

CHAPTER 1

CREATING A DEPARTMENT OF HOME ECONOMICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The introduction of home economics at Berkeley was pursued by different actors at different times for different reasons. It was first a male administrative response to the rapidly increasing numbers of women students. Later the introduction of home economics as an academic field was spearheaded by women inside and outside the university for an entirely different reason—to broaden women’s domain in higher education and to increase employment opportunities for university-trained women.

In 1905 course offerings in home economics appeared for the first time in the summer session bulletin of the University of California. The catalog announced two courses in “Domestic Science and Cookery,” one course in the “Care of the Home: The fundamental principles of household economy; selection of building site, plans, sanitation, furnishing, and care of the house,” and one course in “Chafing Dish Cookery: The preparation of salads, desserts, etc.” (like the others, offered for two credits).¹

Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president of the University of California from 1899 through 1919, "was sure that he had made a ten-strike for popularity," *The Record*, the summer session's student newspaper said when he introduced the courses in the summer curriculum since four-fifths of the summer students were women. Much to his surprise and dismay the courses attracted very few students. Two courses had to be canceled when not enough students signed up. The *Record* reporter explained: "It has become painfully certain that these courses are a failure. Despite the fact that this phase of the University curriculum was President Wheeler's pet project, not enough women now attending the session have registered in these courses to make it worthwhile to continue the work....The failure of the subject to attract the students, the majority of whom are women," the *Record* said pointedly, "seems indicative [of the fact] that housekeeping is not among the things California women want instruction on."²

This inauspicious start behind him, four years later President Wheeler established a faculty Committee on Home Economics. The regents of the university would formally approve a Department of Home Economics in the College of Letters and Science in 1916, eleven years after the initial course offerings. It took seven years to recruit faculty and plan curricula. Classes in the new department began in the fall of 1916 with ninety-two students, all women.

THE INVISIBLE BERKELEY WOMEN STUDENTS

The first eight women students enrolled at Berkeley in 1870, two years after the university opened its doors.³ It was only then that the regents of the university unanimously passed the resolution to admit women.⁴ These eight women were 9 percent of the student body.

The question of how University of California women could arrive so silently, when the subject of their admission to other land-grant universities had been the occasion for considerable controversy was partially answered by Mary Olney, a student at Berkeley in 1891, who said in her oral history: "No one expected women to attend the university and therefore no plans were made to keep

them out.”⁵ In 1868, women in California were only 38 percent of the total population.⁶ It was in 1874 that compulsory elementary education became required by law, and it was not until 1891 that high schools were established by state law in cities or incorporated towns of more than 1,500 people.⁷ Possibly because of the limited amount of elementary and secondary schooling available to anyone, it is understandable that the legislature, which designed and approved the constitutional act creating the university, did not expect women to be qualified and interested enough to attend.

In addition, the fact that women originally were not admitted probably had much to do with the Victorian perception of women’s roles. Patricia Graham described it perfectly: “Women were expected to be pious, pure, submissive, and domestic.”⁸ Higher education trained women mainly to be teachers, but teacher training easily could be done in normal schools. So why would they want to enter the university?

Western states, argues Geraldine Clifford, were too poor to support two high-grade educational institutions.⁹ Financing a separate women’s college would be too big a strain on a small state budget, and coeducation was a cheaper solution for a young state. By 1870 California had begun to feel the economic depression that had seized the rest of the country earlier. The railroad made the state accessible to unemployed workers and cheap eastern goods. For whatever reason, in 1870 women applied to the university and were admitted. In this way, the presence of women at Berkeley began as “problemless,” but not quite as naturally “derived from the facts of western life” as Frederick Rudolph and others have assumed.¹⁰

Until 1890, Berkeley women were invisible; their existence on campus was as silent as their arrival. In fact, until 1891, women had no social or extracurricular life: no athletic programs, no facilities for social and cultural events, and no rooms for club meetings.¹¹ In contrast, male students of the same time were encouraged to build a campus life for themselves. Football, athletic competitions, class rituals, pranks, and fraternity parties were part of the men’s social life. The Harmon Gym was built for men in 1878 and made much of this possible. By 1890 women began to resent their exclusion and, encouraged by the increasing women’s enrollment, voiced their opinions in public and tried to enter campus life.

