

Every Young Lady Should be Fitted to *Do* Something in Life:
Pioneer Coed Josephine Lindley and the Decision to Admit “Young Ladies”

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Josephine Lindley (circa 1870)

“Every young lady should be fitted to *do* something in life... Women demand a broader education and a greater degree of usefulness. There are many positions suitable for them, given to men, sometimes not as capable, simply because custom thinks it unladylike for women to do anything but sew or *teach* when it becomes necessary for them to gain their livelihood.”

Josephine Lindley (attributed)
First woman to enroll;
University Echo, March 21, 1871
First female editor;

“The names of these two ladies... *ought to be handed down forever in the educational annals of California*. It is to be hoped that their example will be followed by those who have been waiting on the edge of the pool ‘lo! these many years,’ and that they will all prove themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in their good sense and ability.”

San Francisco Chronicle, October 6, 1870

Background

On October 13, 1870, a full two and a half years after the founding of the University of California (March 23, 1868), but just ten days after the Board of Regents passed a unanimous resolution admitting “young ladies,” pioneer coed, Josephine Lindley, became the first woman to enroll at the University of California by placing her imprimatur on the great register of the University.¹ A second woman, Carrie Stone, inscribed her name on the august ledger just below Josephine’s signature, forever linking these two “comrades in arms.” Josephine, Carrie, and female students who joined them over subsequent years and decades, were all volunteers in a grand, historic experiment taking place during the last quartile of the 19th century. This bold experiment endeavored to end sex segregation and gender discrimination in higher education, and prepare women for more meaningful, independent lives in society.

Although their “movement” sought to achieve *gender* equality, its catalyst can be found, in part, in two acts signed by Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War -- the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation and the Morrill Act establishing land-grant colleges.² These two acts aimed for the achievement of racial equality, and equality of opportunity “for all, but especially to the sons of toil.” Without directly addressing the status of women, they were, nevertheless, deemed in many instances to have been inclusive of them. In an address in 1893, honoring the 25th anniversary of the founding of Cornell University, itself a land-grant college, Chauncey Depew reflected on the historical intersection between these two documents: “In 1862, Abraham Lincoln had upon his desk the Emancipation Proclamation, and the Land-Grant Bill to promote education. He signed them both. The one was an essential complement of the other. Without education, emancipation does not emancipate. The freedman exchanges one thralldom for another...Educate, educate! Education is the national necessity.”³ There is

¹ Although she had excelled in her coursework while attending the University, and was well-regarded by her professors, like many of the men and woman who attended CAL in its first decade, she left in April, 1873 without gaining a diploma. Josephine’s brother, Curtis, also left after two years, passing the bar soon thereafter. Similarly, Carrie Stone left without gaining a diploma.

² Geraldine Clifford, Equally in View: The University of California, its women, and the schools, (Chapters in the history of the University of California: no.4) 1995, by the Regents of the University of California. Geraldine Clifford (p.95), also suggests that the Civil War is partially responsible for “ushering in the rise in the number of women students at this point in time and the increasing nationwide trend towards coeducation.”

³ “Address at the Celebration of the Quarter-Centennial of Cornell University, Ithaca N.Y., October 7, 1893. From: Depew, Chauncey Mitchell, Life and Later Speeches of Chauncey M. Depew, the Cassell Publishing Co., 31 East 17th St. (Union Square), New York, 1894, pp.194-216; p. 211. Also referenced in: Jones, William Carey, Illustrated History of the University of California, Frank H. Dukesmith, San Francisco, 1895, p.17.

little doubt that the women who became coeds in the later part of the 19th century also believed that education was the prerequisite to their own emancipation.

In California, the Morrill Act provided a necessary *financial* incentive for realizing the mandate in the state constitution to establish a State University. While publicly adopting the Morrill Act's requirement that land-grant universities be made available to all, and eventually making the university free of tuition while providing scholarships to the "sons of toil," women were not admitted during the University of California's inaugural year, and there is little evidence suggesting that the admission of women was openly discussed or debated at the time.⁴ In contrast, at Cornell University, also a Morrill recipient and the first university on the East Coast to become coed in 1865, women attended classes from the university's opening day, as they did at Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, and other land-grant universities. Ezra Cornell, the university's founding father, had famously commented that: "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study." This suggests that progressive ideals were thoroughly embedded within Cornell's institutions and policies from its inception, in a way they do not appear to have been ensconced in the founding documents and policies of the University of California. Admittedly, while most of the land-grant colleges founded at the time opened their doors to women upon their inaugurations (unlike CAL), most scholars suggest that this was accomplished for economic reasons and a desire for higher enrollments, and was not necessarily based on any deep-seated belief in gender equity or racial equality. Moreover, once female enrollments began to climb and women attained superior achievements, many colleges sought to limit their enrollments by establishing quotas (such as limiting women to 20% of the student population). The University of California never introduced quotas to control the influx of women, though they would be used by its competitor, Stanford University. Still, like many other universities, the administration at Berkeley would eventually establish separate and unequal "all-women's departments" into which female students and female faculty were funneled.⁵ These departments, including home economics, nursing, library science, education, etc., effectively institutionalized sex segregation on campus, directing women into what one scholar has referred to as manifest educational "ghettos," underfunded and unsung.⁶

⁴ Additionally, no people of color (including those of Latinx heritage, who were deemed white in California at the time), are known to have enrolled.

