubled. “For a department which had had such a bad record, once it recognized its problem, it didn’t seem to me to have much tension, no.” He continues: “It’s as if clouds went away and people saw that the old excuses for not having women were really not valid” (157-58).

Indeed, the texts are surprisingly quiet concerning the increasing presence of women. Unlike other breakthroughs—the defeat of the *baroni* and the opening to Jews—no one marks it as a major turn. Nor, unlike the sometimes giddy litanies of male hires in the 1950s and ’60s, do we find the names and accomplishments of the new women much mentioned. Davis is an exception, as is Hunt, whom Brentano credits with easing gender relations: “Lynn helped a great deal, because Lynn was in many ways very quiet as a young colleague, but tremendously admired by everyone because of her work, because of her teaching, and because of her ability to work with people” (137). But this remark is unusual. (In more ways than one. Lynn was as quiet as a fine trumpet.)

The sources were composed, after all, in the late 1990s and 2000s, when women were numerous enough to be associated more with a now-normal order than anything dramatic. And in pace and scale, of course, the recruitment of women was gentle, hardly comparable to the heady hires of the ’60s. Perhaps more to the point, however, was a remarkable continuity in several core aspects of departmental culture. No acute change was felt, especially regarding the rigor of appointment decisions.

Delmer Brown traces the deep background of appointment practice to UC President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, who required in 1923 that each prospective recruit be reviewed by the Budget Committee of the Academic Senate. Procedures were refined thereafter to require, at the departmental level, a nomination by a selection committee, a discussion and vote by the tenured faculty, and a recommendation to the administration by the chair. Appraisal continued by a campus-wide ad hoc committee (in a tenure case) and the Budget Committee, which submitted a recommendation to the president or, as the UC system developed, the Berkeley Chancellor (and, subsequently, the UC Regents). Long in place but vulnerable to complacent compromise, the procedures became, for the history department, solemn instruments of intellectual ambition in 1956. That year, during the revolt against the *baroni*, six “young Turks” successfully opposed a mediocre candidate in European history—who had received a substantial majority vote in the department and a firm endorsement from the chair—by writing convincing letters to campus authorities recommending, instead, Bill Bouwsma. Thereafter, Brown observes, the selection committee reports developed as campus models of “discriminating and comparative evaluation



grounded in extensive reading and research.” And the departmental meetings on those reports turned into “long affairs” in which records were “rigorously examined and debated” (111-15).

“[W]e go by the reading,” as Riasanovsky puts it. “It all boils down to the writing” (110-11). And all faculty members eligible to vote on a case were expected to read that writing—a logistically vexing task, before computer scans, that entailed checking out the material from a small office and getting it back within a day. The selection of women was no different. The newly necessary outreach and monitoring certainly expanded pools and complicated process. (I note, for comparison, that Brown focused a ’60s China search on Joseph Levinson and Benjamin Schwartz after a phone conversation with John King Fairbank at Harvard, 108.) But not so ironically, I think, the added preliminary labor enhanced pride in the ultimately familiar endgame of collective reading and scrupulous discussion.

Long before I witnessed an endgame as a tenured member of the faculty, I understood it—not particularly because my colleagues described it to me (although they did, in initiating me to the departmental religion) but because almost everyone appeared familiar with my work. As soon as I arrived, at least twenty people offered written comments on my book manuscript or took me to lunch to talk about it. Both dead inspired and often contradictory, their critiques were formative. Navigating the contradictions taught me to find a path and a voice. So, too, Paula Fass: “Gene Brucker or Randy Starn, people who were quite distant from my field, or Fred Wakeman, had read my dissertation and took me out to lunch to talk to me about my dissertation and what they thought was wonderful and the areas that they thought I might do some work in. All of that was incorporated into who I was and what my work became. This was a very shared endeavor. Sheldon Rothblatt, we had long conversations about these things” (51). Hunt found at Berkeley “a fantastic level of intellectual exchange” (38). “From the minute I arrived here, I felt I got nothing but positive encouragement . . . . People sent press representatives to see me about my book. They were incredibly encouraging” (31).

With women as with men, the confidence in process that inspired confidence in appointment largely erased perceptions of a departure from the past. Those lunches also belonged to a continuing tradition of sociability. Fass describes with deep affection the shared dinners, outings, and acts of thoughtfulness that bound the community: “So my entrance into Berkeley was not just an entrance into this department in Dwinelle Hall, it was an entrance into the homes of these people. And I genuinely appreciated the women who made their homes open to me. They were my surrogate families” (49). The birth of her daughter “was a huge event. And everybody came to visit her. Everybody came with a gift. And it was a really lovely outpouring of departmental unity” (62).

Surpassingly new, of course, were faculty pregnancies. Thirteen babies would be born at Berkeley to women appointed before 2000. And surpassingly enlightened was the departmental response. At a time when the university lacked such provisions, Bob Middlekauff took the initiative to personally arrange, as chair, the first child-bearing and maternity leaves. His successors followed suit. As provost, Middlekauff was also tireless in enabling the campus appointments of my husband that made us a Berkeley family.

Those babies were part of a much larger change in the faculty that would slowly but significantly alter departmental culture. After 1970, new colleagues with partners were typically in two-career households, a number of them with awful commutes (and two separated by continents). Far more remained single than in the past. And everyone dealt with escalating real-estate costs. Many of us were in apartments or small houses, some quite distant from campus. As a result, large dinner parties and receptions, a social constant for two decades, dwindled. The weekend traffic in Dwinelle, once heavy and fraternally close as the cohort of the 1960s worked on manuscripts while wives tended children, dwindled as well. If big parties never ceased, informal gatherings within close circles increasingly replaced them.

During the 1996 discussion of Gene Brucker's 1995 Faculty Research Lecture, many senior colleagues remarked on the reduced sociability as a painful and seemingly puzzling shift in our history. It was Paula Fass who stood up, with bracing clarity, to remind the group of the shifting demography behind it. (She did not mention the new incidence of divorce among the seniors that had already undercut old forms of socializing.) Still, I was struck by the feeling of loss. If not universal (given the sometimes ambivalent commentary in the oral histories on the parties), it was keen.

An aside. Let it be said that Beverly Bouwsma, an entertainment genius throughout her life, was also a guru to the younger set. Put in charge of the departmental colloquia upon my campus arrival, I invited colleagues to my apartment for drinks after one of the first events. Beverly drove me home early to be ready for the crowd (I had no car) and asked if I had gin. Yes, I said, an unopened fifth. "Let's stop for more," she said. We did. Both bottles were consumed. The vermouth was barely touched.

A second arena of concern in the departmental culture was graver for newcomers. Natalie Davis: "It is nice to have a department, which even though they had very different views on things, has this sense of respect for each other. But I had felt at the time that it got solidified in a certain style so that when certain new kinds of problems came up—and they were new partly because they had to do with women—they didn't handle them right . . ." Davis calls the style "a sense of egalitarian, but elite, brotherhood" (52), which she found pronounced in shielding Wolfgang Sauer.

One issue involved sexual misconduct: "But he was behaving very, very badly, and already I felt badly because I felt that this brotherly spirit that I'm describing was covering for him. They thought he was doing the wrong thing, but rather than the chair . . . saying to him, 'You stop that. You stop that,' people were reading the final exams that he refused to read, because the particular girl wouldn't—. I mean it was just appalling" (62).

Another issue involved a letter circulated to all colleagues by Sauer in the mid-1970s. It stated, in Levine's telling, "that it is clear that women are political appointments; you can't be sure they were appointed because of their scholarship . . . [T]herefore any woman with self-respect would resign her position. And therefore, [Sauer] could no longer participate in the hiring of women." Levine continues: "Well, if he had written that letter about Jews or about Blacks, African Americans, there would have been hell to pay. And I should've gone around trying to raise hell—I didn't. I thought the letter was idiosyncratic" (470).

That letter was linked to commotion at a personnel meeting. Again, Levine: “We paid a price for [not raising hell] because when Lynn Hunt came up for [her fourth-year review]<sup>18</sup> we went into the room to vote” and were joined by Sauer. “I questioned his right to be in the room . . . . People jumped up. No one, *no one* said a word about Sauer’s right to be there, but they jumped up about my saying something about Sauer’s right. How dare I say this? . . . The fact that he called all women political appointments and said they should resign never was raised” (470).

Davis: “I couldn’t believe that the brotherliness would support this man. He finally came to the meeting, and I think he just abstained or something. But it was an extremely difficult moment. To me, that was the worst moment of my time here . . . . You see, it was exactly the moment in which the brotherly solidarity, which had its good points, came into conflict with a new set of rules and a new set of persons” (62-63).

Hunt knew of Sauer’s letter but not about the meeting. Colleagues “were very good—part of the brotherhood thing—about not breaking confidentiality.” She continues: “I was a little pissed off that the department hierarchy did not basically sanction him in any way . . . . I felt that if he had put this letter in the box saying, I’m never voting for another Jew, he would’ve been in deep trouble.” “I did feel he got away with it because it was about a woman, and it was thought to be a psychiatric problem of some kind, a psychological problem, as opposed to a political problem” (30-31).

Sauer was a singular flashpoint. Yet the weight of the “elite brotherhood” would be long and variously felt. Hunt: “One reason why I left was that I felt I was the dutiful daughter, for a very long time.” There was “a way in which, for me, I felt there was an issue about truly being grown up. I don’t mean intellectually, so much as professionally.” It was “very hard to break out of the situation in which there were all these extremely distinguished older men. Who were perfectly nice, with whom I got along fantastically” (28-29).

The dutifulness counted. “[T]he other side of that coin was that I was made the chair” of the search committee that nominated Susanna Barrows. “[B]ecause I was such a dutiful daughter and had proved myself to be so helpful, then I could be trusted.” But “this was exactly part of the problem. There were times when . . . I got on my high horse and was extremely upset, in one hiring case. It was nineteenth-century American history, in which we didn’t even consider anyone in African American history. I made a very strong statement that I thought this was totally unacceptable . . . . They were kind of like— They went ahead and did exactly what they wanted to do, but they said, ‘You’re right.’” Even so, “that still fits in with the dutiful daughter thing, which is, ah, yes, the children can speak the truth” (31-33).

Fass; “I know that when I first came in here—and this, again, I’m more than willing to say this was my own personality or whatever—this was a very paternalistically governed department. It had something to do with the fact that we overtly admired each other. So there was a kind of faith, good faith that the people we admired would take good care of us. And for the most part, they did.” The good faith was broken once: “I felt I was being bullied [by the departmental chair], when I was a member of a hiring committee. And I was furious. Precisely because I felt that when we are given a committee assignment, it’s our job to do our work, to find

<sup>18</sup> Levine mistakenly identifies the occasion as a tenure review.

the best person in that field, together with your committee, and to put them forward. And I didn't think it was the chair's role to in any way interfere in that." She continues: "I did win, at great cost. At great cost. Because as I also discovered, [the chair] was manipulating some other members of my committee. And so the committee had a falling out. It was an extremely painful experience" (91-94).

That chair was exceptionally controlling. (He also sowed division in a search committee that I led, hence defeating a recommendation he opposed.) Fass nonetheless points to a structural issue when reflecting on the procedures for choosing departmental chairs. There was "a kind of clique in the department, where this passing on of chairs became part of that. And I think the chairs feel they have a responsibility to maintain the department and are fearful of letting it fall into hands of people who might be destructive. And I think that's a mistake. I said that, actually, at that time, in the department. There should have been more leeway allowed earlier, to the younger members of the department. And I think that would've been better" (95).

What was brotherly to Davis and paternalistic to Fass was baronial to me (well before I heard Brucker use the term for his own seniors). Its quintessential expression was something I called the "baronial veto"—the unquestioned quashing of a proposal (often concerning a prospective hire) by a colleague with seeming ownership rights to the field or the subject in question. I respected the practice, rooted as it was not only in the faith and trust mentioned by Fass and Hunt but something deep in the bone: a mutual deference resulting from the very long time the seniors had spent together and a well-founded confidence in their decisions.

Even so, and from the outset, I raised my voice. Precisely because I felt so welcomed, I viewed opinion as a responsibility of membership. Another "dutiful daughter" from my vantage, a lightning rod to others. (My models were the countless Mothers Superior who never rested.) The issues? Early on, voting practices that excluded assistant professors from meetings about external candidates for appointment. The selection of named chairholders also became a fraught matter for me: the frequently conflicted decisions and sometimes immense allowances at stake mandated, to my mind, term appointments in order of seniority. Curriculum? I urged the revision of requirements that skewed both enrollments and TA/GSI opportunities. (Each major had to take two lower-division courses on Europe [pre- and post-1500], one on the U.S, and one on either Africa or Asia or Latin America or the Middle East.) Faculty FTEs? Disturbed that 52% of slots went to "Europe" (including ancient Greece and Rome as well as Science, which critics found a wrongful count), I pressed for redistribution. Selection of chairs of the department? I advocated for outright elections instead of decanal consultations. Salaries? I requested a list from then-Chair Zelnik to test a suspicion that they were unfair and, when refused, made the request to the dean (successfully). I also invited younger members of the department (those under forty, I think) to my home to explore collective directions for change.

There was more. But you get the picture. Although I found support among peers and seniors alike, I stirred tension. I got a taste of deep aggravation when the meeting at my home was widely condemned by senior members (including former but unsympathetic "young Turks").

