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Being the first: Women and the memory of San José Police School 1930–1964

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: Explore the memory of the first collegiate program in the USA for police training, the Police School founded in 1930 at San José State University, to learn about the women students and faculty who were there, why they have been forgotten, and why we should remember them.

Methods: Drawing on theory developed by historians who study the history of memory, expand the memory of the Police School to include women, using archival materials, particularly correspondence and newspapers, at the King Library, San José State University, and Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

Results: Our memory of the San José Police School was constructed around August Vollmer and his work at the Berkeley Police Department by former Berkeley police officers—the V-men. Although this narrative excludes women, there were women, both students and faculty, that had an immediate impact on women in policing.

Conclusions: Origin stories built around ‘firsts’ are important because they define what it means to be a criminologist. But these origin stories need to include the women in our past, such as Noemi Baiza, the first Latina in the first collegiate program for police training in the USA.

1. Introduction

In 1930, August Vollmer initiated at San José State University in California the first collegiate program in the United States for police training (Cordner, 2020; Douthit, 1975; Eastman & McCain, 1981; Gardner & Spiropoulos, 2018; Hoover, 2005; Oliver, 2008, 2016; Stephens, 1976). All of the directors of the San Jose Police School—George Brereton, William Wiltberger and Willard Schmidt—were “V-men”, former Berkeley police officers who had known Vollmer as chief. They left written accounts of their work at San Jose, and it is easy to accept their narrative of the significance of “being the first” (Brereton, 1932; MacQuarrie, 1935; Vollmer, 1933).

The majority of students and faculty at the San Jose Police School were men, but there were women who studied and taught there. Their names—Loreen Caton, Janet Hickey, Noemi Baiza and Evelyn Lindquist—are strange and unfamiliar, but they were the first women to contribute to the first collegiate program. Recalling what they did is not about adding them to the historical record. If so, it would only be important to a few criminologists interested in police history. Rather, it is important because of the stories we tell about our origins (Carrington & Hogg, 2017; Montaldo, 2018). Memory, as Nicole Rafter (2010)

pointed out, is vital for criminology. To share a memory of key events in our past establishes our identity as an academic discipline; a collective memory of our beginnings lets us know who we are and where we are going. Yet large portions of our experience have been forgotten. Where we need an active process of recollection, there is silence (Brown & Rafter, 2013; Rafter, 2010).

In this essay, I explore stories of some forgotten women, the challenges they faced, and why they should be part of our collective memory. To do this, I borrow concepts from the history of memory. In the 1920s, Maurice Halbwachs and the Annales historians made the history of *mentalités*—“the history of collective representations, myths and images”—the subject of historical inquiry (Niven & Berger, 2014, 3, 6). In recent decades, memory has become an attractive approach in cultural history. Historians have developed a conceptual vocabulary for memory studies and engaged in debates about the meaning of this language (Berger & Niven, 2014; Erl & Nunning, 2008; Tamm, 2013). Here, I will rely on Halbwachs and his interpreters. He emphasized collective memory of past events as a force in the making of history. The understanding of what has come before, however inaccurate or fragmentary, informs action in the present.

Learning about the experiences of women in early criminal justice

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institutions can be challenging due to limited information in administrative records (Bosworth, 2001). This is also true of university departments. The Archives and Special Collections section at the King Library, San José State University, contains course catalogs and student yearbooks, but with little more than the names of some women faculty and students. To find out about this invisible group—and why they have remained so—I have turned to correspondence and newspapers. The Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, contains two collections with relevant material: the August Vollmer Papers and the Berkeley Police Department Records. These collections include correspondence between the directors of the San Jose Police School and chiefs of police at Berkeley that contain references to women students and faculty. City newspapers, particularly the *San Jose Evening News* and *San Jose Mercury Herald*, contain information about women at the Police School and San Jose Police Department.

In searching through the correspondence and newspaper material, I looked for representations of the past, and found press reports about San Jose as the first program, Vollmer as the founder, and San Jose as an extension of the Berkeley story. I also looked at memorialization; that is, efforts to define, promote, and sustain the memory of the San Jose Police School through commemorative events (Crowshaw, 2014). The directors of the Police School marked its tenth anniversary in 1940 and twenty-fifth anniversary in 1955. In 1956, the women students began to memorialize an alternative memory of the Police School with reference not to Vollmer, but Janet Hickey, one of the first women students. In 1964 the Police School became the Administration of Justice Department, and in 2003, the Department of Justice Studies (Kuykendall & Hernandez, 1975).