⁵ For example, education, library science, nursing, social welfare, women's physical education, and especially, home economics. See: Nerad, Maresi, The Academic Kitchen: A Social History of Gender Stratification at the University of California, Berkeley, State University of New York Press, New York, 1999.

⁶ Nerad, M. "The situation of women at Berkeley between 1870 and 1915." *Feminist Issues* 7, 67–80 (1987), p. 78. "Thus, home economics at Berkeley began, and with it the manifest ghetto of women at Berkeley was created."

At the time the legislature passed the Organic Act in 1868 establishing the State University, the educational system in California was inchoate and otherwise morally corrupt, providing no model, foundation, or guiding compass on which to build a democratic university. Upon achieving statehood in 1850, California had officially designated itself a “free” (e.g., non-slave) state, disappointing many of those in the South (and some in California) who had hoped that California, or at least its southern half, would join the pro-slavery cause. By 1852, however, in spite of having only 2,206 Black residents, and substantially fewer women than men, the legislature seemed to be doing just that, passing a litany of discriminatory, racist, and sexist legislation, including a ban on mixed marriages and a law denying people with as little as one-sixth African blood the right to vote, hold public office, or testify in court against whites. Moreover, from 1856-1880, the state of California supported segregated “colored” schools; provided no public support for the education of its substantially larger and growing population of Chinese; prohibited female teachers from teaching if they were married or became married; and paid different salaries to male and female teachers.⁷

The men holding the reins of power in the State of California at the time, were no more progressive when it came to suffrage rights, and failed to follow the trend giving women the right to vote first set by two other Western states, Wyoming (1868) and Utah (1870). Women in California would not gain this right until 1911, though suffragists were already organized at least as early as the time of the University’s founding, and were among the few organized groups to publicly commend the Board of Regents in October 1870, for endorsing the resolution to admit women.⁸ None of the above should be particularly surprising: after all, the State of California did not ratify the 14th and 15th amendments to the federal Constitution until 1959 and 1962, respectively, 91 and 92 years after they had become the law of the land.

Lest there be any doubt, the stipulation that the State University’s students would be male, is embedded in its founding language:

⁷ By 1873, there were twenty-one public “colored schools” in the state. Mexican and other Spanish-speaking individuals, including native *Californios*, were generally classified as racially “white.” Chinese, on the other hand, were educated solely through private efforts and did not receive support from the state until 1885.

⁸ *San Francisco Examiner*, October 6, 1870. “WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION “Shall a Lady be Deputy Superintendent of Public Schools?--The question discussed.” The comment is as follows: “Other resolutions by Mr. Collins, thanking the Board of Regents of the University of California, for throwing open the doors of the University to women, on equal terms in all respects with men, were read and unanimously adopted. The meeting then adjourned.”

Section 3: "...any resident of California, of the age of fourteen years or upwards, of approved moral character, shall have the right to enter **himself** in the University as a student at large, and receive tuition..."

Section 10: "Scholarships may be established...to any scholar in the public schools of the State, who shall distinguish **himself** in study, according to the recommendation of **his** teachers. And shall pass the previous examination required for the grade at which **he** wishes to enter the University..."⁹

Comments published in the printed press just prior to the matriculation of the first class of young men a year later (1869), also support the contention that the new University was assumed by all to have been intended solely for men:

"The great register of the University is ready for the enrollment of the names as soon as the result of the matriculation examinations shall be ascertained. It is a huge volume. What thoughts it suggests! In it will be recorded the names of many of **the future great men of California**. With what interest in many long years to come will its pages be searched for **the University record of men who shall distinguish themselves in the learned professions in the Legislature, in knowledge or science, and in all the other pursuits that ennoble the world!**"¹⁰

An additional, unspoken assumption was that male (and later, female) matriculants would be white – and possibly Latinx – but never Black, Chinese or Native American.

In short, as we consider below what it must have been like in those early days, weeks, months, and decades during which Josephine, Carrie, and many other coeds sought to carve out a sphere of identity and purpose outside established social conventions as wives and mothers, we need to set aside any illusions we may have or have had of California having been a progressive, educational beacon in the realm of women's rights or racial equality, during the period leading up to the 20th century.¹¹ Not only was the 1868 Organic Act establishing the University of California not genuinely reflective of the fundamental tenets of either of the 1862 acts (emancipation proclamation and land-grant), it did not include mechanisms to revise actually existing practices as they related to the education, employment

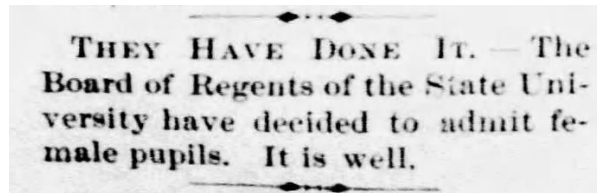
⁹ The Organic Act, March 5, 1868.