I got a taste of fierce anger when Zelnik learned that I had received the salary list and informed two colleagues who witheringly rebuked me for a violation of trust. I had crossed a line.<sup>19</sup>

Here was another side of the baronial culture. For some seniors, certainly not for all, the opening of the department to women appeared predicated on consent to a male hierarchy that knew best. Debate over appointments was accepted from newcomers since, if conflict was neither infrequent nor fast forgotten, that debate remained our bulwark. But wider discussion—of curriculum or chairholding or, lordy, salaries—felt, I gather, like boring into bedrock. Our programs and our practices, foundational to our identity, deserved defense, not contest.

Things did change, steadily and on many fronts. Most dramatic was a faculty vote in 1993 to limit chairholders' allowances and reserve the surplus, principally to fund what would become, after 2005, guaranteed packages for graduate students. That vote was a turning point, I believe. It signified a transformative departure in policy, unprecedented on the campus. It was contentious rather than consensual, indicating a tolerance of internal dissent across the board. And nothing like a "revolt" of new Turks against a current barony, it united a cross-generational majority.

How was this possible? The increasing size and lengthening tenures of the post-1970 cohorts made a difference. No longer were we all newcomers clustered at the lower rungs of the professorial ladder. We gained a good deal, too, from external senior hires who leavened our culture: I would single out Tom Brady, David Hollinger, and David Johnson. Retirement was an important factor as well. Only eight colleagues hired in the '50s and '60s retired in the 1980s. But seventeen retired in the 1990s, almost all of them early in the decade when UC sought to cover severe budget deficits through Voluntary Early Retirement Incentive Programs (VERIPs).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Remarks by Win Jordan, about a return to the department as a visitor after he had resigned to take a position at the University of Mississippi, almost certainly involve me: "I had the feeling that . . . the department was no longer quite the happy ship that it had been by the late seventies." When pressed by the interviewer, he responds: "Well, there have been difficult women here who have created difficulty about women" (164). The remarks echo Ken Stamp on Adrienne Koch, conflating person with gender and individual with group. Both the Levine and the Wakeman transcripts also linger over a changing climate in the department that troubled their later years—what Ann Lage, in summarizing the Wakeman interview, describes as a "contrast" between the "camaraderie" of the "all-male cohort hired . . . in the late fifties and sixties" and "the department's gender and cultural battles in the early and mid-1980s" (IV).

<sup>20</sup> The three sequential VERIPs, which offered five additional years of service credit and cash bonuses to faculty and staff who met combined age and service credit totals, were described as: "A permanent reduction in workforce program designed to effect sufficient payroll savings in response to severe and cumulative budgetary shortfalls" resulting largely from cuts in state support. Carol Christ observed in a 2001 interview that: "The campus was able to shift the expense of a large portion of highly paid faculty to a fully funded retirement system, then rehire them through recall at a much cheaper price, and continue recruiting the best faculty." UCB "lost nearly 28 percent of its faculty through VERIP, but the losses were gradually replaced in ensuing years, said Christ. The faculty has now grown to almost 90 percent of its pre-VERIP size." (Worth noting is the end to a mandatory retirement age for university faculty members in 1994.) [https://www.berkeley.edu/news/berkeleyan/2001/10/24\\_verip.html](https://www.berkeley.edu/news/berkeleyan/2001/10/24_verip.html)

It would be wrong, however, to miscast generational divides. Bonds between seniors and more recent arrivals remained often troubled in the policy arena. But, for most of us, they also remained generative personally and intellectually. In my case, Sheldon Rothblatt was a brave champion, early on, of my potential in the departmental administration. As a scholar and a teacher, I received profound support from Tom Smith, Irv Scheiner, Bob Brentano, and Randy Starn. I think each of us had sustaining circles. Our eventual inclusion as weighty actors in departmental decisions is near-unimaginable without them

We turned another corner when departmental chairs were selected from post-1960s cohorts: first, Jan de Vries (appointed in 1973) in the late 1980s; and, then, Marty Jay (appointed in 1971) in the late 1990s. In the new century, all chairs came from later cohorts. Jon Gjerde (appointed in 1985) became chair in 2001; David Hollinger (appointed in 1992) in 2004; and I (appointed in 1978) in 2007.

The history department clearly came late to a female chair, a result not only of a deep bench of male talent but old reservations. Hollinger, instrumental in my selection, thinks the path was cleared by the sad death of Zelnik, who would have resisted. Gjerde, long an ally, was certainly the crucial player. (He was serving at the time as dean of the Division of Social Sciences.) Still, Jon warned me during the telephone call offering the job that I remained a lightning rod. Carla Hesse was one of many concerned friends who urged me to soften up, in her words by getting past a “Thomas-More-like rigidity” to a more “pastoral” sensibility. One fear focused on my continuing attention to what I saw as the over-representation of European specialists on the faculty. To correct my compass, David Hollinger thoughtfully left on the shelves of the chair’s office David Hume’s magisterial *History of England*. More salient, I thought, was the beautiful big globe he left as well.

During the same year that I became chair, Wen-hsin Yeh became director of the Institute for East Asian Studies and Emily Mackil became director of the Sara B. Aleshire Center for the Study of Greek Epigraphy. During the following year, Carla Hesse became dean of the Division of Social Sciences. A number of female colleagues had already served in weighty campus positions: Carla as chair of the Budget Committee, Cathryn Carson as director of the Office for the History of Science and Technology, Susanna Elm as chair of the Program in Mediterranean History and Archaeology, and Maureen Miller as director of the Program in Medieval Studies. This cluster of developments signified, I believe, our arrival as normal administrative players—our reception into leadership.

Although it need hardly be said, the intellectual and professional achievements of both the early and later female cohorts are apparent in lustrous bios. If I do not linger here over individual names, the sheer volume of distinction is one restraint. My focus on the story of recruitment and reception is another. Other stories await.

All in all, the rise of women to departmental and campus leadership wrote an end, I think, to one chapter in our history. At least by 2010, the steady hiring, promotion, and integration of women colleagues that began around 1970 had erased any minority status. At all levels, we belonged. We operated, moreover, in a fairer culture. Campus efforts to redress significant salary inequities—continuing to this day and enabled by “Targeted Decoupling Initiatives”—made real differences to many of our members, most of them women. The campus and the department also worked to equalize start-up packages and research allowances, and to make restitution for some of the more striking disparities of the past.

But equality means more, of course, than nondiscrimination and access to office. Problems with sexual harassment, sexual misconduct, and the gender climate remained. While doubtless longstanding, they rarely surface in the oral histories. I mentioned earlier Natalie Davis’s remarks about Wolfgang Saur (p. 9). Bob Brentano recounts another episode, in a very different register: “When an unnamed female colleague [identifiable from the context as Diane Clemens] had been working late one night, there was a knock on her door, she opened it, and the man [identifiable from the context as Sauer] said to her, ‘I am in need of woman,’ and jumped in on her. She said, at least as she told me the story (away from Berkeley), ‘Now, now, X. You’re just confused. You sit down and I’ll give you a cup of tea.’ And she did. And he did. And he went away home” (137). And Paula Fass describes misbehavior by male TAs: “They were all trying to trip me up. They were trying to demonstrate that they knew far more than I did and that I was this young, female person, who had mistakenly been hired here, and that they should’ve been hired instead of me. So I literally had people sitting with their ducks, as I called them after a while—in other words, their students in the class—having them titter while I was lecturing” (45). In time, she notes, many would convey remorse. Let me add to this record an episode involving a colleague accused of harassment by grad students. The chair called me in to ask that I speak with the colleague, since “Beth, you’re a woman and will know how to handle this.” (I was an assistant professor at the time.) I think I replied that this was a job for the chair himself.

When I myself was chair, complaints arose about perceived bullying (of juniors by seniors on committees), thoughtless remarks in conversations, and innuendo in lectures. I intervened, person to person, without bringing in the campus. The most disturbing episodes involved instructors (one faculty member and both male and female GSIs) who were threatened, propositioned, or otherwise approached inappropriately by students. In two cases I called the police and involved campus authorities. I also conveyed, in meetings with GSIs and in writing, a number of protocols about reporting incidents; limiting email correspondence to formal teaching matters; scheduling office hours during high-traffic periods with open doors; and introducing third parties into potentially difficult consultations (typically the faculty members in charge). One more perennial issue involved rude conduct by the faculty toward the staff. I intervened with the prime offenders, sent out several memos, and encouraged staff members to speak up. Rudeness abated without ceasing. An issue that was not brought forward to me, although it surely existed, was belittling conduct toward women in seminars.

What I did know about was bad. But it did not signify to me a pervasive climate of bad gender relations. Was I naïve or complacent? Was I unaware of widespread problems? Was the presence of a female chair something of a brake on misbehavior? Were there particular triggers in subsequent years that led Ethan Shagan, then chair, to respond to extensive disquiet by forming a Gender Task Force (chaired by Emily Mackil) in the spring of 2014? I can't answer these questions. I can say that we are in a different and perhaps improving world, which is beginning to face up to the physical and emotional and intellectual cruelty enabled by gender injustice. In a draft of this essay, I actually itemized my own experiences (which run the gamut from violence to most lesser forms of abuse) as a way of saying that nobody is spared, not just the legions of #metoo witnesses but the colleague in the office next door. The urgent point is that harm is real and wide. And that the work of task forces will result in climate change only through collective courage and tenacity and heart.

Worth noting here, if tangentially, is the relationship between respect and knowledge. I believe intellectual communion remains robust in small circles but in decline across the full faculty. Throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s, colleagues knew one another and one another's work reasonably well—a result primarily of collective reading and discussion during personnel reviews but secondarily of still-extensive exchanges of work-in-progress. This changed—partially because of faculty turnover, significantly because daunting pressures erased time for reading the books and manuscripts of colleagues. Multiplying professional burdens made a big difference. But so did the demographic, often gender-related changes I mentioned earlier. Almost all colleagues are now grappling with one or more powerful challenges: a two-career household, a single-parent household, responsibility for eldercare or childcare or both, long commutes in a tough real-estate market, distance from extended-family networks of support. The litany could be much longer. One result? Withdrawal from meetings on hiring and promotion was pronounced enough when I was chair that taking attendance, counting the quiet, and encouraging engagement became necessary. As far as I can tell, informed participation did not increase thereafter.

Colleagues felt the loss of communion sufficiently to make it a subject of the 2014-15 external review. A subsequent effort to focus our colloquia on faculty presentations of circulated work-in-progress led to terrific discussion but low attendance. And that model gave way to others, focused neither on written work nor members of the department. Without complaint, I note simply that we have not plotted a path to communal self-knowledge. Sacrificed, in consequence, is the sort of grounded intellectual familiarity across field (or even sub-field) boundaries that creates genuine collegiality and helps forestall the unthinking behavior pronounced among strangers. A good gender climate is created by mutual regard, which is furthered in academic circles, I think, by knowing the work and the author. While I have described both generational tension and baronial privilege in the departmental past, the scale of intellectual commerce deterred (most) chauvinistic condescension. Is such intellectual commerce still possible?

I close here, hoping that many people will amplify, correct, and reconceive my remarks on the recruitment, reception, and experience of women faculty in our department. We need a big chorus akin to the voices who sound in the oral histories. Even so, there is a greater and only



marginally explored subject-in-waiting: race and ethnicity. That chapter in our history must be written. There is also one more, which is likely to define our future place in the profession and to dominate future analysis of our choices and identity: the contraction in faculty size. I cut a long digression on this subject from this essay. I shall return to it another time.

So, let me conclude with an observation that might have been highlighted earlier but seems a fitting last word. Friendship among women on the faculty has been sustaining. Never members of a generational cohort or even, for years, a substantial group, we formed tight circles that provided as much laughter and camaraderie as professional support and counsel. Colleagues return to the point throughout the “Voices” section of this site. What must have been real loneliness for Adrienne Kohn comes into focus as I remember how much it meant to have Lynn and Paula so close. This is not at all predictable. Neither in graduate school nor as an assistant professor at Michigan could I just drop by on another woman with confidence in a good welcome, a good talk, and a good drink. Sometimes a good cry. (Remember, Paula, when I sank on your couch after stern critiques of my revised book manuscript?) Mostly the great laughter.

# Cathryn Carson (1996-Present)

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I came to history from theoretical physics, a discipline that has never been particularly friendly to women. At one point I wrote up a short, [highly modulated essay \(link is external\)](#) about my experiences as a woman in STEM. When I say that the history of physics was more welcoming than physics, that's also recognizing that that's a low bar. In my early years in the field, I was apparently nicknamed the "iron maiden." For better or worse, that's a persona I can own. Working on the history of some of the most intensely formalistic parts of quantum mechanics, I developed a thick skin very early. The dynamics of the field played into the work that I chose to pursue. Technical history of physics is lovely, but I left it behind in

part because I ran out of patience with misogyny in that community. As I moved into the political and cultural history of the field, I'm sure I was seen as going soft, rather than grappling with even harder things than the equations of quantum electrodynamics.

Berkeley had its own challenges. The very first history of physics class that I taught on campus, a late-arriving student walked into the room, took a look at me, and turned around, concluding I couldn't be his history of physics professor. He later apologized. But at the time when I arrived, the History Department actually felt like a home base from which I could anchor as I began working across the STEM disciplines at campus scale. I'm told that when I showed up at my first data science meeting, there was whispering: That woman from the History Department - what's she doing here? The anger of exclusion has driven me to use my position and privilege to make STEM spaces more hospitable to all marginalized people, and also to counteract the technical privilege that the STEM fields have. Exactly because history is looked at as humanistic and soft, it can be feminized and devalued. I can look on that as a familiar historical phenomenon, and I can also say that I've lived it and kept hammering at it, with all the resoluteness that a historical perspective provides.

