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Women at Berkeley, the First Hundred Years

Part 3
WWII through the 1950s

Catherine Gallagher

Chapter Seven
The WWII Mobilization of Berkeley Women

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

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

1 1944 Recruitment Poster

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

Telling War Stories

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

2 Marguerite Higgins in 1950

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

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

Berkeley's military women

3 Colonel Katherine Towle

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

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

Towle was commissioned a Captain in the Marine Corps Women Reservists immediately after its establishment. One of seven women officers coming from civilian life (she was on leave from her job at the Press), she served on the staffs of various Commanding Officers at training camps and then at Marine headquarters. Her main responsibility during the war was to advise the Corps on women's issues, and apparently they needed a great deal of advice. The Marine Corps was the last and most reluctant branch to admit women, and at first they allowed them only into the Corps' clerical jobs, freeing the men in the offices to join the fighting. Later, though, they filled other noncombatant jobs: "Forty percent of the women were eventually assigned to aviation posts and stations. They were Link [flight simulation] trainers, aerologists,

parachute riggers--they did all sorts of things" (Towle, p. 107). Towle's account of how the Marine Corps expanded and diversified women's jobs as the war proceeded accords with the histories of the other branches of the military: many women in uniform were crossing into new vocational opportunities (Hartmann, 31-48). Towle continued her military career long after the war ended and became the highest-ranking woman in the Marine Corps before she resigned to become Dean of Women Berkeley and then Dean of Students.

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

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

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

4 Margaret Sanford Oldenburg

military planes. Indeed, they were sometimes the test pilots for new models. The Army both needed their services and refused to give them full military status. Consequently, fellow pilots took care of all the burial expenses for Margaret Sanford Oldenburg and escorted her body home to Oakland ("Women Airforce Service Pilots"; "Oldenburg").

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

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

Organizing women workers in home-front war industries

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

unfamiliar with unions, like the many Black workers from the South who arrived in the Los Angeles area, was a challenging task.

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

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

Student mobilization

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

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

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

A 1942 film, *Campus on the March*, shows these classes while the voice-over describes "girls" learning to make blueprints as preparation for jobs in "nearby aviation plants and shipyards", implying, rather misleadingly, that the trainees were undergraduates in regular university programs. To be sure, the classes were college-level and taught by regular faculty, but the ESMWT courses did not in fact carry academic credit, and the trainees were usually not part of the regular student body. They also tended to live closer to the places where they planned to work than they did to campus, and their intensive, uninterrupted eight-hour class days left them little time for student social activities (May, B. H., 79). The special courses prepared them for immediate employment, and hence students who weren't willing to interrupt their educations would have joined them either just before or after graduation. Thus the trainees and the undergraduates were normally separate groups, seldom intermingling. Although not folded into the Berkeley student body, they were nevertheless Berkeley products, taught by the College of Engineering faculty and recruited, advised, and placed by Berkeley staff.

Moreover, their presence on campus was a sign of the times, one of the many indicating that undergraduate women would be welcome in fields they had not previously been encouraged to enter. The message was reinforced in special appeals from the administration and individual academic programs, as well as campus publications. As Charles Dorn notes in his groundbreaking article on Berkeley's women in WWII, the university produced and distributed a *Training for War Service* directory, listing all of its courses in "nationally needed professions" and containing a special section for women (Dorn, 541-3). The pamphlet does mention some traditionally feminine fields—nursing, public health, social welfare, and education—but it

pointedly also recommends that women take courses in "engineering, public administration, and medicine" and in "scientific fields important in the war effort such as chemistry, physics, metallurgy, and the like" (quoted in Dorn, 542). The university sponsored "work forums" to make undergraduate women more aware of openings in such fields and help them navigate the job market. Much recruiting for war industries appealed to the women's patriotism, making the connection between their ability to enter new jobs and the country's ability to turn out powerful weapons. A writer for the *California Monthly*, for example, reporting the launching of a new warship in record time, exulted that it was due to: "college trained womanpower. . . University of California women are to be found in all phases of shipbuilding at the Richmond yards" (quoted in Dorn, 544). Others stressed the advantages to the women themselves; the College of Pharmacy, for example, claimed that, "The opportunity for women in pharmacy is greater now than ever before", and assured them "of postwar positions as well" (quoted in Dorn, 543).

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

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

The Mobilization of Career Academic Women

There were, of course, women graduate students, researchers, and faculty members who already had the training needed to join the university's war efforts from the start. Faculty in fields like nutrition, nursing, and bacteriology were asked (as they had been during WWI) to devote some of their instruction

to the nation's needs. Every student was required to take one National Service Course, such as "Wartime Problems in the Food Industry" or "Nutrition in Peace Time and War" (Stadtman, 312), so the faculties were busy preparing new courses. Moreover, since the students in the Navy's officer training program were taught by the regular faculty, women were sometimes called on to give courses geared to their needs. In the Mathematics Department, for example, Associate Professor Pauline Sperry taught navigation for the Navy ROTC (Greene and LaDuke).

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

8 Mathematician Julia Robinson

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

Women in the race for atomic weapons

The Los Alamos Laboratory, the top-secret site in the New Mexico desert where the first atomic weapons were assembled and tested, was a UC Berkeley facility, under the direction of Berkeley Physics Professor Robert Oppenheimer. Relatively few of the thousands of people who worked there—640 of whom were women—had prior Berkeley connections, but the Los Alamos laboratory put Berkeley at the center of the international effort to create an atomic weapon. Berkeley, moreover, was no arbitrary choice, for its faculty and researchers had already

played key roles in laying the scientific foundations for such weapons. UC had taken an early lead in the field of atomic research when Professor Ernest O. Lawrence invented the atom-smashing cyclotron, for which he won the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1939, and it was Lawrence who later insisted that the US Army should pay serious attention to atomic technology's military potential. It was also at Lawrence's expanded cyclotron and radiation laboratory that researchers in physics and chemistry isolated a number of elements, including plutonium, which would be basic to nuclear physics. And, finally, Berkeley was the place where a task-force of scientists met regularly to do preliminary planning for an atomic weapon under Oppenheimer's leadership in the summer of 1942.