The essay has four parts. Part 1 explains how the V-men constructed the memory of San José Police School as an extension of Vollmer's legacy and the Berkeley story. Part 2 explains the decision to exclude women from the Police School and how the first women to graduate disappeared from memory. Part 3 documents the role of women on the faculty of the Police School—the first women in the first collegiate program. Part 4 discusses the role of women in the decision to allow women to join the Police School and their impact on policing the city.

2. Making a memory

In *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925), translated as *The Collective Memory* (1980), Halbwachs proposed that individuals belong to social groups whose coherence and identity rely on a shared view of the past. Memory resides in the minds of individual members of a group, but personal recollections can be only be communicated to others through social frames that shape individual memory (Fulbrook, 2014, 73). Further, group memories are informed by larger myths and stories in which individual lives are embedded. "Collective memory" includes the memories of all social groups in a society at a point in time, interpreted through narratives such as progress, decline, continuity, circularity, or discontinuity (Niven & Berger, 2014, 8).

The men who led the San Jose Police School belonged to a group tied together by a shared memory of the Berkeley Police Department. Their memory included the image of Vollmer as an innovator in policing and they understood what was happening at San Jose in this context. The San Jose Police School was another first from a leader who had initiated a series of firsts while at Berkeley. It was an example of progress in policing in an era of reform, an application of science to the preparation of police recruits (Koehler, 2015, 521). It was, to be sure, a powerful image. So much so that it launched criminology as an academic discipline. Throughout the 1930s, V-men started degree programs at the University of Hawai'i, Washington State University, and Wichita State University, and had links to establishing the program at Michigan State University, not to mention, in 1939, founding the American Society of Criminology (Bañuelos, 2018; Oliver, 2016).

In 1930, August Vollmer met Thomas W. MacQuarrie, president of San Jose State Teachers College, at a San Francisco restaurant

(MacQuarrie, 1940; Manley, 1957). By the 1920s, Vollmer had already acquired a national reputation as a police reformer through a portfolio of initiatives he made while chief of police at Berkeley. He organized police records and a modus operandi system, initiated intelligence tests for recruiting, and introduced bicycles, then cars, and then cars with radios, to patrol. Working with faculty from the University of California, he oversaw development of the lie detector, established a crime laboratory, and organized a training course for police (Douthit, 1975; Oliver, 2009; Wilson, 1953). Vollmer was a larger-than-life figure, not only in municipal policing, but university education. In 1929, the University of Chicago made him the first professor of police administration in the United States, and two years later, he returned to Berkeley when the University of California made him professor of police administration. Vollmer did not possess an academic credential so much as a high school diploma (Oliver, 2008, 2016).

MacQuarrie joined San Jose State Teachers College in 1927. He had taught secondary school and directed a vocational education program in the U.S. Army. He received a PhD from Stanford University and served as professor of education and director of University College at the University of Southern California. What Vollmer said that evening has not been reported but it is likely he talked about a future in which all ranks of police earned college degrees. The program at Berkeley educated police in the field of criminology for management and research; the program at San Jose would focus on pre-employment training of recruits for patrol officers (Wiltberger, 1935b). Whatever Vollmer said, MacQuarrie became an honorary V-man. He authorized a two-year program in police administration within the Social Science Department. In 1935, after the California legislature authorized teachers colleges to offer degrees other than teacher training, San Jose State Teachers College became San Jose State College, and the Police School offered the BA in police administration.

MacQuarrie also followed Vollmer's lead about someone to direct the program. George Brereton began work as a patrol officer for the Berkeley Police Department in 1922, and during the next seven years, completed an MA in history and started to work on a PhD at the University of California. Two weeks before the first day of classes in the autumn quarter of 1930, he became assistant professor and the first director of the police program at San Jose (Brereton, 1972).

Vollmer knew the value of the press in promoting his agenda. Rose Glavinovich, a reporter for the *Oakland Tribune*, had provided the Berkeley Police Department with extensive news coverage over the years. "He just made news. He started innovations and they were news..." she explained of Vollmer; "He was very conscious of the value of publicity... for the ideas and ideals he had in police work" (Glavinovich, 1972, 3). Vollmer's involvement in the San Jose project attracted attention. In September 1930, the *San Jose Evening News* announced the "first regular course for college-trained police officers in the United States" (San Jose Evening News, 1930; also San Jose Mercury Herald, 1930a, 1930b). The article explained that Vollmer had organized training for police at the University of California, but the San Jose program represented the first time police training became a subject for college credit.