# Margaret Chowning (1992-Present)

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I came to Berkeley in 1992, when my twin daughters were 7. In my first semester I was hospitalized for two weeks with a bad flair of an autoimmune disease, and there was a big GSI strike that kicked in just about the time I was able to return to the classroom. Welcome to Berkeley! Things settled down for a couple of years but in 1994 my husband was diagnosed with cancer, his larynx was removed, he never spoke again and he didn't leave the house for two years before he died in 1996. The History department and my colleagues were kind, but there was definitely reason to be grateful that there were already a number of women on the faculty who signaled their support in a variety of ways that I think most men would find it hard to have done with a young female colleague they scarcely knew. These included especially Linda Lewin and

Paula Fass. Paula was single-handedly responsible for marching into the office of the chair of the department and telling him that he needed to arrange a semester of family medical leave so that I didn't have to commute from Menlo Park, leaving poor Fred in the care of my non-English-speaking nanny and my 10-year-olds. He was immediately receptive to that idea but I don't think it would have occurred to him. I owe Paula a lot.

And yet, despite this rough start, I was supremely happy to be at Berkeley. I plugged along revising my dissertation, got tenure, and, even before tenure, managed a work/life balance that, looking back on it, was a big achievement. I think the key was that after my husband died, there was simply no question that I needed to step up as a parent in a big way. I could not choose work over family. I am fortunate, however, that working on my own research and writing is relaxing and makes me happy, so in the spaces that increasingly opened up as the girls got older and more independent, I was pretty productive. Defining work/life balance, I was able to coach their basketball teams for six years even as I published my first book and made significant progress on my second. I think that maintaining this balance has helped ease the inevitable frustrations of being a member of a self-consciously great—and therefore demanding and sometimes arbitrary—History department. I am loyal to the Department, and I have served it as well as I can, but it has always come fourth in importance after my family, my own work, and my students.

Because teaching has been the other great source of joy in my professional life. The graduate students I have helped earn a Ph.D. and a rewarding career—usually in academia but not invariably—continue to be friends and intellectual companions. I count 34 women and 24 men with whom I worked closely on their dissertations. They are out in the world and making their own way with great success, doing something they love, in part because of me. Twenty-eight of them have a Hispanic heritage, some with middle-class backgrounds but a fair (and increasing over time) number were the first in their families to graduate college. That is a great feeling.

# Natalie Zemon Davis (1971-1978)



I rejoice in two memories of my time in the History Department at Berkeley in the 1970s. The first was the wonderful intellectual exchange I had with my colleagues in early modern history. Bill Bouwsma and Gene Brucker were as welcoming as could be, and we talked often of themes of shared interest. The same was true of Dick Herr and of Randy Starn, when he joined the department. They put no obstacles in my way in regard to my courses in the history of women and gender and did not discourage my

interests in anthropology and literature or my contacts with colleagues in these fields.

The second happy memory concerns the pleasure of friendship with Lynn Hunt and Paula Fass, when they joined the department. I had worked for them to come and their presence made a huge difference in the character of the department. Along this line—though going beyond the department itself—was the intellectual delight and social connectedness that came from my teaching of my course on Society and the Sexes in Early Modern Europe. Enduring connections developed with undergraduate and graduate students, some of whom went on to do their dissertations on the subject in early modern and American history. At least some of my male colleagues in the department approved, a few did not—but I paid them no mind.

For me, the department and Berkeley more generally at that period were places for discovery and expansion of interest: my turn to film and its use for historical expression started at UCB. I first got the idea of working on Martin Guerre in the course of graduate seminar.

## Lynn Avery Hunt (1974-1987)

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When I was promoted to Full Professor in the Berkeley history department in 1984 I was the only woman among more than 40 full professors, not to mention the only lesbian. Although my solitude as a female among the full professors did not last long, it was a striking moment, but equally dramatic was the complete absence of anyone of color. It is perhaps difficult for younger faculty now to imagine this state of affairs and the resistance that some clearly felt to changing it. But change it did, one new appointment and promotion at a time, often after intense conflict. But my memory of those days is not overshadowed by isolation or struggle. What struck me most at the time and ever since was my incredible good

fortune at being hired in a department filled with fabulously interesting and accomplished historians who from the first day encouraged me to consider myself just as interesting and potentially just as accomplished. Foremost among them was Natalie Zemon Davis who left early in my pre-tenure days but who left me with an indelible sense that intellectually and socially just about anything could be achieved with the help of your friends. Without many friends among my cohort of young scholars at Berkeley and among the older historians in the department, too, I would never have been able to pursue the career I was so lucky and privileged to have. Nothing seemed preordained, for we still had to prove ourselves each step along the way, but nothing seemed impossible either. To me this ethos was crucial to making Berkeley's history department one of the truly great departments in the world.

# Part IV

## A SURVEY OF WOMEN WHO RECEIVED PH.D. DEGREES FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UCB, WITH A FOCUS ON 1919-1979

By Mary Elizabeth Berry

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### 1. Introduction

#### *Notes concerning the Aggregate Data Chart and Graph*

I acknowledge with great gratitude the help of Erin Leigh Inama and Dr. Anne J. MacLachlan, who provided the sources that inform the Chart. Erin gave me lists of Ph.D. recipients held by the Department of History;<sup>1</sup> Anne gave me lists she acquired from the Graduate Division<sup>2</sup> as well as very valuable lists she compiled herself.<sup>3</sup> A member of the campus-wide 150W History Advisory Committee and a Senior Researcher and Senior Affiliate of the Center for Studies in Higher Education at UCB, Anne really made this quantitative overview possible with her work and her wit.

The sources present problems, however, that make the Chart tentative rather than authoritative. Because I do not have material from the Graduate Division that pre-dates 1969, full cross-checking of lists was not possible for the 1950s and 1960s. When cross-checking was possible, disparities arose in the numbers of Ph.D. recipients.<sup>4</sup> Without attempting the research necessary for reliable reconciliation, I decided to use the higher of the disparate totals. Errors of omission seem likelier to me than errant additions.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> One list, which I call “A,” is “Ph.D. Alumni, 1950-2000.” It appears on this History Department 150W site and includes names and dates. A second list (“B”) — “Ph.D.s 2000-2020” — includes dissertation titles and advisors.

<sup>2</sup> There are three. One, “C,” is “History Men and Women 1969-80 grad div source.” The second, “D,” is “History Men and Women short 1980-89.” The third, “E,” is “All History 1993-2019.” They variously cover names, dates, gender, ethnicity, and dissertation titles. A fourth list (“F”) — “History from New World, men and women 89-93” — was compiled by Anne MacLachlan to bridge the lacuna in the Grad. Div. lists.

<sup>3</sup> One is a list of “Women History Ph.D.s 1951-1960” (“G”), which she compiled by searching for UC Berkeley Ph.D. Theses in the ProQuest data base. For two additional lists, see footnote 7.

<sup>4</sup> Thus, for the 1950s, “A” includes 4 women but “G” includes 7, with only 1 overlap. For the 1960s, my only source is “A,” which (see footnote 9) is incomplete. For the 1970s, “A” and “C” agree, if we correct a double entry and a wrong date in “C.” For the 1980s, “A” puts the total of Ph.D. recipients at 187 but “D” puts the total at 182. For the 1990s, “A” puts the total at 249 but “E” and “F” put the total at 252. For the years 2000-2019, “E” puts the total at 465 but “B” appears seriously incomplete with a total of 383.

<sup>5</sup> For the 1950s women Ph.D.s, I combined “A” and “G,” for a total of 10 (with the sole overlap).

Crucially, moreover, I made judgment calls about gender identifications, based on Web searches as rigorous as possible. The identifications in the Graduate Division lists contain both errors and easily resolved “unknowns,” which indicate an absence of self-reporting. I regret any remaining errors and urge, going forward, that self-reporting of gender become standard, not least to recognize nonbinary identities. I admit to frustration about our record-keeping.

I did not quantify either “international students” or the “ethnicities” of U.S. citizens in the Chart because Anne MacLachlan masterfully controls this data and is now assembling it for all UCB departments. As her results are announced, we shall post them on this site. (Campus efforts to identify the ethnicities of U.S. citizens began in 1972.)

#### *Notes concerning the Profiles from the Cohorts*

I wrote each of the brief Profiles at the heart of this survey, without reaching out to our alumnae. Time was one consideration, since I wanted to provide a preliminary sketch before 150W was well in the past. The mounting numbers of alums since 1960 was another consideration, since good canvassing of any significant fraction of the community would have required team support, which I was not ready to coordinate.

To make a solo venture manageable, I decided to start with our earliest alumnae and go through the 1970s, the decade when women reached 20% of the full cohort of Ph.D. recipients.<sup>6</sup> The total, as far as I can tell at present, is 124 (36 from 1919 to 1949,<sup>7</sup> 10 in the '50s, 24 in the '60s, and 54 in the '70s).

Because 124 is still a large number, I limited my labor by basing the Profiles solely on information readily available on the Web (without exploring the labyrinth of Facebook and LinkedIn). As a consequence, many early alums are either missing from this survey in all but name or glossed with rudimentary details. Their use of married names unknown to me may well account for some failed searches.

When I did find information, I also kept the Profiles short and reasonably consistent in featuring major professional activity – often publication activity, for which evidence on the Web is richest. Lost, as a result, is both biographical depth and breadth. I did not venture into original research for the profiles, nor did I confirm details other than the publication data.

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<sup>6</sup> I considered but ultimately rejected a focus on particular fields of concentration for each of the decades after 1960.

<sup>7</sup> I am once more indebted to Anne MacLachlan for a document titled: “List of WOMEN RECEIVING PH.D.’S FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA from first in 1898 through 1931 by year.” It specifies: “Sources: University of California, Graduate Division. 1926. *Record of Theses Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1885-1926*. University of California, Graduate Division. 1932. *Record of Theses Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1926-1932, Supplement to Record for 1885-1926*.” A total of 10 women on this list received their degrees in history. An additional 26 women appear on two lists compiled by Anne MacLachlan, on the basis of ProQuest searches, to bridge the years 1931-50: “List of Women Receiving Ph.D.s from UC 1931 through 1940” and “List of Women Receiving Ph.Ds from UC 1941 through 1950.”

So, my Profiles are a sampler, little more than a departure point for work I hope others will undertake in the future. Still, readers will find in these cameos a remarkable record of achievement by a large number of exceptional women.

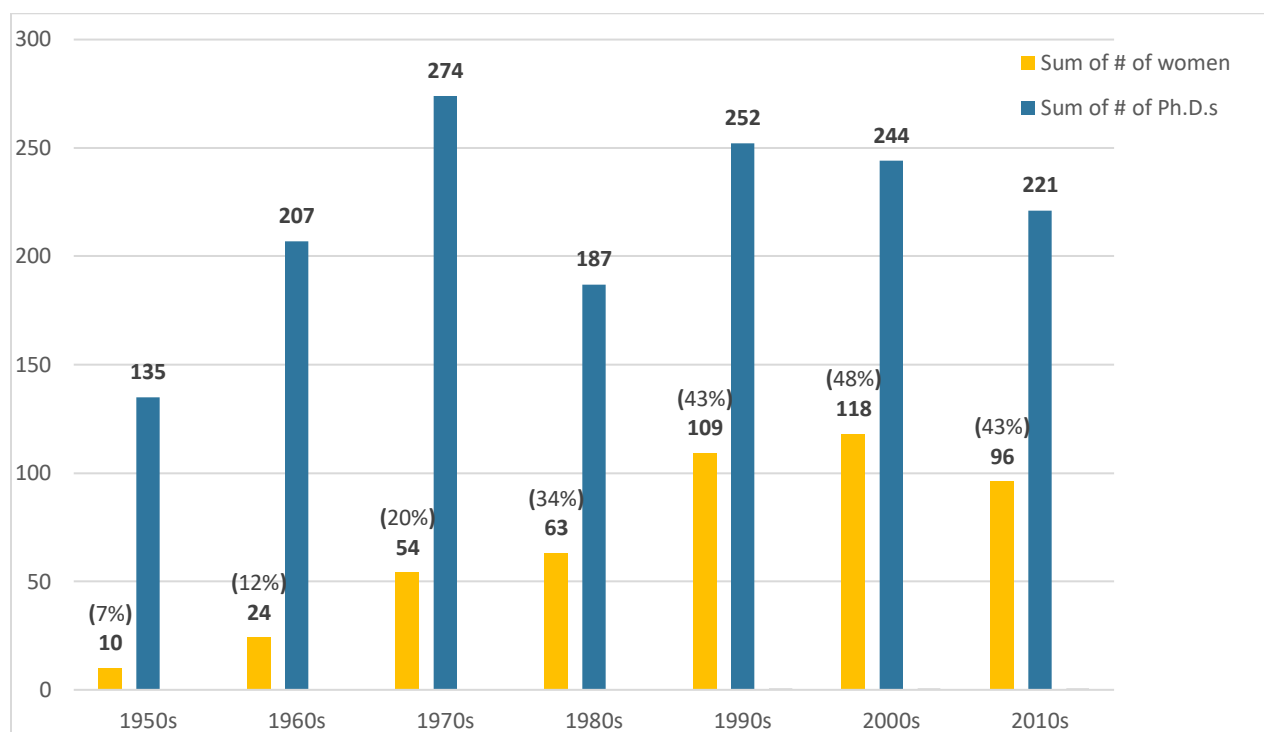
*Notes concerning the Photographs*

I found them on the Web, all but one without acknowledgements of the photographer. Because the material is sparse, the only criterion of selection was availability.