9 Women's Army Corps division at Los Alamos

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

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

Explosives Technician Frances Dunne at Los Alamos

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

Los Alamos, of course, was only one of the many sites where the international Manhattan Project (of the UK, US, and Canada) oversaw research directed toward atomic weapons, and several important women scientists contributed to the effort from other locations. Of that far-

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

11 Physicist Chien-Shiung Wu

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

Effects of the mobilization

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

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

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

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7. Still showing the classroom in Berkeley's Engineering, Science, and Management War Training program, in the film *Campus on the March*, 1942, by the Office of War Information. From the Internet Archive. https://archive.org/details/Campuson1942.

8. Photo of Julia Bowman Robinson. From Open Logic Project Website. https://openlogicproject.org/2016/10/11/for-ada-lovelace-day-julia-bowman-robinson/.

9. Photo of the WAC division at Los Alamos. From "The Women of Los Alamos: Their life in the super-secret fraternity that built the atomic bomb", *TheAtlantic.com*, 2019. https://www.theatlantic.com/sponsored/wgn-manhattan-project/the-women-of-los-alamos/580/.

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Chapter Eight
UC Women Lead the Student Body and Undergo Racist Internment

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

The ASUC, Stern Hall, and Student Housing

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

There had always been those who questioned that assumption, however, and in 1942, when women were being encouraged to take on new roles, a group of students challenged the fairness of reserving the presidency for men. Led by Vice President Catherine Henck, they proposed an amendment to the ASUC constitution explicitly affirming women's eligibility to run for president. As Charles Dorn's account of that campaign shows, the amendment, which required a two-thirds majority to pass, failed in the fall of '42, but it succeeded when put back on the ballot in the next spring. Then, in the very first election after women became eligible for the office, Natalie Burdick was elected president (Dorn, 545-548; Stadtman, 315).

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

elected. The female majorities of the last two war years thus certainly helped equalize gender opportunity in Berkeley's student government.

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

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

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

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

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

Natalie Burdick's campaign for ASUC President was launched from Stern Hall, and it also highlighted the issue of affordable student housing. Vice President Catherine Henck, the author of the amendment that made Burdick's presidency possible, had been campaigning for dormitories since her sophomore year; she was secretary of the Student Housing Board, a primarily female committee, and she was the student member on the University administration's Committee on Living Accommodations (Moorsteen). Burdick's campaign tied the dormitory issue to that of higher student wages. By linking those two issues, she framed the housing questions as a matter of social equity: university housing would help to equalize the students' living and studying conditions. She promised to work for both a higher campus minimum wage and university-financed residences to control rising rent costs (Dorn, 548).

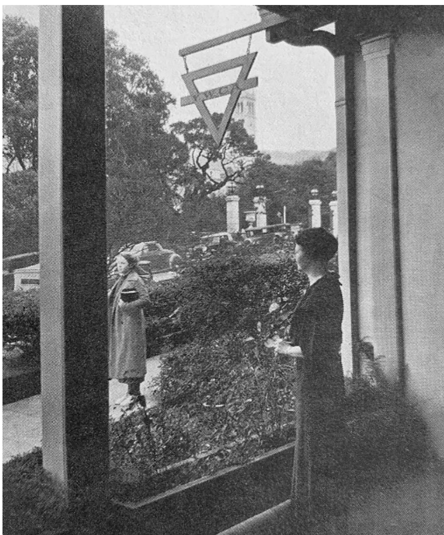
2 The ASUC Housing Board in 1941. The gender disproportion shows the extent to which dormitories were a women's issue.

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

The YWCA

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

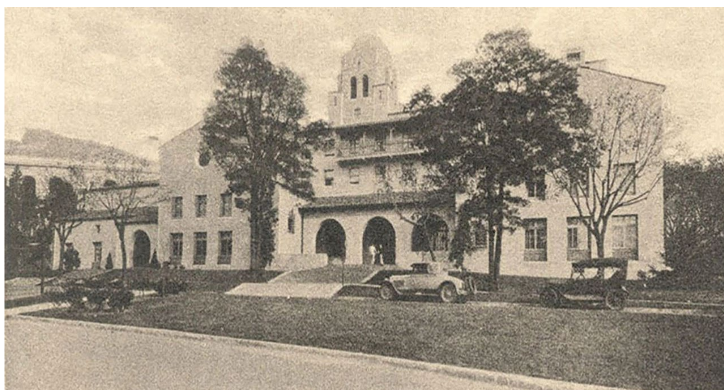
Rule 17 would trigger the Free Speech Movement in 1964, but before that momentous event, one of its primary effects was the growth around the campus's periphery of lively political locations, such as the space south of Sather Gate, which is now Sproul Plaza but was then city property. Of the many church and community centers that allowed students to organize politically, the headquarters of the two "Y"s, YWCA and YMCA, were the most important. Unlike the ASUC, the "Cottage", which housed the YWCA offices, and the larger YMCA Stiles Hall, where both men and women held public events, could mount overtly political action. Moreover, their meeting and assembly rooms could be rented for use by all sorts of other political groups.



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

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

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


4 International House in 1930

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

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

> YWCA members surveyed minority students regarding the challenges many confronted in securing adequate and affordable housing and conveyed their findings to university administrators. They established a housing bureau to assist minority students in locating accommodations and, by refusing to list facilities that

> discriminated, pressured landlords to open their units to students regardless of race. Urging the student body to pledge not to seek accommodations in boarding houses refusing to serve minorities, they . . . convinced the ASUC to endorse a resolution opposing racist and religious discrimination in student housing and supporting efforts to have boarding house owners sign a pledge of nondiscrimination before being placed on the university's list of approved accommodations (Dorn, 557).