WOMEN ENROLL IN GREATER NUMBERS

The number of women at Berkeley grew more or less steadily from 1870 on. In 1875, 14 percent of the total student body were women, and by 1900 46 percent of the total student body were women. From then on the ratio of women to men remained fairly steady until 1915 (see table 1.1).¹² In real numbers the student body grew from 42 women in 1875 to 62 in 1880, to 105 in 1890, to 1,027 in 1900, and 2,739 in 1915. In 1900 the University of California had more women students than any other coeducational institution in the country.¹³

Between 1900 and 1914 the majority of women undergraduates at Berkeley (around 70 percent) enrolled in the College of Social Sciences. Next in preference were the College of Letters (classical courses) and the College of Natural Sciences. In 1915, when the colleges of letters, social sciences, and natural sciences were combined into one College of Letters and Science, 98 percent of all undergraduate women were enrolled in this college. Only 2 percent were scattered among the other eight colleges—agriculture, chemistry, commerce, civil engineering, mechanics, mining, medicine, and jurisprudence (see tables 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4), fields where few jobs were open to women. The numbers of men in the College of Letters and Science increased, but the proportion of all male undergraduates in the College fell, 48 percent in 1915 and 1916, as increasing numbers of men enrolled in the professional colleges. The College of Letters and Science began to resemble a women's college. Women were completing their undergraduate and graduate degrees as successfully as were men (tables 1.5 and 1.6 and figure 1).

GRADUATE WOMEN AT BERKELEY

The proportion of women in the graduate student population was higher after 1900 than of women in the undergraduate population (see tables 1.7 and 1.8). In 1905 graduate women actually outnumbered graduate men 196 to 155 (56 percent), but this was unique in Berkeley's history, and by 1910 the figure was at 49 percent. The growth can be explained in part by labor market factors: school teaching was the major occupational destination of women graduates, and a fifth university year was required in order to teach in

California's high schools. (A bachelor's degree required four years of course work.)

The first Ph.D. conferred on a woman at Berkeley was earned by Millicent Shinn, in education in 1898,¹⁴ the second in 1900 by Jessica Peixotto in political science. In 1909 Peixotto became the chair of the Domestic Science Committee and in 1918 the first woman to reach the status of full professor at Berkeley. Fifteen women had earned Ph.D.s by 1915, with a few exceptions in the natural sciences: five in zoology, three in astronomy, one each in mathematics, physiology, and botany. Only one woman earned a doctorate in English—the traditional choice of women—and one in philosophy.

BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER OF BERKELEY: "A WOMANLY EDUCATION
TO BE MORE SERVICEABLE WIVES AND MOTHERS"

The growing number of women, concentrated at the undergraduate level in a few fields, alarmed Benjamin Ide Wheeler, then



Figure 1. Berkeley students sign up for fall classes, 1920 (University of California Archives)

Table 1.1: Enrollment by Sex at the University of California, Berkeley, between 1870 and 1915

Year	Men	Women	Total	% Women
1870-71	85	8	93	9%
1875-76	268	42	310	14%
1880-81	184	62	246	25%
1885-86	201	42	243	17%
1890-91	352	105	457	23%
1895-96	811	525	1,336	39%
1900-01	1,202	1,027	2,229	46%
1905-06	1,647	1,192	2,839	42%
1910-11	2,343	1,403	3,746	37%
1915-16	3,507	2,739	6,246	44%

Source: Verne Stadtman, ed., *The Centennial Record of the University of California*, (1967): 214-24.

Table 1.2: Undergraduate Enrollment by Sex at the University of California, Berkeley, between 1870 and 1915

Year	Undergraduate		Total	% Women
	Men	Women		
1870-71	82	8	90	9%
1875-76	263	42	305	14%
1880-81	184	62	246	25%
1885-86	192	40	232	17%
1890-91	332	100	432	23%
1895-96	738	480	1,218	39%
1900-01	1,107	951	2,058	46%
1905-06	1,504	1,015	2,519	40%
1910-11	2,096	1,176	3,272	36%
1915-16	3,001	2,285	5,286	43%

Source: Verne Stadtman, ed., *The Centennial Record of the University of California*, (1967): 214-24

Table 1.3: Undergraduates by College and Sex at the University of California, Berkeley, between 1900 and 1915