## 2. 1950-2020, Aggregate Data Chart and Graph<sup>8</sup>

Decade	# of Ph.D.s	# of women	% of women
1950s	135	10	7%
1960s	207	24	12%
1970s	274	54	20%
1980s	187	63	34%
1990s	252	109	43%
2000s	244	118	48%
2010s	221	96	43%



<sup>8</sup> See the Introduction and footnotes 4 and 9 for problems with the figures. For the 1950s, I simply added to the total of “A” the six new female names provided by “G” (thus arriving at 135), a poor expedient. For the 1960s, I did not recalculate totals because of an omission in “A.” The direction of the data is what’s significant, not individual numbers, which are soft rather than hard.

### 3. 1919-1949, Profiles from the Cohort



(Pictured from left to right: Mary Floyd Williams, 1919; Effie Mona Mack, 1930; Mother Mary Margaret Downey, 1940)

See footnote 7 for the sources. They identify 36 women who received Ph.D. degrees in history during these decades. I found the dissertation titles on OskiCat. Because I have no data concerning the male cohorts, I could not calculate the percentages of women and men receiving Ph.D. degrees before 1950. Birth and death dates appear here, and throughout the Profiles, only when Web sources provide them (often in obituaries).

#### 1919 [Mary Floyd Williams](#) (1866-1959)

Said to have been the first woman to complete a UC Ph.D. in history, at age 52, MFW published her dissertation with the UC Press in 1921 as *The History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851: a Study of Social Control on the California Frontier in the Days of the Gold Rush*. She served as director of the first UC Summer School of Library Science (1902); one of the first two readers at the Huntington Library when it opened to researchers in 1920; and a lecturer in California history at UC Extension. Her extensive bibliography includes a novel. Her mother was descended from William Floyd, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

#### 1924 [Lillian Estelle Fisher](#) (1891-1988)

LEF taught briefly at Whittier College and for fifteen years at the Oklahoma College for Women before returning to UC to teach in the Extension division. She served as Secretary of the ACLU's Conference on Latin American History in 1938. Her publications include *Viceregal Administration in the Spanish-American Colonies* (California, 1926); *The Intendant System in Spanish America* (California, 1929); "Manuel Abad y Queipo, Bishop of Michoacán" (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, 1935); "The Influence of the Present Mexican Revolution upon the Status of Mexican Women" (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, 1942); *A Comanche Constitutionalist: Miguel Ramos Arizpe* (North Carolina, 1942); and *The Last Inca Revolt, 1780-1783* (Oklahoma, 1966). The Bancroft Library holds her papers.

#### 1925 [Sister Mary Loyola Carnes](#)

Dissertation: "The American Occupation of New Mexico, 1821-1852." No other information at present. Note, throughout these profiles, the presence of a number of women in religious orders.

- 1927 **Sister Mary Austin Collins**  
M.A. thesis (1922): "Hipolito Villarreal and the Reforms of Charles the Third of Spain."  
Dissertation: "The Reforms of Charles the Third in New Spain in the Light of the Pacte de Famille." No other information at present.
- 1927 **Marian Lydia Lathrop**  
No information at present.
- 1927 **Irene Elwonger Newton**  
Dissertation: "The Treaty of Paris of 1898." No other information at present.
- 1930 **[Effie Mona Mack](#)** (1888-1969)  
Daughter of the suffragist Sarah Emeline (Emma) Mack, EMM spent most of her career as a high school educator but also taught at the University of Nevada. The Mack Social Science Building on the Reno campus is named in her honor. Following completion of her dissertation ("The Life and Letters of William Morris Stewart, 1827-1909"), Mack published many books, including *Nevada: a History of the State from the Earliest Times through the Civil War* (Arthur H. Clark Co., 1936) and *Mark Twain in Nevada* (C. Scribner's Sons, 1947). She assumed the alias Zeke Daniels to write about the Virginia City prostitute Julia Bulette (1959). She was a civic activist and celebrated instructor who introduced a course for teachers on "Education in the Atomic Age." [Additional link](#).
- 1931 **Wilhelmina Godward**  
M.A. thesis (1927): "The French Regime in the Middle Northwest." Dissertation: "The Decline of British Control of the Middle Northwest, 1783-1815." No other information at present.
- 1931 **Adelaide Berta Helwig**  
Dissertation: "The Early History of Barbados and the Development of South Carolina."  
No other information at present.
- 1931 **Hallie Mae McPherson.**  
Dissertation: "William McKendree Gwin, Expansionist." No other information at present.
- 1931 **Evelyn Faye Wilson**  
Dissertation: "A Study of the *Epithalamium* in the Middle Ages, an Introduction to the *Epithalamium Beate Marie Virginis* of John of Garland." In 1946, The Medieval Academy of America published an expanded study, *The Stella Maris of John of Garland, Edited with a Study of Certain Collections of Mary Legends Made in Northern France in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. No other information at present.
- 1932 **Inza Jane Manley**  
In 1934 the UC Press published *Effects of the Germanic Invasions on Gaul, 234-284 A.D.*, a revision of IJM's dissertation. No other information at present.

- 1933 [Nell Upshaw Gannon](#) (1900-1974)  
The diaries that NUG kept between 1933 and 1973 are in the Special Collections of the University of Georgia. Dissertation: "Howell Cobb: a Political Biography." No other information at present.
- 1935 [Kathryn Garrett](#), aka **Julia Kathryn Garrett** (d. 1988)  
A junior high and high school educator, KG was honored with a Leadership Award from the Texas State Historical Association and a declaration of "Julia Kathryn Garrett Day" by the city of Fort Worth. Her many publications include *Green Flag over Texas: a Story of the Last Years of Spain in Texas* (Cordova Press, 1939); *Down Historic Trails of Fort Worth and Tarrant County* (1949); *A History of Texas: Land of Promise* (1949); *Our American Constitution: the Story of a Great Document* (1966); and *Fort Worth: a Frontier Triumph* (1972). Dissertation: "The War of Independence in Texas, 1811-13."
- 1936 **Jessie D. Francis**  
Dissertation: "An Economic and Social History of Mexican California, 1822-1846." No other information at present.
- 1937 **Alice M. Christensen**  
Dissertation: "Agricultural Pressure and Government Response in the United States, 1919-1929." No other information at present.
- 1938 **Sister Joan M. McCarthy**  
Dissertation: "French Native Policy and the Church in Algeria." No other information at present.
- 1938 [Madaline W. Nichols](#)  
MWN is the author of *The Gaucho: Cattle Hunter, Cavalryman, Ideal of Romance* (Duke, 1942) and numerous articles in both English and Spanish, including "Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Pioneer Educator of Chile and the Argentine" (*University of California Chronicle* 34[3], 1932) and "Colonial Tucumán" (*Hispanic American Historical Review* 8[4], 1938). She also compiled a number of bibliographical guides for the Committee on Latin American Studies of the ACLU. Dissertation: "The Gaucho."
- 1938 [Adele Ogden](#)  
AO published a revision of her dissertation as *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (California, 1941). She is co-editor, with Engel Sluiter, of *Greater America: Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton* (California, 1945). Her essays include "The Russians in California" (*California Historical Society*, 1933) and "Boston Hide Droghers along California Shores" (*California Historical Society Quarterly* 8[4], 1929). The Bancroft Library holds her prodigious research materials on California maritime history, for example: "Trading Vessels on the California Coast: 1786-1848," which, running to 1493 pages, is a "chronological compilation, containing names of vessels, owners and captains, information on cargo carried, and itineraries."

- 1938 **Sister Aloyse Marie Reich** (d. 1962)  
A Sister of Notre Dame de Namur (SNDdeN), AMR published a revision of her dissertation with the UC Press in 1941: *The Parliamentary Abbots to 1470: a Study in English Constitutional History*. No other information at present.
- 1940 **Lalla R. Boone**  
Dissertation: “Captain George Vancouver on the Northwest Coast.” No other information at present.
- 1940 **Mother Mary Margaret Downey**  
A member of the Society of the Sacred Heart (RSCJ), MMD served as the Mother Superior at the Academy of the Sacred Heart in Cincinnati. Dissertation: “The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Baja California.”
- 1940 **Alice Hotchkiss**  
Dissertation: “The Concert of Europe, 1813-1823: Its Evolution and Development as an Experiment in Collective Action.” No other information at present.
- 1940 **Catherine M. McShane**  
A book review by CMM indicates a professional affiliation with San Diego College for Women. Dissertation: “Hernando de Santarén, Founder of the Jesuit Missions of the Sierra Madre.” No other information at present.
- 1941 **Marion O’Neil**  
MO is the author of “The Maritime Activities of the North West Company, 1813-1821” (*Washington Historical Quarterly* 21[4], 1930) and “The Peace River Journal, 1799-1800” (*Washington Historical Quarterly* 19[4], 1928). Dissertation: “The North West Company on the Pacific Slope.”
- 1941 **Mother Helen Elizabeth Tichenor**  
A member of the Society of the Sacred Heart (RSCJ), HET wrote a dissertation titled “The Opening of the Southern Missions of Baja California.” No other information at present.
- 1941 **[Ione Stuessy Wright](#)**  
ISW is the author of “The First American Voyage across the Pacific, 1527-1528: the Voyage of Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón” (*Geographical Review* 29[3], 1939) and co-author of *Historical Dictionary of Argentina* (Scarecrow Press, 1978). Dissertation: “Early American Voyages to the Far East, 1527-1565.” [Additional link](#).
- 1942 **[Lawanda Fenlason Cox](#)** (1909-2005)  
A member of the faculty at Hunter and the City University of NY’s Graduate Center from 1940 until 1971, LFC made an “indelible imprint” on studies of Abraham Lincoln and Reconstruction with books that include *Politics, Principle, and Prejudice, 1865–1866: Dilemma of Reconstruction America* (Free Press, 1963); *Reconstruction, the Negro, and the New South* (Harper & Row, 1971); and *Lincoln and Black Freedom* (South Carolina,

- 1981). She received the AHA's John H. Dunning Prize for *Politics, Principle, and Prejudice*. An ardent builder of intellectual community, she created the Symposium on Emancipation and Its Aftermath, which met annually in New York City from 1979 to 1989. Dissertation: "Agricultural Labor in the United States, 1865-1900." [Additional link](#).
- 1942 **Edith Vail Hedrick**  
Dissertation: "The diplomacy of the Venezuelan Boundary Controversy." No other information at present.
- 1942 **[Mother Mary Agnes Meade O'Callaghan](#)** (d. 2004)  
A member of the Society of the Sacred Heart (RSCJ), MAMO taught in the Society's schools in Louisiana, Missouri, Africa, and Washington D.C.. Dissertation: "The Indian Policy of Carondelet in Spanish Louisiana, 1792-1797."
- 1942 **[E. Louise Pepper](#)** (1898-1978)  
After receiving her degree, ELP entered the Women's Army Corps in 1942, serving as an economic intelligence officer in France and Germany and rising to the rank of captain. She joined the Food Research Institute at Stanford in 1946 in an administrative and research role; she held a faculty appointment from 1951 until 1964. Stanford published a revision of her dissertation in 1951 as *The Closing of the Public Domain: Disposal and Reservation Policies, 1900-50*. Her research on Argentina's cattle industry during wartime and the postwar period was published between 1956 and 1962 in *Food Research Institute Studies* and the *Inter-American Economic Review*.
- 1944 **[Martine Emert](#)**  
An expert on soil conservation, ME taught at Texas Christian University. She is co-author (with Louis Bromfield, among others) of *Flat Top Ranch, the Story of a Grassland Venture* (Oklahoma, 1957). Dissertation: "European Voyages to Brazil before 1532: a Chapter in International Rivalry in America."
- 1947 **Gwendolyn B. Cobb**  
GBC is the author of "Supply and Transportation for the Potosí Mines, 1545-1640" (*Hispanic American Historical Review* 29[1], 1949) and "Potosí, a South American Mining Frontier" (in Adele Ogden and Engel Sluiter, eds. *Greater America*, California, 1945). Dissertation: "Potosí and Huancavelica: Economic Bases of Peru, 1545 to 1640."
- 1948 **[Barbara B. Jelavich](#)** (1923-1995)  
Distinguished Professor of History at Indiana, BBJ served as chair of the Conference on Slavic and East European History and president of the Society for Romanian Studies. She was honored with the Award for Distinguished Contributions to Slavic Studies by the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies; the first Lifetime Achievement Award by the Association for Women in Slavic Studies; and honorary membership in the Romanian Academy. The Barbara Jelavich Prize of the AAASS is named in her honor. Her prolific publications include *A Century of Russian Foreign Policy: 1814-1914* (Lippincott, 1964); *Russia and the Rumanian National Cause* (Cambridge, 1974); *History of the Balkans*, 2 vols

(Cambridge, 1983); *Modern Austria* (Cambridge, 1987); and *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1806–1914* (Cambridge, 1991). Dissertation: “The German Alliance System, 1939-1941.”