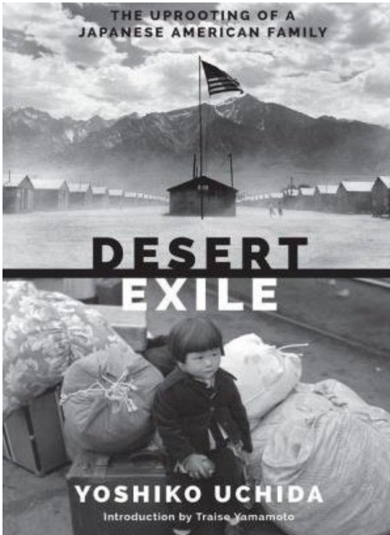
In short, the University YWCA's status as an off-campus organization with an on-campus presence allowed it to promote its political and social vision through a campaign for student welfare, thereby making it eligible for on-campus student government action. It was another route by which the non-Hellenic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

Nisei Student Internment

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

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

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



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

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

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

Uchida's book, to be sure, tells us how much the actual hardships exceeded the expectations of the students and their families. The dehumanization, humiliation, harshness,

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

7 Book cover with drawing by Okubo

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

While these Berkeley women endured their ordeal and continued to lead their peers, the UC community helped and supported them in small and large ways. In the days of anxious preparation before removal, the YWCA helped families with paperwork and childcare (Clemens, 16), and the organization continued monitoring their condition in Tanforan and at Camp Topaz (Park, 488-501). Both the general secretary of the YW and Berkeley's Assistant Dean of Women visited Uchida and her family while they were interned (Uchida, 84). The most important Berkley initiative, though, was the creation of paths out of the camps for hundreds of students. Indeed, even before the war started, while tensions were building between the US and Japan, a group of prominent UC figures came together to plan strategies for the protection of Japanese Americans. The group included President Sproul, former President Barrows, and a former missionary, Galen Fisher, who was a lecturer in Political Science, chair of the board of trustees of the Pacific School of Religion, and a friend of Uchida's family. Historian David Hollinger explains that although they couldn't prevent the internment, they did assemble a coalition of church groups, political organizations, and academic leaders that had some influence on the War Relocation Office, which managed the camps (Hollinger, 155-59).

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

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

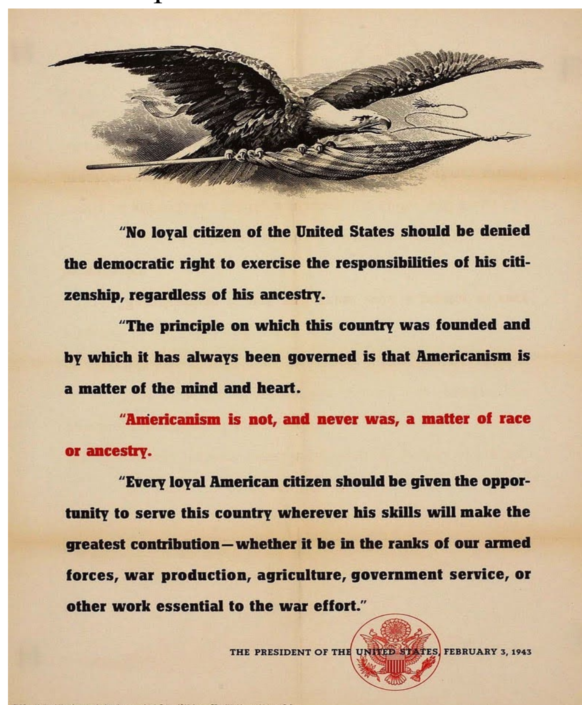
The Student Relocation Council coordinated the release from the camps of more than 4,000 Nisei students and their placement in over 600 Mid-Western and East-Coast colleges and universities (Austin).

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

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

Scattering the Nisei has come to be criticized as forced assimilation, which was damaging to a minority culture (Park, 500-515), but at the time it was attacked as a form of "molly-coddling" them. Indeed, the most vociferous public censure of Japanese American internment came not from advocates of civil liberties but from rightwing critics of the Roosevelt administration. Their voices grew louder as the relocation efforts increased in 1943, putting the

protectors of the internees in the position of defending the new status quo. The American Legion led a noisy campaign to take the camps out of the civilian control of the War Relocation Office and place them under the Army's auspices, effectively turning the Japanese Americans into war prisoners. Roosevelt pushed back and further inflamed the American Legion by signing a new executive order declaring that all citizens regardless of race had equal rights to do "work essential to the war effort". As a consequence, both Nisei men and women were recruited to become regular servicemen and women. According to Joyce Nao Takahashi, the U. S. Cadet Nurse Corps "recruited in the internment camps with the result that more than 350 Nisei women joined the cadets." Other Nisei women were recruited to join the WACs and to work in the Military Intelligence Service (Takahashi, 13). While young Nisei were leaving the camps for the military, the WRO was moved even deeper into the civilian part of the government by being taken out of the War Department and put into the Department of the Interior. These liberalizing developments further incensed the American Legion and its allies.



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

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

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

> It has often been said that if Fascism comes to the United States, it will be called Americanism. Newspaper reports of the San Francisco convention reveal

> that this militant, well-organized, politically and economically influential, and purportedly 100 per cent American organization contains the seeds of Fascism.
>
> The group in control [of the American Legion] has laid down a policy which is rampantly nationalistic, intolerant of other nations and other peoples, intolerant of minorities within the United States, lacking in regard for the rights of citizens, and strongly emotional in its approach to social and political problems.

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

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

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

It no doubt took considerable bravery for these *Daily Cal* editors to pick a fight with the American Legion, and yet their statements were limited by the wartime context. They shared the dilemma faced by all of the defenders of the internees: in order to mitigate the confinement and release the maximum number of people, they needed to support the the Roosevelt

administration. Most defenders of the Japanese Americans adopted the same strategy: avoiding the forthright expression of their opposition to the internment, they concentrated on ameliorating the conditions in the camps and recruiting a network of volunteers to work with the War Relocation Office in dispersing and resettling thousands of California's Japanese Americans (Hollinger, 157).

The experience of the defenders of the internees might prompt us to reflect on the paradox of the war's impact on women in campus politics. It did bring women undergraduates with social justice agendas into leadership positions from which they urged significant reforms and even accomplished a few. Moreover, some of them found their life's work in their wartime student activism. For example, Mary Ogg (later Barnett, '44) the fearless editor of *The Daily Californian*, spent the next fifty years as an investigative newspaper reporter. She exposed corruption in local government and environmental exploitation in both California and New Mexico. In her December 2014 obituary in the *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, her family asked readers to "honor her memory by booting out a corrupt official in her name" ("Mary Ogg Barnett"). And Catherine Henck (later Lovell '42), who led the effort to allow women to run for president of the ASUC, spent twenty years working for public service organizations (many of them involved with public housing) before taking a PhD in Public Administration and teaching at UC Riverside until her retirement 1988 ("Catherine Henck Lovell").

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

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

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2. Photo of the ASUC's Housing Board. From *Blue and Gold*, 1941.

3. Photo of the view from the porch of the YWCA Cottage, 1930s. From Clemens, Dorothy Thelen, "'The Want Most Keenly Felt'; University YWCA, the Early Years." *Ladies Blue and Gold*, Special issue of the *Chronicle of the University of California*, vol. 1, n. 2, Fall 1998, p. 13.