¹⁰ *Daily Alta California*, September 23, 1869. Volume 21, Number 7125.

¹¹ There were, however, several other noteworthy and progressive aspects contained in the Act, including the requirement the University of California remain a secular institution in regard to its admission policies, curriculum and governance, and the provision that tuition would in practice be free for all Californians.

and status of the State's women, or provide pathways for female students and faculty to confidently and meaningfully move beyond *de rigueur* 19th century roles subscribed to women.

California's "Young Ladies" Step Forward



Sacramento Bee, October 4, 1870.

The putative “oversight” that had forever left women out of the University’s founding document, the Organic Act of 1868, and thus denied them the right to have their signatures included in the “great register of the University” in its historic, inaugural year, could never be fully extirpated from history or memory; but it could be rectified. Yet, the University’s Board of Regents did not seek to remedy this lacuna until two and a half years after the establishment of the University. Moreover, based on the evidence provided below, it appears that the Regents’ action was most likely a concession to forces beyond their control, rather than a genuine belief in women’s equality. On October 3, 1870, without prior public indication that the issue was even on the table or under discussion, and with no great fanfare, the Board of Regents simply announced their unanimous endorsement of a tersely-worded resolution introduced by Regent Samuel F. Butterworth, admitting young ladies into the University “on equal terms, in all respects with young men.” The Board provided no further background to, nor explanation for, their decision, and there are virtually no archival documents in the University’s own library providing details of discussions that might have, and indeed should have, taken place at this consequential moment in the University’s history. Nevertheless, however sudden and unexpected it may have been to most of the public, and irrespective of what may have finally incited the Regents to issue their decree, the extraordinary action was quickly hailed by the press and celebrated by many of the State’s women and men, and most especially, its young ladies.

The occasion of the 150th anniversary of October 3, 1870, provides an important opportunity to contemplate what might have been on the minds of the powerful men comprising the Board of Regents as they endorsed the resolution to admit women, and to try to understand their motivations, goals and

plans for the future of the University, and women's place in it. It is also prudent at this point in time that we take stock of other, as yet unsung, actors and agents who may have played primary roles behind the scenes in bringing the goal of coeducation to fruition at the University of California. This is the aim of the next section, in which we examine newspaper reports from 1870, and a surprisingly revealing document from 1877, that has laid dormant and unread for well over a hundred years, and whose title gives new meaning to the well-worn phrase, "Don't judge a book by its cover."¹² The title of that document, a rather small, six-page pamphlet, is "Industrial Education: An Address on the Subject, Developing a Popular Plan by Which Industrial Colleges shall be Established in this State to Train our Youths to Mechanics, Agriculture and the Leading Useful Arts." Its author is none other than Charles Lindley, Josephine Lindley's father.

These items, newspaper articles and a pamphlet housed in the archives in the Bancroft library, provide previously unknown, or disregarded, details about the context and process surrounding the decision to admit women. Collectively, these artifacts reveal information about a relatively close-knit network of prominent, and not so prominent, individuals who worked assiduously to gain admission to the State University for California's daughters, outside the closed quarters in which the Board of Regents regularly gathered to form judgments and pass resolutions. The revelations contained in these documents serve as a useful addition to the as yet limited understanding of the enigma surrounding the admission of women at the University of California, as well as their subsequent, decades-long struggle to be "fitted to do something in life," equally, and alongside men. Although the revelations contained in this forgotten knowledge of the reduce our current state of ignorance surrounding this issue, there remains a great deal we still do not know.

Who was Josephine Lindley?

Josephine Lindley was born in 1852 to pioneer parents hailing from Connecticut, who had arrived in California in 1849 via the overland route. She was the youngest of three siblings, including an older sister, Metella (born in Connecticut in 1847) and an older brother, Curtis (born in Marysville, California in 1850). Her mother, Ann Eliza Lindley (nee Downey or Downie) was born in 1826 and was a native of Newtown, Connecticut, who married Josephine's father, Charles Lindley, in 1844. Charles

¹² Lindley, Charles, Industrial Education: An Address on the Subject, Developing a Popular Plan by Which Industrial Colleges shall be Established in this State to Train our Youths to Mechanics, Agriculture and the Leading Useful Arts, Evening Express Steam Book and Job Printing House, Los Angeles, 1877.

Lindley, born in Oxford, Connecticut in 1822, was a brick mason by trade who graduated from Yale Law school in 1843. Three years after he had passed the bar and set up practice in Connecticut, the family packed their bags and headed overland to California with their daughter, Metella, in tow. Soon after their arrival, they moved to a ranch east of Marysville, where Charles Lindley once again hung out his shingle and began practicing his trade as a lawyer.