Brereton assured Vollmer he was "continuously planning publicity of one sort or another" (Brereton, 1931). A month later, the *San Jose Mercury Herald* printed a photograph of Brereton with two students "in the world's first college police school". The article praised the innovative leadership of MacQuarrie in the formation of "the first complete college in police work in the world". By 1932, Brereton had mailed some 500 bulletins about the program to police departments across the nation, and he was pleased to say he had received inquiries from Europe and Asia (San Jose Mercury Herald, 1932). But Brereton was ambitious and did not see himself working "at such a small place" for long (Brereton, 1931). In addition to his job as assistant professor, he accepted a second position as a deputy sheriff in Santa Cruz County. The appointment brought a public protest and a lawsuit (San Jose Evening News, 1932, 1933). MacQuarrie appears to have approved of the arrangement (Brereton, 1933), at least initially, but it became clear that he did not

appreciate negative publicity. In 1934, Brereton decided to resign. MacQuarrie turned to Vollmer for a successor and Vollmer suggested William Wiltberger.

Like Brereton, Wiltberger had started his career as a patrol officer in Berkeley working for Vollmer. He completed a BA in economics and later an MA in Political Science from the University of California. He had been chief of police in Evanston, Illinois, and St Petersburg, Florida. MacQuarrie made it clear to Wiltberger that he wanted him to devote his full attention to promoting the program (Wiltberger, 1933). Wiltberger knew what to do. In the first few years, Vollmer's San Jose project was known as the police administration program or the police training course. In December 1934, Wiltberger decided to call it "The Police School" (Wiltberger, 1934), and by May 1935, Wiltberger had stationary printed with himself as "Director, the Police School" (Wiltberger, 1935a).

Wiltberger tied the San Jose Police School to Vollmer's popularity. Newspaper articles in the 1930s reported on Vollmer's visits to San Jose and consultations with MacQuarrie and Wiltberger. "Nowhere in the United States is there available so complete and sound a course in criminal detection and police work as offered here at your San Jose State College" Vollmer was said to have said during a visit. The quotation appeared under a photograph of Vollmer talking with MacQuarrie, a local police officer, an attorney, and a FBI agent (San Jose Mercury Herald, 1935). The University of California and University of Southern California provided police training, but neither could match the comprehensive approach taken by San Jose. The Police School combined multidisciplinary faculty members and experienced police administrators to deliver both scientific and practical instruction (San Jose Evening News, 1935).

In 1940, Wiltberger assembled a photograph album to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Police School. Student clubs contributed pages, as did instructors. There are pages about the activities of the pistol team, investigation course, and photography instruction. The album includes a page about Vollmer, "the first to introduce technical police courses in a university", and explains that given his expertise, "the Police School has relied upon his judgement and experience throughout its existence" (Police School, 1940; Spartan Daily, 1940).

3. Purposeful forgetting

Collective memory emphasizes the relationship between social groups and shared recollections. Every memory is carried by a specific social group limited in space and time. Families, institutions, governments, and other social groups invent, sustain, and project memories by various means (Confino, 2008, 77). This process of recollection explains what gets remembered, but also what is forgotten. Representations of the past are lost to collective memory depending on the relative power of groups in society. Or, as Halbwachs (1980, 24) put it, "forgetting due to the separation from a group."

At the San Jose Police School, forgetting took place with intentionality. The first women to complete the degree did not fit the vision of the men who founded the Police School. Their very presence jeopardized the image of San Jose as a place for thorough application of science to production of policemen, and they were forgotten. Or, more precisely, they were never given the chance to be remembered. And although much remains to be written about women in criminology, particularly before the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s, I do not believe that San Jose was an exception. Edith Abbott was an accomplished faculty member at the University of Chicago, with expertise in crime trends, delinquency, and immigration. She carried out a massive study of housing in Chicago, helped plan for collection of crime statistics, and was invited to report on crime and the foreign-born to the Wickersham Commission (Abbott, 1931). Yet she has been consistently overlooked in discussions of the Chicago School in theoretical criminology.

When the police training program opened in 1930, men and women could apply. Brereton accepted sixteen students that first year, including

two women (Brereton, 1931). He could see the value of collegiate coursework in police training for preparing the "modern policewoman" (Brereton, 1932, 70). He assembled a curriculum including boxing and wrestling, criminal law and procedure, criminology, firearms, history of police, criminal identification, photography, microscopy, police administration, psychology and psychiatry (San Jose Mercury Herald, 1931). The police chief for the city of San Jose agreed to provide some instruction and Brereton hoped to add a lawyer, most likely an assistant district attorney from the county (Brereton, 1931). But that first year, he taught most of the police training courses himself, including the course in firearms. Brereton started a rifle club at the college and he invited women to join. In 1932, the college placement secretary, Lydia Innes, won the expert pistol medal with a score of 85/100 (State College Times, 1932).