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5. Photo of a baby internee by Eleanor Breed, taken in May, 1942, as Berkeley's Japanese-American community was being transported to internment camps. From Kell, Gretchen "Campus, city to mark WWII internment of Japanese Americans, 75 years on." *Berkeley News*, 4/4/2017. https://news.berkeley.edu/2017/04/24/campus-city-to-mark-wwii-evacuation-of-japanese-americans-75-years-on/.

6. Cover image showing Camp Topaz in the upper panel. From Uchida, Yoshika. *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, University of Washington Press, 2015.

7. Cover image showing drawing by Mine Okubo. From Okubo, Mine. Citizen 13660. U. of Washington P., 1983 (first published 1946).

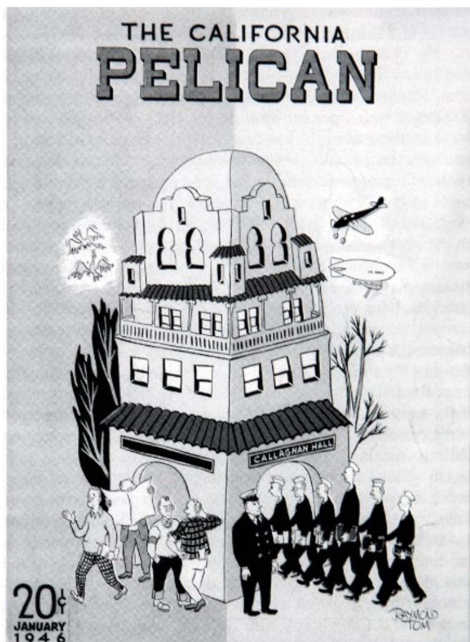
8. Photo of a War Department poster used for recruiting Nisei soldiers after they had been reclassified as eligible to fight. https://catalogue.swanngalleries.com/Lots/auction-lot/(CIVIL-RIGHTS)-America-is-not-and-never-was-a-matter-of-race?saleno=2137&lotNo=166&refNo=595349.

9. Photo of Mary Ogg Barnett. From "Obituary: Mary Barnett", by Rob Chalhoub. *Press Banner News*, January 30, 2015. https://pressbanner.com/obituary-mary-barnett/.

Chapter Nine
The Postwar Decline of Women Students

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

Women Undergraduates Displaced



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

After the war, men far outnumbered women among both graduate and undergraduate students. As historian Barbara Solomon has shown, the disproportion was a national phenomenon: veterans were given priority in admissions and flooded into campuses all over the country; they were even admitted to some women's colleges (Solomon, 189-91). At Berkeley as elsewhere, women's access was severely limited, and their share of the total undergraduates dropped abruptly from a high of 63% in 1944-45 to a low of 29% in 1948. Berkeley's overall student population was enlarged by thousands of men using the GI Bill to finance their college educations. Enrollments rose from just under 15,000 in 1945-6 to over 20,000 in 1946-7. To be sure, the undergraduate numbers did drop again in the 1950s, but they continued to average a few thousand higher than the prewar enrollments. Even after the initial surge of new male enrollments subsided, Berkeley's student body remained disproportionately male. The absolute number of women students, moreover, stayed below the prewar level until 1960: in 1938-9 there had been around 5,500 undergraduate women, and twenty years later, there were fewer than 5,000. What kept postwar women both a smaller proportion of all students and a diminished minority on campus?

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

An additional reason to choose against Berkeley might have been the congested campus's derelict physical condition, resulting from years of neglect during the depression and war as well as from the university's stubborn refusal to invest in student facilities. In 1946-7, the California Alumni Association studied the state of the campus and concluded that the university facilities were pitifully inadequate. Stephens Hall, then the student union, was far too cramped. The size of its cafeteria was insufficient and there was nowhere else on campus to buy food. The campus lacked playing fields, a modern gymnasium, paved walk-ways, gathering spaces, and landscaping. The scarcity of nearby housing, moreover, forced students to drive to campus (50% of women still commuted from

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

home), so roads and most open spaces were crammed with cars. The Alumni Association published a report in 1948 recommending major investments in grounds and facilities, but the university took no action for another decade. All students suffered from the postwar crowding and dearth of accommodations, but women were at a greater disadvantage, especially when it came to finding housing.

As a dwindling minority, women were a low priority, and their needs were often sacrificed to the exigencies of accommodating the returning vets. For example, the university chose to house veterans in a project originally planned to house undergraduate women. Construction on what were to have been seven buildings, called the Fernwald Dormitories, was begun in 1940, but completion was delayed by the war and scaled back. An announcement as late as the spring of 1945 still stated that "Quarters for 480 women will be provided in three living units, two buildings to each unit, and a 'commons' will have central eating facilities. Two of the units will be completed by the opening of the Fall term October 25, [1945] . . . caring for 360 girls" (*Smyth-Fernwald Historic Structures Report*, p. 9). However, the completed four buildings, the first residences ever built by Berkeley using public funds, were instead given over almost entirely to the veterans. By 1946, the Fernwald complex housed almost 400 men and only 78 women. The story is typical of the times: it was specifically the women undergraduates who lost housing to the vets, just as they had lost seats in the admissions process. Boarding houses were also increasingly renting to the larger numbers of men, and only one new women's cooperative residence, housing around 50 women, went up, in 1953. The shortage of living space discouraged women's enrollment and heightened the desirability of sororities for undergraduate women. It was a major factor in the renewed prestige and power of the Greek-letter organizations after the war (Kerr, 97-105; "Student Housing").

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

In the fifties, the administration made other changes that left women students in a weakened position. Early in the new decade, the formerly independent Dean of Women was subordinated to a (male) Dean of Students, ending the era when women undergraduates had a direct channel to the Chancellor. Dean of Women Katherine Towle recalled that under the new chain-of-command she was sometimes left out of the decision-making on policies affecting all students. Her effectiveness, moreover, was decreased by the necessity to communicate with the Chancellor mainly through the Dean of Students. She managed to prevent a further demotion in

her status when the Dean of Students proposed that her title be changed from Dean to Advisor, but the administrative reorganization nevertheless tended to mute the voices of the women students she represented (Hartman, 109; Towle, 167-73).

