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“NO MAN AND NO THING CAN STOP ME”

FANNIE McLEAN, WOMAN SUFFRAGE, AND THE UNIVERSITY

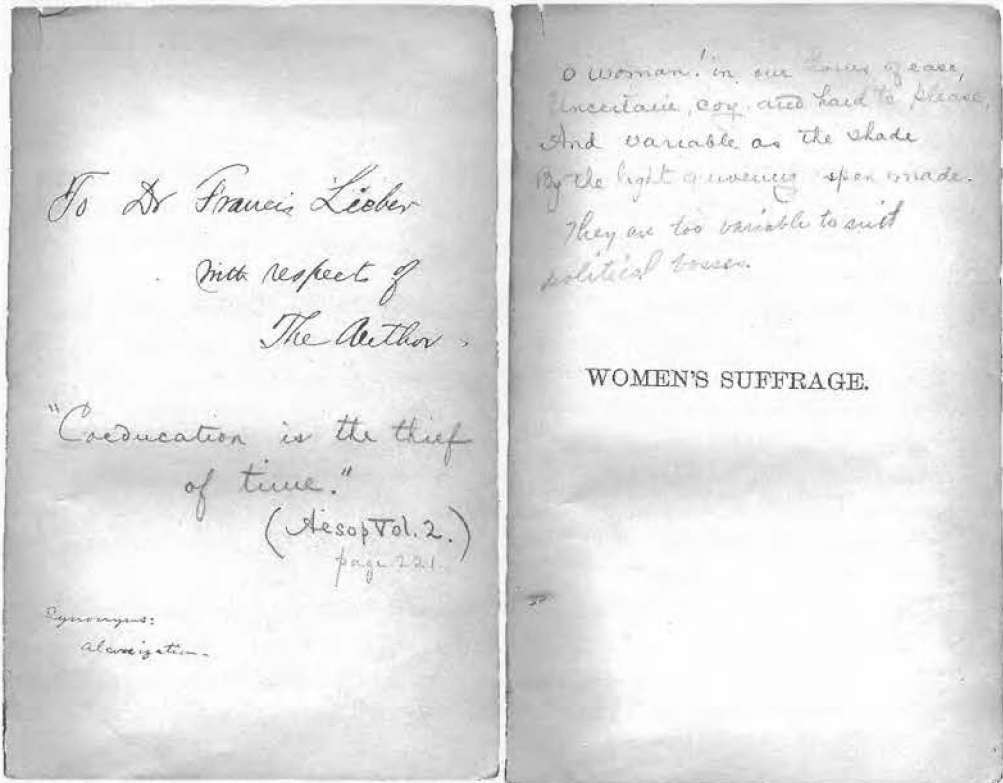
Geraldine Joncich Clifford

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY'S COPY of Horace Bushnell's *Women's Suffrage; The Reform Against Nature* (1869), an unknown reader penned on the inscription page “Coeducation is the thief of time” and, on the half-title page, this verse by Sir Walter Scott:

O woman! in our hour of ease,  
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,  
And variable as the shade  
By the light quivering aspen made.

Beneath this, and from another hand, came this rejoinder: “They are too variable to suit political bosses.”<sup>1</sup>

This book's publication and the opening of the university's doors to its first forty students both occurred in 1869, but Horace Bushnell figured more directly in the university's pre-history. A Hartford clergyman with a national reputation for religious and educational thought, and a Yale classmate of Henry Durant, a founder of the recently chartered College



From inscribed copy of Horace Bushnell, *Women's Suffrage*, 1869.  
The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

of California, Bushnell wrote fundraising appeals for Durant's "Western Yale," as it was commonly called, while in California for his health. And it was he, Durant, and Edward McLean, the college's trustee-treasurer, who trekked the Bay Area in 1856 or '57 hunting for a new site. The college's trustees had agreed that the campus in boisterous downtown Oakland was inadequate and morally dangerous for impressionable young men. When the struggling private college's board decided in 1867 to cede its assets to the state as the nucleus for the liberal arts within a state university, the 160-acre Strawberry Creek tract that Bushnell helped identify became the future home of the University of California. The surrounding College Homestead development was named Berkeley in 1866 and the slow process of incorporation and annexation began in 1878.