Brereton's idea of the modern policewoman was out of step with that of the chief. In 1925, Vollmer introduced a policewoman, Elizabeth Lossing, to the Berkeley Police Department. She graduated from Mills College in Oakland, California, with further study (in psychiatry) at the University of California and the New York School of Social Work (Liss & Schlossman, 1984, 103). From the 1890s, there had been a national movement to introduce policewomen (Schultz, 1995; Scarborough & Collins, 2002). Alice Stebbins Wells became the first policewoman in the United States when she was hired by the Los Angeles Police Department in 1910. To promote the introduction of policewomen, she lectured in cities across the country, and in 1915, formed the International Association of Policewomen (Segrave, 2014, 113). Vollmer supported Wells and the International Association of Policewomen, but for him, *policewoman* referred to a specific role limited to interactions with women and children. Lossing functioned as a social worker, the liaison between the police force and the public welfare system (Segrave, 2014, 129). As Vollmer put it, she did not need a uniform or a gun any more than any other social worker (Vollmer, 1930).

MacQuarrie agreed with Vollmer. Whatever it meant to be a modern policewoman, it did not mean wearing a uniform, shooting a gun, or training at the Police School. If a few women wanted to take Brereton's courses as electives, this was permissible because they could find employment in police departments as secretaries or clerks. But women interested in joining the Police School amounted to "thrill-seekers" who did not have a serious understanding of real police work. "A good many young women wished to take the work", MacQuarrie (1935, 257) declared, "but most of them seemed to see it in a dramatic situation and they were advised to make other plans". The *San Jose State College Bulletin 1935-1936* states with reference to the Police School that "No women students will be admitted unless they have unusual qualifications and plan to enter the police field as a life work" (SJSC, 1935, 145).

Yet women did succeed in the Police School, despite formal and informal efforts to discourage them. The first two women to earn a degree in police training, Mary Silva and Marion Taormina, graduated in 1936. They were two women of forty fulltime students. One or both may have been involved in the Commerce Department at the college. Following graduation, they participated in the Business and Professional Women's Club of San Jose. The Club hosted a fingerprint drive and Silva and Taormina did the fingerprinting (Spartan Daily, 1936a).

MacQuarrie decided to exclude women altogether following a national newspaper story later that year. Intrigued about women at the Police School, a journalist with the Associated Press visited the campus at Washington Square in San Jose. Silva and Taormina were "not available" for interview, but he induced two other women students, Marjorie Serio and Helen Rector, to pose for a photograph. They stood, one holding a rifle, the other a pistol, pointed directly into the lens of the camera. The photograph appeared in newspapers across the country with a heading about the San Jose Police School as the place where "girls study gunnery". Wiltberger told the press that he welcomed women; they could find employment as store detectives deterring shoplifters. But only the serious "career type of girl" would be considered and not those who wanted in because they imagined it would be "just too thrilling"

([San Jose Evening News, 1935](#); [San Jose Mercury Herald, 1935](#)). MacQuarrie changed the language in the *San Jose State College Bulletin 1936–1937* about the Police School to make it clear that “Training is offered to men only” ([SJSC, 1936](#), 164).

It was the photograph of Serio and Rector that “caused a fuss” ([Spartan Daily, 1936c](#)). It does bear some resemblance to a photograph of another young woman with a gun that circulated in the press a few years earlier: Bonnie Parker. During the 1930s, Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow rambled across the Southern states on a crime spree of daylight bank robberies, shoot-outs with police and casual murders. Police recovered undeveloped Kodak film in 1933 when the gang abandoned their hideout in Joplin, Missouri, that contained images of Parker and Barrow posing for each other. The police sent photographs to newspapers across the country. In the photograph that would make Parker the most notorious female of the Depression era, she stands looking directly into the camera with her foot on the front bumper of a Ford V8, one arm propped on a headlamp, the other on her hip, holding a 0.45 caliber Colt revolver ([Guinn, 2009](#)).

Wiltberger shared MacQuarrie’s view. He favored “he-man methods” in police training as the best way “to turn husky young fellows into policemen”. He appreciated the chief of the San Jose Police Department as a faculty member who emphasized practical work and true-to-life cases ([Spartan Daily, 1935a](#)). Wiltberger received 72 applications for the autumn quarter of 1938, but said that this number would be reduced by rigid entrance examinations “designed to select the men best adapted, mentally and physically, for police training” ([San Jose Mercury Herald, 1938c](#)). He believed that women entering police work should follow the social work model. He encouraged Vollmer to read the novel by Sinclair Lewis, *Ann Vickers*, published in 1933. The character of the title must survive an unwanted pregnancy and sacrifice her chance of personal happiness with a devoted husband to pursue her life as a social worker and prison reformer. The story should be assigned reading for orientation before scientific and practical study in criminology-social work. “It sure is a book,” he wrote to Vollmer, “that every woman in the social and police field must read to get to thinking” ([Wiltberger, 1933](#)).