College or School	1900-1901*		1905-1906**		1910-1911**		1914-1915		1915-1916***	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Letters	109	172	65	129	59	113	79	114	0	0
Social Sciences	276	650	290	764	365	786	575	1,296	1,455	2,232
Natural Sciences	80	98	88	103	349	260	746	591	0	0
Commerce	38	3	149	5	258	5	298	13	310	30
Agriculture	36	6	115	8	270	10	532	21	537	28
Mechanics	158	1	267	0	294	0	361	0	345	0
Mining	216	0	271	0	209	0	102	0	93	0
Civil Eng.	74	0	211	0	236	0	234	0	196	0
Chemistry	120	21	48	6	55	2	69	5	102	4
Medicine	0	0	0	0	27	3	42	7	31	5
Jurisprudence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	67	2
At Large	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7	0	0
Total	1,107	951	1,504	1,015	2,122	1,179	3,041	2,054	3,136	2,301
(Total as given in report)	1,107	951	1,504	1,015	2,122	1,179	3,041	2,054	3,001	2,285

Source: "Statistical Addenda," *Annual/Biennial Reports of the President*

*1900-1902, p. 227

**1914-1915, p. 411

***1918-1919, p. 316

Table 1.4: Undergraduates by College and Sex at the University of California, Berkeley, between 1895 and 1915

College or School	1900-1901		1905-1906		1910-1911		1914-1915	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Letters	9.9%	18.2%	4.3%	12.7%	2.8%	9.5%	2.5%	5.7%
Social Sciences	24.9%	68.3%	19.3%	75.3%	17.2%	66.7%	18.9%	63.1%
Natural Sciences	7.2%	10.3%	5.9%	10.1%	16.4%	22.1%	24.5%	28.8%
Commerce	3.4%	0.3%	9.9%	0.5%	12.2%	0.4%	9.8%	0.6%
Agriculture	3.3%	0.6%	7.6%	0.8%	12.7%	0.8%	17.5%	1.0%
Mechanics	14.3%	0.1%	17.8%	0.0%	13.9%	0.0%	11.9%	0.0%
Mining	19.5%	0.0%	18.0%	0.0%	9.8%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%
Civil Eng.	6.7%	0.0%	14.0%	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	7.7%	0.0%
Chemistry	10.8%	2.2%	3.2%	0.6%	2.6%	0.2%	2.3%	0.2%
Medicine					1.3%	0.3%	1.5%	0.3%
Law	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%
Art & Large	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(Total as given in report)

Source: "Statistical Addenda," *Annual/Biennial Reports of the President, 1900-1902, 1914-1915*

president of the university. In his first biennial report to the governor in 1900, Wheeler devoted nearly an entire page to the "rising proportion of women students."¹⁵ In 1902 he noted that the university had more women students than any other coeducational institution in the nation.¹⁶ With 46 percent of its student population female in 1900, Berkeley was more than 10 percent above the national average for female enrollment.¹⁷ Between 1905 and 1916 the number of women students had more than doubled, from 1,192 to 2,944.

In 1899,¹⁸ Stanford had established a quota of 500 women students; in that year Berkeley was already enrolling around 1,000 women. Wheeler, worried that the number would rise as women turned down by Stanford sought admission to Berkeley, stated in his biennial report for 1910 through 1912, "It must be expected that the restriction now coming to be exercised at Stanford University in the number of women students will naturally be felt in an increasing number with us."¹⁹

Table 1.5: Bachelor's Degrees by Sex at the University of California, Berkeley, between 1870 and 1914

Bachelor's Degrees		Women		Men		Total
A.B.	(1870-1914)	547	53%	493	47%	1,040
B.L.	(1894-1914)	1,794	70%	784	30%	2,578
Ph.B.	(1894-1906)	120	43%	156	57%	276
B.S.	(1894-1914)	468	51%	446	49%	914
Ph.B.	(1873-1893)	58	17%	288	83%	346
Total		2,987	58%	2,167	42%	5,154

A.B. in the College of Letters (classical course);

B.L. in the College of Social Sciences;

Ph.B. (1894-1906) in the College of Social Sciences;

B.S. in the College of Natural Sciences;

Ph.B. (1873-1893) in all other Colleges (Agriculture, Chemistry, Commerce, Civil Engineering, Mechanics, Engineering, Mining).

Source: *Summary of Degrees and Certificates Awarded by the University of California 1864-1933/34*, compiled by the registrar, 1934.