Bushnell's book, an early volley in the suffrage battle of a protracted war of the sexes, declared woman suffrage both unnatural and unnecessary since men sufficiently represented women's legitimate interests: "The male and female natures together constitute the proper man, and are, therefore, both represented in the vote of the man." Bushnell also denied that women lacked "civic outlets." In hospitals, almshouses, schoolrooms, and churches, he asserted, there are "ministrations, teachings, offices, and magistracies of mercy without number, all a great deal worthier and higher than any that our women can hope to obtain at the polls." Only family strife and moral evil, he concluded, would accompany woman suffrage:

The claim of a beard would not be a more radical revolt against nature [than is] a claim by women to govern, or be forward in the government of men . . . . Other modes of demoralization will also be discovered, especially in the country and the more sparsely settled parts, where men and women will be piled in huge wagons to be carried to the polls, and will sometimes, on their return, encounter a storm that drives them into wayside taverns and other like places for the night; where, of course, they must have a good time somehow, probably in some kind of general carouse.

Holding a traditionalist's conviction that woman's role is to accept that which man confers or withholds, Bushnell conceded that men sometimes "heedlessly oppress" women, but "it is our custom rather, in matters of deliberate purpose, to give them more than will be either for their benefit or our own."

But who were the unknown "graffitists," marking this book that declared woman suffrage "a reform against nature—an attempt to make trumpets out of flutes, and sun flowers out of violets"? Can one doubt that the first writer was male—perhaps an anti-suffragist, perhaps merely one of those many American male students and faculty given to "fondly" patronizing the "weaker sex"? Or that the second graffitist was female and pro-suffrage? Was she Fannie Williams McLean '85, the second daughter of Bushnell's companion on that land-hunting errand, a longtime English teacher and vice-principal at Berkeley High School, and campaigner in both the 1896 and 1911 efforts on behalf of a woman suffrage amendment to the California state constitution?<sup>2</sup>

While any woman at Berkeley might have been the writer, more intriguing possibilities include the university-connected members of the College Equal Suffrage League which Fannie McLean helped found in 1908 and which she headed until it disbanded and reappeared as the California League of Women Voters. Might it have been Dr. Emma Sutro Merritt '81, physician and daughter of a major university benefactor? Or one of the university's well-known Mays: May Treat Morrison '78, later donor of the Morrison Library and professorships in history and law; or May Shepard Cheney '83, the university's Appointment Secretary for forty years?<sup>3</sup> Another candidate is Lillian Moller Gilbreth '00. When Moller gave her

commencement speech, President Wheeler had advised her to wear a ruffled gown and "Read what you have to say, and from small pieces of paper. Don't imitate a man."<sup>4</sup> But she did imitate a man by becoming an industrial engineer. Other less well-known League members included Fedelia Jewett '95, Emma Noonan '98, and Hattie Jacobs '01, all teachers at San Francisco's Girls High School, which was a major supplier of University of California freshmen.



Fannie McLean, 1885.  
University Archives.

Milicent Shinn '80 is another possibility. The first woman to earn a Berkeley Ph.D. (in 1898), Shinn was an editor and journalist. Julia Morgan '94, the architect of William Randolph Hearst's San Simeon, belonged to the League, as did Cornelia McKinne Stanwood '98, principal of Sarah Dix Hamlin School, a flourishing girls' school in San Francisco.<sup>5</sup> A suffrage recruit from a later class could also have been our indignant graffitist. Perhaps it was Louise Narjot Howard '01, another Berkeley High School teacher, or Constance Lawrence Dean '09, a San Francisco housewife. Other possibilities were the more peripatetic Berkeley-bred suffragists: Julia Heaton Austin '15, who put her California political experience to work as secretary of the Ohio Woman's Suffrage Association, and Maria de Guadalupe E. Lopez '11, a Los Angeles High School teacher who led southern California's college-bred suffragists.

Finally, could a Berkeley High School coed have penned those defiant words, perhaps someone who had trudged up the hill to gather material for one of Fannie McLean's public speaking classes or debate teams?<sup>6</sup> One such possibility was Grace MacFarland '10 (M.A. '11). Having followed the 1911 state suffrage campaign and worked to persuade local men to give the vote to women, MacFarland wrote to McLean from her own high school teaching post in McArthur, Shasta County. From her landlord, one of the district's election board, MacFarland had learned about the district vote for equal suffrage; as she boasted, "it went all for the Amendment."<sup>7</sup>

A member of one of Berkeley's first families, Fannie McLean was well connected to political, business, and university notables through her father Edward McLean (Yale '43), who came around the Horn to California with Francis Kittredge Shattuck. Successful in the insurance and real estate businesses, the elder McLean helped develop communities throughout California. His other Berkeley friends and business associates included Carleton, Stuart, Hillegass, Blake, Ward, Parker, Keith, Woolsey—known to later "Old Blues" only as street names. The university's president during Fannie's student days was William T. Reid, connected to the Connecticut McLeans by marriage. Professor Martin Kellogg (president through most of the 1890s) was a close family friend. So was Professor Albert S. Cook who persuaded Stockton High School to hire the newly graduated Fannie McLean. When the Stockton *Independent Democrat* editorialized against "playing into the hands of University professors" and urged hiring a Stockton lady if another teacher was really needed, the offer to Fannie was withdrawn, and she headed to Southern California to teach and bide her time.