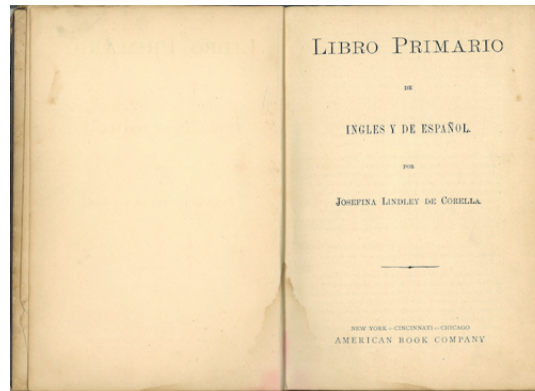
Josephine lived in Marysville with her family at least until 1860, as she appears in Marysville with her father and siblings in the 1860 U.S. Census, though she probably remained there longer. Josephine's mother, Ann Eliza, had died in Marysville the year before (1859) at the age of 33, a victim of "consumption," a disease better known today as tuberculosis (TB). At the time of her mother's death, Josephine was just two months shy of her 6th birthday. Her father, who never remarried, seems to have doted on his youngest daughter, who likely followed him on his peripatetic career as a county judge, expert on the codes and statutes of California, and lawyer specializing in mining law. Her father's practice brought them close to major pioneer mining camps of the day, first in Marysville, later in Virginia City, Nevada Territory during the Comstock days, where they lived next door to Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain), and finally in Arizona and Sonora, Mexico after the discovery of silver there. Judge Lindley died in Tombstone, Arizona, on September 20, 1882 at the age of 60 and is buried in Tombstone cemetery.

While living in Tombstone Josephine shared details of her rugged life in the pioneer mining town, in a letter to her confidante and friend, Caroline Maria Seymour Severance, an early suffragist from Boston who later founded the Club movement in Los Angeles.¹³ In that letter, she laments that she is tired of life as a homesteader and longs to return to her beloved Los Angeles, where she had taught languages for a number of years and had a large circle of friends and an active intellectual and social life. On the other hand, it was while homesteading in Arizona that she helped found the first library in Tucson; became the first woman editor of a Spanish-language weekly newspaper, *La Sonora*; and began work on a Spanish-English primer, Libro Primario de Ingles y de Española.¹⁴ Widely used to teach English and Spanish in Mexico and the United States in the mid-1880s and later; it also provided her with a modicum of income after the death of her first husband, Manuel M. Corella. Josephine would wear many additional hats during her remarkable lifetime: as teacher, writer, translator, journalist, editor,

¹³ Caroline Maria Seymour Severance papers, 1830-1980 (bulk 1860-1914)., Severance, Caroline M. Seymour (Caroline Maria Seymour), 1820-1914. Box 15 Folder 74; Folder 75. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California

¹⁴ De Corella, Josefina Lindley (Josephine Lindley Corella), Libro Primario de Ingles y de Española, Cowperthwaite & Co, Philadelphia, 1885. (Author's personal copy).

publisher and cultural ambassador in several states, and the two countries she so dearly loved, the United States and Mexico.



Libro Primario de Ingles y de Española,
Josefina Lindley De Corella (Josephine Lindley Corella),
Cowperthwaite & Co, Philadelphia, 1885.

It is not known where Josephine received her primary education prior to entering the University of California. Her older brother, Curtis, attended grammar school in Marysville, so it is likely that she also received some of her early education there. Josephine once revealed in an interview that she had lived with a French family for eight years.¹⁵ That formative experience allowed her to gain fluency in French. In a 1977 audio interview, her daughter, Lottita Corella, at the time 92 years old, shared that when her mother was twelve years old she lived with her father and brother, at the home of a prominent Mexican judge in Guadalajara. Josephine and her brother attended a Mexican school for a period of 9 months and this is likely where she first learned to speak Spanish.¹⁶ During her two and a half years as a University coed, Josephine studied a number of subjects, receiving a “Certificate of Proficiency“ in lieu of a diploma, in the departments of Geology and Natural History (Botany and Physical Geology), Belle

¹⁵ Lottita Corella Buckingham Reminiscences, 1977 Sep. 19-Nov.10. Call Number BANC CD 761 [no.2 of 6] Author Buckingham, Lottita Corella, creator, interviewee. Date 1977 (issued). Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. In this audio recording from 1977, Josephine’s daughter, Lottita Corella Buckingham states that “she stayed with them (e.g. the French family) and lived with that family until she went to college.”

¹⁶ Lottita Corella Buckingham Reminiscences, 1977 Sep. 19-Nov.10. Call Number BANC CD 761 [no.2 of 6] Author Buckingham, Lottita Corella, creator, interviewee. Date 1977 (issued). Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. In this audio recording from 1977, Josephine’s daughter, Lottita, says that Josephine was 12 at the time. “My uncle (Curtis Holbrook Lindley, Josephine’s brother) and my mother stayed, I think, for 9 months until they all learned Spanish. The one who learned it the best with a flair was my mother. My uncle never did learn it as well as my mother...The family, he was a judge in Guadalajara and he took the family, the three of them, the two children and the judge, in as guests and the three of them stayed with the judge’s family...”

