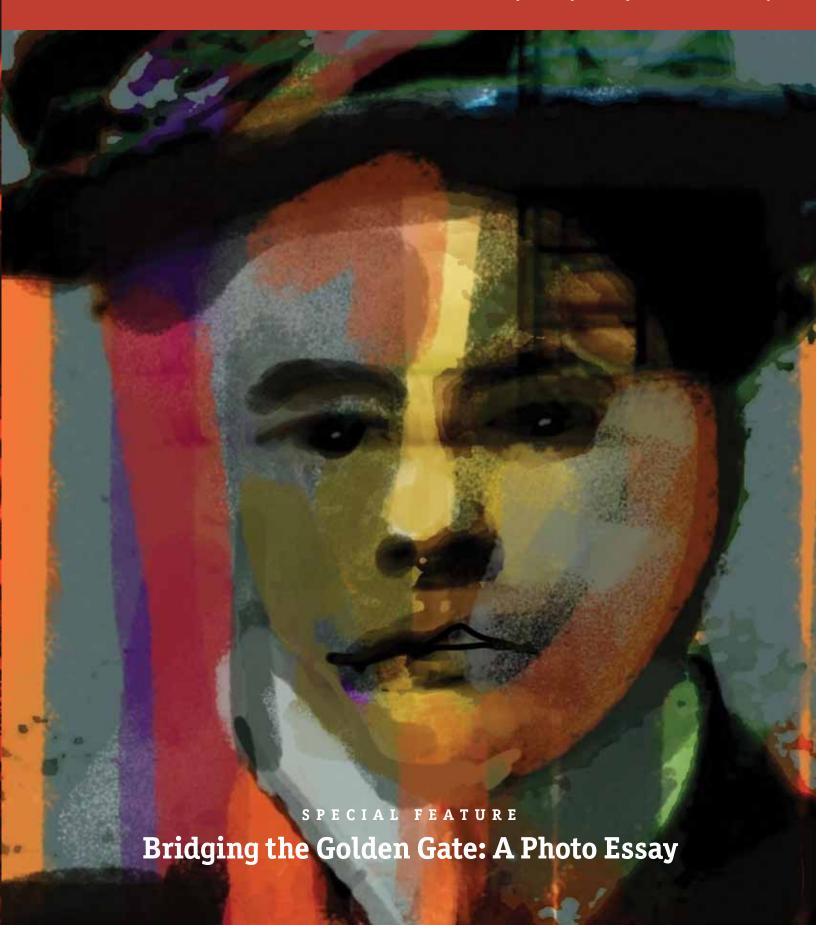
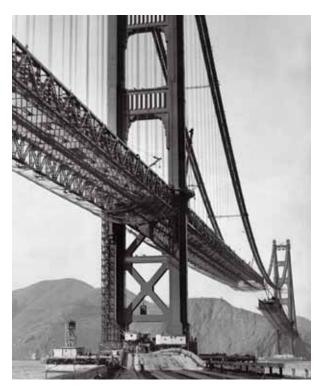
# california H ISTORY VOLUME 89 / NUMBER 3 / 2012 The Journal of the California Historical Society



## WELLS FARGO

# When they met, it changed the world



View of the Golden Gate Bridge while under construction, showing safety net used to protect workers, November 5, 1936. Photo credit: San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

It was November 1936 when the two sections of the main span of the Golden Gate Bridge came together, and things would never be the same.

This step towards the completion of the bridge meant that the people of San Francisco and Marin County were connected to each other and the world in a way they had never been before.

Today, the Golden Gate Bridge stands as a mighty testament to the ingenuity and determination of the many men and women who fought opposition and braved the elements to make it a reality.

As Bay Area icons, both the bridge and Wells Fargo have a history of providing vital links between people, communities, and businesses around the country and the world. We are honored to help bring the celebrations of the Golden Gate Bridge 75th anniversary to life. Please visit **ggb75.wellsfargo.com** for news and updates on 75th anniversary events.

The Golden Gate Bridge and Wells Fargo — built in the Bay Area



wellsfargo.com

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#### FROM THE EDITOR

#### (BUILDING) A BETTER MOUSETRAP

You've heard the adage: "If you build a better mousetrap, the world will beat a path to your door." Widely employed as a metaphor for invention and innovation, the mousetrap grabs hold of the truth.

Building one thing or another is human nature. The phrase "building bridges" evokes increasing understanding between people of differing outlooks, while "building castles in the air" refers to daydreaming or making plans that may never come true. Though building—whether mousetraps, bridges, or castles—signifies constructing an edifice, it first requires all the processes of designing, permissions, materials, and financing the mousetrap of the moment.

Essays in this issue display the art, craft, talent, acumen, genius, and tenacity essential to building structural and cultural icons of change, innovation, modernization, and originality in California, while our Collections feature uncovers attempts to record California's significant architectural landscape.

In "Bridging the Golden Gate: A Photo Essay," we endeavor to encapsulate stories behind the completion of the Golden Gate Bridge seventy-five years ago through images relating to history of place, urban growth, social and economic challenges to what some called "a wild flight of the imagination," the Great Depression, and the "practical proposition" that propelled the bridge's construction. The utility and efficiency, as well as the art, of the bridge—its revolutionary design, modernist profile, and noble stature—gave rise to perhaps California's most widely beloved icon.

In "'Women Who Build': Julia Morgan & Women's Institutions," Karen McNeill delves into the early twentieth century to unveil "the most expansive body of architecture designed of, by, and for women, resulting in a rich source base for exploring feminism from a spatial perspective." The model of a modern woman, Morgan brought fame and creative professionalism to women's club buildings, leaving "a permanent record of (women's) changing place in society and of the many causes they championed throughout the Progressive Era." Although these buildings are relatively unknown compared to her über-fabulous Hearst Castle, examining Morgan's women's residences, clubs, YWCA complexes, and orphanages generates a call to investigate further connections between physical spaces and those who use them.

Julia Morgan and builders of the Golden Gate Bridge built real castles in the air and they built real bridges.

Definitely, they built better mousetraps.

JANET FIREMAN



#### ON THE COVER

(Front) With her professional style, Julia Morgan offered a durable and clear voice to women of the Progressive Era. As architect, engineer, designer, and artist, she advanced the relationship between the built environment and women's causes in early twentieth-century California.

HELENE GOLDBERG; WWW.HELENEGOLDBERG.COM



(Back) California's architectural landscape was forever altered by construction of the Golden Gate Bridge across the mile-wide strait for which it is named. Harmonizing with nature, the bridge brought a sense of stability to the strait's dynamic geological forces while providing a vital thoroughfare for tourism and industry. Along with its historic and cultural associations, the bridge's elegant yet revolutionary design immediately catapulted it into one of the nation's most recognizable landmarks.