Despite these formidable allies of McLean's, other university *prominenti* presented problems to the university's budding feminists. The regents' 1870 order had opened the university's second and succeeding classes to women on "equal terms in all respects with

young men," yet sex discrimination and patriarchal condescension on campus were overt and persistent. Governor (and Regent) Henry Haight told the 1870 commencement audience that the university's admission of young ladies was a settled matter, but he also declared himself "far from being a convert to the idea that females will ever participate in political contests by the exercise of suffrage, or to any extent the learned professions." Most of his audience probably agreed.<sup>8</sup> In his inaugural address of 1872, President Daniel Coit Gilman repeatedly referred to the "young men" of the university but never to its young women.<sup>9</sup> Over forty years later Elsie McCormick '16 echoed the complaints of earlier coeds, noting that at the first university meeting of the new academic year, "We heard advice heaped upon the heads of the '19 men; but however hard we listened we didn't hear a word of welcome addressed to the Freshmen women[;] . . . while the men of the class were being welcomed and advised, the women were unwept, unhonored and unsung."<sup>10</sup>

The male students shared similar sentiments. Their publications routinely satirized "the grade-grinding pelican"—that drab, over-serious female who, as an 1873 male joked, "has the audacity to choose the same college as yourself." He acknowledged that coeds showed themselves better prepared for university work than did the men, but "prejudice, tradition and precedent are against her."<sup>11</sup> Seemingly without shame and with impunity, overenrolled classes were sometimes pruned by letting only the men remain. Although the majority of the state's English teachers were women, Professor Gayley routinely barred coeds from his advanced English class.<sup>12</sup> When Professor Howison moved in 1895 to substitute the term "the candidate" for "he" in the regulations of the Graduate Division (a recognition that women were a majority in some graduate programs), his colleagues rejected the motion.<sup>13</sup> Seeming to confirm a long-held suspicion that the regents would not hire women academics, President Kellogg's 1898 *Annual Report* urged the reversal of the regents' policy "to appoint no women to the teaching staff."<sup>14</sup>

Kellogg's successor was the easterner Benjamin Ide Wheeler. Although Wheeler assumed the presidency in 1899, he did not meet officially with the Associated Women Students until 1904, the fifth year of his presidency, and then to admonish them: "You are not here with the ambition to be school teachers or old maids; but you are here for the preparation for marriage and motherhood. This education should tend to make you more serviceable as wives and mothers."<sup>15</sup> While Wheeler did not declare his views on woman suffrage, his wife's name was prominent as a sponsor of the state's anti-suffrage forces in 1911. Given the widely known argument of the opponents to women's suffrage that husbands were trustworthy agents of their wives in matters political, Wheeler's own position seems obvious. Consistent with his objections to old-maid schoolteacher alumnae like Fannie McLean, and his position that a woman's place was in the home, Wheeler created a department of home economics, despite faculty opposition. He also hired Lucy Sprague as the university's first dean of women. Sprague's charge included changing the fact that more than three quarters of Berkeley's women graduates were earning teaching credentials. She did not succeed in this assignment; and, after marrying Professor Wesley Mitchell and moving to New York City, Lucy Sprague Mitchell founded a teacher-training institution!<sup>16</sup>

Berkeley's feminists were probably also greatly discomfited by the contrast between their alma mater and upstart Leland Stanford, Jr. University. It opened in 1891 with five women faculty whereas Cal's first woman professor was appointed in 1904.<sup>17</sup> Granted that Stanford was founded in more progressive times, both of its founders were avowed suffragists. An ex-schoolteacher, Jane Stanford gave free passes on her husband's railroad to woman suffrage workers; by 1911 entire suffrage trains were offered for whistlestop campaigning. So it must have been some consolation when a Stanford psychology instructor praised Fannie McLean's lecture to Stanford's College Equal Suffrage League as being "one of the best suffrage speeches we have ever heard."<sup>18</sup>