Table 1.6: Bachelor's Degrees by Sex at the University of California, Berkeley between 1900 and 1915

Bachelor's Degrees	1900-1901		1905-1906		1910-1911		1914-1915		1915-1916						
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women					
		%		%		%		%		%					
A.B.	19	50.0%	14	37	72.5%	8	31	79.5%	11	24	68.6%	201	310	60.7%	
B.L.	37	57.5%	36	108	75.0%	49	108	68.8%	111	171	60.6%	0	0	0	
Ph.B.	4	42.9%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
B.S.	76	13	14.6%	109	25	18.7%	181	25	12.1%	259	218	45.7%	218	20	8.4%
Total	136	85	38.5%	159	170	51.7%	238	164	40.8%	381	419	52.4%	419	330	44.1%

A.B. equals today's B.A. Bachelor of Arts;

Ph.B. Bachelor of Philosophy in Modern Languages, Social Sciences, and Natural Sciences, existed between 1873 and 1907;

B.L. Bachelor of Letters granted in the College of Social Sciences, existed between 1883-1915;

B.S. Bachelor of Science, granted in the College of Natural Sciences and all other professional Colleges (Commerce, Agriculture, Mechanics, Mining, Civil Engineering, and Chemistry).

Source: "Statistical Addenda," *Annual Reports of the President, 1900-1916*.

Table 1.7: Graduate Enrollment by Sex at the University of California, Berkeley, between 1870 and 1915

Year	Men	Graduate		Total	Women %
		Women			
1870-71	3	—		3	—
1875-76	5	—		5	—
1880-81	—	—		—	—
1885-86	9	2		11	18%
1890-91	20	5		25	20%
1895-96	73	45		118	38%
1900-01	100	83		183	45%
1905-06	155	196		351	56%
1910-11	258	243		501	49%
1915-16	535	479		1,014	47%

Source: Verne Stadtman, ed., *The Centennial Record of the University of California*, (1967): 214-24

Table 1.8: Master's Degrees by Sex at the University of California, Berkeley, between 1891 and 1915

Master's Degrees*	Women		Men		Total
		%		%	
M.A.	190	53.7%	164	46.3%	354
M.L.(L.)	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	2
M.L. (SocSc)	165	65.7%	86	34.3%	251
M.S.	90	25.9%	257	74.1%	347
Total	447	46.9%	507	53.1%	954

M.L. (L.) in the College of Letters—literary course

M.L. (SocSc) in the College of Social Sciences

*Master's of Engineering and graduates in Education are not included.

Source: *Summary of Degrees and Certificates Awarded by the University of California, 1864-1933/34*, compiled by the registrar, 1934.

Wheeler's ideas about women's education were similar to those of many prominent progressive educators of his time, including Charles Eliot, president of Harvard; Stanley Hall, president of Clark University; Charles Van Hise, president of the University of Wisconsin; and Julius Sachs, professor of pedagogy at Teachers College, Columbia.²⁰ Although progressive educators certainly included women in their vision of a new democratic society, their vision was of a traditional woman, simply more cultured, more emotionally mature, and better educated than the average. Their key concept of education for women was education for socialization. Socialization meant roles as housewives and mothers. To Progressive Era educators motherhood was a profession (though not a profession of equal status available to men) and it never occurred to them to encourage women to achieve economic independence. After 1917, progressive educators focused on education of women within a broad liberal arts curriculum that would provide a good base for motherhood and professional consumerism.²¹ In general, they favored coeducation, but a coeducation that conformed to traditional Victorian attitudes toward women—"co-" but not *together*; they believed in a separate sphere for women.

Newspaper articles quoted President Wheeler of Berkeley on the subject of women's education on various occasions, the most extended, a "heart-to-heart" talk during his first visit to the Women's Associated Student Government of Berkeley in 1904.²² A large excerpt appeared on the front page of the *Daily Californian*, the Berkeley student newspaper, the following day.

"The public school system of California knows of no difference between men and women, and the University is part of California's public school system. But the women are not here to be like men. Womanhood is too good, too sacred, to change. Through education women should grow more true, more womanly. There is no object in trying to do what men do. . . . Her business is to be regular and orderly, not irregular and bohemian. She should not try to imitate men, to assimilate herself to a man's college. . . . Women need different organizations from the men, and they ought to have them. Their standards are different. You are not here with the ambition to be school teachers or old maids but you are here for the preparation of marriage and motherhood. This education

should tend to make you more serviceable as wives and mothers. . . . We want women for purifying, refining and upbuilding of life. Her influence should spread through the University in the interests of refinement.²³

Wheeler's opinion about refining women through higher education was echoed by Charles E. Eliot, president of Harvard University, among others. Eliot saw the purpose of women's higher education as "developing in women the capacities and powers which will fit them to make family life more intelligent, more enjoyable, happier and more productive."²⁴

President Wheeler's admonition to women not to become even school teachers carried the implication that then they might fail to marry. Not to marry carried the further implication that they would not bear children. It echoed the concept of "race suicide" much talked about by Theodore Roosevelt, a close friend of Wheeler. Roosevelt believed that if too few native-born college-bred women married and bore babies, the greater number of children of immigrants would dilute the old American stock (see figure 2).