1949 [\*\*Ursula S. Lamb\*\*](#) (1914-1996)

Born in Germany and arrested there for anti-Nazi activity, USL came to the US in 1935, with the help of Quakers, to study at Smith College. After many years of teaching at Barnard, Oxford, and Yale, she was finally appointed with tenure at Arizona in 1974. She received a Guggenheim Fellowship and the Distinguished Service Award from the Conference on Latin American History (the first women so honored). She also served as president of the Society for the History of Discoveries. Her publications, in both English and Spanish, include *Science by Litigation: A Cosmographic Feud* (1969); *Martín Fernández de Navarrete Clears the Deck: the Spanish Hydrographic Office 1802–24* (1980); and *Cosmographies and Pilots of the Spanish Maritime Empire* (Aldershot, 1995). She edited *The Globe Encircled and the World Revealed* (Aldershot, 1995), with a host of eminent contributors. Dissertation: “Nicolás de Ovando, Commendador Major of Alcántara and Governor of the Indies.” [Additional link.](#)

1949 [\*\*Virginia W. Steel\*\*](#) (1919-2005)

VWS taught American and world history at Head-Royce School during the 1970s and, in the 1980s, volunteered as a bookkeeper and gardener at the Association of Children's Services. Dissertation: “Edmund Burke in Political Controversy, 1765-1778.”

#### 4. 1950-1959, Profiles from the Cohort



(Pictured from left to right: Anne Pippin Burnett, 1953; Nikki Keddie, 1956)

*I combine here the list of Ph.D.s kept by the Department of History (which appears on our 150W Web site and identifies 4 women who received doctoral degrees in this decade) with a list compiled by Anne MacLachlan on the basis of ProQuest searches (which identifies 7 women who received doctoral degrees in this decade). Because there is one overlap, the total is 10. Again, I found the dissertation titles on OskiCat.*

##### 1950 **Sister Gertrude Mary Gray**

M.A. thesis (1942): “A Preliminary Survey of the Life of the Most Reverend Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P., First Archbishop of San Francisco.” Dissertation: “Oil in Anglo-American Diplomatic Relations, 1920-1928.” No other information at present.

##### 1953 Anne Newton Pippin, subsequently **Burnett** (1925-2017)

A scholar of classical Greece, ANP joined the faculty first at Vassar and then at the University of Chicago, where she served as chair of the Department of Classical Languages and Literature. She received a Guggenheim fellowship in 1981 and was appointed as the Sather Professor at UCB in 1993-94. Her many publications include: *Catastrophe Survived: Euripides' Plays of Mixed Reversal* (Oxford, 1971); *Three Archaic Poets* (Harvard, 1983); *Revenge in Attic and Later Tragedy* (California, 1998); and *Pindar's Songs for Young Athletes of Aigina* (Oxford, 2005). Dissertation: “Moiragenes and Damis in Philostratus' Life of Apollonius.” [Additional link](#).

##### 1956 **Mary Estes Lieberman**

Dissertation: Ôkawa Shûmei and Japan's ‘Divine Mission.’” No other information at present.

##### 1956 Nikki R. Keddie

NRK, a faculty member at UCLA since 1961, served as president of the Middle East Studies Association and founded the journal, *Contention: Debates in Society, Culture and Science*. Her honors include election to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences as well as receipt of the Mentoring Award from MESA; the Award for Scholarly Distinction from the AHA; the Distinguished Lifetime Achievement Award from the International Society for Iranian Studies; and a major award from the Balzan Foundation (among others). She has published over one hundred articles, roughly a dozen edited volumes,



and numerous books that include *Women in the Middle East* (Princeton, 2007); *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution* (Yale, 2003); *Iran and the Muslim World: Resistance and Revolution* (Macmillan and NYU, 1995); *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran* (Yale, 1981); and *An Islamic Response to Imperialism* (California, 1968). Her photographs have been published and exhibited. Dissertation: "The Impact of the West on Iranian Social History."

1956 **Gladys Hennig Waldron**

Dissertation: "Anti-Foreign Movements in California, 1919-1929." No other information at present.

1958 **Susan Vaughan Billingsley**

Dissertation: "L'Académie royale des sciences, Paris, 1785-1793: an Interpretation." No other information at present

1958 **[Gloria Griffen Cline](#)** (1929-1973)

GGC taught at both campuses of the University of Nevada and at Indiana before joining the faculty at Sacramento State College (now, University) in 1965. There she was the first woman to win the Annual Faculty Research Award. Following a move to Europe, she was a lecturer at Cambridge University. She is the author of *Exploring the Great Basin* (Oklahoma, 1963) and *Peter Skene Ogden and the Hudson Bay Company* (Oklahoma, 1974). Her papers are at Sacramento State. Dissertation: "History of Exploration of the Great Basin."

1958 **Charlene Marie Leonard**

In 1961 CML published with UC Press a revision of her dissertation, *Lyon Transformed: Public Works of the Second Empire*. No other information at present.

1959 **Ruth Marie Leacock**

Dissertation: "Jacques Malet-DuPan: Publicist for Conservatism during the French Revolution." No other information at present.

1959 **Rena Lee Vassar**

M.A. thesis (1935): "The Fort Bidwell, California, Indian School: a Study of Federal Indian Education Policy." Dissertation: "Elementary and Latin Grammar School Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1700." No other information at present.

## 5. 1960-1969, Profiles from the Cohort



(Pictured from left to right: Elisabeth Gregoric Gleason, 1963; Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, 1964; Joan Hoff Wilson, 1966)

Again, I rely on the list of Ph.D.s kept by the Department of History (which appears on our 150W Web site). According to that list, twenty-three women received doctoral degrees in this decade but an omission brings the total to 24.<sup>9</sup> And, again, I found the dissertation titles on OskiCat.

### 1960 [Sister Ethel Mary Tinnemann](#) (1916-2009)

A lifelong activist and leader of the League of Women Voters, EMT walked the poorer districts of Oakland to register new voters and, in 1999, was inducted into the Voters Hall of Fame by the CA Secretary of State. She taught Oakland history in neighborhood venues and lectured the Oakland police on the history and multiculturalism of Oakland. She was appointed by Mayor Wilson to three terms on the Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board. Dissertation: “Count Johann von Bernstorff and German-American Relations, 1918-1917.” Her papers in the Bancroft Library include “A History of Holy Names College” and “Three Hundred Years of Parrish Family History: Edwin Parrish and his California Progeny, 1635-1938.” Her diaries are also in the Bancroft, as is an oral history: “Sister Ethel Mary Tinnemann, Teacher, Historian, Citizen of Oakland, California: Oral History Transcript/an Interview Conducted by Ilene Herman, May 4, 1992.”

### 1961 **Louise Waite Miller**

Dissertation: “Henry III of France and the Revolt of the Netherlands to 1579.” No other information at present.

### 1962 **Ruth Zerner**

Professor Emerita of Lehman College (City College of New York), RZ is the author of “Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the Jews: Thoughts and Actions, 1933-1945” (*Jewish Social Studies* 37[3/4], 1975); “German Protestant Responses to Nazi Persecution of the Jews” (in *Perspectives on the Holocaust*, ed. Randolph L. Braham, Springer, 1983); and “Bismarck's Views on the Austro-German Alliance and Future European Wars: a

<sup>9</sup> Professor James Sheehan of Stanford drew my attention to the absence in the list of Ruth Zerner, whom I added to this group of Profiles. That omission draws attention to the tentative nature of this survey.

Dispatch of October 26, 1887” (published online by Cambridge University Press: 10 February 2009). Dissertation: “German Policy towards Austria, 1885-1890.”

1963 **Elisabeth-Gleason** (1933 -2019)

EGG, who immigrated from Yugoslavia in 1950, long taught in and served as chair of the History Department at the University of San Francisco. Dissertation: “Cardinal Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542) and the Beginnings of Catholic Reform.”

1963 **Sister Mary Martinice O’Rourke**

A Dominican Sister of the Congregation of the Most Holy Rosary (Sinsinawa, Wisconsin), MMO received her M.A. at Notre Dame in 1958. Dissertation: “The Diplomacy of William H. Seward during the Civil War: His Policies as Related to International Law.” No other information at present.

1964 **Lucille Terese Birnbaum**, subsequently known as **Lucia Chiavola Birnbaum**

A faculty member at the California Institute of Integral Studies, LTB won the 1987 American Book Award for *Liberazione della Donna: Feminism in Italy* (Wesleyan, 1986), one of many awards for many books, including *Dark Mother: African Origins and Godmothers* (Authors Choice Press, 2001). Dissertation: "Behaviorism: John Broadus Watson and American Social Thought, 1913-1933." [Additional link](#).

1964 **Rebecca Brooks Gruver**

M.A. thesis (1956): “Japanese American Relations and the Japanese Exclusion Movement, 1900-1934.” Dissertation: “The Diplomacy of John Jay.” RBG is the author of *An American History*, published by Alfred A. Knopf in 1985. No other information at present.

1964 **Jacqueline Strain**

JS served on the faculty at Sonoma State University. Dissertation: “Feminism and Political Radicalism in the German Social Democratic Movement, 1890-1914.” No other information at present.

1964 **Patricia Kennedy Grimsted**

An authority on the dispossession and restitution of cultural materials during and after WWII, as well as the archives in the former Soviet Union and its successor states, PKG is affiliated with Harvard’s Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies and the Ukrainian Research Institute. Her prolific publications (which Wikipedia counts at 184 in five languages) include *Trophies of War and Empire: the Archival Legacy of Ukraine, World War II, and the International Politics of Restitution* (Harvard, Ukrainian Research Institute, 2001) and *Returned from Russia: Nazi Plunder of Archives in Western Europe and Recent Restitution Issues* (Builth Wells, Institute of Art and Law, 2007/2013). Dissertation: “Diplomatic Spokesmen and the Tsar-Diplomat: the Russian Foreign Ministers during the Reign of Alexander I, 1801-1825.” [Additional link](#).

1965 **Ellen McDonald Gumperz** (1936-1972)

A scholar of Maharashtra and 19<sup>th</sup>-c. modernization in India, EMG taught at Columbia University and California State University, Hayward (now East Bay) before joining the

Integrated Social Science Program at Berkeley in 1969. See the obituary for a full bibliography, which includes *Internationalizing American Higher Education* (Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, UCB, 1970). EMG is described as “politically and administratively active in developing a child care program and in organizing university women faculty” at Berkeley. Dissertation: “English Education and Social Change in Late Nineteenth Century Bombay, 1858-1898.”

1965 **Nancy Ann Kaltreider Rosenblatt**

Dissertation: “The Moderado Party in Spain, 1820- 1854.” No other information at present.

1966 **Joyce Olson Ransome**

Dissertation: “Cotton Mather and the Catholic Spirit.” No other information at present.

1966 **Joan Hoff Wilson**

Winner of the Berkshire and many other prizes, JHW is a prolific author of books on US presidents and the presidency, foreign relations, and gender and the law. She has held numerous faculty appointments (for example, at Montana State, Arizona State, Dartmouth, UVA, and Indiana) and is former CEO and President of the Center for the Study of the Presidency. Dissertation: “The Role of the Business Community in American Relations with Russia and Europe, 1920-1933.”

1966 **Anne Hummel Sherril** (1930-1989)

For three decades on the faculty of Mills College, AHS is co-author of *Trumpets Sounding: Essays and Discussions of Jefferson, Franklin, and Peale* (1977) and *John Milton Hay: the Union of Poetry and Politics* (Twayne, 1977). Dissertation: "John Hay: Shield of Union."

1966 **Pauline Dublin Milone**

Author of *Urban Areas in Indonesia: Administrative and Census Concepts* (UCB, Institute of International Studies, 1966), PDM developed an extensive archive on Indonesia, which is now housed at the Hoover Institution. Dissertation: “Queen City of the East: the Metamorphosis of a Colonial Capital.”

1966 **Jessie Lucinda Stoddart**

Dissertation: “Constitutional Crisis and the House of Lords, 1621-1629.” No other information at present.

1967 **Orysia Karapinka** (1938-2015)

Born in Ukraine, Karapinka immigrated to the U.S. with her family after WWII. She was one of the first two women faculty members in the History Department at the University of Pittsburgh, where, regarded as “one of the field’s master teachers,” she remained until her retirement in 2010. Dissertation: “The Idea of the City in Russian Letters from Pushkin to Tolstoy.”

- 1967 **Karen Williams Spalding**  
KWS published a revision of her dissertation as *Huarochiri: an Andean Society between Inca and Spaniard* (Stanford, 1984), which received “honorable mention” for the Bolton Prize. A Guggenheim fellow, she spent her career at the University of Delaware and the University of Connecticut.
- 1968 **Alice Elaine Mathews**  
AEM is author of *Society in Revolutionary North Carolina* (N.C. Department of Cultural Resources, 1976) and *Women in Late 18<sup>th</sup>-C. North Carolina: Politics and Private Lives* (1985). Dissertation: “Pre-college Education in the Southern Colonies.”
- 1968 **Kim Tousley Phillips**  
KTP, who served on the faculty of the University of Connecticut from 1973 until 2001, is author of *William Duane: Radical Journalist in the Age of Jefferson* (Garland, 1989). Dissertation: “William Duane: Revolutionary Editor.”
- 1969 **Doreen May Hunter**  
Dissertation: “Richard Henry Dana, Sr.: an American Romanticist.” No other information at present.
- 1969 **[Judith Margaret Stanley](#)**  
JMS, long a faculty member at Cal State East Bay, developed the first course offered there on women in US history. A Faculty Senate officer, she established the campus’s first charitable gift annuity, which supports the Judith M. Stanley Scholarship in History. She also established a scholarship in honor of her father and her brother. Dissertation: “The Congressional Democrats, 1918-1928.”
- 1969 **[Elaine Glovka Spencer](#)**  
A faculty member at Northern Illinois University, where she served as chair of the History Department, EGS published widely, including *Management and Labor in Imperial Germany: Ruhr Industrialists* (Rutgers, 1984) and *Police and the Social Order in German Cities: the Düsseldorf District, 1848-1914* (Northern Illinois, 1992). She received the Newcomen Special Award in Business History and the Hermann E. Krooss Prize in Business History. Dissertation: “West German Coal, Iron, and Steel Industrialists as Employers, 1896-1914.”
- 1969 **Ilma Ruth Aho** (1904-1988)  
A Finnish missionary, IRA is the subject of a biography by Marjorie Tooker Whittlesley (*Ilma Ruth Aho: Worker in His Field*, Exposition-Phoenix, 1985). M.A. thesis (1953): “A Record of the Activities of the Finnish Missionary Society in Northwest Hunan, China, 1902-1952.” Dissertation: “A Record of the Activities of the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland in Japan, 1900-1946.”