The limited commitment to women’s equality of some of Fannie McLean’s own university friends surfaced in a more personal way in the man, a recent widower, most likely to win McLean’s hand. He was William Carey Jones ’75, Recorder of the Faculty and instructor in history and law, later successively, president of the Alumni Association (1889-91), professor and dean of the School of Jurisprudence, and author of the university’s first history.<sup>19</sup> When alumnae began sparring with Jones about alumni association functions, Jones defended himself to Fannie. He claimed that Miss Hittell ’82, especially, had unfairly lumped him with other male graduates who objected to females attending a presidential banquet because women would spoil the fun by censoring the traditional ribaldry of alumni gatherings. Jones disputed the claim that “young gentlemen” would act improperly. Nonetheless, he stated, “I told Miss B[ernstein] & Ella Bailey that the girls weren’t wanted; they both have ‘long tongues’ & will spread the fact; but Miss B. thinks some of the girls will go any way.” Alumnae, he argued, should appear at class functions only under certain conditions: in sufficiently large numbers to make “a bunch,” or with male escorts, or when wives and families of male graduates are also invited and the event is not held in a public hotel. Agreeing with the male majority that “a handful of young women is going to put a damper upon the meeting,” Jones still described male opposition to female presence as “not ungallant.” So, “I trust that the few [ladies], who wish to assert their rights, may conclude to waive them for this occasion.”<sup>20</sup>

A dozen stubborn “young lady graduates of the strong minded order”—including two whom Jones had not expected to see there, Alice E. Pratt ’81 (later earning a Ph.D. at the University of Chicago in 1897) and Flora Eleanor Beal ’83—did attend the January 1886 alumni reception for the university’s new president, Edward S. Holden. Helen Shearer ’85 wrote to Fannie that the alumnae were relegated to the most distant table, seated with current coeds and away from “the jolly crowd” and the other men who objected to a female presence.<sup>21</sup>

Jones was also given to pompous references to the “eccentricities” accompanying co-education, and to distinguishing between what he called the “typical coed” and the “refined



Vice Principal Fannie McLean (standing in the back row, extreme right) and the Berkeley High School graduating class of 1896. *The Bancroft Library.*

lady student." While acknowledging that he should have been more vigilant in preventing the publication of some statements that derogated coeds, Jones disagreed with McLean on whether their university had an obligation to have a plan for the education of young ladies. He insisted that it was enough to affirm strong support for coeducation and to indicate its benefits to the university. "Further than this," he stated, "on the delicate subject of the relations of the sexes in the University it ought not to go."<sup>22</sup>

Time brought some concessions by men alumni to the women graduates of the university. The class of '85's Booster Committee for the university's semi-centennial celebration in 1918 included one woman, McLean. All graduates, "with or without husband or wife, if you have either, and children," were invited to the celebration. Yet sexism surfaced in the chairman's note to the California Alumni Association office about how the class planned to organize its participation. Harry East Miller '85 wrote satirically that "Wine and violins improve with age but not women," to which Alumni Director Homer Havermale responded, "Your sentence about 'wine and violins' was underscored in red when the letter came to my desk. Apparently hostile eyes have seen it for the marking was very heavy. I hesitate to say who did it but if you have the courage you might question some of the alumnae who are in this office!"<sup>23</sup> Were Fannie McLean's those hostile eyes? Was her's the teacher's disapproving red pencil?

The participation of women in undergraduate affairs also was improved when the constitution of the Associated Students of the University of California was revised in 1916, allowing women seats on the executive committee. The women collectively used a strategy that the men had invented: to maximize their nominee's chances, even when they could vote for two people, they should vote only for their candidate and no other, sacrificing one of their votes. This prompted one male student to complain to the *California Alumni Fortnightly*: "Enough women on the campus, it is alleged, were keen enough (and non-ethical enough) to seize the opportunity of assuring the election of the woman who was running for office."<sup>24</sup> But Fannie McLean would have been pleased with this younger generation of women students. As one of the nine women graduates of 1885, McLean had described her coed classmates as "brave, adventurous, independent, original . . . [crying out] 'I am free. No man and no thing can stop me.'"<sup>25</sup>

Fannie McLean's difference of opinion with Professor William Carey Jones about the rights and treatment of university women was further complicated. In 1886, when she was a job-seeking teacher, Jones was Berkeley's school board president. Indeed, he did sponsor her for the two-person Berkeley High School faculty, at a time when one female teacher taught most of the subjects to the forty students while the male principal "creamed off" a few for advanced English and classics recitations. She was also wholly responsible for discipline in the school. However, McLean grew dissatisfied with a high school that was "simply the vestibule to the university. I might as well have been tutoring as far as any independent school life was concerned."<sup>26</sup> In 1891 she abandoned both Berkeley and teaching and turned to social work among immigrants and blacks, in college settlement houses in New York City and Philadelphia. Returning to Berkeley High in 1895, McLean took on a range of suffrage and civic activities that reinforced the progressive educational philosophy that was altering high schools like hers. The public speaking, debate, journalism, drama, and creative writing classes and activities she sponsored, until her retirement in 1937, were intended to prepare ordinary Berkeley sons and daughters for civic life as well as for the university. These also produced some extraordinary achievers including playwright Thornton Wilder and Samuel Hume, director of the Greek Theatre Players.