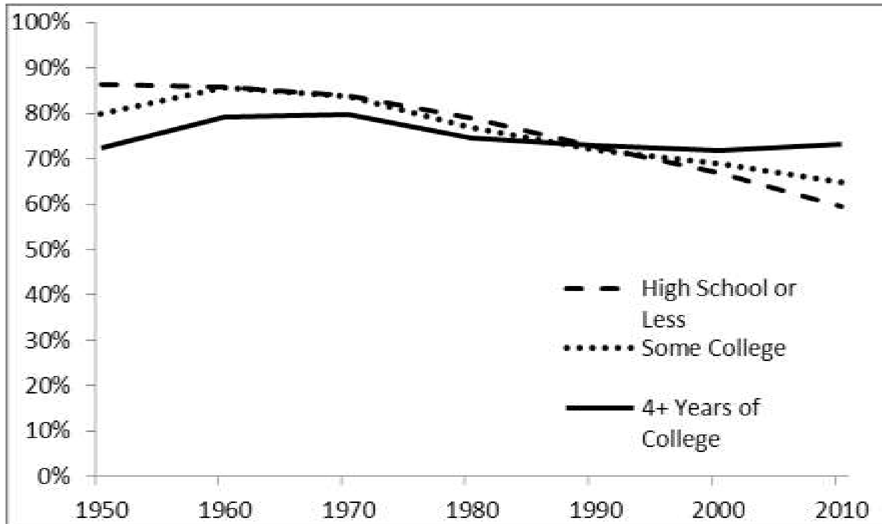
In the mid-fifties, the administration took another step toward dismantling the women-centered institutions that had been put in place earlier to make up for the exclusions women suffered. Chancellor Clark Kerr announced that the Home Economics department would be folded at Berkeley and moved to the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

The Country's Incomplete Pivot on Gender Roles

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

College students were certainly receptive to the pervasive postwar cultural message that young people generally, and women in particular, should marry and start families early. Since the war had delayed courtships, some women students dropped out when peace came to complete earlier marriage plans. Most women apparently agreed with the national consensus

that returning veterans deserved preferential treatment, not only in university admissions but also in the job market, so training for a career might easily have seemed futile or even selfish (Hartmann, 101-116). And despite the fact that more women than ever went to college in the postwar years, college was also increasingly seen as a place to meet a suitable future spouse. Most women students reported that they viewed their educational and career ambitions as ancillary to the goal of starting a family.



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

The near unanimity of that ambition, though, was actually new among college women; it didn't signal a return to prewar attitudes. As we saw in a previous essay, undergraduates had been increasingly socializing together and dating each other since at least the 1920s, when extra-curricular activities became more sexually integrated. Yet despite the interwar rise of college as a potential setting for courtship, by1947 merely 69% of women college graduates were married, as opposed to 87% of women with only high-school educations. The proportion of women college graduates remaining single in the 1920s had been even higher, around 35% (Horowitz, 218). As this graph from a recent paper on marriage and cohabitation shows, the gap began to narrow during the 1950s, when college women's marriage rates increased and noncollege women's decreased (Lundberg and Pollak, 8). Given the overall growth in college attendance and the postwar context, the merger of the two lines is not surprising: as it became more ordinary for middle-class women to attend college, their expectations about their futures also tended toward the norm for their sex. We might conclude that the postwar delivered the *coup de grâce* to the waning but nevertheless still viable category of the spinster. Planning for an unmarried future—a life course followed by a third of college women in the previous generation—came to seem downright eccentric.

Single women in the interwar years had played crucial social and economic roles, which often determined their unmarried state. They had faced a starker choice than the postwar generation between marriage and employment outside the home. In the twenties and especially the thirties (to ration jobs during the depression), many large employers, including thirty-four state governments and a whopping 87% of all school districts, had explicitly banned the hiring

of married women and fired women who married while on the job (Goldin, 1991, 516-519). The bans often applied to the positions for which college women trained: teachers, librarians, nurses, and social workers. Faced with the impossibility of marrying and working, a significant proportion of college women apparently chose to forego marriage.

In the postwar period, though, when the marriage prohibitions had been swept away by the wartime need for women to do men's jobs, it became legally easier for married college women to keep their work. Certainly barriers to equal employment opportunities persisted as well as some degree of social disapproval, but blanket prohibitions against hiring married women disappeared. The combination of those factors—fewer qualified single women and no bars to hiring the married ones—meant that the expanding postwar economy recruited wives; indeed, by1950 the married portion of the female labor force was larger than ever before and growing. Thus the cultural emphasis on domesticity had an ironic economic outcome: more working wives. In earlier periods, working-class women had been the most likely to take employment outside the home, but employers after the war sought better educated women to fill the rising demand for clerical, service, and retail workers in addition to the need for more teachers as the population boomed. The statistics on married women's employment in the 1950s and 60s show that the higher a woman's educational level, the more likely she was to be employed after her marriage (Goldin, 2006, 1-8). Despite the relentless depiction of married women as fulltime homemakers, the percentage of them entering the workforce shot up in the 1950s and 60s, from 25% to 46% for women in the 35 to 44-year-old age group. Far from permanently retreating after a brief working life into exclusively domestic pursuits, college-educated married women in the 1950s, whose children no longer needed their fulltime attention, were becoming common in the working world.

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

national disunity over the role of women in society and hence the purpose of their higher education.

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

Mixed Messages and Opportunities at Berkeley

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

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

The political atmosphere on campus, which had a bearing on gender relations, might also be seen as a locally aggravated case of a national condition. Campuses were generally apolitical in the 1950s, but Berkeley seemed to be suffering from an almost post-traumatic political numbness, a wary quietism about all controversial issues following its notorious Loyalty Oath crisis of 1949-50. That crisis occurred when UC tried to preempt the efforts of anti-communist

crusaders in the California Assembly, who wanted to investigate and fire left-wing university employees. Imagining that the Assembly would back off if sufficiently assured of UC staff's patriotism, the Regents (at the suggestion of President Sproul) voted to require all employees to swear that they did not support "the overthrow of the United States Government". We'll return in the next installment to the issue of how the Loyalty Oath damaged Berkeley's academic status. Suffice it to say here that although it did nothing to dispel public suspicions about UC, the crisis constrained political expression and discouraged student initiatives like those that had been undertaken just a few years earlier by the women who led the ASUC during the war. Thus, although many American campuses became more conservative in the fifties, Berkeley had a particularly strong reason to hold itself aloof from all political controversy, which encouraged apathy in the student body until the end of the fifties.