Wheeler was evenhanded in blaming the unmarried. Unmarried men were equally criticized for evading their civic duty.

Marriage and the home are the best protectors of the state. . . . Individualism is a danger to the state. Bachelors and clubmen are the bandits, guerrillas and outcasts. I would be in favor, if it were possible to do such things by law, of a special tax on bachelors. They are the abnormalities and the abnormalities should pay the taxes.²⁵

Wheeler has been portrayed by historians as one of the eminent educators of the Progressive Era for his role in elevating Berkeley from a small-town university to a leading research university.²⁶ He was a New Englander by birth, education, and marriage, born in 1854 to a pastor's family from Massachusetts. He earned a bachelor's and a master's degree from Brown University in 1878 and married Amey Webb, daughter of an upper-class Providence, Rhode Island family. He studied at the universities of Leipzig, Heidelberg, Jena, and Berlin, and in 1885 he received the prestigious German doctorate *summa cum laude* from the



Photo Courtesy
Oakland Tribune

Figure 2. Campus Events: Charter Day, 1911—U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt and UCB President Benjamin Ide Wheeler (University of California Archives)

University of Heidelberg. After a year of teaching at Harvard, he became professor of comparative philology and Greek at Cornell University, where for eleven years he headed the Greek department. During that time he taught for a year in the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. He was appointed president of the University of California in 1899. Some thought his term would “certainly be a short one,”²⁷ since earlier presidents had remained for only a few years, but he served as president for twenty years.

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Wheeler was heralded for introducing a strong student self-government and for fostering an open "brothers-in-arms" relationship with Berkeley students, his interest and time focused on male students. He was, in effect, dean of men. He chose a private secretary each year from the Golden Bear Senior Men's Honor Society,²⁸ but never a woman from the women's honor society, the Prytanean.

Although partial in his attitude, Wheeler was remembered well by the early women faculty. Wheeler appointed as a dean of women Lucy Sprague, a caretaker for a close friend, George Herbert Palmer, who was a professor at Harvard.²⁹ Lucy Sprague was a Radcliffe graduate, young and inexperienced both in teaching and in administration. She looked up to Wheeler as a father figure "who was never surprised at my ignorance"³⁰ and "the easiest person to approach with any problem." It was her first full-time job after a rather sheltered and difficult life at home, an active and stimulating experience at Radcliffe, and further difficult years at the Palmer residence. She belonged to a close group of friends of Mr. and Mrs. Wheeler and, when in 1909 and 1910, Wheeler was the first official American exchange professor in Berlin (appropriately, Theodore Roosevelt Professor), she joined them.

Agnes Fay Morgan, who joined the Berkeley faculty in 1914 as assistant professor in nutrition and who served as chair of the home economics department for thirty-six years, also saw Wheeler as paternalistic, a "perfect gentleman who always stopped and graciously got off the horse and talked about the things that were going on campus,"³¹ "generally a very amenable personality, but inflexible." She found him "an autocratic gentleman of the old school. . . . You could tell him your story and put up your arguments, and if he approved, all right, if not, that was the end of it."³²

Wheeler was indeed an autocrat. He decided on all appointments of department chairs and deans and all members of the Academic Senate. He determined all salaries and all promotions and spoke for the faculty to the regents of the university. In 1916 the faculty sought unsuccessfully to introduce new bylaws into the Academic Senate to counter the president's unilateral appointments of senate committee members. Not until he retired at the end of World War I did the faculty gain more influence.³³

Wheeler's view of women's proper role was, no doubt, shaped by

his wife's own role. Amey Webb Wheeler is remembered by some as "far from being the ideal president's wife"³⁴ and "extremely cold and indifferent," though Lucy Sprague found her "very amusing," with "eyes that really snapped" and said she was "the most uninhibited grown-up that I have ever known." Sprague reported that she had "the highest standards of housekeeping; . . . cleanliness was, in her mind, put a little above godliness."³⁵ Each Sunday the couple held open house for students.³⁶