Lettres, (English Literature, History, Ancient and Modern), Chemistry, and Modern Languages (French and Spanish)¹⁷

In 1878, Josephine married her college sweetheart, Manuel Maria Corella, from Sonora, Mexico, who had also entered the University of California in its second year, 1870-71, along with the Lindley siblings and others. Manuel Corella was a well-loved and respected member of the class of 1874, and was himself a pioneer, as both the first Latino to attend the University of California and the University's first Spanish Instructor. He died in Tombstone in 1882 at the age of 33, just weeks after the birth of their daughter, Lottita Corella. In addition to her father, and the two men she would marry and lose, Manuel M. Corella and John B. Phipps, Josephine was also quite close to her older brother, Curtis. The two siblings enrolled at the University of California at the same time, in 1870, and though neither stayed long enough to receive a diploma, both achieved great things during their lifetimes, visiting one another throughout their lives.

The only photograph of Josephine known to exist is the photo included in this essay.¹⁸ It may have been taken just prior to her enrollment at the University of California, making her about seventeen years old at the time. In the audio interview in 1977, her daughter, Lottita Corella, described her as having "the brightest blue eyes," and as being progressive in her ideas, so much so that she apparently refused to wear a corset!¹⁹ Several documents have suggested that she was "an attractive lady" and "becoming;" she also may have been of above average height. Her children, Lottita Corella and John Lindley Phipps, each having a different father, were both around six feet tall.²⁰ Similarly, Curtis Lindley, is reported to have enlisted in the military at the age of 16, in part because of his stature.²¹ Additional details about Josephine's life are contained elsewhere in this essay and in the longer project to which this essay belongs.

¹⁷ This certificate was signed by Henry Durant, President of University; E. S. Carr, Prof. Chemistry; P. Pioda, Modern Languages; Joseph Le Conte, Professor of Geology and Natural History; William Swinton, Professor of Belles Lettres; and Martin Kellogg, Dean of the Faculty.

¹⁸ The photo is from a newspaper article that was in the possession of Lottita Corella and includes her Berkeley subscription mailing address label. The publication date and title of the newspaper are obscure. It maybe from a local Berkeley paper called the *Berkeley Key*.

¹⁹ Lottita Corella Buckingham Reminiscences, 1977 Sep. 19-Nov.10. Call Number BANC CD 761 [no.2 of 6] Author Buckingham, Lottita Corella, creator, interviewee. Date 1977 (issued). Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

²⁰ Personal observation of the author. Lottita Corella and John Lindley Phipps were her great aunt, and grandfather, respectively.

²¹ Wm. E. Colby. "Curtis Holbrook Lindley (1850-1920)." *California Law Review* 9, no. 2 (1921): 87-99. Accessed June 30, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3474156>. P.88.

Josephine Lindley, the Regents, and the Decision to Admit Young Ladies

Josephine Lindley first appears in the California press in an article introducing her as a remarkably talented young woman and exceptional linguist, approximately six months prior to the Board of Regents' resolution admitting young ladies on an equal basis with men. The article in question, published in the *San Francisco Examiner*, reflects on the examination of Josephine Lindley by her instructor, Madame Vasquez de Fossey of the de Fossey School for Young Ladies in San Francisco.²² It serves as a testament to Josephine's linguistic facility and outstanding intellect and is worth quoting in detail:

"The examination of one pupil -- Miss Josie Lindley -- lasted an hour, and for the thoroughness, readiness and accuracy, we have seen nothing superior in California. The young lady was examined promiscuously in books written in French, in Spanish, and finally in the Aeneid of Virgil, and with ease she translated passages dictated to her (she never seeing the book) from any of the books into English, French or Spanish, as she might be required. The conversation between teacher and pupil was carried on in French, and the latter did her parsing and analyzing also in the French Language. Such proficiency is seldom acquired except by years of study. It would be difficult to speak too highly of either pupil or teacher."²³

The author concludes that the de Fossey school furnishes "just as good an opportunity of learning these languages as would schools in France or Spain... We only regret that there is not a corresponding school for young gentlemen."²⁴ Josephine and her family were surely delighted that she had received such public accolades. Just 16 at the time, little did she, or just about anyone else in the state of California, imagine that before the year was over, women would be admitted to the University, and Josephine would be at the helm.

News reports about Josephine Lindley begin to reappear in multiple newspapers on September 24th 1870, this time, in connection with her enrollment at the University. Over the next three weeks, the names of Josephine Lindley and Carrie Stone, were repeatedly broadcast throughout the state and beyond. Unbeknownst to most readers at the time, many of the articles were reporting a decision – the

²² *San Francisco Examiner* January 15, 1870. "The De Fossey School."

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

admission of women -- as though it had already been decided, when in truth the decision had **not yet officially been made**. News reports, and official documents from this period located in the archives of the University of California's Bancroft Library, specifically, the meeting minutes of the Board of Regents, are unequivocal: the resolution admitting women to the University of California was, in fact, unanimously endorsed at a meeting of the Board of Regents **on October 3, 1870**. In this sense, it is fitting to have chosen this day in October in commemorating this momentous occasion 150 years later. However, there are no indications in the meeting minutes and other archival documents related to the Board of Regents' momentous decision reviewed by the author, that any sort of public discussion or debate on the issue of women's admission ensued on that date or during the weeks preceding it.