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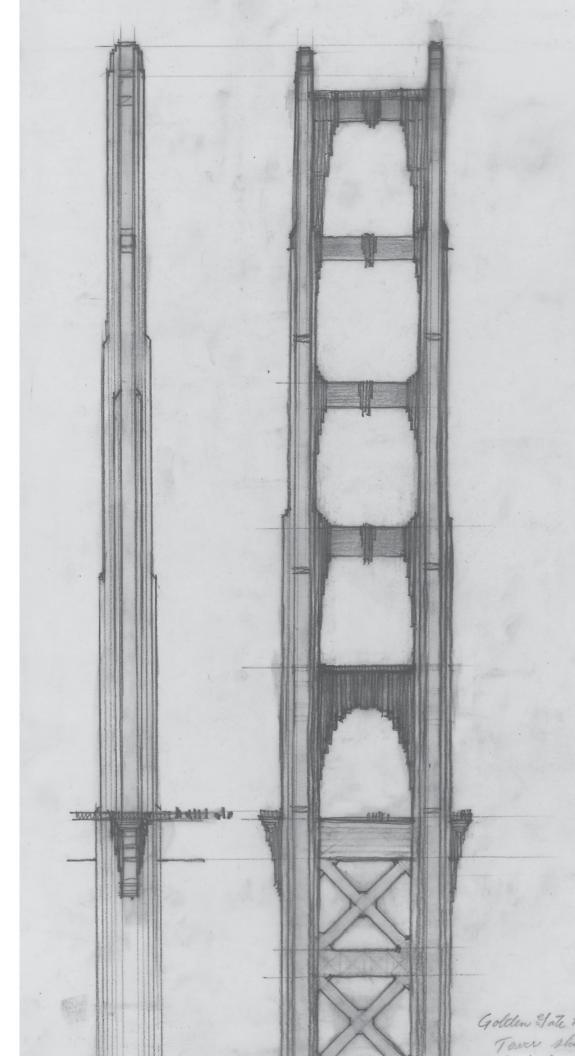
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A quarterly journal published by CHS since 1922, California History features articles by leading scholars and writers focusing on the heritage of California and the West from pre-Columbian to modern times. Illustrated articles, pictorial essays, and book reviews examine the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. CHS assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions of the authors. MANUSCRIPTS for publication and editorial correspondence should be sent to Janet Fireman, Editor, California History, History Department, Loyola Marymount University, One LMU Drive, Los Angeles, CA 90045-8415, or jfireman@lmu.edu. BOOKS FOR REVIEW should be sent to James Rawls, Reviews Editor, California Historical Society, 678 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94105-4014.

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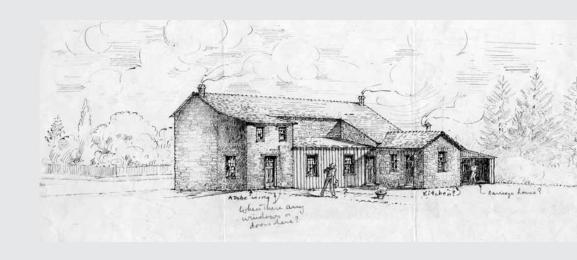
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In a tribute to the state's built environment, this issue spans nearly one hundred years of California's history—from the end of the Mexican era (the Monterey adobe of Francisco Garcia, ca. 1840s, below) to the first years of the twentieth century (the Mills College bell tower, 1904, left) to the Depression-era design and construction of the Golden Gate Bridge (opposite).

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY (HABS) RECORDS, MS 3980.CASA GARCIA.001.TIF (BELOW); JULIA MORGAN COLLECTION, ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN ARCHIVES, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY (LEFT); ARCHITECTURAL ARCHIVES, University of Pennsylvania by the Gift of Drew Eberson, 1984 (OPPOSITE)



### COLLECTIONS

## Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS)

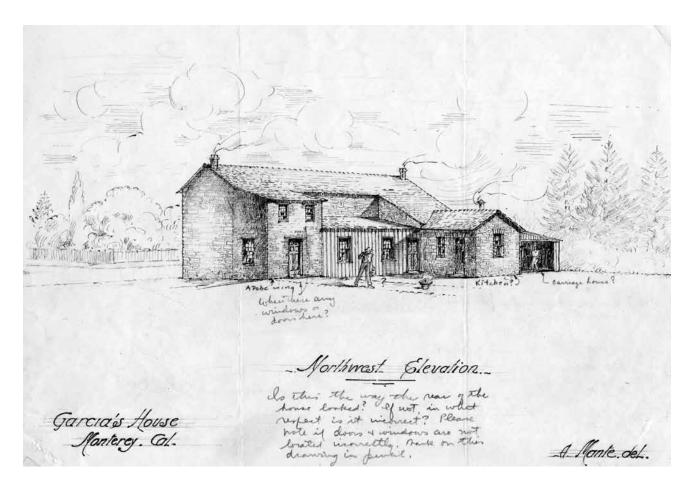
The Great Depression, like the contemporary economic crisis, struck a grievous blow to the building trades and professions in the United States, arresting construction projects throughout the country and leaving laborers and architects alike jobless. In response, architect Charles E. Peterson of the National Park Service proposed an innovative New Deal program that would relieve unemployment among architects, draftsmen, and photographers while documenting the nation's threatened architectural heritage.

Inaugurated in 1933, the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) would be administered by the National Park Service, with professional support from the American Institute of Architects (AIA) and funding from the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Since 1934, the Library of Congress has preserved HABS's rich documentary legacy in hundreds of thousands of photographs, drawings, and other materials.

In 1973, CHS became the designated repository for copies of California HABS documentation, acquiring a large trove of records from the San Francisco offices of the National Park Service, Western Region. The bulk of this collection—which continues to expand with regular deposits—consists of duplicate HABS records for California and the Western Region, some of which are not part of the Library of Congress's extensive holdings.



Francisco Garcia House, Monterey County, ca. 1916, view from the east
HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY (HABS) RECORDS, MS 3980. CASA GARCIA.004.TIF



From onsite visits, HABS surveyors created drawings of what the Garcia House may have looked like when it was built in the 1840s at Van Buren and Jackson Streets. This sketch of the home's northwest elevation shows the surveyors' pending doubts and questions concerning details of the house's rear doors and windows.

HABS RECORDS, MS 3980. CASA GARCIA.001.TIF

The CHS collection contains the exhaustive and methodically prepared photographic prints, negatives, photographic pages, inventory work sheets, photograph-data book reports, and measured drawings that constitute the HABS program's official documentation. These are enriched by administrative files, correspondence, survey notes, sketches, field notebooks, ephemera, newspaper clippings, and other published data: working documents and research materials, often original, that offer contextual insight into the day-today administration of the program as well as a specific and narrative sense of a HABS surveyor's actual work.

A vital and expansive resource for architectural research, these materials hold special interest in the fields of documentary photography, historic preservation, public planning, and the New Deal. From administrative files that document the 1960s historic preservation battles in Sacramento to poignant photographs of a nineteenth-century Jewish cemetery in Sonora, the documents tell the story, in words and images, of California's vanishing, evolving, and emerging landscapes.

# THE FRANCISCO GARCIA HOUSE, MONTEREY

The sketches, records, and photographs on these pages illustrate a HABS team's efforts to document the Francisco Garcia House in Monterey. With their sketches, HABS surveyors attempted to verify the house's original appearance, its history, and its past inhabitants. With their photographs, they captured the adobe's gradual decay. In their letters, they expressed dismay at its eventual destruction, which brought to a close the documentation of one of the region's prominent historic and cultural landmarks.

## COLLECTIONS

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This handwritten survey card accompanying the 1916 photograph details the adobe's history and description. It was built by a German carpenter for the landowner and judge Francisco Garcia for \$18,000 and later was owned by Andres J. Molera and his heirs. In 1868, it became a hotel called Bay View House.

HABS RECORDS, MS 3980. CASA GARCIA.004 [VERSO].TIF

December 14, 1939

Mrs. Mary L. Green Custom House Monterey, California

Dear Mrs. Green:

When we were in Monterey in August, you offered to have an interview with Mrs. Mary A. Dutra, who lives near the little bridge in Upper Monterey, regarding the history of the García (Chalk Rock) House. We were able to have only a short interview with her as we had to go to Soledad, but if you could get its history from Mrs. Dutra, we would be very grateful.

She mentioned several interesting people who lived there and we would like to get their names and other facts about them. Among them were, the only woman bull fighter of California and enother woman who died of grief from having to marry a man she did not love.