The matter of woman suffrage in the state of California was to be decided at the November 5, 1911 election. During the preceding month, McLean's diary records she gave at

least thirteen suffrage talks and attended seven more suffrage teas or mass meetings in northern California. Two years earlier, as she determinedly pursued the goal of suffrage she wrote, "The suffrage business has been awfully absorbing, and I shall be glad when next week is over," admitting that the "president of such an organization [Suffrage League] ought not be a teacher, especially of such a large school as ours."<sup>27</sup> Still, she knew that most California high schools graduated nearly twice as many girls as boys each year. To deny women the vote was to deprive the society of the full contribution of its educated citizens to influence government. McLean argued that the girl student would no more let the boy vote for her in a classroom election than she would let him write her examination, for "she had her own opinion, her own conscience." The adult game of politics had grown "too serious and complex for men to play it alone, [for] we [women] have a wisdom that they can not afford to go without any longer—the result of an age-long silence and patience."<sup>28</sup>

After forty years of organized effort by such dedicated women, equal suffrage was approved by the state's male voters as an amendment to California's Constitution. Berkeley (the state's fifth largest city) was the only Alameda County community to pass woman suffrage by a wide margin.<sup>29</sup> How sweet was the victory! McLean explained why:

My first vote was cast on some important amendments to the city charter of Berkeley. In the early freshness of a spring morning my mother and I walked to the polls, which were in the high school building two blocks from our home. She was directly concerned in the amendments as a property holder and I as a public school teacher. When we were coming home we said to each other, "If people only knew what a rational, sane, simple, dignified thing this is to do, not a good or intelligent man or woman in the country would object to it, and isn't it our duty to send the message everywhere."<sup>30</sup>

The triumph of woman suffrage in California made San Francisco the world's largest equal-suffrage city. McLean spoke to its male politicians about the city's women having experienced "the power, the dignity, the satisfaction, the respect, the new interest in life, that comes from the ballot."<sup>31</sup> When other state campaigns asked for her help, she gave it, writing for eastern newspapers about the initial results of the woman's vote in California, attending suffrage rallies elsewhere, and working for the federal woman suffrage amendment that was approved in 1920.

To reach this level of confident activity had meant overcoming an anxiety often expressed by the pioneer generation of college women. Of the coeds of her undergraduate days, Fannie McLean remembered their being moved by a great desire — "for a clear vision of some cause that would be worth working for, worth speaking for, worth even being thought odd for." Yet they also felt a countervailing pull, a powerful dread: "We had a great horror of doing that which should be thought peculiar, different from what the girls who did not come to college were doing. We forget that often the queer people are the great people. In those days anything that smacked of woman's suffrage was queer."<sup>32</sup>

This fear was reflected in a letter from a supporter after McLean had spoken on equal suffrage at a Napa County rally. McLean had, she thought, dignified the suffragist's viewpoint "as to remove the stigma that many seemed to think was attached to suffrage for women."<sup>33</sup> Public opinion was softening from the days when early suffragists like Amelia Bloomer, Carrie Nation, and Susan B. Anthony had been ridiculed. For one thing, suffrage strategists had been laboring to make the movement as respectable and nonthreatening as possible. This meant highlighting genteel and attractive suffragists: housewives, especially the wives of trustworthy men, mothers of presentable families, and professional women, such as teachers, lawyers, businesswomen, physicians. Women from these groups constituted the College Equal Suffrage League.



Fannie was among the professional women, not the housewives. "Liberty is the bread of the soul, and the women with hungry souls should not be starved because of those who have not yet cultivated a healthy civic appetite," McLean preached. "Liberty" may indeed be the best answer to her friends' speculation on why Fannie McLean put teaching and civic labors in place of marriage. What made her a spinster teacher-feminist instead of the wife, mother, and helpmeet that her parents, friends, and suitors expected of this pretty and seemingly light-hearted collegian? Her mother lamented the disappearance from Fannie's social schedule of numerous university men—the Mistert Cope, Black, Edwards, Brittain, Pond, Walcott, Bent—all promising future lawyers, bankers, and businessmen. McLean also rejected Sidney Edward Mezes<sup>84</sup> who earned a law degree and a Harvard Ph.D., and became president of the University of Texas and the College of the City of New York. Her most persistent suitor was not, however, a Cal man, but Nathaniel Conrey, a Hoosier who was Pasadena City Attorney in 1886 when he first proposed marriage to Fannie McLean. While practicing law in Los Angeles he served on the Los Angeles Board of Education and in the California Assembly before becoming a Superior Court judge and justice of the California Supreme Court. Like her other admirers, including Professor Jones, he had to marry someone else.