## 6. 1970-1979, Profiles from the Cohort



(Pictured from left to right: Margaret Stieg Dalton, 1970; Sue Fong Chung, 1975; Barbara Diefendorf, 1978; Shulamit Y. A. Volkov 1972; Ruth Rosen, 1976; Lynne Withey, 1976 (Photo by Peg Skorpinski); Patricia Cline Cohen, 1977; Janet Goodwin, 1977; Helen Nader, 1972; Marjorie Caroline Malley, 1976)

*I provide a link here to “[History men and women 1969-80 grad div source](#)”, where readers will find full dissertation titles. Hence, I provide below only the periods and places of specialization. A comparison of the linked document with the History Department’s list of Ph.D. recipients indicates one error and one anomaly in the document.<sup>10</sup> A total of fifty-four women received Ph.D.s in this decade.*

### 1970 [Linda Seltzer Popofsky](#) (1940-2010)

LSP taught at San Francisco State (1970-75) and Mills College (1975-89) before returning to UCB as Director of the Scholarship Office. A specialist on British legal history, she served on the boards of Friends of California History and the Holocaust Center of Northern California. Dissertation: 17<sup>th</sup>-c. England. [Additional link](#).

### 1970 **Roxane Heater Witke**

A faculty member at the State University of New York at Binghamton, RHW is the author of a biography of Mao Zedong’s fourth wife, *Comrade Chiang Ch’ing* (Little Brown, 1977) and co-editor of *Women in Chinese Society* (Stanford, 1975). Dissertation: 20<sup>th</sup>-c. China.

### 1970 [Ellen Taylor Huppert](#) (1936-1972)

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<sup>10</sup> The Grad. Div. document erroneously identifies Orysia Karapinka as a degree recipient in 1971. She appears correctly, above, as a degree recipient in 1967. The document also includes a double entry for Barbara Boonstoppel Diefendorf (1978), which skews the Excel numbering.

A founder and president of both the San Francisco Parents Lobby and the SF Institute of Historical Study, ETH was a civic activist and independent scholar who taught at San Francisco State and Holy Names College early in her career. Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>-c. France.

- 1970 **[Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal](#)**  
 Professor Emerita at Fordham University, BGR has published widely on 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup> c.-Russia, including: *D. S. Merezhkovsky and the Silver Age* (Martinus Nijhoff, 1975); *New Myth, New World: from Nietzsche to Stalinism* (Penn State, 2002); and (with Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak) *A Revolution of the Spirit: Crisis of Values in Russia, 1890-1918* (Oriental Research Partners, 1982; revised and expanded edition, Fordham, 1990). Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-c. Russia. [Additional link.](#)
- 1970 **[Donna Lee Boutelle](#)** (1931-2008)  
 For forty years DLB served on the faculty of California State University, Long Beach, where she was also curator of the Tenko Collection (material concerning Japanese prisoner of war camps in Indonesia). Dissertation: medieval Europe.
- 1970 **[Margaret Frances Stieg](#)**, subsequently **Dalton**  
 The Bristol/Ebsco Professor Emerita of Library and Information Studies at the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, MFS is the author, among other works, of *Laud's Laboratory, the Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Bucknell, 1982); *The Origin and Development of Scholarly Historical Periodicals* (Alabama, 1986); *Public Libraries in Nazi Germany* (Alabama, 1992); and *Catholicism, Popular Culture, and the Arts in Germany* (Notre Dame, 2005). Dissertation: 17<sup>th</sup>-C. England.
- 1971 **Dawn Kalen Keremitsis** (1921-2005)  
 DKK published a revision of her dissertation as *La Industria Textil Mexicana en el Siglo XIX* (1973).
- 1971 **[Helju Aulik Bennett](#)**  
 An immigrant from Estonia, HAB is professor emerita of New York State University, Buffalo, and author of *Evolution of the Meanings of Chin: An Introduction to the Russian Institution of Rank Ordering and Niche Assignment* (California, 1977). Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>-c. Russia.
- 1971 **Rozanne Miller Noon**  
 Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>-c. US. No other information at present.
- 1972 **[Shulamit Yadin Angel](#)**, subsequently **Volkov**  
 Professor of History at Tel Aviv University, SYA has published widely in English, German, and Hebrew. Her books in English include *The Rise of Popular Antimodernism in Germany: the Urban Master Artisans, 1873-1896* (Princeton, 1978); *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation* (Cambridge, 2005); and *Walther Rathenau: Weimar's Fallen Statesman* (Yale, 2012). Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>-c. Germany. [Additional links: Researchgate; additional article.](#)

- 1972 **Sandra Frances Berke**  
Dissertation: 16<sup>th</sup>-c. Spain. No other information at present.
- 1972 **Bridget Read Mugane**  
Dissertation: “Origins of the Langi of Uganda.” No other information at present.
- 1972 **[Helen Nader](#)** (1936-2018)  
Ruth N. Halls Distinguished Professor of History at Indiana University, HN moved in 1994 to the University of Arizona, where she served as departmental chair. She was chair of the AHA Committee on the Columbus Quincentennial, a Guggenheim recipient, and a prize-winning author whose books include *Liberty in Absolutist Spain: the Habsburg Sale of Towns 1516-1700* (Johns Hopkins, 1990, which won the Leo Gershoy Award from the AHA) and *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family* (Illinois, 2004). Dissertation: 14<sup>th</sup>- to 16<sup>th</sup>-c. Spain. [Additional link](#).
- 1972 **[Mildred Jeanne Peterson](#)**  
A professor at Indiana University for thirty years, MJP served as chair of the History Department, chair of the Gender Studies Department, and executive associate dean. She was awarded a Guggenheim fellowship. Her numerous publications include *The Medical Profession in Mid-Victorian London* (California, 1978) and *Family, Love, and Work in the Lives of Victorian Gentlewomen* (Indiana, 1989). She co-edited *Lizzie Borden: a Case Book of Family and Crime in the 1890s* (T. I. S. Publications, 1980). Dissertation: Victorian England. [Additional link](#).
- 1973 **[Soledad Masangkay Borromeo](#)**  
SMB came to UCB from the Philippines on a Fulbright fellowship and, following receipt of her degree, taught at the College of Alameda, San Jose State University, and San Francisco State University. She is the author of *The Cry of Balintawak: a Contrived Controversy* (Manilla Univ., 1998) and *Scripted by Men Not by Fate* (Univ. of the Philippines, 2017). Dissertation: 16<sup>th</sup>- to 19<sup>th</sup>-c. Philippines.
- 1973 **Margaret Ruth Kittel**  
Dissertation: 13<sup>th</sup>-c. England. No other information at present.
- 1973 **[Karen Malvey Rasmussen](#)** (1939-2007)  
KMR taught at Indiana from 1973 to 1985 before becoming a senior staff member of the Indiana Commission for Higher education. She was also active at a non-profit agency promoting the increased enrollment of minority students. Dissertation: 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-c. Russia.
- 1974 **Susan Pingrey Millinger**  
Dissertation: England, 900-1066. No other information at present.
- 1974 **[Joyce Senders Pedersen](#)**  
JSP is author of *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and Higher Education in Victorian England* (Garland, 1987). Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>-c. England. No other information at present.



- 1974 **Kathleen Lilian Casey** (1927-2018)  
Dissertation: Italy, 1300-1500. No other information at present.
- 1974 **Sheila Ryan Johansson**  
A historian of science and demography, SRJ is the author, among other works, of “When Numbers Began to Count for Health Policy: a Review Essay” (*Population and Development Review*, 2003) and “The Politics of Discourse Synthesis in the Literature of Health” (in Raymond McInnis, ed., *Discourse Synthesis*, Praeger, 2001). Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>-c. England.
- 1974 **[Norma Beatrice Landau](#)**  
A professor of history at UC Davis, Landau is the author of *The Justices of the Peace, 1679-1760* (California, 1984) and editor of *Law, Crime and English Society, 1660-1830* (Cambridge, 2002). Dissertation: 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-c. England.
- 1974 **[Janet Anne Meisel](#)** (1944-2009)  
JAM taught medieval English history for thirty four years at the University of Texas at Austin, where she received the UT President’s Teaching Excellence Award and the Liberal Arts Council Teacher of the Year Award. She was the chief historical consultant and script editor for the PBS series "Newscasts from the Past," a “six-part series of videotapes designed to make medieval history come to life for high school students.” Dissertation: 11<sup>th</sup>- to 13<sup>th</sup>-c. Wales.
- 1974 **Grietje Wyckoff Sloan**  
Dissertation: 16<sup>th</sup>-c. France.  
For a full text of “The Wyckoff Family in America, a Genealogy; Prepared from the Manuscript Genealogical Collections of the Late William F. Wyckoff of Jamaica, New York,” [click here](#).
- 1975 **Barbara Leslie Easton**  
Dissertation: early New England. No other information at present.
- 1975 **[Joanna Flug Handlin](#)**, subsequently **Smith**  
JFH served for decades as editor of the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. She is the author of *Action in Late Ming Thought: the Reorientation of Lü K'un and Other Scholar Officials* (California, 1983). Dissertation: 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-c. China.
- 1975 **Ylana Noemie Miller**  
YNM is author of *Government and Society in Rural Palestine, 1920-1948* (Texas, 1985). Dissertation: 20<sup>th</sup>-c. Palestine. No other information at present.
- 1975 **[Sue Fong Chung](#)**  
SFC worked for twenty years in the Hollywood movie industry before joining the faculty of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, where she served as director of International Studies, chair of the History Department, and chair of Asian Studies. Her books include *In Pursuit of Gold: Chinese American Miners and Merchants in the American West*

- (Illinois, 2011) and *The Chinese in Nevada* (Arcadia, 2011). An outstanding community servant, SGC was a founder of Preserve Nevada; a consultant to many organizations, including the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the US Forest Service; and a member of Nevada's Museum and History Board (a gubernatorial appointment). Among the honors she received are the Schmeidel Award for Outstanding Community Service; the Rita Abbey Teacher of the Year Award; and the Outstanding Nevadan Award (from the Nevada Humanities Committee). Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-c. China. [Additional link](#).
- 1975 [Linda-Grove](#)  
 Long a faculty member at Sophia University in Tokyo, LAG has written widely on industry, commercial networks, and small-town prostitution in China, as well as Japanese industrialization and Japan's expansion on the Asian continent. She is the author of *Imitation, Counterfeiting, and the Quality of Goods in Modern Asian History* (Springer, 2017). Dissertation: 20<sup>th</sup>-c. China.
- 1975 [Ellie Esther Nower](#), subsequently **Schamber**  
 EENS is the author of *The Artist as Politician: the Relationship between the Arts and the Politics of the French Romantics* (University Press of America, 1984). With Carl Buchheit, she has also written *Transformational NLP, A New Psychology* (2017). Dissertation: 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19-c. France.
- 1975 [Nancy F. Partner](#)  
 NFP, for many years a professor at McGill University, is the author of *Serious Entertainments: the Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago, 1977); *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory* (SAGE, 2013); *Studying Medieval Women: Sex, Gender, Feminism* (Medieval Academy, 1993); and *Writing Medieval History* (Oxford, 2005). Her articles include "Did Mystics Have Sex?" (in *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West*, ed. Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler, Toronto, 1996) and "No Sex, No Gender" (*Speculum* 68[2], 1993). Dissertation: 12<sup>th</sup>-c. England.
- 1976 **Susan Woolfson Calkin**  
 Dissertation: 14<sup>th</sup>-c. England. No other information at present.
- 1976 [Marjorie Caroline Malley](#) (1941-2016)  
 Author of *Radioactivity: A History of a Mysterious Science* (Oxford, 2011), MCM wrote numerous articles, including "The Discovery of Atomic Transmutation: Scientific Styles and Philosophies in France and Britain" (*Isis* 70 [2], 1979) and "Thermodynamics and Cold Light" (*Annals of Science* 51[3], 1994). A devoted pedagogue, she was a leader of the History of Science Society Committee on Education (which she chaired), worked with the Council for Basic Education on the new standards in history education, and wrote material about the history of science for the Biological Sciences Curriculum Study. Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>- c. science.
- 1976 [Ruth Eva Rosen](#)

Long a faculty member at UC Davis, and for six years a visiting professor at UCB, RER is the author of *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed the World* (Viking/Penguin, 2000, revised 2006); *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900-1918* (Johns Hopkins, 1982); and *The Mamie Papers: Letters from an Ex-Prostitute* (Feminist Press, 1978). *The World Split Open* was recognized as an *LA Times* Best Book and *Mamie* as a *NY Times* Notable Book. RER's honors include a UC Distinguished Teaching Award and two Rockefeller Foundation fellowships. A prolific commentator and journalist, who was an op-ed columnist for the *LA Times* between 1991 and 2000, she was also recognized, among many such honors, with a Hearst Distinguished Journalism Award, a Best Editorial Writing Award (from the East Bay Press Club), and an Outstanding Media Award (from the National Association for the Mentally Ill). Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-c. US.