Charles Van Hise, president of the University of Wisconsin from 1903 through 1918 and a close personal friend of Wheeler, before the Association of Collegiate Alumnae in 1907 aptly summarized Progressive Era educators' attitude toward home economics in the context of women's higher education and coeducation.³⁷ In a speech, Van Hise argued that in the early years it had posed no more problem than Asian immigrants. "The women were greatly outnumbered by the men, and the entrance of the few women made scarcely more disturbance in the work of the professors than the appearance in recent years of a considerable group of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos."³⁸

But now, with women at Wisconsin (as at Berkeley) a larger proportion than men in the Colleges of Letters and Liberal Arts, women were "pushing the men out." It was, he concluded, a "natural tendency of sex segregation" and one he reinforced, suggesting a separate field of study for women in a department of home economics and separate sections of the same courses in those colleges of liberal arts in which "women drive men out of some subjects." A woman home economics graduate "will find the direction of her home a high intellectual pleasure rather than wearisome routine."³⁹ Arranging for "natural segregation," to Van Hise was a progressive approach, in contrast with the practice of private universities, such as Stanford and Wesleyan, which restricted the number of women students altogether,⁴⁰ Wesleyan after years of coeducation. Restricted admission was, however, an option only for *private* schools. To seek to reduce the number of women students at *state* universities through state legislation would have been highly controversial. In Wisconsin the regents and the state legislature both favored coeducation. However, the establishment of separate classes and "women's" subjects did not appear to breach the coeducational principle in practice.

Wheeler, in his biennial report as president of the University of California, Berkeley, hinted at this future direction of education for women's proper place.

An institution which has been named the Hearst Domestic Industries has been founded in the neighborhood of the University and provides women who desire it the opportunity of learning the handicrafts of sewing and embroidery, and of incidentally earning a fair return for their work; if the institution succeeds and represents a permanent demand as it now seems that it does, it is likely that its work will be extended in the direction of teaching cookery and related arts.⁴¹

Women students' need to earn a living was to Wheeler "incidental," though by teaching children in the poor area of West Berkeley to sew, cook, sweep, and clean, Berkeley women students did earn an income. According to the president's biennial report of 1900 through 1902, most Berkeley women received little financial support from home. When Wheeler introduced four domestic science classes in the summer session of 1905, he misjudged the women who actually enrolled, not women in search of household skills but, most of them, school teachers who enrolled to upgrade professional skills and knowledge.⁴² The classes in "cooking" and the "care of the home" could not advance the teaching careers since, only after the passing of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1914, which provided federal money to the states to train teachers in agriculture, trade education, and home economics, were home economics classes systematically introduced in high schools across the country. Also, like the women students who worked off campus in Hearst Domestic Industries, most no doubt already knew how to cook and clean.

"ALL WE ASK IS A CHANCE": THE SECOND-CLASS STATUS OF WOMEN STUDENTS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HOME ECONOMICS AT BERKELEY

The movement toward the professionalization of domestic science as "home economics" had been developing rapidly in the first decade of the twentieth century and culminated in the establish-

ment of the American Home Economics Association in 1908.

Women were virtually shut out of science as a profession, but now the domestic role was being redefined as a science. A group of women academics, among them Ellen Swallow Richards, Marion Talbot, Isabel Bevier, and Alice Norton, picked up the challenge of applying science to "woman's domain" and dedicating themselves to making "household management, scientific cookery, and sanitary science legitimate areas of scientific inquiry." Between 1899 and 1907 Ellen Swallow Richards ran a women's laboratory at M.I.T. and organized and presided over annual Lake Placid conferences for domestic scientists. She was responsible for establishment of the American Home Economics Association and for initiation of a new professional journal, *The Journal of Home Economics*.⁴³ This new professional association sought to institutionalize home economics as an academic discipline. Members lectured at universities and women's clubs in an effort to rally women behind the association's objectives: to persuade universities to offer advanced degrees in home economics and to make more teaching positions available for domestic scientists.

The Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA), founded in 1882 to secure wider opportunities for women in and out of higher education, was ambivalent about this direction. On the one hand, a resolution of its Committee on Collegiate Administration maintained "that home economics as such has no place in a college course for women."⁴⁴ On the other hand, the ACA as a whole did endorse "sanitary science," which was the application of chemistry, biology, sociology, and law to domestic concerns, many aspects of which looked very much like home economics. The majority of the members of the ACA Committee on Collegiate Administration were from Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Vassar, and Wellesley, all eastern women's colleges. During the first two decades of the twentieth century most eastern women's colleges rejected any kind of special "women's curriculum"; their focus was on an education to enable women to compete with men on equal terms. The study of home economics not only was unequal to men's education, but because it was vocational rather than a liberal art, most of the ACA committee saw home economics as unsuitable for their curriculum. However, proponents of "sanitary science" argued that it was genuinely scientific and, besides, was intended to supplement, not

replace, the liberal arts curriculum. Some of the ACA members even proposed that liberal arts for women should be taught only in graduate and professional schools. This was the approach of the San Francisco branch.

Unfazed by his abortive 1905 summer session, Wheeler established a committee four years later to design a plan for home economics on the Berkeley campus. The Domestic Science Committee (consisting of five male and two female faculty) came up with a study list in 1911, drawing on various departmental offerings. In 1914 the committee recommended a school or college of home economics to be modeled after the schools of architecture, education, and jurisprudence. The new school for women was to include teaching and research staff from the departments of architecture, chemistry, drawing, economics, engineering, hygiene, physiology, political science, and textiles. The curriculum eschewed the stereotyped training in cooking, drawing, sewing, and dressmaking, or millinery. It focused on theory and methodology, not on technical, instrumental skills. It was an effort to rethink the educated woman's role as social reform agent and as scientific and managerial professional outside the home.

In 1909 the San Francisco branch of the ACA brought Ellen Swallow Richards to Berkeley to teach during the summer session. Her two courses, "Household Management in the Twentieth Century—Relation of Cost to Efficiency" and "Euthenics," in effect had upgraded the 1905 summer session courses to courses that today would be labeled "the family and the labor market" and "public health, the family, and the state." In 1910 Dr. Sophonisba Breckinridge was appointed to teach at the Berkeley summer session courses "Public Aspects of the Household" and "The Legal and Economic Position of Women." She held a Ph.D. in political science and a J.D., both from the University of Chicago. The progressive educators' concept of home economics as instruction in cooking, sewing, and millinery now had an academic gloss and new prestige.

The California Federation of Women's Clubs, which urged Berkeley to offer home economics in its regular curriculum, continued to stress the vocation of home economics. These "domestic feminists" saw women as possessing special moral qualities and women's duty as the responsibility to apply these special abilities

to the social problems of their community. Committees of the federation lobbied for pure food laws and for the introduction of domestic science into public schools with funding for teachers, equipment, and demonstrations.⁴⁵

The federation dispatched written requests to the university for establishment of courses in domestic and household economics, citing "the evident need for such instruction and the fact that it is a fully organized and efficient branch of work in numerous institutions."⁴⁶ Along with the Berkeley women's club, the Town and Gown, it had sponsored Ellen Swallow Richards's 1909 lectures. Many of Berkeley's alumnae and women faculty belonged both to the ACA and to the women's club.⁴⁷ With easy access to women students, these club women and university alumnae exercised considerable influence. May Cheney, a Berkeley graduate of 1883 and an honorary member of the Prytaneans, the women's honor society, and the first vice president of the California ACA, was the appointment secretary of the university from 1898 to 1938. In that role she was in a position to place teachers trained on the Berkeley campus in schools around the country. With eight of ten women students in teaching, this provided a wide network of influence.

The Prytaneans honor society for women students was organized in 1901 with the help of Dr. Mary Bennet Ritter, appointed in 1898 as the first woman faculty member at Berkeley (after seven years of unpaid work for the university). She was a part-time lecturer in hygiene and a physician for women students.⁴⁸ In 1909 the Prytaneans founded the Domestic Science Club, and in 1911 they petitioned the president for university courses in home economics. When classes were offered on the "household as an economic agent" and "the child and the state" by Jessica Peixotto, lecturer in sociology and one of only three women appointed to the Berkeley faculty before 1905, the Prytaneans advertised her classes and attended them as well.

JESSICA PEIXOTTO, LUCY SPRAGUE, LUCY WARD STEBBINS:
LIVING DOWN "PREJUDICES"

Women faculty members active in promoting home economics at Berkeley were Jessica Peixotto, who became assistant professor of