We are attempting to discover what the Garcia House originally looked like and are enclosing sketches of our version of it. If you would be kind enough to show them to Mrs. Dutra for comment as to the way the house looked before it fell into decay. She may make corrections right on the sketch.

We are still using the plans of the Custom House you so kindly lent us and will return them as soon as our work is completed.

Yours very truly,

HISTORIC AMERICAN BLDGS. SURVEY

MC:C

Ву\_\_\_\_

In his December 14, 1939 letter to Mary Green of the Custom House, HABS's Marion Cowen requested that she conduct a second interview with a local resident, Mrs. Mary A. Dutra. Mrs. Dutra was familiar with the house's history and some of its inhabitants, including "the only woman bull fighter of California and another woman who died of grief from having to marry a man she did not love." Part of Mr. Cowen's request was that Mrs. Green show sketches to Mrs. Dutra "for comment as to the way the house looked before it fell into decay." He wrote, "She may make corrections right on the sketch."

HABS RECORDS, MS 3980. CASA GARCIA.002.TIF

Hu for lover

Custom House, Monterey January 13,1940

Mr. Marion Cowen Historic American Bldgs Survey San Francisco

Dear Mr. Cowen:

It has indeed taken me a long time to reply to your letter but the time has been flying by, what with Christmas, etc and I have been very busy getting ready for a leave of absence which will begin tomorrow. I am leaving for a trip to Mexico and expect to be gone three months.

I took the drawings over to "rs. Dutra and I am sure she remembers nothing at all that can help you. Right away she said that the back did not look like your picture, that there were no extra rooms at the back, the back was straight two stories the same as in front which of course is not at all borne out by the foundations that were found on the site.

I am returning the drawings, but will do all I can when I return to contact any one who can remember the house.

Of course the house is now entirely destroyed, it wasn't even saved for reconstruction. I was ill in San Francisco and when I returned the destruction was complete, which you can guess didn't add to my state of health. That would have made any one sick.

Very truly yours, Many L. Greene

In her response just a month later, Mrs. Green reported the unsuccessful results of her interview: Mrs. Dutra's recollections about the back of the house were "not at all borne out by the foundations that were found on the site." Nevertheless, Mrs. Green expressed her determination to "contact any one who can remember the house." She ended her letter with an account of an illness made all the worse by news of the adobe's complete destruction, which "would have made any one sick."

HABS RECORDS, MS 3980. CASA GARCIA.003.TIF

## COLLECTIONS



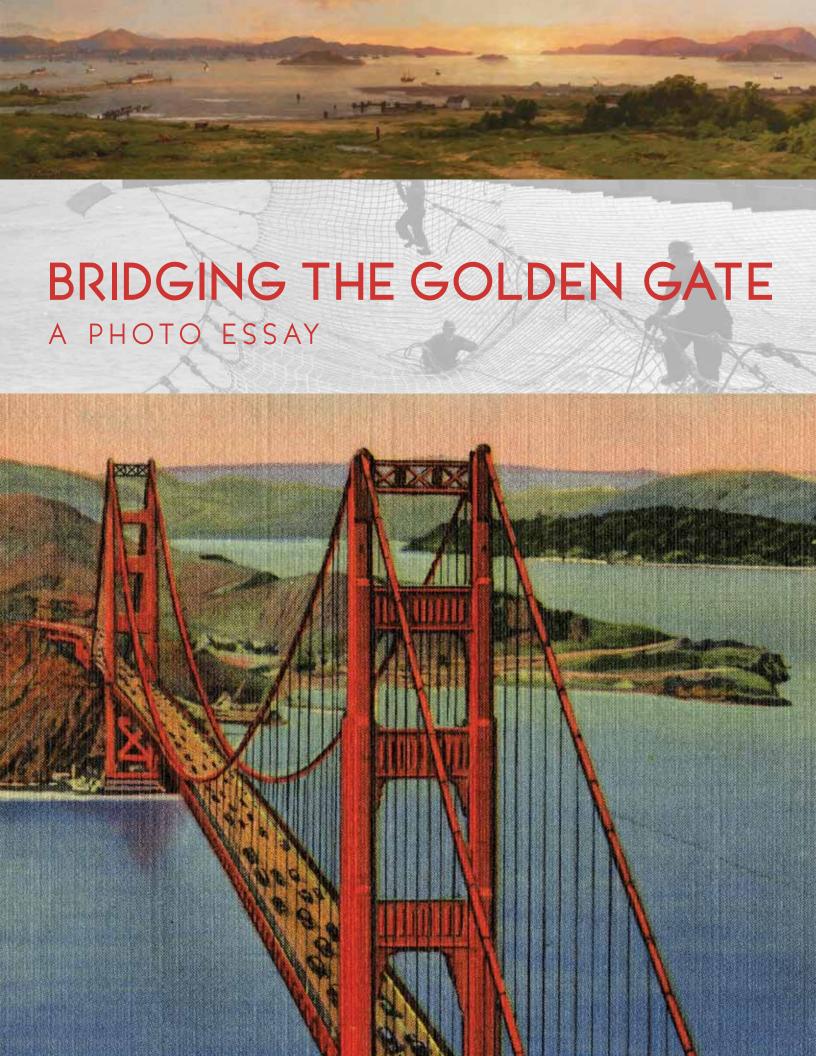
Two photographs, showing the same eastern view as the 1916 photograph, document the home's rapid decay from May 1936 (above) to August 1939 (below) prior to its demolition in 1940.

HABS RECORDS, MS 3980.

CASA GARCIA.005.TIF (ABOVE);

CASA GARCIA. 006.TIF (BELOW)







By Janet Fireman and Shelly Kale

ABOVE: This dramatic photograph of a silhouetted sailing ship at the entrance to San Francisco Bay ca. 1920s suggests the promise and inspiration of the Golden Gate, foreshadowing the potent symbolism of the bridge that bears its name.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FN-27269/ CHS2011.731.TIF; PHOTOGRAPH BY ROVERE SCOTT

## THE MOUTH OF THE BAY

ong before the Golden Gate Bridge became part of the iconography of California and the West, the narrow strait that it spans between San Francisco and the Marin headlands was a place of legend, seafaring, migration, and industry. To Spanish explorers it was elusive and formidable. But always it held the promise of new life in a new land.

For more than two hundred years following Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's journey up the Pacific Coast from Mexico in 1542-43, word of a huge estuary in Alta California beckoned Spanish mariners seeking a port of call. But the narrow opening to San Francisco Bay eluded them: hidden by fog; protected by dangerous,



wave-swept rocks, swirling tides, and treacherous currents; and masked by the appearance of the islands in the bay and the hills beyond as a solid landmass.

Members of Gaspar de Portolá's land expedition first sighted the bay from atop hills south of present-day San Francisco in October 1769 as part of the first Spanish colonization expedition to Alta California. Pedro Fages observed the *quantiosa vacana de estero* (large mouth of the estuary) in 1770. Two years later, in March 1772, he and Father Juan Crespí viewed the *estero* from the Berkeley hills, describing it as *la bocana*, the mouth, of the bay.<sup>1</sup>

It was not until 1775 that Juan Manuel de Ayala, aboard the *San Carlos*, made the first *entrada* to the bay. From the sea, avoiding the treacherous Farallones ("rocks jutting out of the sea"), and overcoming perilous oceanic forces, he sailed through the imposing cleft between the San Francisco and Marin peninsulas and anchored at Fort Point. This feat opened the bay to further Spanish shipping and settlement, as well as to the development of its port and village, Yerba Buena, and eventually the world.