1976 **Lucy Carol Stout**

Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-c. India. No other information at present.

1976 **Lynne Elizabeth Withey**

As director of the UC Press from 2002 to 2010, LEW oversaw its entry into digital publishing and a substantial expansion in production (with a 35% increase in annual book and journal sales). She served as president of the Association of University Presses in 2005-2006. Her book, *Dearest Friend: A Life of Abigail Adams* (Free Press, 1981), was a *New York Times* bestseller. Dissertation: 18<sup>th</sup>-c. North America.

1976 **Elizabeth Anne Connealy**

Dissertation: 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-c. Brazil. No other information at present.

1976 **Kathleen Reed**

Dissertation: ancient Greece. No other information at present.

1976 **Carolyn Johnston Willson**

Dissertation: 20<sup>th</sup>-c. US. No other information at present.

1977 **Judith Ruth Ginsburg** (1944-2002)

Author of *Tradition and Theme in the Annals of Tacitus* (Cambridge, 1981), JRG was long on the faculty at Cornell, where she served on the executive board of Women's Studies. She helped write the procedures for handling charges of sexual harassment and was a member of the AIDS Advisory Committee, the Committee on Professional Ethics, and the University Benefits Committee (which, during her term, extended benefits to partners of gay and lesbian employees). JRG also chaired the AHA Committee on the Status of Women and Minority Groups. Dissertation: ancient Rome.

1977 **Patricia Cline Cohen**

PCC, a faculty member at UC Santa Barbara, is author of *A Calculating People: the Spread of Numeracy in Early America* (Chicago, 1982) and *The Murder of Helen Jewett: the Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Alfred J. Knopf, 1998). She is co-author of *The Flash Press: Sporting Male Weeklies in 1840s New York*

(Chicago, 2008) and *The American Promise* (Macmillan, 1997). At UCSB, she served as chair of the Women's Studies Program. Her honors include fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation and the National Humanities Center. Dissertation: early North America. [Additional link](#).

1977 **Joyce Manheimer Galpern**

JMG was once an assistant professor at Carnegie-Mellon and published several scholarly book reviews. In 2009 she wrote (with Deborah Waxman) "The Challenge of Implementing Reconstructionism: Art, Ideology, and the Society for the Advancement of Judaism's Sanctuary Mural" (*American Jewish History*, 95[3]). Dissertation: Anglo-Saxon England. No other information at present.

1977 **Joan Elizabeth Gilbert**

Dissertation: medieval Damascus. No other information at present.

1977 **[Janet Ruth Goodwin](#)**

JRG taught at UCLA and USC before joining the faculty of the University of Aizu in Japan. Now retired from teaching, she is director of the Aizu History Project, which explores "the relationship between a peripheral region and the center of political power, as well as internal dynamics of oppression and resistance." Her publications include *Selling Songs and Smiles: the Sex Trade in Heian and Kamakura Japan* (Hawaii, 2007) and *Alms and Vagabonds: Temples and Popular Patronage in Medieval Japan* (Hawaii, 1994). Dissertation: medieval Japan.

1977 **Jacqueline Reusser Reiner**

JRR wrote a dissertation titled "Attitudes Toward and Practices of Child-Raising: Philadelphia, 1790-1830." I am reasonably confident that she is the same person as Jacqueline S. Reinier, who published *From Virtue to Character: American Childhood, 1775-1850* (Twayne, 1996). No other information at present.

1977 **[Harriet Thelma Zurndorfer](#)**

HTZ's formidable bibliography includes *Change and Continuity in Chinese Local History: the Development of Huizhou Prefecture 800-1800* (Brill, 1989); *Women in the Epistemological Strategy of Chinese Encyclopedia* (Brill, 1999); and *Imperialism, Globalization, and the Soaps/Suds Industry in Republican China: The Case of Unilever and the Chinese Consumer* (2006, London School of Economics). A faculty member at Leiden University, she served as editor of *The Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* and is the founder of the journal, *Nan Nü: Men, Women and Gender in China*. Her major joint projects include China's Changing Gender Dynamics 1900-2015; East Asian Maritime History during the 16th and 17th Centuries; and the Global Economic History Network. HTZ is co-editor of volume 2 of the *Cambridge World History of Violence* (2020). Dissertation: medieval China. *Additional links:* [Researchgate](#); [Global History Network](#).

1978 **[Barbara Boonstoppel Diefendorf](#)**

A faculty member at Boston University from 1980 until the time of her retirement, BBD has written (among many titles) *Paris City Councillors in the Sixteenth Century: the Politics of Patrimony* (Princeton, 1983); *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford, 1991); *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (Oxford, 2004); and *Planting the Cross: Catholic Reform and Renewal in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2019). Her honors include a Guggenheim fellowship and book prizes (for *Beneath the Cross*) from the New England Historical Association and the National Huguenot Association.  
Dissertation: 16<sup>th</sup>-c. France

1978 **Paula Levy Gillett**

PLG was a project director in the Graduate Division at UCB and a lecturer at UCSC before joining the faculty of San Jose State University in 1989. She is the author of *Worlds of Art: Painters in Victorian Society* (Rutgers, 1990) and *Musical Women in England, 1870-1914* (Macmillan, 2000), among other works. Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>-c. England.

1978 **Pik-Chong Agnes Wong Chan**

Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-c. China. No other information at present.

1979 **Carol Eubanks Hayden**

CEB published an article in 1976, "The Zhenotdel and the Bolshevik Party" (*Russian History*, 3[2]), which anticipated her dissertation of that title. No other information at present.

1979 **Arlene Weininger Scadron**

Dissertation: 18<sup>th</sup>-c. Anglo-America. No other information at present.

1979 **Carole Ellen Straw**

CES was a member of the faculty at Holyoke College from 1980 until the time of her retirement. She received the John Nicholas Brown Prize from the Medieval Academy for her book *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (California, 1991), which grew out of her doctoral dissertation. [Additional link](#).

1979 **Sister Mary Rita Anderson** (d. 2002)

A Sister of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary (SNJM), MRA taught for twenty-two years at Holy Names College (now University) in Oakland before retiring in 2001. Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>-c. France and England.

1979 **Janet Sharp Hermann**

A freelance writer, JSH is the author of *The Pursuit of a Dream* (Mississippi, 1981), a study of three attempts to create a utopian community of African Americans at Davis Bend, Mississippi. For that work, she received the Robert F. Kennedy Award, the McLemore Prize of the Mississippi Historical Society, and the Silver Medal of the Commonwealth Club of California. JSH's second book, *Joseph E. Davis: Pioneer*

*Patriarch* (Mississippi, 2007), is the biography of Joseph E. Davis, elder brother of and adviser to Jefferson Davis. Dissertation: 19<sup>th</sup>-c. US. [Additional link](#).

## TWO CHEERS FOR EQUALITY

Rarely does one have the luck to speak to a group in the guise of a natural, *bona fide* authority. Today this is possible for me, despite the fact that my subject is not within the usual area of my professional interests. By the mere fact that I am female, I am become an expert—for this conference is symbolically and institutionally prepared to recognize (for three days) that women are people, and that they have ambitions, abilities, and something called “potential.”

On the curious belief that a member of a class is the best person to analyze the properties of his class (a Christian to give you the truth about Christianity, or a Communist about Communism, or on the same logic Moby Dick about white whales; and per chance a bigot about bigotry?) I have been summoned from the ivory tower nestling under the shadows of great laboratories in Berkeley to give you the low-down on whether women are equal to men.

It is no secret that the document from which this nation dates its independence proclaimed, for the first time in a public paper, the fundamental proposition that “all men are created equal” and joined to this basic value the inherent rights of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. But what of women? Were they *intended* to be included in the generic term “men,” or was the author of the Declaration and his other learned and emancipated associates confining the term to its reference to one sex alone? On this matter one is free to speculate. For while it is clear that no one then thought of making women equal in political, legal, social and educational rights with men, *immediately*, there *was* a consciousness of a new spirit, a dynamic moral principle that was expected to lead to unexpected consequences of further growth. For it was an era when confidence in human capacities and pride in human reasonableness had its passionate advocates. Jefferson was one; his good friend Benjamin Rush another; and Benjamin Franklin at that time and in the tolerance of his age and wisdom was a likely third—not to mention a veritable army of less illustrious but far-seeing men.

This paper was originally delivered at the University of California's sessions on “The Potential of Woman,” held in San Francisco in 1963. The text used is that of *The Voice of America Forum Lectures*.

That this daring thought was being voiced explicitly, and by women, is also fact—for we have many proofs, among them a remarkable letter which Abigail Adams wrote to her not so liberal husband in the Continental Congress on the eve of independence. Pleading for her dependent sex, Abigail Adams wrote:

“. . . in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors! Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.”

She concluded this appeal by recommending the substitution of the title of “friend” for the harsh title of “master,” and ended with the question: “Why not put it out of the power of the vicious and lawless to use us with cruelty. . . ?”

To this fetching appeal, John Adams wrote a heavily bantering reply.

“As to your extraordinary code of laws, I cannot but laugh! We have been told that our struggle has loosened the bonds of government everywhere—children and apprentices . . . schools and colleges . . . Indians, Negroes grow insolent. But your letter was the first intimation that another tribe, more numerous and powerful than all the rest, were grown discontented. . . . Depend upon it, we know better than to repeal our masculine systems. Although they are in full force, you know they are little more than theory. We dare not exert our power in its full latitude. We are obliged to go fair and softly, and in practices you know we are the subjects.”

To this affectionate evasion his loving “friend” responded in kind: “I cannot say that I think you are very generous to the ladies, for whilst you are . . . emancipating all nations, you insist upon retaining an absolute power over your wives.” Then gracefully accepting the implied role, she quoted the couplet:

“Charm by accepting, by submitting sway,  
Yet have our humor most when we obey.”

This good-humored dialog could take place only in a pervasively dominant “man’s world.” When issues of human rights more insistent and tragic than Mrs. Adams contemplated were before the nation, the full



moral and intellectual argument was formulated in terms so compelling that they live still.

This second case for women's rights was formulated early in the 1830's by two remarkable women abolitionists, the sisters Angelina and Sarah Grimké of Charleston, South Carolina, who had been drawn north to work for the emancipation of the slaves. It is to Sarah Grimké that America owes its first effective moral justification of women's human rights and their place in society. Her pamphlet, *The Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women* antedates by six years Margaret Fuller's *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, and had been well studied in England in the 1840's when abolitionist leaders visited there. The argument leaves no aspect of the condition of women in America unexplored—"Cannot all at last see," she wrote, "the simple truth, that God has made no distinction between men and women as moral beings. . . . To me it is perfectly clear that whatsoever it is morally right for a man to do, it is morally right for a woman to do." Before the powerful essay concluded, Sarah Grimké really established her case against double standards and divided worlds for male and female. We will state what she tried to prove in her own words:

*"That intellect is not sexed; that strength of mind is not sexed; and that our views about the duties of man . . . and the duties of women, the spheres of man and the sphere of woman are merely arbitrary opinions, differing in different ages and countries, and dependent solely on the will and judgment of erring mortals."*

This was the fundamental truth: that intellect is not sexed!

In effect, then, Sarah Grimké perceives that the real issue concerns social and educational equality as much as it does the narrower sphere of equal legal and political rights. She herself is much indebted to her fond brother, Thomas S. Grimké, whose liberal views on female education she cites with approval. "Give me," he said, "a host of educated mothers and sisters and I will do more to revolutionize a country, in moral and religious taste, in manners and in social virtues and intellectual cultivation than I can possibly do in double or treble the time with a similar host of educated men. I cannot but think that the miserable condition of the great body of the people in all ancient communities is to be ascribed in a very great degree to the degradation of women."

Sarah Grimké saw the point, and in her final argument, the justification for full moral equality for women lies in its consequences, for men and for the society in which men, women and children ceaselessly interact. If only men could see beyond the cake of custom and con-

ventional pride, they would be able to share the heavy responsibilities of lifelong work, of self-respect, as they would benefit by the increased sympathy from women who were their equals. They would see in truth that "woman, as their equal, was unspeakably more valuable than woman as their inferior."

Sarah Grimké's tract on equality, written a century and a quarter ago, provided the rationale for a movement that did not come to full political culmination until the ratification of the nineteenth amendment in 1920.

In some ways, the story of this ultimate trial and costly struggle that consumed a century of human effort has never been fully told, nor has it been properly estimated in American history. Sad to say, it is a story which is peculiarly muted and callously misunderstood especially in our own times. The skill, the fortitude, the imagination and the moral tenacity of these feminists tends to be taken for granted or quite overlooked; while the caricatures, the vulgar jokes and jibes, and the bloomers are vividly relished and remembered. No, the "suffragist" has not had a good press, and her image is barnacled: we see her as a strident and sexless female, her hatchet face rising above a mannish collar, sour, dour, shoving her angular frame into places and corners where healthy bullyboy males retreat for convivial moments.

She is known to us as more shrew than sibyl, the zealot whose envy and hatred of male power is a pre-Freudian rampage, unchecked by visits to the therapeutic couch. As always, some of the image, part of the caricature is related to actuality. The movement for woman's rights was a most complex and long-lived affair, and it certainly had its full share of bigots, its fanatics, its absurdities and its mistakes. Reformers are trouble-makers by any definition and by anyone's lights. To reform is to take trouble and to make trouble—even if the larger purpose is to make things better after the trouble subsides. To reform is to decide to resist drift; it is to unsettle fixities and challenge "normal" (some mistakenly think "natural") habits and ways. The stunning irreducible fact about the feminist movement in America, however, is the proven intelligence and good sense, the gaiety and yet commitment which the best of the women leaders effectively maintained. Much like the American colonial woman, or her later sister on the moving frontier, these women reformers possessed resourcefulness and inventiveness, to put salt in their stew.