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

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

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

Granted, in this article Didion portrayed the most traditional slice of campus life rather than the one where she eventually found her appropriate milieu and intellectual peers: the editorial offices of the *Daily Californian* and the literary magazine *Occident* (Rainey). However, another contemporary, who interviewed "the most talented and creative college women" at Berkeley in 1960, encountered surprisingly similar attitudes, especially about the primacy of matrimony in their plans for the future. Paul Heist, a researcher at Berkeley's Center for the Study of Higher Education, reported that "it was surprisingly infrequent to find a young woman genuinely committed to a discipline, a professional future, or a career . . . For those senior women interviewed, not already married, all saw marriage as a culminating goal of great if not first importance" (Heist, 1962, quoted in Fass, p. 176).

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

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

6 Didion receives National Humanities Medal in 2007

7 Hong Kingston receives National Medal of Arts 2014

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

Didion seems to have chosen a writing career early in her college years and to have pursued it single-mindedly. Part of her preparation came from working on campus publications and part from her English major. At the *Daily Californian* she was trained in one of the few

professions, journalism, where women kept and even increased their wartime gains during the postwar period. In 1950, women comprised a third of the nation's editors and reporters (Solomon, 196). And Berkeley's campus publications conformed to the national trend: women held on to their positions of leadership at the *Daily Californian*, the *Occident*, and *The Blue and Gold*. Didion started writing for the *Daily Cal* shortly after her arrival in Berkeley, and she sharpened her skills with a summer internship at *Mademoiselle* in New York and a six-year stint at *Vogue*, her first professional position after graduation. The precision and economy of all of her writing are probably due to her rigorous training as a journalist.

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

8 Didion with a fellow editor of Occident

Maxine Hong Kingston also invented techniques for intertwining fiction and nonfiction, especially in her first book, *The Woman Warrior* (1978). An experimental mixture of memoir, history, and myth, it was so original that a controversy broke out about how to categorize it. Didion and Hong Kingston can thus both be credited with developing the field of writing we now call literary nonfiction. Hong's UC, though, was quite different from Didion's. The younger writer came to Berkeley on the cusp of the sixties, in 1958, entering a student body that was beginning to demand change, and she faced a more tumultuous time on campus and in the community. A left-wing political party (SLATE) had started that year in the ASUC; the next year, President Clark Kerr replaced the infamous Rule 17, which prohibited political speech on

campus, with a more lenient set of regulations to control it. And in 1960, UC students engaged in nonviolent civil disobedience in San Francisco, protesting against the US House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee's investigation of local activists (Van Houten, pp. 30-33).

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

9 Maxine Hong Kingston, c. 1976

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

Such spectacular successes among Berkeley's 1950s alumnae remind us that the postwar setbacks for women students were, after all, temporary. And some of the postwar changes—especially the tacit expectation that women would combine marriage and a working life—even turned out to be barrier-breaking. By 1961, women made up 40% of the undergraduates, a return to their historic average. Full gender parity would not be achieved until 1998, but at least progress toward it continued unabated after 1960.

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

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

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

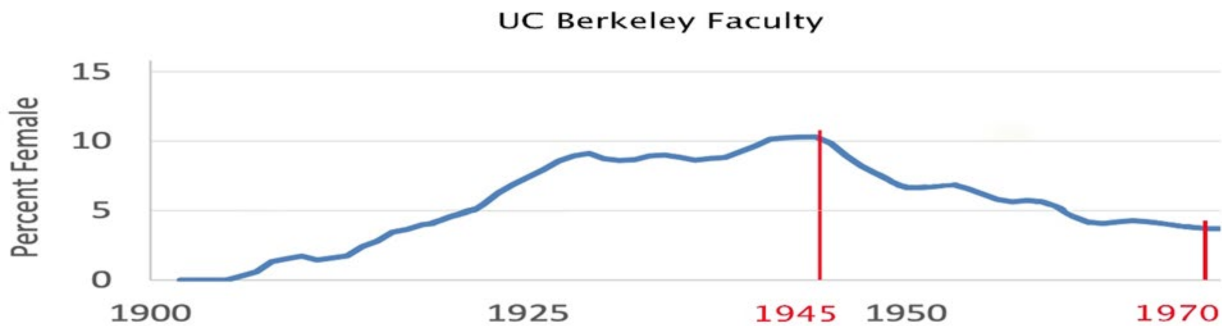
In 1942, when the university was mobilizing its undergraduate women for war work by encouraging them to enter "every field of endeavor", a pair of student writers had some doubts about the sincerity of the institution's commitment to women's professional careers. If the university really thought their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

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

These 1942 interviews remind us how easy it was for the faculty to assert both that women were men's intellectual equals and that it wouldn't be wise to hire them. Previous rationales for limiting women's academic participation on the grounds of natural inferiority were mainly gone, but they also weren't necessary. If anyone asked (and they seldom did) the preference for male faculty could be defended just as easily using these social and psychological arguments, which did not seem to contradict the university's current drive toward attracting women students into traditionally male fields. After all, the mobilization would only be temporary, and when the war was over, the women would happily cede their places. These presuppositions also made it unnecessary to spend time looking closely at the quality of women applicants' work; if they seemed likely to start a family someday, they could be generally overlooked. And finally, if a woman was obviously not the marrying kind, then an exception could be made.

The 1942 article points to one of the primary factors causing the continuous decline of women's proportion of the faculty over the next three decades: the reluctance of most academic

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



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

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

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

These developments will be viewed in the context of the Loyalty Oath crisis and its aftermath. The controversy damaged the institution's academic reputation, and a vigorous effort at recovery was made throughout the 1950s. The AAUP had officially censured the university, famous faculty members had resigned in protest, and many educators predicted that Berkeley would be unable to recruit comparable replacements (Kerr, 23-38). Chancellor Clark Kerr's response was to create a quick turnover of faculty in many parts of campus, to jettison or move vocationally-oriented units, split "applied" from "basic" science, and cordon off degrees

stressing practice in separate professional schools. Although these initiatives were not intentionally directed at women faculty, they had a disproportionate effect on their employment.