The tenth anniversary album of the Police School contains the names of only two women students, but not Mary Silva and Marion Taormina. The first women to graduate from the Police School have disappeared. Rather, the names, Loreen Caton and Juanita Brown, appear in a list of graduates employed in policing. Their names are listed as if it was the most ordinary thing to have included women, as if they had done nothing more than study at the college and find a job.

Loreen Caton worked as deputy city clerk for the city of San Jose when she began taking courses at the Police School. In 1937 she became the first woman member of the San Jose Police Department. She was given the title of “police matron”, but soon demonstrated she was prepared, as the *San Francisco Examiner* put it in April 1938, to “beat the men at their own game.” Firing a pistol from fifteen feet, she scored a perfect ten. She had hunted with a rifle before joining the police force, she told the newspaper, but learned to shoot a pistol at the San Jose State police training school. The article included a close-up of Caton posing with a 0.22 caliber Colt automatic pistol ([San Francisco Examiner, 1938](#)). The *San Jose Evening News* revealed that when the police chief had posted the orders for target practice that day, he did not include Caton’s name with the range assignments. She had to insist that as a regular member of the police force she should practice along with the men ([San Jose Evening News, 1938](#)).

Juanita Brown, from Austin, Texas, gained admittance in 1940. She began work in 1936 at the Texas Department of Public Safety in the Identification and Criminal Records Division as a fingerprint expert and later a stenographer. She was put in charge of organizing a modus operandi file system and received a leave of absence to study in California. Wiltberger had researched the subject and had developed a course for the Police School. Brown had learned about his work from a talk he gave at a convention in Texas in 1937 ([San Jose Evening News,](#)

1940). Wiltberger wrangled an exception from MacQuarrie and she became the only woman among eighty students at the Police School ([Spartan Daily, 1940](#)). Following her study in San Jose, Brown returned to Austin where she was promoted to modus operandi clerk in the Intelligence Division, and later promoted to statistician in the Identification Division.

4. Gendered memory

Collective memory does not imply a unity of social attitude. There is no single, coherent, dominant memory that guides thinking in a society at any time. Within each society, there are social groups with different and competing interpretations of the past and these groups form along lines of generation, class, gender, or ethnicity. What is important is not simply to conclude that collective memory is “contested”, “multiple”, and “negotiated”, although this is certainly true of criminology ([Seal & O’Neill, 2019](#); [Ystehede, 2016](#)). Rather, it is important to analyze the way individuals relate to social groups and the interaction of the groups with one another ([Confino, 2008](#), 80). People belong to more than one social group, groups whose coherence and affinity depend on a shared view of the past. Individuals remember through overlapping social frames in which the memory of one group absorbs the memory of another ([Halbwachs, 1980](#), 76).

Memory at the San Jose Police School developed within the memory of men. The tenth anniversary album mentions a sole woman on the faculty, Margaret Douglas. She was an assistant professor in the Speech Department at San Jose State College, and in 1939, organized a speech team of police students. The team spoke about police work to thousands of students, teachers and citizens at high schools across the San Francisco Bay Area ([Police School, 1940](#)).

There were, nevertheless, in addition to Douglas, a number of women who taught police students in the 1930s. Mae Wirtz was the first woman to teach on the program. In the spring of 1935, she taught “Police Correspondence”, a course on report writing. She had a BS degree and was an instructor in the Commerce Department at the college. The course, adapted from a requirement for Commerce students, offered technical writing skills needed for investigation and interviewing ([Spartan Daily, 1935c](#)). Wirtz modelled assignments on reports from the Berkeley Police Department and toured the Record Bureau in operation ([Wiltberger 1934b](#)). Based on the success of the writing course, Wiltberger decided to use “all of the valuable instructional work available on this campus” ([Wiltberger 1935](#)). He found Carolyn Hayes, a faculty member in the Art Department, and she taught a Police School course in 1938 on “Plaster Sketching and Plastics”. She showed students how to make impressions of shoe prints and reproductions of crime scenes ([San Jose Mercury Herald, 1938a](#)).

The success of the speech team followed from a course created by Elizabeth Jenks, “Special Problems in Police Speech” in Fall 1935. The course dealt with interrogation, but also decoding political messages and defusing violence ([Spartan Daily, 1935b](#)). She may have been the first Latina on the faculty although whether she identified as Hispanic is not clear. From her background and appearance, she was cosmopolitan and could pass for European. Jenks was born in Lima, Peru, and raised in Mexico, England, and Canada. She arrived at San Jose in 1928 after completing an M.A. from Cornell University and became acting head of the Speech Department ([State College Times, 1932](#)). In May 1936, the Police School welcomed three visitors from England. Representatives from Scotland Yard, the Manchester Police, and HM Inspectorate of Police toured police departments in several cities to learn American police methods, and to showcase what the San Jose Police School accomplished, Jenks demonstrated interrogation methods ([Spartan Daily, 1936b](#)).