Captain Pedro Fages and Father Juan Crespí each kept diaries of their explorations in Alta California in 1769, 1770, and 1772. A map constructed in 1772 from their observations of "the famous Port and River of San Francisco" reveals the region's geographical features, including the explorers' idea of an outer bay surrounding the Farallones (today the Gulf of the Farallones) and the narrow strait leading to the newly discovered inner bay (lower right).

COURTESY OF THE BANCROFT LIBRARY

More than 300 vessels sank in the waters along the entrance to the San Francisco Bay. Renowned photographer Carleton Watkins documented the shipwrecked Viscatα following its March 7, 1868 broadside grounding on the sands of Baker Beach. Carrying a cargo of wheat en route to Liverpool, the British ship lost its anchor hold off Fort Point. On April 30, the Daily Alta California described the scene as "magnificent-the huge rollers, coming in with military precision and regularity, lifting their crests with a mighty roar and hurling themselves upon the fated ship, as if determined to destroy her utterly." Watkins set up a white tent (right, middle ground) to house his darkroom, where over the course of a few days he documented the ship's disintegration.

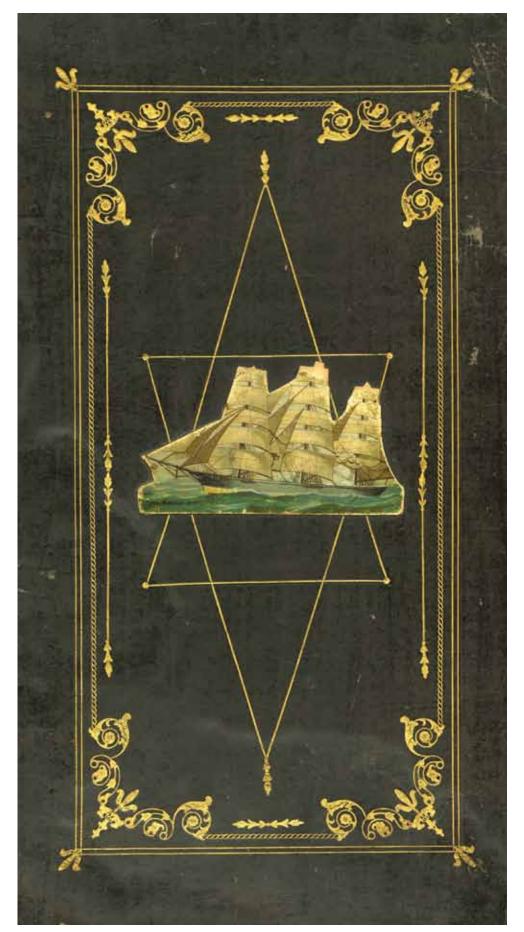
COURTESY OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORY ROOM, CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY, SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA



In June 1846, John Charles Frémont, the explorer and a lieutenant colonel in the Mexican-American War, sailed across the bay to San Francisco from what today is Sausalito. In an account of his western excursions, he described the opening to "the great bay" as "a single gap, resembling a mountain pass." Reminded of the entrance from Turkey's narrow Bosphorus Strait into Chrysoceras—or Golden Horn, a deep, natural harbor in modernday Istanbul—he named the opening to the bay Chrysopylae, or Golden Gate.<sup>2</sup>

The name was prescient. Soon U.S. frigates were joined by other vessels sailing through the Golden Gate with eager passengers from all over the world following the discovery of gold in 1848. Ferries, sailing ships, and steamships crowded the burgeoning port in the bay as mining, fishing, and shipping industries took hold. Once sought after as a portal inward leading to a safe harbor, now the narrow opening beckoned outward, a gateway for the new state's commerce and prosperity.

Even with all this activity—including the familiar recurrence of shipwrecks—the Golden Gate, approximately three miles long, one mile wide, and more than three hundred feet deep, continued to inspire. Nineteenth-century artists, lithographers, photographers, and poets captured its spirit, celebrated its symbolism, and initiated a fascination that would be anchored in the next century by designers of a landmark structure: the Golden Gate Bridge.



Following the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, thousands of adventurers entered San Francisco Bay through the Golden Gate. William Titus Birdsall's leather-bound diary (detail, right) records his six-month voyage aboard the Loo Choo from New York to San Francisco via Cape Horn. On September 16, 1849, the ship entered into the strait besieged by fog: "We have been sailing along the land all this morning and are now at eleven PM standing in for the huge bluff at the entrance of the bay. Although the fog is still thick the huge bleak rock loomed up as if to warn us of its dignity but the old ship drives on, the wind holds sure and we have weathered it nicely."

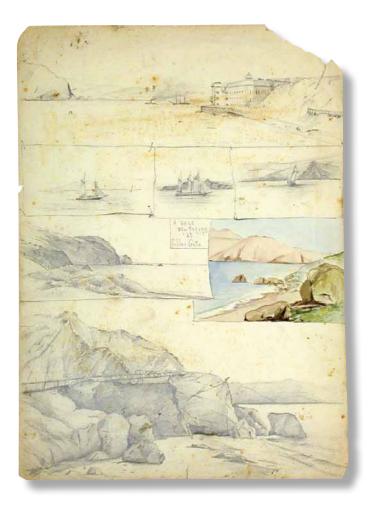
CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, VAULT MS 44, CHS2012.882.TIF

RIGHT: As vessels flooded the bay, the San Francisco waterfront became a crazy quilt of wharves and piers. In 1869, work halted on a new seawall meant to eliminate the disarray following the arrival of the transcontinental railroad. It resumed in 1881, the year an unconfirmed artist drew this illustration, A Day's Sketching at Golden Gate, itself a patchwork of views that invites the viewer to share in both the sketching process and the setting.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, X57-707-3-2.JPEG

BELOW: In this 1869 lithograph, Bird's Eye View of the Bay of San Francisco and Adjacent Country, the artist has tilted the picture plane toward us as if to exaggerate the idea of the water of the bay rushing out through the comparatively small opening of the Golden Gate. Pure water from snow and rainfall in the Sierra flows into the bay and then out into the Pacific Ocean. At the same time, waves bring seawater back through the Golden Gate—a collision creating tumultuous and violent currents that make this portal an extremely challenging and difficult channel to navigate.

COURTESY OF THE BANCROFT LIBRARY







Representations of the Golden Gate proliferated in the artistic, literary, and commercial spheres as painters, poets, and lithographers revealed a new landscape populated by ships, a growing port city, abundant waters, and golden sunsets.



As a staff artist for the San Francisco Call, William Coulter (1849-1936) illustrated scenes of sailing ships and steam vessels along the waterfront in pen and ink. He also made numerous paintings of ships and ferryboats in San Francisco Bay, including this 1885 work, San Francisco Bay to Fort Point. One of his paintings depicting the Golden Gate inspired the design of a 1923 commemorative U.S. postage stamp.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS AT THE AUTRY NATIONAL CENTER, 60-1-17-2.TIF

About 1890, the entrepreneurial brothers John and Charles Arbuckle of New York commissioned Donaldson Lithograph Co. of Cincinnati—acclaimed for circus, minstrel, movie, and theatrical posters—to produce one of their coffee company's most popular promotional campaigns: a series of fifty colorful trading cards. Inserted into each package of Arbuckles' Coffee, the cards illustrated "the peculiar industries and scenery of the States and Territories." The California card—number 74 in the series—includes a view of the Golden Gate, with the Civil War-era Fort Point in the foreground.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BUSINESS EPHEMERA COLLECTION, CHS2012.878.TIF



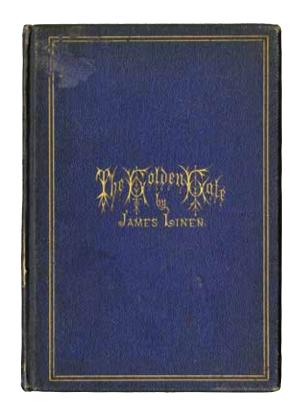
THE CITY OF SAN FRA

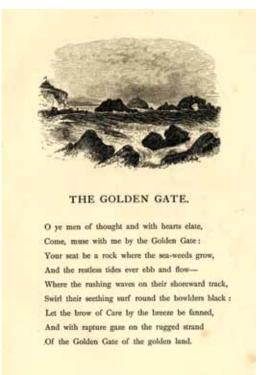
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Nineteenth-century aerial perspectives—or bird's-eye views—were made popular by the invention of color lithography. Many of these renderings of cities and towns across the country were commissioned by businesses, civic organizations, and land speculators. This 1878 lithograph by C. R. Parsons for the printmaking firm Currier & Ives is part of the pictorial record of San Francisco's rapid growth in the decades following the Gold Rush. Looking west and southwest, it details wharves, streets, churches, homes, prominent buildings, and ships entering and leaving the Golden Gate (upper right).