Consequently, it seems quite likely that the "unanimously endorsed" resolution pertaining to one of the most historic events in the history of the University of California, indeed the State and the nation, had merely been proclaimed, and was never openly debated. Perhaps the flurry of activity taking place at the time outside the Board's hallowed chambers, and almost certainly known to the Board members as it was being reported in the press, left nothing else for any of the men to say or do but bring down their rubber stamp and carry on. This may be one of the few occasions in those days where the Board's normally *de facto* authority on all issues of import had been usurped by others as a result of the Regents' long inaction on the fundamental issue of women's place in the University of California.

Close examination of newspaper reports from the week preceding the Regents' meeting, reveals that a significant number of newspapers across the state had rather suddenly, and without any prior discussion or coverage, begun reporting that women had been, or would soon be, admitted to the University of California during the fall term. These articles made it appear as though women's matriculation was an already accomplished fact. Not only did news reports suggest, and/or claim outright, that the University had already been made accessible to women, they also provided the names of two "pioneers of the gentler sex" who were said to already be in the process of enrolling. All of these reports, some of which are detailed below, were published prior to the putative decision of October 3, 1870.

On September 24th, 1870, more than a week before the Regents unanimously endorsed the resolution to admit women, the *Sacramento Bee* published the first report about a female student who was at that moment in Oakland "making application for admission in the State University." The article seemingly taunts the Regents to take action:

“Among the students who are now at Oakland making application for admission in the State University, and undergoing requisite examination, is a young lady from Sacramento, Miss Lindley. She is, we believe, the daughter of a Sacramento merchant, and a graduate of the High School of that city. She is sufficiently advanced to enter the Fourth Grade of the College. As the number of students in the State who are qualified to enter the university is limited, and as the doors are thrown open to the male students from any portion of the world, and as many of the Eastern Colleges and Universities have thrown open their doors to women, it is scarcely probable that the Regents will send Miss Lindley to Sacramento with the privilege of going to the Eastern States to complete her education.”²⁵

Four days later, on September 28, 1870, a second article appeared in the *Marysville Daily Appeal*, citing a third paper, the *Bulletin*, as its source.²⁶ This article claims that the Regents had already released their decree and that on that very morning (some time before September 28), Josephine Lindley and Carrie Stone were to “enter the University as “Students at large.”²⁷ This information is followed by an even more detailed statement reporting University President Durant’s determination the previous Saturday that, “there was no prohibition in the law and that the Faculty could not undertake on their own responsibility to impose one. On the contrary, the President and Faculty will give them an encouraging reception.”²⁸ This statement strongly suggests that President Durant was himself actively involved in the effort to gain admittance for women during the upcoming Fall term, and that he, and at least some of the faculty, were clearly not intending on waiting for the Board to make up its mind.

The articles in the *Marysville Daily Appeal* and the *Bulletin*, also specify by name a number of individuals who, along with the President, had already been involved and active for quite some time in preparation for the arrival of the young coeds. One of those mentioned is “Mrs. Carr,” a woman whose

²⁵*Sacramento Bee*, September 24, 1870. Page 2. The reference in this editorial that “the doors are thrown open to the male students from any portion of the world,” refers to a resolution earlier passed by the Regents and later rescinded. The idea to let any male from anywhere enroll in the University, was likely passed as a mechanism to increase enrollments, potentially in the hopes that it would draw a sufficient number of students that it would not be necessary to admit women. The Regents implemented a number of policies to try to boost the number of students in the early years, including making the University “absolutely free,” beginning in on April 6, 1870; the resolution of December 13, 1869 to make the university open to “all qualified applications, from other States and countries as well as from California,” a resolution which, naturally, was limited to men in practice; the resolution passed on the same date requesting the Legislature to pass a law permitting the Board to establish a preparatory class later known as the “Fifth Class attached to the University for the purpose of preparing young men,”; and finally, the concession to admit women of October 3, 1870.

²⁶ *Marysville Daily Appeal*, September 28, 1870. Volume XXII, Number 65, September.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

name most Californians would have easily recognized at the time as the wife of State University Professor of Agriculture, Ezra Carr. These articles informed readers that Mrs. Carr “has taken a deep interest in this matter, and will extend an encouraging hand and give information to those who desire it.”²⁹ In short, Mrs. Carr, the wife of a faculty member and a vocal supporter of women throughout her life, was prepared to provide information to prospective female students about a policy that had not yet been endorsed by the Regents. This reality must have raised a few eyebrows among those familiar with the Board of Regents’ monopolization of the University’s power center and decision-making apparatus at that time, including the members of the Board themselves. Finally, we also learn from these articles that the owner of what is presumably a boarding house for women, “Mrs. Blake,” had already made arrangements to accept new female students as part of her household.