In 1937, Evelyn Lindquist became the first woman to become a faculty member of the Police School ([San Jose Mercury Herald, 1937](#)). She completed a BA in Education at Wichita State University. O.W. Wilson, chief of the Wichita Police Department, and another V-man,

offered a course in policing there. Lindquist may have enrolled, although Wilson shared Vollmer's view about police work as an unsuitable job for a woman (Segrave, 2014, 195). In any case, she became a policewoman at the Wichita Police Department. She worked in the records section and as an assistant to Chief Wilson. In 1937, Wilson left Kansas to replace Vollmer at the Berkeley Police Department and Lindquist became assistant professor at San Jose State College. She taught the course in police writing and served as secretary to Wiltberger, a position she occupied for two years. Shortly after arriving, she announced her marriage to a student in the Police School, John Lindquist. The pair had met in Wichita and he accompanied her to San Jose; when he graduated, they returned to Kansas (San Jose Mercury Herald, 1938b).

When Lindquist left in 1939, Janet Hickey took on the role of secretary to Wiltberger. She had met him while attending junior high school. Fascinated by fingerprint identification, she started the Scotland Yard Club. She joined San Jose State College, pursuing a degree in social science because the program did not admit women (Spartan Daily, 1942). She did complete police courses and became an honorary member of Chi Pi Sigma, the fraternity for police students. When the U.S. Congress declared war on the Axis powers in 1941, she worked at Hill Field Air Base in Utah as a civilian employee with Military Intelligence. After the war, she joined the Palo Alto Police Department. She spent two years on the night desk, operating the radio, switchboard, and teletype (San Jose Mercury News, 1949).

In March 1945, the San Jose Police Department offered to make Janet Hickey the first policewoman. While her duties would be specified later, she was to receive pay and responsibility equal to a patrolman. Hickey took the job, working part-time in the record bureau until June when she graduated from the college and became full-time (Schultzberg, 1945). Although she received the rank of policewoman, and had hoped to do night work with the men in cars, she continued to work in records (San Jose Evening News, 1945). She was also assigned to do secretarial work for the police chief and continued to be called in for child welfare cases, escorting women to court, and other matron duties (San Jose Mercury News, 1951). Meanwhile, in August 1945, San Jose Police Department announced its first policewoman, Ida May Waalkes. She began night patrol part-time while continuing her current job at a dress shop (San Jose Mercury Herald, 1945b; San Jose Mercury News, 1945).

5. Present and past

Collective memory does not rely on a clock or calendar conception of time to organize remembered events. Rather, it invokes reconstructed time that provides a sequence of founding events. These founding events, or "origin stories", represent the priorities of the group, and change with the group's response to changing conditions (Marcel & Mucchielli, 2008, 147–148). Halbwachs (1980) gave examples of economic, legal and religious groups. The origin story in criminology centered around Cesare Lombroso's "criminal man" is masculine (Carington & Hogg, 2017) even though it was Lombroso's daughter Gina Ferrero-Lombroso, that constructed it (Montaldo, 2018). Lombroso is part of the collective memory of criminology; Lombroso-Ferrero has been neglected. This has been true of San Jose Police School. The founding of the Police School remained linked to the career of August Vollmer and the Berkeley story, despite the contributions of women graduates to urban policing.

In 1941, Wiltberger received orders to report to Hill Field in Utah and resigned from directorship of the San José Police School. He advised MacQuarrie that the Police School would only be able to continue with a significant number of women as students. With only a handful of men available for study, and the thought of hiring a woman for director, the college president decided to close it (Wiltberger, 1941). In 1946, MacQuarrie re-opened the Police School with Willard Schmidt as director. Like Brereton and Wiltberger, Schmidt was a former Berkeley police officer. He had started working for the Berkeley Police Department on graduation from high school. In 1938, Wiltberger hired him as a lecturer

in the San Jose Police School but he left to direct the police training program at Sacramento Junior College. During the war, he was in charge of internal security for the War Relocation Authority and supervised police at several internment camps for Japanese-Americans (Vollmer, 1946). After the war, Schmidt completed a baccalaureate degree at San Jose State College.

In 1951, Schmidt organized an event to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Police School. He asked Vollmer to attend the banquet, held at a Palo Alto restaurant, but the chief demurred on account of ill health. As an alternative, he sought John Holstrom, the current chief of police in Berkeley, to represent "the department that had so much to do with the starting of the school here" (Schmidt, 1951). For Schmidt, Vollmer embodied progress, science and innovation. Other colleges and universities had started programs for police training in public administration and sociology, but he continued the vocational model Vollmer had championed before the First World War. Schmidt wanted to avoid the "theoretical social approach of the police problem" and "high-sounding name" for police training at other colleges and universities (Schmidt, 1948).