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



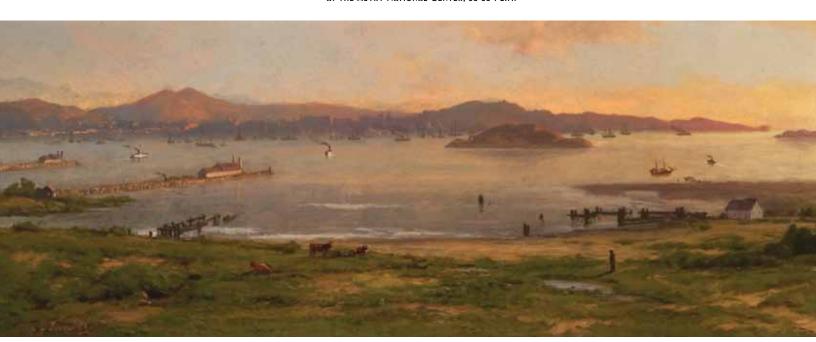


ABOVE: The Golden Gαte, an 1869 poem by Scottish-born poet and bookbinder James Linen (1808–1873), dramatically narrates the bay's history. Placing particular emphasis on beauty and majesty, the poem confirms the landmark's prominent place in the human experience. The poem's opening illustration, "Seal Rocks," by J. B. Wandesforde, gives particular credence to a descriptive stanza: "So dreadfully wild, so terribly grand, / Is the Golden Gate of the golden land."

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, KEMBLE
COLLECTIONS, CHS2012.885A.TIF (ABOVE, LEFT)
AND CHS2012.885C.TIF (ABOVE, RIGHT)

BELOW: Carl Adolf Von Perbandt (1832-1911) painted this 1893 panoramic, San Francisco Bay, during sunset, when the Golden Gate is most golden. Like many nineteenth-century landscape artists, he was drawn to the Bay Area's natural beauty. He kept studios in San Francisco and the northern counties of Humboldt, Sonoma, and Mendocino and exhibited paintings he made in these locations. In an 1894 interview published on March 11 in the San Francisco Call, he offered this insight: "Many a night and morning I sat upon the rocks for study, as without constant impression from the sea you cannot reproduce marine effects."

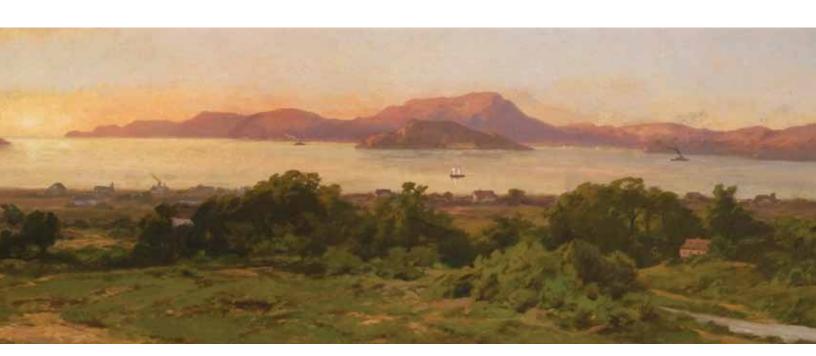
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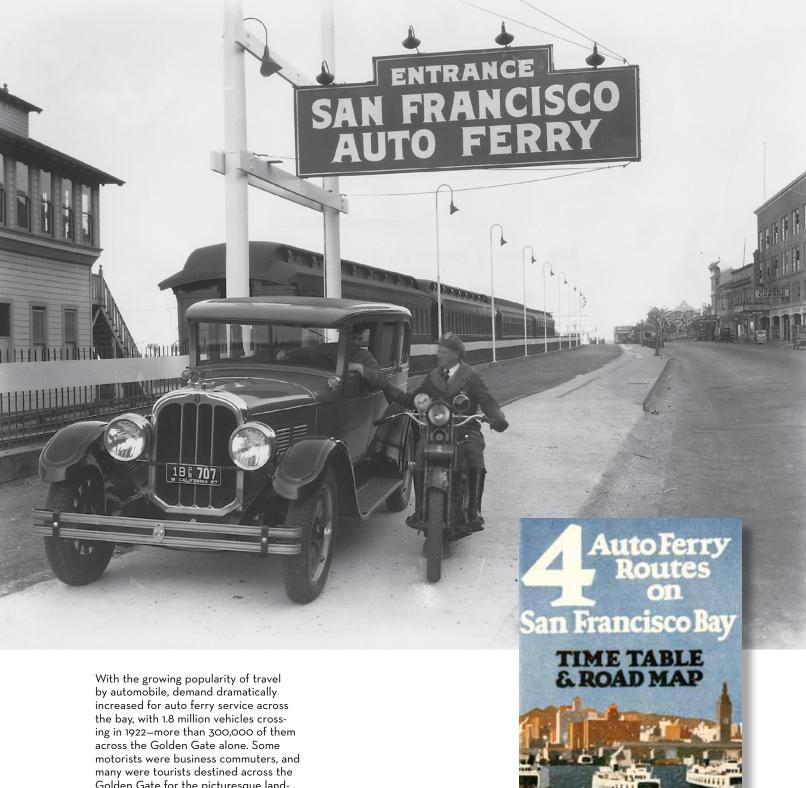


## CLOSING THE GAP

isions of integrating San Francisco with surrounding communities and the entire region were conceived and developed in time and in tune with the expanding age of the automobile. Despite the Great Depression, the city was still dynamic and had grown rapidly. In 1930, at 634,782, the population was twice its size in 1900, and the same growth spurt dominated the entire Bay Area, which had more than doubled since the turn of the century to 1,578,009.<sup>3</sup>

As automobiles grew in popularity, auto ferries proliferated. Weekenders fled the city for the East Bay and Marin County hills, while residents from those surrounding counties poured into San Francisco to enjoy urban delights and charm.<sup>4</sup> By the end of the twenties and into the early thirties, with ferries choked by traffic, travelers' frustrations mounted over their hours-long lineups to board for bay crossings. Motorist pressure, combined with developers' interest in Marin's rural areas and impetus to provide jobs for the growing unemployed, pushed the bridge project forward. On November 4, 1930, voters approved a \$35 million bond measure to fund the administration, engineering, and building of the Golden Gate Bridge, though litigation concerning financial arrangements delayed the start of construction.<sup>5</sup>