Thus it was not for lack of eligible suitors that Fannie McLean never married. She had been something of a "new woman" before that term came into wide use. Her activities in college and afterwards included many parties, unchaperoned "walking out" on East Bay hills with young men, and billiard playing. While at the university she had read a novel whose heroine she described as "the kind of girl I admire most, but how few there are of them. If a girl does anything at all different from any one else she is talked about." Fannie's various irreverencies ranged from joking about the reason for having been selected a Charter Day Essayist—Professor Moses had said "they were anxious to have a nice looking girl on the platform with them"—to taking a somewhat radical interest in labor movements. She also confided to her sister, "I am beginning to think that charitable institutions are not of much use after all, until the working peoples, of their own efforts succeed in establishing their rights. You see...I am growing into a 'crank.' I am doing a little in the way of hospital charity work, but it don't suit me exactly; the work does not seem to go deeply enough." Her suffrage activities, like her progressive school practices, apparently answered that need for depth of effort.<sup>34</sup>

Fannie McLean is not important and instructive so much because she typified university women or even the other teachers that so many graduates became. She was too privileged and well-connected in the worlds of town and gown to be representative of the coed. How many fathers of a University of California daughter could be assured that Professor Moses would "keep watch of her & if he thought she was studying too hard and injuring her health," would inform her parents?<sup>35</sup> Unlike most teachers of either sex, she taught for half a century. As an administrator in one of California's topflight high schools, she was asked to inform and advise other educators from around the nation of practices she had instituted or supervised. Although women's suffrage and progressive social reform were approaching mass movements, few activists were on working terms with such luminaries as Susan B. Anthony, M. Carey Thomas, and Jane Addams.<sup>36</sup>

Rather, Fannie McLean is important since she articulated and embodied the more general restiveness that many women of her era felt because of the persistent sexual division existing between them and even the well-educated and progressive men of their day. Horace Bushnell had been considered a theological liberal, and before writing his book against suffrage for women he had abandoned his objections to coeducation. Almost all of the

University of California's male undergraduates and alumni were products of coeducational elementary and secondary schools where the majority of their teachers were women. Thus, they had ample opportunity to witness competence, rationality, and decisiveness in the "fair sex." Yet, many could not come to terms with female presence on the campus, even on the campus of a public university, much less to foster equality in reaping the benefits of the university. Like Bushnell they would be sorely tried by woman-led campaigns for social and political equality. And as later "gender-gap" politics have made clear, America's men and women voters sometimes show themselves in fundamental disagreement not unlike those two long-ago individuals who penned anonymous commentaries on the margins of Reverend Bushnell's book.

## ENDNOTES

Thanks to University Archivist William Roberts and the *Chronicle's* Editorial Board for their help and counsel.