MacQuarrie retired in 1952, and within a year, San Jose State College announced that women could apply to the Police School. The *San Jose State College Bulletin 1953–1954* states that students in the Police School trained to enter police departments as "a well-qualified policeman-investigator or policewoman-investigator" and that "Men or women who have had previous police training and experience will find an opportunity in this program for further study" (SJSC, 1953). Lee Howard of Los Altos became the first woman to sign up for the autumn quarter 1953. A graduate of San Mateo High School, she had gained an interest in a police career from doing volunteer work at the Menlo Park Service Center (Spartan Daily, 1953). Several other women students joined, and more transferred into the Police School from other degree programs at the college, so that by the end of that year, there were sixteen women.

Schmidt announced his approval. "There is need for women in all phases of work including nurses, journalists and teachers," Schmidt said, "And the police department is no different. We also have a need for women in our work, and contrary to the general opinion, they fit into police work quite well" (Spartan Daily 1955). In 1956, he posed for a photograph in the *San Jose Mercury News* about the change. The image portrays Schmidt showing a student, Noemi Baiza, how to make bullets by filling empty cartridge cases with molded lead and black powder (San Jose Mercury News, 1956a, 1956b). Had the San Jose Police School taken this approach twenty years before, it would have been an innovation. By the 1950s, women had already worked their way into police departments and were reforming police practice in cities across the country (Scarborough & Collins, 2002; Schultz, 1995). In San Jose, the effort to integrate the Police School was led by the women students, not the V-men.

Two years earlier, Noemi Baiza launched Pi Delta Omega, a sorority for women police students. San Jose State College had a fraternity, Chi Pi Sigma, organized in 1935 and it had an important role for men in the Police School. With more than a dozen women police students in Fall 1954, they built their own organization. The founding members were Donna Cameron, Pat Cousins, Carol Daboda, Janet Funk, Jenny Leonderix, Sherry McDonald, Pat Macintasis, Barbara Morris, Jan Saxton, Catherine Scourich, Karen Soderberg, Noemi Baiza and Marilu Prendo. Pat Long and Ann Hoberg joined in 1956. The sorority members took part in projects at the San Jose Police Department and activities of the Women Peace Officers Association of California. Baiza was the first president of Pi Delta Omega (San Jose Mercury News, 1956a, 1956b; Spartan Daily, 1955b, 1956).

Baiza was also the first Latina student at the Police School. She had attended Woodrow Wilson Junior High School, where she was elected vice president of the students, and Willow Glen High School, where she was inducted into the National Honor Society and received first prize in a speech competition. She started her college education as an evening

student at Santa Clara University before transferring to San Jose State College to prepare for a career as a probation officer. In 1949, she wrote to the editor of the *San Jose Evening News* in response to an editorial encouraging the “Mexican race” to become good Americans by learning English and assimilating quickly. In her letter, published with the title “MEXICANS HAVE NATIONAL PRIDE”, she explained that although she had always attended American schools, she continued to speak Spanish among her family and friends. She had no intention of assimilating quickly because she would like to speak both languages with “equal perfection”. She wanted to be a good American, and explained that for her this meant someone who obeys God, respects the law, and “does not openly show his prejudice towards people of another race or nationality” (*San Jose Evening News*, 1949).

Loreen Caton, for years the only woman at the San Jose Police Department, campaigned for uniforms. For the first generation of policewomen, uniforms represented acceptance and respect, and it proved to be a challenge to receive them. In 1942, Mae Eisemann became the first policewoman in Salinas, California. She walked the downtown beat, without a partner, from six o’clock in the evening until three o’clock in the morning. She struggled with drunks, arrested prostitutes, broke up fights and mediated domestic disturbances. For her entire career, she never received a uniform but had to rely on her large frame and public support (Eisemann, 2005, 82–83). In 1943, San Jose Police Department created a juvenile bureau to combat delinquency and Caton was made assistant to the director. It was inspired by the work of Kate O’Connor at the San Francisco Police Department. But San Jose police chief refused to appoint a woman full-time as a member of the bureau and Caton’s assignment did not continue (*San Jose Evening News*, 1943). She carried out many duties not assigned to a matron, but did not receive the salary or benefits of a policeman. In 1944, she had indoor administrative duties: assisting with fingerprinting and booking, safeguarding children, and escorting women prisoners to court. Caton wanted to work outside the building in delinquency prevention; to patrol dance halls, taverns and other risky places for girls (*San Jose Mercury Herald*, 1944). And she wanted a uniform.