On September 29th the *Daily Union* published an article based on the same information included in the *Marysville Daily Appeal* on the 28th, referencing the same points about President Durant and faculty support for incoming women, and informing readers that there were two ladies, Miss Lindley and Miss Stone, who were going to “enter the University as “Students at large” that morning.³⁰ On the following day, September 30, 1870, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, took a giant leap, clearly announcing several days prior to the Board’s meeting, that the official decision was *fait accompli*. There is no mention in the news article of the upcoming Board of Regents’ meeting:

“The Regents of the University of California have **wisely concluded** to establish a precedent for others to follow, by admitting young ladies as students at large into the University under their charge. There is no reason why females should not be admitted as equals in the University. The young men need have no fear in competing with the young ladies, for if man’s mind is naturally so much superior to that of woman, competition will be useless, except to demonstrate the fact beyond peradventure. As the experience of our public schools does not show this to be the truth, we hardly think that the exhibits of excellence in the University will show a different result. If young ladies are inclined to pursue the classics and higher mathematics, let them have all the

²⁹ *Marysville Daily Appeal*, September 28, 1870. Volume XXII, Number 65.

³⁰ *Morning Union*, September 29, 1870, Volume 8, Number 1184. “A *Bulletin* correspondent writes to the following effect: ‘Miss Josephine Lindley, and Miss Carrie Stone, daughter of Professor Stone at the Pacific Female Business College, and probably others, will this morning enter the University as ‘Students at large,’ for the purpose of receiving that broader and more thorough instruction which able professors with extensive apparatus and cabinet can impart. On Saturday morning last, President Durant decided that there was no prohibition in the law and that the Faculty could not undertake on their own responsibility to impose one. On the contrary, the President and Faculty will give them an encouraging reception.’”

opportunities they desire. Misses JOSEPHINE LINDLEY and CARRIE STONE are the pioneers of the gentler sex in the University of California.”³¹

Even the citizens of Carson City, Nevada, learned of the decision to admit women a day prior to its having been made, via the October 2, 1870 edition of the *Carson Daily Appeal*. This edition provided a verbatim excerpt from the September 30, 1870 *San Francisco Chronicle* article referenced above.

Naturally, the number of articles about the admission of young ladies burgeoned *after* the resolution by Regent Butterworth was unanimously endorsed. At that point, the state’s newspapers seem to have become unified in support of the action, a somewhat surprising feat given the strongly partisan nature of newspapers at the time, and the Board’s own revealed reluctance to commit to a policy. On October 4, one day after the official endorsement, the *Daily Alta* became one of the first newspapers to refer to the Regents’ decision: “the motion of Mr. Butterworth, proposing to admit lady students to the University on a perfect equality with the inferior sex, was passed unanimously, and we understand that there are already three or four applicants in the field.”³²

On October 5, 1870, just two days after the Board held their meeting, the *Sacramento Bee* published a second comment, supporting the buzz about the admission of women to the University and reminding readers of an even more vital right, that of women’s suffrage: “The Press of California has much to say over the fact that females have been admitted to the State University as pupils, on the same terms as males. Why should they not? And why not admit them to the bar and the pulpit and the sick room also. Why not allow every person to be all that he or she is capable of being, regardless of sex? But the first thing is to admit woman to the ballot, and her other rights will follow this one in quick succession.”³³ Another supportive piece written after the official decision, was published in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 6, 1870, under the heading “THE LADY PIONEERS: Two Lady Students Enter the University,”: “The names of these two ladies, the first to step in after the Angel of Progress had “troubled” the stagnant waters, ought to be handed down forever in the educational annals of California. It is to be hoped that their example will be followed by those who have been waiting on the

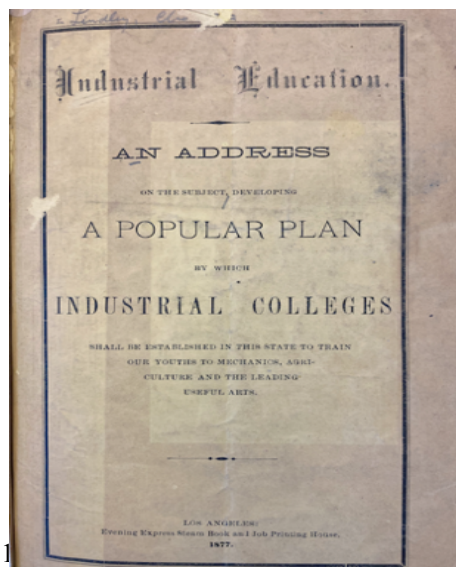
³¹ *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 30, 1870.

³² *Daily Alta California*, October 4, 1870, Volume 22, Number 7501.

³³ *Sacramento Bee*, October 5, 1870. Page 2, column 2.

edge of the pool “lo! these many years,” and that they will all prove themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in their good sense and ability.”³⁴

In later years, Josephine Lindley and her brother, Curtis, would each claim independently that it was through the influence of their father, Judge Lindley, that women had been admitted to the University.³⁵ Though originally there was little evidence to support this, and Charles Lindley’s name is not referenced in newspaper articles at the time, the author discovered documentation of his role and that of others, among the archival documents housed in the Bancroft Library, in the form of a pamphlet penned by Judge Lindley seven years after the momentous day that Josephine Lindley, Carrie Stone and others were finally allowed the honor of placing their names on the hallowed University register.³⁶ There is clearly so much more to the story than has been told here, as this essay is just the beginning of a much larger work in progress aimed at gaining a better understanding of this important piece of California history. For now, we leave readers with the words of Judge Charles Lindley, the father of Josephine Lindley, and one of a number of individuals who played important roles behind the scenes as early promoters of equal access for California coeds.