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

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

Household Science

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

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

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

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

Thus began the unit's "transfiguration", as Clark Kerr called it, into Nutritional Sciences. The timing and manner of the change, though, were entirely unanticipated. It was presented not as an upgrading of Household Science but as its abolition. The department had been expanding in the postwar years; in 1954 a new building had just been completed to house it. Moreover, none of the department's faculty, including Morgan, were consulted about the plans that were announced in 1955. Home Economics was to be folded at UCB and moved to Davis, which was becoming an independent university (Nerad, 127-130). Both Nerad and Kerr explain the abrupt decision as part of the attempt to restore Berkeley's academic reputation after the humiliation of the Loyalty Oath controversy. Kerr, the newly appointed Chancellor, sought the opinion of Academic Senate committees, but not the unit itself, when he determined to "drop" Home Economics. It was a while before the additional plan to keep the unit's "best part", Nutrition, was announced (Nerad, 131-133; Kerr, 85-7). As Kerr acknowledges in his memoir, the "reconfiguration" was actually "a very bitter series of battles" which ended in the appointment of a male chairman,

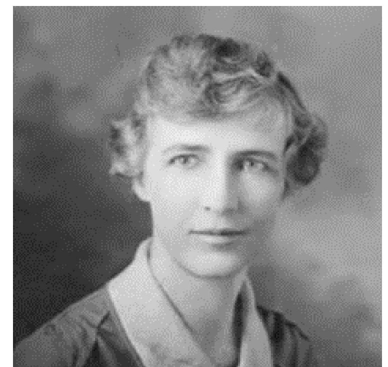
4 Nutrition lab in the new Home Economics Building, 1954

George Briggs, in 1960. After the gender balance began to shift and Briggs complained to Chancellor Strong that "Home Economics" was an "embarrassing" name, the program's decades-old request for rebranding was finally granted (Nerad, 123).

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

Household Art

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



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

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

part of a larger movement in Anthropology to view ethnographic objects as artworks by specific creators.

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

6 Lila O'Neale with a Klamath River weaver

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

Household Art's transformation appears in many ways to have been the inverse of Household Science's: whereas the transition to Nutrition had marked the triumph of scientific rigor over vocationalism, the conversion to Design spelled the victory of art practice over academic scholarship. The consequences for the gender balance in the two departments, however, were similar. Before the war, Decorative Arts had a faculty of five women and no men; even though most of the Design department's students remained female, by 1969 the unit's faculty had four women and ten men (Jaknis, 187-89). The women's push for academic respectability via Anthropology had led by a circuitous path to a new a new art form but had not kept up the numbers of women faculty.

Social Economics

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

Despite its popularity with students, Social Economics had only a small fraction of the Senate faculty in Economics. The women who did join its ranks in the interwar period showed a remarkable ability to move fluidly between academia and public service. Barbara Nachtrieb Armstrong, as we noted in a previous profile, served the state and federal governments in planning social insurance programs. The increasing need for social services during the Great Depression both caused the program to grow and turned its attention more toward training for social work, ultimately revealing some of the vulnerabilities of a program situated between academia and government service. The Social Economics group had started a Social Services Certificate program, accredited by the state in 1928; as Jeffrey Edleson notes, it was the earliest professional training for social workers on the West Coast (Edleson, 10). After first directing the certificate program, Martha Chickering completed her PhD and was appointed to the faculty in 1936. However, she served only three years before leaving the university in 1939 to become the Director of the California State Department of Social Welfare. Chickering's career veered away from academia and into fulltime government work partly because the certificate program she had led was no longer needed at Berkeley. A new Department of Social Welfare had come into being, led by a male faculty member, Harry Cassidy. In 1944 that department was upgraded to the School of Social Welfare. We can certainly see this as a success for the programmatic goals of Peixotto and her colleagues. But it was also another one of those postwar programmatic shifts that diminished the number of women faculty on campus: by 1948-9, the School of Social Welfare had seven male faculty and one woman.

7 Martha Chickering, Social Economics, 1930-39

8 Emily Huntington, Social Economics, in 1950

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

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

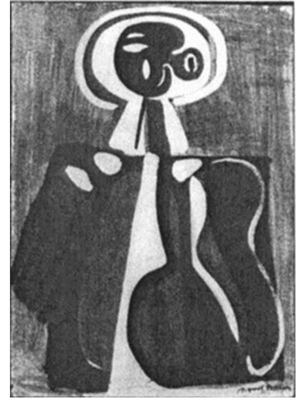
For Huntington a sense of dissatisfaction with the institution's direction may also have lingered from the Loyalty Oath controversy of 1949-52, in which she was a passionately committed participant. The requirement to sign a Loyalty Oath caused a crises of conscience in the minds of many UC faculty. As a matter of course in those days, university employees signed an oath of allegiance to the constitutions of the U.S. and the State of California along with annual appointment agreements, but in 1949, they were told that they must sign an additional oath before their appointment letters would go into effect (Stadtman, 324-25). The new oath specified "that I am not a member of the Communist Party or under any oath or a party to any agreement or under any commitment that is in conflict with my obligations under this oath". Like many other members of the faculty, Huntington believed that the requirement cast aspersions on the loyalty of university employees in particular, set a bad precedent of monitoring political beliefs, violated the right of the Academic Senate to oversee its members' activities, and posed a general threat to academic freedom. She refused to sign it and became one of the leaders of the "nonsigners", who eventually went to court to stop the Board of Regents from requiring it as a condition of employment.

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

The Regents nevertheless ignored the faculty committee's conclusions and voted to dismiss the thirty-one faculty members, including Huntington, who still refused to sign the oath, giving them a few weeks before the dismissal became effective. At that point, the group of thirty-one shrank to eighteen, as individuals confronted the total upheaval in their personal and professional lives that would immediately ensue. "I simply could not face this prospect," Huntington explained in her oral history, "so I signed two days before the deadline. This was a very sad day in my life. . . . . Many had been non-signers for some time and had finally signed for reasons similar to mine" (82). The California Supreme Court eventually reversed the firings and found that the university could not require a separate oath of its employees, which allowed for some reconciliation between the parties. But the damage to the morale of individuals like Huntington seems to have been lasting: "I have always regretted my decision to sign . . . I would now be a much prouder person had I stayed to the end with the faculty members who I think saved our University from the disaster proposed by the Regents" (83). She stayed on the Economics faculty for another eight years, but with a diminished sense of belonging.