Think of women who could become, overnight in some cases, editors of newspapers—like Susan Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton when the wealthy eccentric, George Francis Train, suddenly decided to establish *The Revolution* for them to edit—and handed them,

with his check, a motto which they kept while the newspaper ran: "*Men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less!*" Or think of women like Margaret Fuller who could count as friends and supporters the circle of writers and philosophers to which Emerson, Thoreau, Channing and Alcott belonged.

Women who became educators of under-privileged white children and freed Negroes, in the North and eventually in the South; women who survived the isolation-cell welcome of medical school until they passed their exams, and then knocked on hospital doors begging fruitlessly the chance to practice medicine. And reflect for a moment on the *feelings* of all the women workers in this cause, who had to walk a daily line between hostile men and spiteful women.

But having reviewed these moments of America's past, we must ask to what purpose? Biographically, I am tempted to say that part of my purpose has been to confess—*peccavi*. For like so many so-called "emancipated" modern women, I had accepted the view that the abstract issue of "equal rights" for women was old hat—the battle had been won, long ago and far away, by crusaders who were too single-minded to be interesting, too righteous to be admired, and too graceless to be accepted into my private family of ideal types. My academic journey began in the crude and innocent belief that the life of the mind and the republic of humanistic scholarship was wide open to work and wroth, regardless of race, creed, color or previous condition of sexual servitude. I am now an older and (if not wiser) at least a less ebullient believer in equality, as she is practised in this advanced and democratic world. It has occurred to me, with respect to the Grimkés and other courageous women who served this cause, that possibly most Americans as well as myself might say with T. S. Eliot, "*We had the experience but missed the meaning.*"

Why so? As we look about us in the 1960's, only mop-up operations remain to complete the victory of full legal rights for women, to match the suffrage for which so much was expended, and from which so much was hoped. This era of the 60's is distinctively the post World War II complex; for in that war women served in the armed forces, on every industrial production line, and they now continue to participate in the labor force in increasing numbers. In 1960, the U.S. Census reported that 35 percent of all women over fourteen were in the nation's labor force; and that a marked increase in participation rates for married women and middle-aged women was an established trend.

In higher education, it is now the case that universities and colleges are by and large open to women on an equal basis with men (except of course in traditionally non-coeducational institutions), and

it was true by 1958 that women made up 35 percent of the total opening enrollment of degree-credit students in all institutions. Meanwhile, even graduate education reflects the growing participation of women. In 1957-58, eleven plus percent of all doctor's degrees in the country were awarded to women—despite the warning statement in the National Manpower Council report on Womanpower, that only one woman out of every 300 capable of earning a Ph.D. does so. To be sure, in scholarships and fellowships women do not have as many or equal opportunities with men; and in salary rewards there remains, in most cases, a gap.

No one in his right mind (or even in *her* right mind) can question this very real progress in the past twenty years in the position of women, both in the labor force in general, and in the educational world as students and faculty. And yet there is an ineradicable sense of unhealthy confusion which echoes the past: Are women inferior, should they retire once again to the sanctity of their pre-destined roles as wives, mothers, homemakers; should they withdraw from the "competition" with men and express their unused energies in a variety of voluntary organization tasks?

The revived "second sex" approach often flows from moral values that are themselves undeniably good. For example, Lynn White, Jr., in a stimulating book called *Educating Our Daughters*, some years ago entered a plea that women's education should recognize an "equality of differences as well as equality of identities." He felt that a better preparation would be provided by colleges for "our daughters" if the so-called minor arts were emphasized in the college curriculum for them. On this kind of proposal, I myself find the Barnard report on the liberal arts curriculum an effective rejoinder. It says: "Men and women differ, but the liberal arts college addresses itself to them as human beings. . . . A curriculum intelligently devised to develop the intelligence, artistic and social potentialities of the students would, in general, serve men and women equally well."

Harder to meet is a position which maintains that the "feminist movement with its emphasis upon competition with men for place and power was a 'false-lead'"; and overlooked and minimized the woman's role as the guardian of life, morality, and human compassion. This position is wrong insofar as it is prescriptive and universal. No moral value and no human right is absolute.

Women are people some say, but people who cannot think like men, cannot administer, solve practical public problems or master the same type of subject matter that comes more naturally to the masculine intelligence and to male character. Women are gifted in intuitive,

artistic matters. Their talent and role is that of great feeling heart—they are the peacemakers, the civilizers par excellence. Not so—however subtly flattering, or subtly degrading one considers the description.

Women, alas! are people: some good, some bad (relatively), some intelligent, some not so; often as men, quarrelsome (who sits for the portrait of the termigant and shrew?) and often the bane of moralists in their compliance with every type of vice. The only thing we can be sure of in terms of intellectual and moral traits is that there should be no prior restraint on seeing what, with proper training, women actually make themselves competent to.

In this century, the philosophical and logical powers of analysis of Susan Stebbing in England were never questioned on grounds of sex; nor, for that matter, has anyone found Simone de Beauvoir (whatever one thinks of Existentialism as a philosophy) an intelligence inferior to her male associates. Incidentally, it is Miss Beauvoir's use of Thomas Jefferson's strategy of piecemeal moral advance that accurately disposes of the argument of ineradicably different intellectual and moral roles for women. She paraphrases the Jeffersonian strategy as: "Let us come into existence before being asked to justify our existence." In short, let us be, before you define what we are. The female adoption of the position I have called "female chauvinism" is rife with ironies, making one think of the statement in Ecclesiastes: "A man who wishes you ill is better than a woman who wishes you well."

In appraising the situation of women today who seek professional standing and a policy of unhampered scope for work and for the realities of economic and prestige reward for merit, I must say that the ideal of equal rights is heavily compromised. If there is any courage left in the class of professional American women who fear the stereotype of the female reformer more than they love justice, their work is cut out for them. For in truth, with all our scrupulous efforts to set the house of democracy in order in a world in which we anxiously work on the "image of America," sending peace corps abroad and informational and cultural programs in quantity to fortify the technological and financial assistance our policy wisely sustains, professional talent and creativity in this nation, regardless of sex, cannot afford to be discouraged. This is a practical argument, in the first instance, but essentially a moral and social argument in the long run. It implies that in the context of the academy, as in every learned profession, the basic American ideal of equality of opportunity must not be permitted to become a jest. What women face, for example, as they try to carry out their professional tasks is what R. H. Tawney once described as "the impertinent courtesy of an invitation offered to un-

welcome guests, in the certainty that circumstances will prevent them from accepting it."

That is why I have called my paper "Two Cheers for Equality." I am reserving three cheers not for the jest but for the cheerful acceptance of full human rights in some indistinct future. For the peculiar half-world of limited tolerance in which professional women work is democratic in pose only. "Treat another as inferior," remarked the philosopher Ralph Barton Perry, "and you place him in a dilemma. He must either suffer humiliation or show resentment. You either break his will or antagonize it." Employers who will not train women for executive tasks; department chairmen who will not consider hiring a woman for professional openings; administrators who will not concern themselves with equal (perhaps even greater) opportunities for graduate fellowship and scholarship programs for women students, and promotion up the ladder for faculty members of proven merit—these are only the most visible tokens of the discrimination which in fact exists against women today.

A thousand subterranean attitudes and devices in effect make up a systematic pattern of discrimination, which even to identify and name is to invite the charge of female "aggression" and troublemaking. Sensitive women have consequently learned to see, to be silent, and to convert a measure of hope to either cynicism or despair. Another way to describe this attitude in terms of its latent irony is to recommend a policy of a Leibnizian type of optimism which holds that this is the best of all possible worlds, and that everything in it is a necessary evil!

The most corrosive effect of the discrimination against women is the psychological effect it has in reducing a sense of personal competence, in encouraging women to disqualify themselves before the male managerial world has a chance to rebuff them. The *Radcliffe Report on Graduate Education for Women* discusses the varieties of discrimination which women are subject to, in staying out of fields which are traditionally thought to be "men's," in having to compete for jobs on a curious ration which one Radcliffe-trained faculty woman reported as "a woman has to be twice as good and work twice as hard as a man." The bargaining power of women is invariably less than that of men, and the so-called "nepotism" rule in effect on many campuses further reduces the chance for academic employment when women move to a campus where their husbands are employed. Administrative positions, chairmanships of faculty committees, real power, in short, in the academic decision-making process is, as one might expect, even more scarce for women than the professional employment ratio suggests.

In line with this is the fact discussed in the Civil Service Commission Survey that in government agencies 94 percent of the requests they received for top management jobs specified men for positions. The assurance that the new policy of the Civil Service Commission will be to compel agencies to specify reasons for requesting men (in short the principle of introducing the difference of sex only where it is relevant to the performance of the job) is encouraging. It is limited, however, by what limits all compulsory and legal advances—namely, that with sufficient motivation and ingenious reason to aid and abet it, respectable reasons can be devised for circumventing many laws.

Again, the Radcliffe Ph.D. comes to mind who reported of her professional progress: "I think I am more acceptable in my present work if I do not attempt to press forward as strenuously as a man would, but such matters are subtle, and it is hard to separate trying to keep my head in general from trying not to be a strident female." Part of the program of reformation which lies ahead must alas reduce such hypersensitivity to the "strident female" tag. How to do this without becoming reduced in human and civilized terms is indeed a request for the wisdom of the serpent.

Surprisingly enough, the Radcliffe report which I have cited comes to an unexpected decision in its advice on how to solve the discrimination against professional women. It proposed that women should do work of such high quality that no question of "competition" should arise. It says: "It would take a very prejudiced anti-feminist to refuse to employ, on the ground of sex, a woman who has demonstrated ability and achievement *clearly superior* to that of the men available. To take an example outside the academic field, the only woman member of a famous symphony orchestra was engaged as a flutist because she far excelled the male applicants for the post. Her superiority demanded acceptance, and without question. I hereby propose that this solution be known in American history as the "magic flute" position on female underprivilege. For if women must become magic flutists, playing tunes no male in the country can perform, out of a background which has already discouraged women to believe they can or should play at all, then "equality" for women has come to mean achieved mastery, unquestionable superiority, or genius—even before the hiring begins!

My solution is different. It takes the guise of the advice given by my old friend Thomas Jefferson to Mme. de Stael, when he wrote: "Where wrongs are pressed, because it is believed they will be borne, resistance becomes morality." The indispensable and uncompromising meaning of equality is the principle of the intrinsic dignity of the

human person—a postulate which is the presupposition of civilization and moral behavior. Equality is not mathematical equivalence, but as a mathematical logician suggested, a mathematical metaphysics of the incommensurable, in which each person speaks for himself and demands consideration on his own behalf. No person in a democratic society should be forced by social inequality to live his life on different moral terms than others, for this is the maiming of a caste distinction. It degrades the person and forces him to lower the moral level of his life.

I should like to conclude with three specific implications for the sixties of the two cardinal policies I have advocated: that women should be treated as persons, and that “intellect is not sexed.”

First, the policy of certain superior colleges in refusing admittance to girls who have proven ability and motivation is antiquated. This suggestion may create the customary amusement. But I submit that any serious concern for equality of persons and for the requirements of economic growth in this critical decade necessitates the education and advancement of all our youth in skills and intelligence. I would even suspect that the decreasing share of the vote by women should make everyone alive to the need for having an informed and intelligent comprehensive citizenry.

Second, there will be increasing demands for professionally qualified teachers to meet the accelerated enrollment in colleges. Here clearly there should be no discrimination against properly qualified academic women. But there is one problem that must be dealt with forthrightly. Women, even academic women, want and have the potential to give birth to children. This potential is usually recognized but normally reenforces prejudice and discrimination against giving real positions to women in the academy. I propose that we meet this double problem of the increased demand for qualified teachers and the stated potential of woman by providing leaves of absence while assuring that the position is held open.

Third, the 60's may provide conditions for increased discrimination against women in the labor force, including professional women. The labor force is growing at the rate of almost two million every year. At the same time, increased productivity and automation are displacing workers in many major industries, such as transportation, construction, as well as clerical occupations. If the demand for labor does not grow with the increasing labor supply, high rates of unemployment may persist. If so, women will find that men feel they are unduly competing for their jobs, and therefore increasingly expendable. This possible discrimination must be guarded against if we are concerned



with equality and economic growth. Other means must be found than discrimination against women to meet the issues of full employment so as to provide for the fuller employment of all human resources.

This conclusion is dictated out of concern for the multifarious riches and the diverse varieties of self-development inherent in the equality and liberty at the core of American ideals. Above all, it is not in any sense a fight with men. Of all the absurdities to be imagined in this turmoiled world, the quarrel of one-half of the human race with the other half is not even material for science fiction. On the contrary, like poor Thoreau on his deathbed, who was asked by a bubbling friend whether he had made his peace with God? he replied: "I did not know that we had ever quarreled."

Finally, if I may return to my point of origin in this talk, I must acknowledge that my title "Two Cheers for Equality" is borrowed from a book by E. M. Forster called *Two Cheers for Democracy*. In it he explains: "Two Cheers for Democracy: one because it admits variety and two because it permits criticism. Two cheers are quite enough; there is no occasion to give three. Only Love the Beloved Republic deserves that." I, too, after my fashion, have been keeping in mind love the beloved republic, and asking only that the gates of the city be not inscribed: "For men only."