³⁴ *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 6, 1877.

³⁵ For example, see the *Berkeley Gazette*, September 20, 1907. “First Woman Student at U.C.,” “It was through the efforts of her father, Judge Lindley, himself a pioneer of 1847, that women were admitted to the University, which was then in its infancy.”

³⁶ “Industrial Education: An Address on the Subject, Developing a Popular Plan by Which Industrial Colleges shall be Established in this State to Train our Youths to Mechanics, Agriculture and the Leading Useful Arts,” by Charles Lindley, 1877. Evening Express Steam Book and Job Printing House, Los Angeles. Located at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley: Call Number: x F870.E3 L43; Author: Charles Lindley; Location: Bancroft. Date: 1877.

“Industrial Education: An Address”
by Charles Lindley, 1877.

In the preface to his pamphlet on Industrial Education,³⁷ published just 7 years after the decision to admit “young ladies,” Judge Lindley provides his readers in Los Angeles County with a brief biographical background of his life, in order for them to understand why he is so passionate about providing “industrial education” to the boys and girls of the current generation in California. The passage is a moving one, in which he describes having been “severely raised” and sent at eight years of age to the fields on a “poor, little sterile” New England farm owned by his father. He tells his audience that “he spent in study only fragments of New England winters on the oaken slab benches of the country school house,” and later found “an old-fashioned apprenticeship at the laborious trade of brick and stone masonry.” He then explains how, with remarkable determination, he saved money while still an apprentice by working overtime in order to gain the education he so fiercely desired. Speaking in the third person, he tells readers that, “‘as overwork,’ he wheeled bricks and mortar through the streets of New Haven by night and set up stoves for the students in Yale College,...[later using his]... ‘overwork money’ to purchase books and gain instruction in night school.” He concludes this passage by describing the personal impact these experiences had on his thinking: “With all this early life, these experiences and aspirations, he cannot but have impulses now in behalf of the struggling boys and girls of this generation.”³⁸

One important detail Charles Lindley neglects to mention, is that this “mere” brick and stone mason by trade, ultimately attended Yale Law school, passed the bar and became a prominent Judge and attorney in California. The most important part of this address for our purposes, however, is the following passage, in which he explains the role that he, and a number of other individuals, played in the successful effort to gain admission for women to the University of California:

³⁷ “Industrial Education: An Address on the Subject, Developing a Popular Plan by Which Industrial Colleges shall be Established in this State to Train our Youths to Mechanics, Agriculture and the Leading Useful Arts,” by Charles Lindley, 1877. Evening Express Steam Book and Job Printing House, Los Angeles. . Located at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley: Call Number: x F870.E3 L43; Author: Charles Lindley; Location: Bancroft. Date: 1877.

³⁸ Ibid.

“In addition to the above, the author is a friend to the University. He drafted and urged the passage of the Cadet Bill...(and) the Scholarship Bill... which...carried four young men through the University upon their merits. **He also inaugurated and pressed the movement to admit young ladies into the University. It gathered strength through the active exertions of Senator Tompkins, Rev. O.P. Fitzgerald, Dr. and Mrs. Carr, Pres. Durant, Prof. Pioda, L.L. Bullock and others, until a majority was obtained in favor, when Mr. Butterworth gracefully gave way, and offered the resolution in the Board and assisted in making it a unanimous vote...**The author has a personal acquaintance with most of the Regents and numbers many of them as among his personal friends, and as a body he has respect for their character and attainments, and has no occasion to harbor an unkind thought towards any one of them.”³⁹

To conclude, by triangulating newspaper articles from the weeks prior to the Board of Regents’ meeting with the account provided seven years later by Charles Lindley in an otherwise unrelated document, we have been able to gain a better understanding of the process behind the Board of Regents’ unanimous support for the curtly-worded resolution admitting women students to the University of California on October 3, 1870. In so doing, we have been able to, at least partially, answer a question asked more than two decades ago by another scholar seeking to understand the enigma surrounding the admission of women in 1870. Like the current author, Maresi Nerad diligently poured over the extant documents housed in the Bancroft Library on the Berkeley campus, only to sit back in exasperation to ask: “How could women arrive so silently at the university, when the subject of their admission to the other land-grant universities had been the occasion for considerable controversy?”⁴⁰ Although there is admittedly so much more we need to learn about the activities of these individuals, we now have the foundation on which to build a stronger understanding of this important issue in California history.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Nerad, Maresi. “The situation of women at Berkeley between 1870 and 1915,” *Feminist Issues* 7, 67-80 (1987). p.68.