- 1 Horace Bushnell, *Women's Suffrage; The Reform Against Nature* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1869). The inscription page comment is a corruption of an eighteenth century aphorism, "Procrastination is the thief of time," that millions of schoolchildren were made to copy on slates and blackboards as punishment for not completing their schoolwork. The verse is from Scott's 1808 *Marmion* [Canto 6]. The handwriting appears the same for these two inscriptions. The copy of Bushnell's book was signed by the author as a gift to Dr. Francis Lieber, a German-born exiled radical, political theorist, editor of the *Encyclopædia Americana*, and Columbia University Law School professor. It first seemed that Lieber (1800-1872) might have given the book to John or Joseph LeConte, early University of California professors, through a common faculty connection with South Carolina College where Lieber immediately preceded the LeContes. In fact, a gift to the university was used to purchase Lieber's library in 1873. The quotations from *Women's Suffrage* are from pp. 44, 56, 67, 148-49, 180.
- 2 A handwriting comparison does not rule out Fannie McLean (1863-1951) as the second writer.
- 3 A former teacher and owner of a private teacher-placement agency, in 1897 Cheney persuaded the regents to employ her to assist the university's graduates in finding the better and more influential teaching positions in the state's schools. Until 1934 education was the only career for which the university ran a placement service for its students and alumni. See Verne A. Stadtman ed., *The Centennial Record of the University of California* (Berkeley: University of California, 1967), 180 and Geraldine Jonçich Clifford, *Equally in View: The University of California, Its Women, and the Schools*, (Berkeley: Center for Studies in Higher Education and the Institute of Governmental Studies, 1995), esp. pp. 50-52.
- 4 "Lillian Moller Gilbreth, Industrial Engineer," in Irving Stone, ed., *There Was Light, Autobiography of a University, Berkeley: 1868-1968* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1970), 83; Frank B. Gilbreth, Jr., *Time Out for Happiness* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970), 2.
- 5 In 1886 Hamlin herself had organized the California branch of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (later the American Association of University Women); by 1915 the branch had 1400 members. In 1895 its members reportedly persuaded California's governor to appoint a woman (Phoebe Hearst, in 1897) to the next regental vacancy—this according to Grace Partridge, "The Association of Collegiate Alumnae," *Student Opinion*, 1:15 (November 29, 1915), 8-9.
- 6 An undated College Equal Suffrage League membership list of 120 names is in the Suffrage File in the 10-carton McLean Family Papers, The Bancroft Library. These papers, the major source for this article, include personal and professional correspondence, diaries, speeches, and other manuscripts. Biographies of the women named were confirmed through university and California Alumni Association publications: *Directory of Graduates* (1905), *Directory of Graduates of the University of California, 1864-1916* (1916), and Robert Sibley, ed., *Golden Book of California* (1937).

- 7 Grace MacFarland to Fannie McLean, October 12, 1911. McLean Family Papers, carton 5.
- 8 "University Education: An Address at the Commencement Exercises of the University of California by Governor H. H. Haight," *College of California, University of California Documents, 1861-1875*, Vol. I, University Archives, University of California, Berkeley. At his own commencement, at the old College of California, Richard Eugene Poston '68 also orated about women's rights: "God knows, and we give evidence through all our lives, that we do not oppose them as they come before us now because we believe that woman is inferior. . . . [But why] is not woman content with the influence she exercises now? which she has exercised since the world began?" In "Our Mothers," a Commencement Oration, June 3, 1868. In Samuel Willey MSS [C-B582], The Bancroft Library.
- 9 Daniel Coit Gilman, "The Building of the University: An Inaugural Address, Oakland, Nov. 7, 1872" (San Francisco, 1872). Gilman left California in 1875 to become first president of Johns Hopkins University, where he supported its all-male policy. When an exceptionally persistent and well-connected Baltimore woman, a future president of Bryn Mawr College, was "admitted" to Hopkins for graduate work, M. Carey Thomas was not permitted to attend classes. When her friend Mary Garrett (later treasurer of the National College Equal Suffrage League) made coeducation a condition for her large gift to open the Medical School, Gilman resisted and then capitulated. See Abraham Flexner, *Daniel Coit Gilman: Creator of the American Type of University* (New York, 1910).
- 10 Elsie McCormick [Woman's Editor], "The Unwelcome Feminine by One of Them," *Student Opinion*, 1:2 (August 24, 1915), 7. During the pre-World War I decade, women were as much as forty percent of incoming students in some years.
- 11 "Views of an Ecclesiastic About Lady Students," *University Echo*, May 1873, in Berkeley, *The First Seventy-five Years* (Berkeley: California State Department of Education, Federal Works Administration, and WPA, 1941), 58.
- 12 Criticism prompted Gayley to move from excluding women to offering the course "one term for the men of the University and the alternative term for all and sundry," including the crowds of "girls, women, coeds, pelicans, old maids, and females of every other sort and description." This is the account, sympathetic to Gayley, in Benjamin P. Kurtz, *Charles Mills Gayley* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), 151-52.
- 13 Academic Council, Academic Senate Files, box 8, folder 5. University Archives.
- 14 In 1870 a state meeting of California's public school teachers introduced a resolution to the regents objecting to their reported policy of excluding women from the university's faculty. In Clifford, *Equally in View*, 21.
- 15 *Daily Californian*, September 1, 1904. See Chapter 2, "Women at the University of California, 1870-1920: From Pelicans to Chickens," in Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990).
- 16 An Alumni Association survey of the 137 women of the university's class of 1907 reported that, within three years of graduation, 3 had non-teaching occupations, 34 were "at home" with their parents, 38 were married, and 62 were teaching; from other sources it is known that some in the wives category were also present or former teachers. The survey is reported in Clotilde Grunsky, "College Women as Teachers," *California Alumni Fortnightly*, 9:4 (March 4, 1916), 55. On Sprague's Berkeley years see Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, and Joyce Antler, *Lucy Sprague Mitchell: The Making of a Modern Woman* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986). While May Cheney, for one, approved of the new department it was not for its producing homemakers, Wheeler's intention, but as a means of giving women more varied career opportunities. See Maresi Nerad, *The Academic Kitchen: A Social History of Gender Stratification at the University of California, Berkeley* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).