Caton pushed for blue uniforms, something “dignified, yet not too stiff or military looking,” for all women employees of the police department, well as the policewomen the department planned to hire. The police chief responded with a uniform taken from slapstick comedy films. The proposed uniform—with felt helmet and oversize jacket belted at the waist—resembled that of the Keystone Kops (*San Jose Mercury-Herald News*, 1944). The Keystone Kops were an incompetent police squad featured in a series of films from the silent era. Dressed in ill-fitting, unkept uniforms, they brought mayhem to any situation, as they collided with one another, became tangled in clotheslines, and knocked over furniture. But Caton persisted and the San Jose Police Department provided appropriate uniforms: dark blue serge, trimmed with gold buttons, and worn with white blouses. Caton wore the uniform along with three women working in criminal identification and radio communications (*San Jose Mercury News*, 1945). She then resigned in 1945, apparently at the prospect of a change in her matron role that would have involved considerable secretarial duties in the office of the police chief. She opened a hair salon in San Jose (*San Jose Mercury Herald*, 1945b).

Meanwhile, Janet Hickey joined the leadership of the Women Peace Officers Association California. Organized by Alice Stebbins Wells in 1928, the association campaigned for wider inclusion of matrons and policewomen as regular officers in police departments. She was elected first vice president in 1953 (*San Jose Mercury News*, 1953) and this policewomen’s organization had a role in encouraging San Jose State College to allow women to enroll in the Police School (*Spartan Daily*, 1955a). Hickey was elected president the following year and organized a training conference at the civic auditorium in San Jose for policewomen across the state. The conference agenda included investigation, criminal procedure, juvenile law and report writing. Willard Schmidt gave a presentation about sex investigation and community resources (*San Jose*

Evening News, 1955).

Hickey used her position with the Women Peace Officers Association of California to revive the International Association of Policewomen. She mailed letters to 275 police chiefs and sheriffs’ offices across the United States asking for their support for policewomen to attend a meeting and received 235 applications from 25 states. At the meeting in May 1956 of the California policewomen in San Diego, Hickey introduced Alice Stebbins Wells. Wells encouraged the members to revive the association she had founded in 1915, but had disbanded 1932. The members present decided to proceed and elected Lois Lundell Higgins, Director of the Illinois Crime Prevention Bureau, president, and Hickey as first vice president. Higgins invited other nations to join the association “to exchange ideas and promote study so that women may serve their departments and their communities more effectively” (*U.S. Congress*, 1962, 303–305). That same year, the Pi Delta Omega sorority at the San Jose Police School invited Janet Hickey to a dinner and Noemi Baiza announced the sisters’ decision to make her an honorary member (*Spartan Daily*, 1956).

6. Conclusions

The women who studied and taught at the San Jose Police School—Mary Silva, Marion Taormina, Evelyn Lindquist, Noemi Baiza, Loreen Caton, and Janet Hickey—were the first women students and faculty in the first collegiate program for police training. Some of these women shaped academic education, some helped changed police practice, and some broke the gender barrier in academic criminology only to disappear into other pursuits. Although the Police School has been remembered as an extension of Vollmer and the Berkeley story, the women should be part our collective memory about the origins of academic criminology.

Halbwachs (1980, 78–79) distinguished historical memory from collective memory. Historical memory, he proposed, emerges where groups break up and collective memory is lost. Historians seek to preserve facts by creating a documentary record; the documents survive even if the groups do not. History, or what Halbwachs called the “general history” of a nation, continues independent of groups in society. In contrast, collective memory relies on the consciousness of groups; they are limited by time and place. With the loss of individuals who have direct knowledge of founding events, groups seek to extend their collective memory across generations through monuments, commemorations, and other forms of memorialization. Memory survives so long as the group survives; but equally important, the other way around; the group survives so long as the members share a memory. As Rafter (2010) understood, criminology exists so long as we possess a meaningful memory of our collective past.

Vollmer belongs to historical memory. His work is part of the scholarship in criminology and there is an ongoing debate about his legacy (Go, 2020; Koehler, 2015; Liss & Schlossman, 1984; Knepper, 2022). But our collective memory should be about more than a man with a vision for scientific training of police. We can continue to celebrate Vollmer as if we were still trying to recruit men for police work, but criminology has changed, and if we want a future that includes women, Latinas, and more, we need to expand our origin story to build a collective memory we can share. Women were part of the San Jose Police School, and the memory of the first collegiate program should include the experiences of women who were there—who they were, what they did, and the difference they made. Expanding our collective memory to include them requires a process of recollection through memorials, monuments, and commemorations that recall a wider experience of “being the first”—the first graduate, the first faculty member, the first Latina.

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