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

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



9 A work by Margaret Peterson O'Hagen

The Anti-Nepotism Rule

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

Nevertheless, there was also a particular university policy in place during those years that heightened the opposition between family and career and discouraged departments from hiring women who were both highly qualified and readily available. The anti-nepotism rule forbade the employment of more than one "close relation" in any academic unit or overlapping field. The rule was partly a hold-over from attempts to ration jobs during the depression (like the bars to married women's employment discussed in the last essay), and the justification for maintaining it in the boom times of the fifties and sixties was that it served as a safeguard against introducing academically extrinsic issues in personnel cases. Already accused of imposing a political test for employment, UC might have been especially loath in the fifties to revoke a rule ostensibly designed to protect impartiality. Berkeley's rule did not forbid all employment of a close relation, just faculty membership, and it did not specify which member of a married couple should leave. But it was assumed that women would make the sacrifice, accepting lectureships or research appointments, or leaving for faculties elsewhere, often at less prestigious schools. The first attempt to assess the rule's impact on women at Berkeley was made by the same Academic Senate Sub-Committee in 1969 that discovered the shrinkage in women's fraction of the faculty. They polled male faculty members on the question of whether their wives' employment had been adversely affected by the rule, and fifty-eight said yes. Twenty-three, whose wives had doctorates, complained that they were kept well below their deserved level in the academic hierarchy. And others whose wives had lesser degrees were also said to be under-employed because of the rule or employed only as unpaid research labor for their husbands (Colson, et al, 10-15).

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

Else Frenkel-Brunswick was an Austrian Jewish academic psychologist, who received her doctorate in Vienna in 1930. She and her husband, who also had a doctorate in Psychology, were among the many intellectuals who emigrated from Austria to America to escape the Nazis in the late 1930s. Her husband, Egon Brunswick, was offered a faculty position in the Berkeley Psychology Department, and the couple arrived in 1940. Unable to join the faculty because of his employment, she took a research post at the Institute of Child Welfare, where she shaped an interdisciplinary approach to personality studies. Frenkel-Brunswik is best known for her contributions to *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), a work she co-authored with, among others, the critical theorist Theodor W. Adorno. The book is considered a milestone work in personality theory and social psychology, and it raised her profile as a researcher and writer. In the mid-1950s, her husband became incurably ill and took his own life. It was only then, with her husband's death, that the members of the Psychology faculty felt free to offer Frenkel-Brunswik a professorship; they voted on her appointment December 1957. Gained at such a cost, though, the offer could hardly have seemed an unalloyed boon. She remained disconsolate over the loss of her husband and took her own life in 1958 (Marasco, 804; Freidenreich).

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

Catherine Bauer also arrived in Berkeley in 1940, invited to be a Visiting Lecturer in the new Department of Social Welfare on the strength her 1934 book, *Modern Housing*, a classic in the field which had led her to become the primary author of the U. S. Housing Act of 1937. She was both immensely knowledgeable about public housing and a passionate advocate for it. At Berkeley she met and married William Wurster, the San Francisco architect who designed U.C.'s first women's dormitory, Stern Hall. Bauer later became a Lecturer in the department of Architecture and convinced her husband that Berkeley would benefit from an interdisciplinary program similar to one then being formed in a joint MIT-Harvard initiative, where city planning, public housing policy studies, and architecture were combined. She encouraged her husband to take an advanced degree in Cambridge, and when the couple returned to Berkeley they worked together to create the College of Environmental Design.

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

However, only William was given a regular faculty appointment. Catherine Bauer Wurster continued as a part-time Lecturer, mainly in City and Regional Planning, until her husband retired due to illness in 1963. In 1963-4, she was voted a full professor but held the appointment for only one year, dying in a fall while hiking on Mt. Tamalpais in 1964 (Oberlander and Newbrun, 183-89, 247-254, 302-7).

The brilliant mathematician Julia Robinson (BA '40, MA '41, PhD '48) was ineligible for a professorial position in Mathematics at Berkeley in the postwar years because she was married to Professor Raphael Robinson. As we pointed out in an earlier essay, she did research in Berkeley's Statistical Laboratory under Jerzy Neyman during the war and for some years thereafter. In the postwar years, she was occasionally invited to teach in the Math department, holding the title of Lecturer, and she taught part-time in other programs as well. Despite the institutional neglect, she spent the postwar years seeking answers to some of the most difficult questions in mathematics concerning "algorithmic solvability and unsolvability of mathematical problems". In particular she was noted "for her part in the negative solution of Hilbert's 'Tenth Problem'" (Feferman, 3, 20-22). Despite her important breakthroughs and the university's abandonment of the nepotism rule, the Math department showed no immediate sign of any interest in hiring her even after her husband retired in 1973. Indeed, they identified her simply as "Professor Robinson's wife" in 1976 when the university press office called them for information after her election to the National Academy of Sciences (Reid, 1490). Once they realized that they had a famous person in their midst—the first female mathematician to be elected to the NAS—the department finally offered Julia Robinson a professorship. In 1982 she was elected the first female president of the American Mathematical Society.

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

The renowned immunologist Marian Koshland also experienced spousal exclusion during a crucial stage of her career prior to arriving at Berkeley, and yet (she later explained) she turned it into a research opportunity. Marian and her husband Daniel Koshland received their doctorates at the University of Chicago, did post-doctoral work at Harvard, and then went on to research positions at Brookhaven National Laboratory (Long Island). However, when they arrived at Brookhaven, the department head balked at employing Marian, stating flatly "We are not going to have the wife of anybody" (Guyer, 9). Since the couple had four young children at the time, Marian Koshland considered quitting science altogether. Her husband, though, convinced her that she could make a creative adaptation to her joblessness by "undertaking high-risk projects that a tenure-track scientist could

less afford to do" (1996). She traded lab space and a technician for editing Brookhaven's biology symposia papers, and was able to do groundbreaking work in immunology as a part-time researcher. By the time the Koshlands came to Berkeley in 1965, Marian as researcher and Daniel as a professor, the importance of her work was widely acknowledged. In 1970, when her children were grown and the anti-nepotism rule was set aside, she accepted a professorial appointment and went on to serve as Chair of the Department of Microbiology and Immunology from 1982 to 1989 ("Marian Elliott Koshland"). She was also elected president of the American Association of Immunologists in 1982. Koshland often said that even if she had not been excluded, she might have preferred a research position without professorial responsibilities while her children were young, and she used her experience to advocate for greater flexibility in academic work (Koshland, xiii).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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