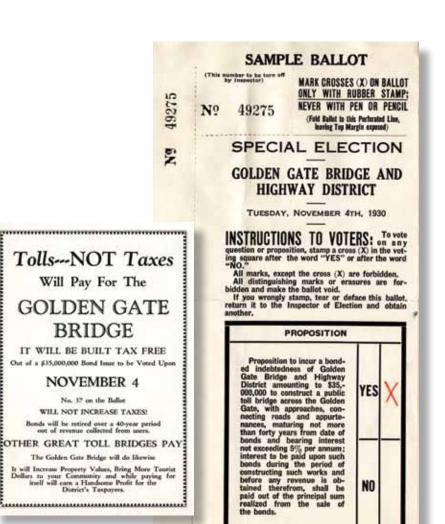




Southern Pacific

Golden Gate for the picturesque landscapes of Marin and Sonoma Counties. Enjoying the new freedoms that the automobile offered, they were aided by timetables and road maps, such as this 1928 Southern Pacific brochure advertising its four auto ferry routes.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BRANDT COLLECTION, FN-20034/CHS2012.813.TIF (ABOVE); CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BUSINESS EPHEMERA COLLECTION, CHS2012.884.TIF (RIGHT)

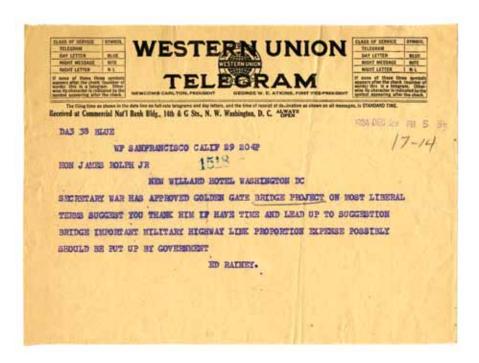




ticket was issued by the Southern Pacific Railroad, which controlled the Bay Area ferry industry and vigorously opposed the bridge's construction.

LEFT: Sausalito newspaper publisher Harry Elliott compiled a scrapbook documenting differing positions on the bridge controversy, including this Pacific Coast Review ad and sample ballot-both in advance of the November 1930 election to approve a \$35 million bond measure required to fund bridge construction.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BUSINESS EPHEMERA COLLECTION, CHS2012.883.TIF (ABOVE); CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MS OV 5017:V.10, CHS2012.886B.TIF (FAR LEFT) AND CHS2012.886A.TIF (LEFT)



No. 37 on the Bollot

Initially, the U.S. War Department (today the Department of Defense) objected to the idea of building the bridge, fearing that during times of war it might hamper access to and from San Francisco Bay, the most important Pacific Coast port and home to many important military bases. One condition of the department's eventual approval was the guarantee of wartime control of bridge operations. San Francisco Mayor James Rolph was in Washington, D.C., when the War Department gave its final authorization. Rolph's secretary, Ed Rainey, sent him this telegram on December 29, 1924, delivering the good news.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JAMES ROLPH, JR. PAPERS, MS 1818, CHS2011.772.TIF



In the years following the stock market crash of 1929, thousands of jobless took to the streets looking for work and assistance and protesting the dire conditions caused by the Depression. In these images, picketers assemble at a Communist Party gathering of the unemployed in March 1930 (above), and destitute men live in a makeshift shelter of water pipes in November 1932 (opposite, below). The impact of the Depression on the San Francisco community played a significant role in the public's approval of the bridge project's financing.

SAN FRANCISCO HISTORY CENTER, SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC LIBRARY The magnificent Golden Gate Bridge was erected against the Great Depression's dark and foreboding backdrop. Who would have thought that such an ingenious and much-needed transportation connection, engineering marvel, and spectacular regional symbol could or would be brought forth at such a bleak historical moment?

With various motivations, some people claimed that the bridge shouldn't—maybe couldn't—be built. Times were grim. Difficulties were everywhere: Dramatic and crippling labor strife climaxed in the 1934 Waterfront and General Strike, closing the Port of San Francisco for more than two months and shutting down the city for several fearful days in July; 20 percent of the state's population was on the relief rolls; political disarray and wrangling were rife; and widespread nativism and xenophobia plagued the region. Dust Bowl migrants, refugees from even worse situations, joined other Californians suffering through hard times in paradise.



Dorothea Lange (1895-1965) was a portrait photographer when in 1932—at the height of the Depression-she observed the dehumanizing conditions in the streets of San Francisco. Leaving her studio, she captured images of despair, including this iconic photograph of a man with a tin cup at White Angel Jungle, a soup kitchen on the Embarcadero near Filbert Street that was run by Lois Jordan, the "White Angel." In a 1964 interview, Lange spoke about White Angel Breadline, which launched her career as a documentary photographer: "I made that on the first day I ever went out in an area where people said, 'Oh, don't go there.' It was the first day that I ever made a photograph on the street."

COURTESY, SCOTT NICHOLS GALLERY

Nevertheless, the bridge was going to be built, and for many good reasons. The bridge was a vital component in the environmental reconfiguration of California by grand public works including the Bay Bridge, the Central Valley Project, Shasta Dam, and Stockton's deep-water port—all integral to an elaborate infrastructural base of modernity that the state has relied on for almost a century.<sup>6</sup>





## "A PRACTICAL PROPOSITION"

bridge across the Golden Gate, heretofore considered a wild flight of the imagination has ... become a practical proposition." So wrote Joseph B. Strauss, the bridge's Chicago-based chief engineer, and San Francisco's city engineer Michael O'Shaughnessy in their 1922 pamphlet *Bridging "The Golden Gate."* Presenting the feasibility of erecting an unprecedented 4,000-plus-foot span across the Golden Gate, the booklet featured Strauss's original design for a hybrid cantilever-suspension bridge, as well as projected costs and earnings.

Fifteen years later, on May 27, 1937, the Golden Gate Bridge opened to exuberant fanfare with a weeklong celebration. A good deal had changed since Strauss's initial plans, such as a new dynamic Art Deco design and numerous technological and architectural innovations. The bridge's orange vermillion color and dramatic illumination seemed to intensify its size and scale, enhancing its majesty. "Spectacular in its setting, graceful and artistic in design, magnificent in its mighty sweep across the Golden Gate, the Bridge is the outstanding suspension bridge of the world," boasted the Bethlehem Steel Company, the project's largest single contractor, in a 1937 promotional pamphlet.<sup>8</sup>

Celebrated as a triumph of engineering, the new bridge—then the world's longest single-span suspension bridge—produced an immediate and widespread impact on the city and region. During its first year, more than 400,000 pedestrians and nearly four million motor vehicles carrying more than eight million passengers crossed its span. A year after the bridge opened, ferries that had transported goods and people across the bay since the early 1850s—and cars after the turn of the century—had reduced services or suspended operations. The growth of the city, once a cause for the bridge's construction, now was its effect. As the permanent link with communities around the bay—enlarged further by recent completion of the Oakland Bay Bridge—the Golden Gate Bridge fostered a regional identity and economy, symbolized today by soaring orange towers of inspiration.