- 17 Within its first five years Stanford also conferred a Ph.D. on a woman. But a national backlash against college women was evident by 1910. Because Stanford's coeds were so numerous they threatened to become the majority, Jane Stanford imposed a strict quota on the number of female students that lasted until the 1930s, when the need for tuition income relaxed her limitation.
- 18 Lillian Martin to Fannie McLean, October 2, 1910. McLean Family Papers, carton 5.
- 19 William Carey Jones, *Illustrated History of the University of California* (Berkeley, 1895). Jones was born in Washington, D.C. in 1854, at the home of his maternal grandfather, Missouri's famous anti-secession senator, Thomas Hart Benton. His aunt was the writer Jessie Benton (Mrs. General John C.) Frémont. Jones' first wife was Alice Whitcomb '77 (d. 1882), his second was Ada Butterfield (m.1893), a protégé of Mrs. Phoebe Hearst. He died in Peking, China in 1923. For his academic career see "William Carey Jones," *California Law Review*, 12:5 (July 1924), 334-39.
- 20 William Carey Jones to Fannie McLean, December 11, 1885, January 24, 1886, and undated addendum sheet. There are 104 of Jones' letters to Fannie in the McLean Family Papers, carton 5.
- 21 Male-female tensions on women's place in higher education were present everywhere in these decades. In far-distant Waterville, Maine and in a different kind of school than California, a Colby College graduate, Minerva Leland (1882) and her friends commiserated about their "warfare with the boys" during their student days, proposals to end coeducation by creating a separate college for women, and male graduates voting to hold alumni meetings without any female presence—"no insult intended unless it is an insult to let the women know they are not wanted." R. G. Frye to M. Leland, February 10, 1896. In Papers of Minerva Leland (1859-1926), Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.
- 22 Jones to McLean, December 11, 1885; January 7, 1886. McLean Family Papers.
- 23 Harry East Miller to Homer Havermale, March 9, 1918, and Havermale to Miller, March 10, 1918. Both originals are in the McLean Family Papers, carton 4.
- 24 *California Alumni Fortnightly*, 9:17 (November 15, 1916), 260. The strategy is called "single-shot" voting.
- 25 In "Talk to Women of the Berkeley High School Class of 1921." McLean Family Papers, carton 9.
- 26 This was about the time that Regent James W. Anderson, as State Superintendent of Public Education, criticized university faculty for trying to turn the proliferating high schools from useful educators of the people's children to "nurseries to feed the State University." July 13, 1891, in Regents' records, University Archives.
- 27 Fannie McLean to Mrs. Sarah McLean, February 4, 1909. McLean Family Papers.
- 28 McLean's words are drawn from "Equal Suffrage and the Teacher," "Why Women Want the Suffrage," and "The Four Loyalties: Address to San Francisco Girls High School Commencement" [June 1, 1911]—all among her undated speeches in McLean Family Papers, carton 9.
- 29 George A. Pettitt, *Berkeley: The Town and Gown of It* (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1973), esp. p.142 ; Pettitt is my chief source on Berkeley.
- 30 "The New Citizenship," in Suffrage Files, McLean Family Papers, carton 9.
- 31 Speech on behalf of the federal suffrage amendment, San Francisco [c. 1915]. McLean Family Papers, carton 9.
- 32 "Equal Suffrage," address to College Equal Suffrage League, n.d., McLean Family Papers, carton 9.
- 33 Emma J. Clarke to Fannie McLean, n.d. [after October 6, 1911]. McLean Family Papers, carton 5.
- 34 Quotations taken from Fannie McLean to Agnes McLean, December 24, 1882; Fannie to Mrs. Sarah McLean, February 4, 1883; Fannie to Agnes, October 30, 1887. McLean Family Papers, carton 4.



- 35 Edward McLean to Sarah McLean, June 11, 1882. McLean Family Papers, carton 1.  
Like the McLeans, Bernard Moses of the history department was a Connecticut native.
- 36 For example, McLean was the only schoolteacher on the eight-person board of the National College Equal Suffrage League, whose members included two college presidents. And she had come to know Jane Addams during her own settlement house days.



Students on the Telegraph Avenue bridge (future site of Sather Gate) ca. 1899.  
*University Archives.*