## DESIGNING THE BRIDGE

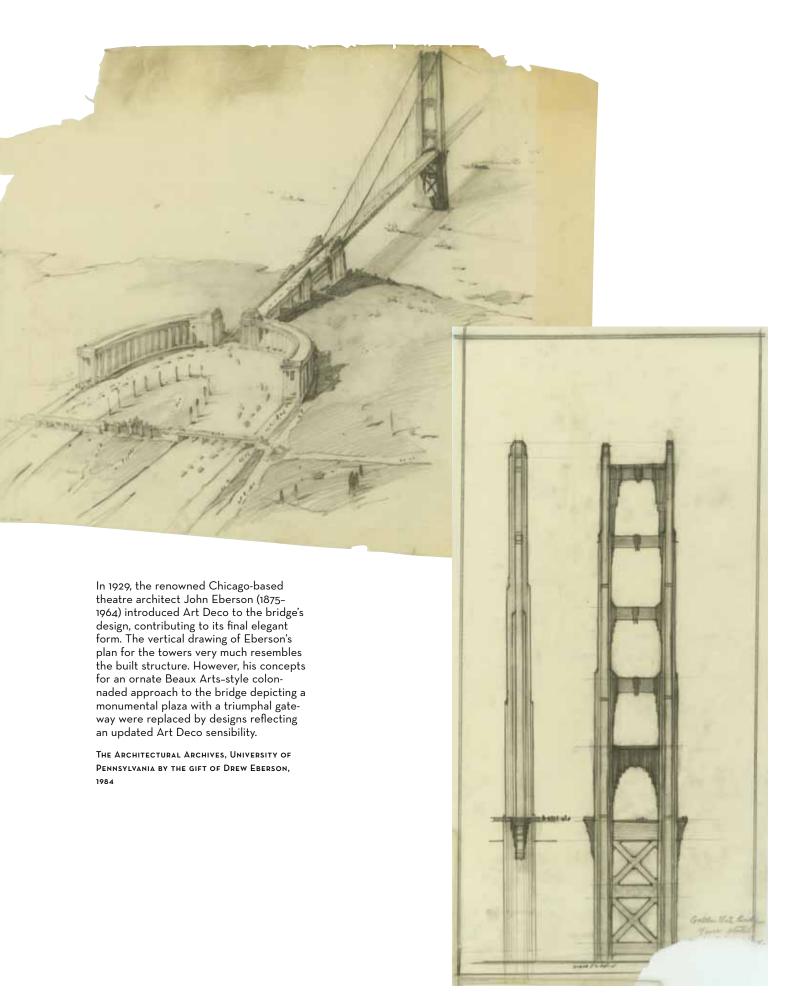
Joseph Strauss's original 1921 design was published a year later in a pamphlet intended to garner support for the bridge project that "will represent a crowning achievement of American endeavor." Mechanical and laborious, with steelgirded sections on either end and a suspension span in the middle, the design was abandoned after 1925 in favor of a pure suspension bridge of sleek and modern expression.

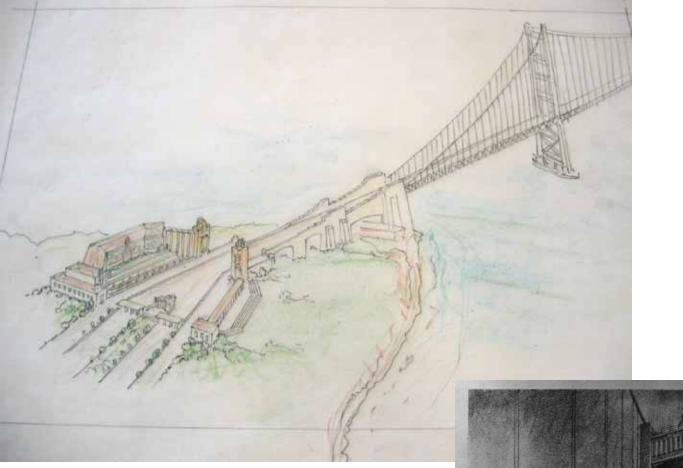
California Historical Society, OV PAM 7820, FN-24587/CHS2011.734.TIF

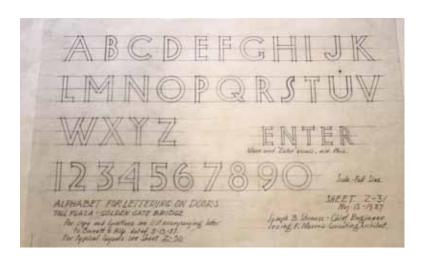


Studies leading to the bridge's new design were orchestrated by a team of specialists whom Joseph Strauss (standing) hired as consultants: (seated, left to right) Charles A. Ellis, design engineer for the Chicago-based Strauss Engineering Corporation; Leon S. Moisseiff, leading bridge theoretician; Othman Hermann Ammann, designer of New York City's George Washington Bridge; and Charles Derleth, Jr., dean of engineering at the University of California, Berkeley.

SAN FRANCISCO HISTORY CENTER, SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC LIBRARY

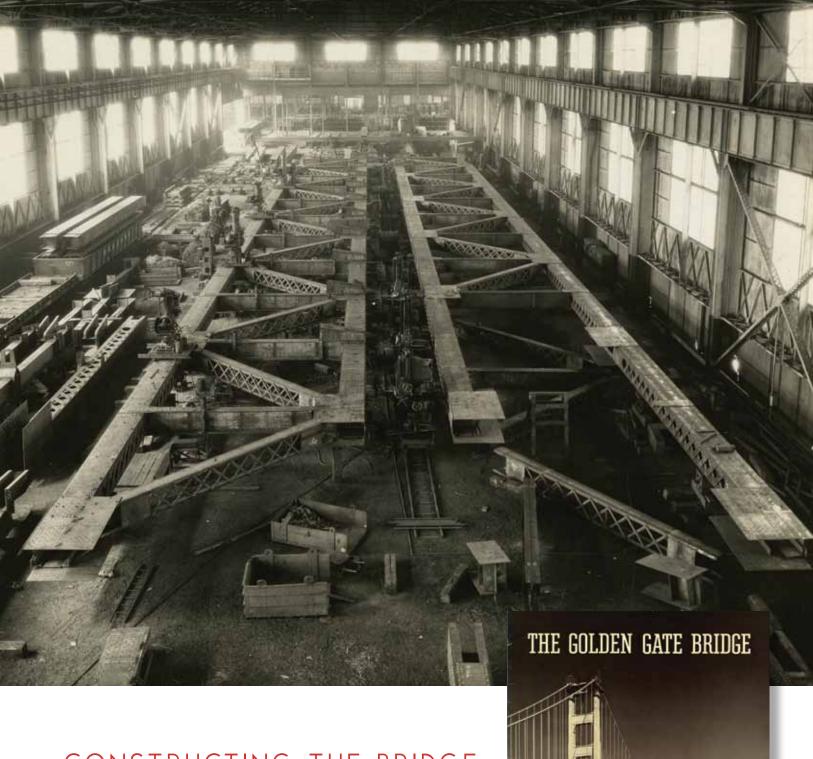






In 1930, Strauss replaced Eberson with the local architectural firm Morrow & Morrow, whose principals, Irving Foster Morrow (1884–1952) and his wife, Gertrude Comfort Morrow (1888–1983), created new drawings. Irving Morrow finalized the bridge's iconic features and stylized architectural elements, including the type font for signage.

Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley



## CONSTRUCTING THE BRIDGE



In 1931, the Bethlehem Steel Company purchased a steel complex from the McClintick-Marshall Corporation of Pittsburgh. Located in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, a center of iron and steel production, Pittstown Industrial Complex was a major fabricator for the Golden Gate Bridge. In a 1937 brochure (opposite, below), Bethlehem Steel proudly summarized its role as contractor for the fabrication and erection of the bridge's towers and steel superstructure.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, F-PAM 9054, CHS2012.880.TIF

That story is also told in an album of photographs documenting the bridge's fabrication from 1933 to 1936 at Pottstown. These examples from the album illustrate a section of steelwork loaded for shipment to California in April 1933 (below); the trial assembly at the railway of the base sections for the Marin tower's east leg in July 1933 (left); and the plant assembly of two sections of stiffening trusses—designed to eliminate the twisting effects of high winds—in March 1936 (opposite, above).

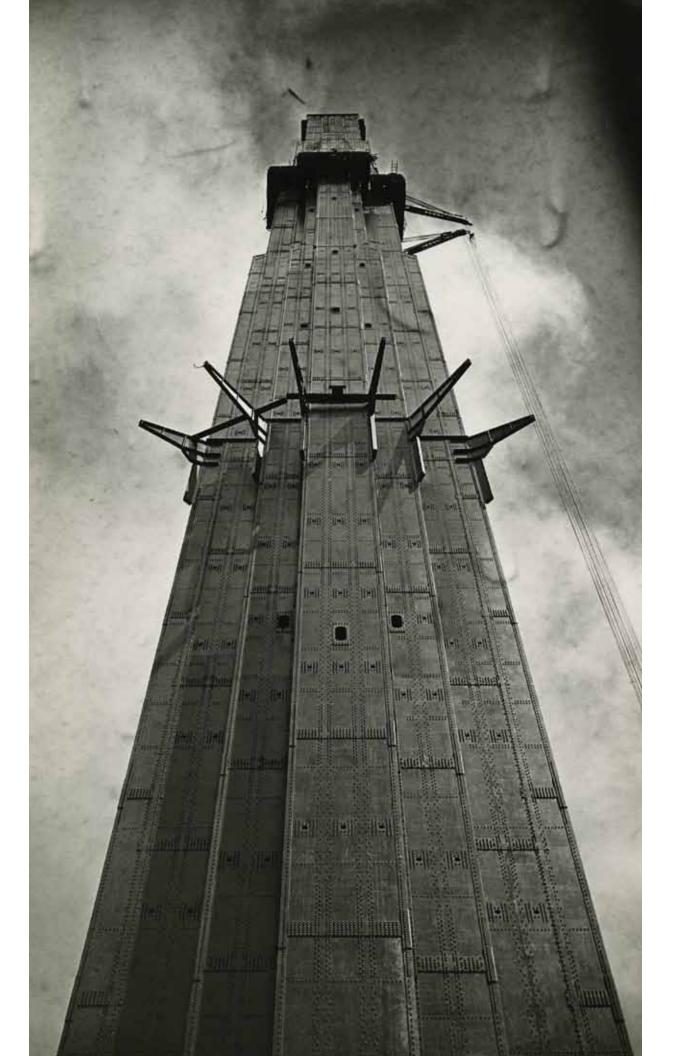
CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PHOTO ALBUM NO. 222, PA222.001.TIF (BELOW); PA222.004.TIF (LEFT); PA222.003.TIF (OPPOSITE, ABOVE)





Oil companies naturally were interested in the bridge project. Anticipating the expected demand for gasoline to drive along northern county roads, they employed photographers and writers to tout the bridge in publications and advertising. Ted Huggins (1892–1989), a public relations representative for Standard Oil Company of California, photographed the bridge's construction from 1934 to 1937. A sample of his images (pages 30–33) draw our attention to the bridge, bridge workers, and even everyday activities.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HUGGINS COLLECTION, FN-09309/CHS.HUGGINS.012.TIF (LEFT); CHS.HUGGINS.022.TIF (OPPOSITE)



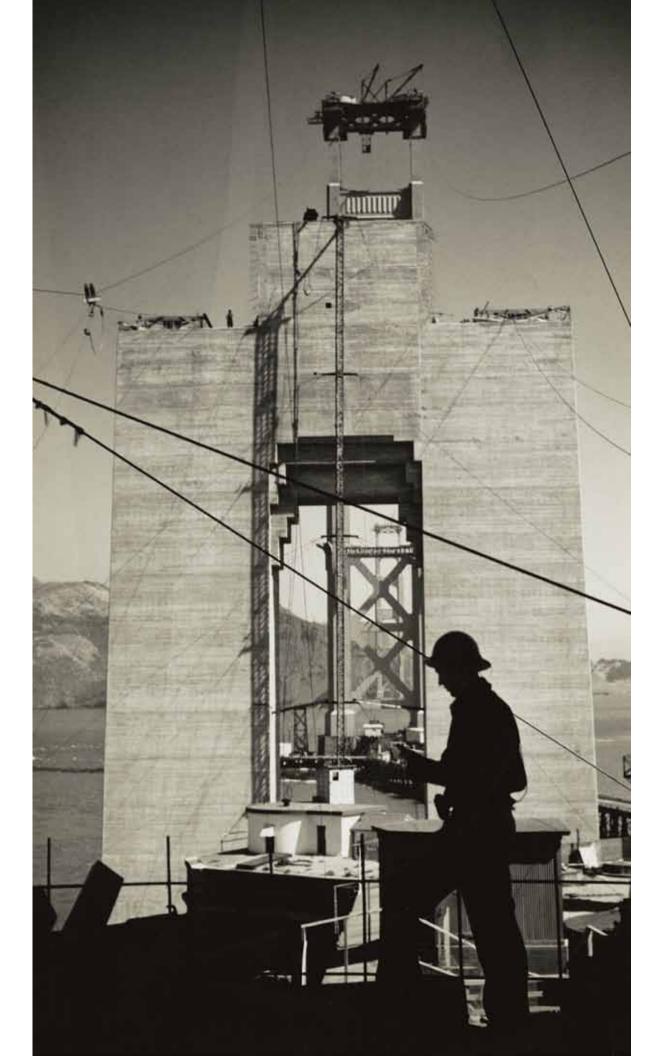


ABOVE: CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HUGGINS COLLECTION, FN-25266/CHS.HUGGINS.019.TIF



ABOVE AND P. 24: CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HUGGINS COLLECTION, CHS.Huggins.023.tif

OPPOSITE: CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HUGGINS COLLECTION, FN-09273/CHS.HUGGINS.020.TIF

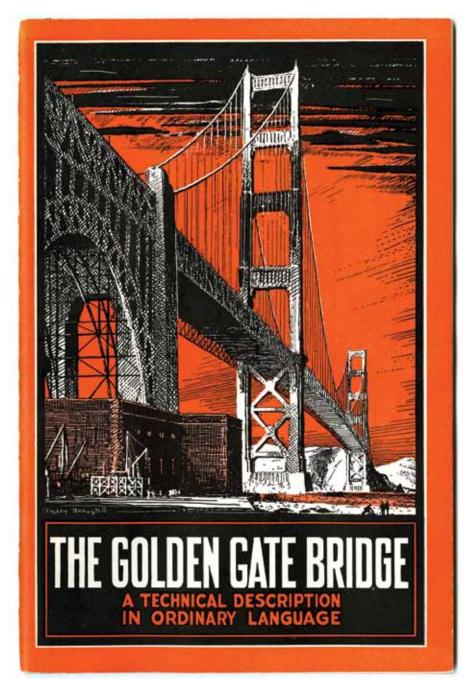


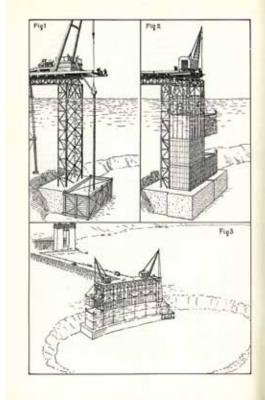


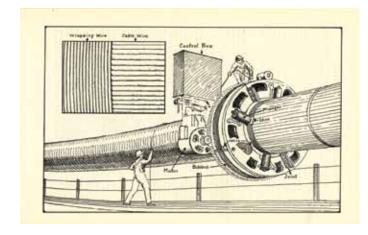
Associated Oil Company commissioned nearly 100 photographs by Charles M. Hiller between 1933 and 1936. Many capture rarely seen moments during construction. Others depict aspects of the bridge's often dangerous assembly process, which—along with fog, high winds, and the dizzying height—generated the idea to install a suspended safety net.

LABOR ARCHIVES & RESEARCH CENTER,
SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY, FROM THE
HOLDINGS OF THE GOLDEN GATE BRIDGE, HIGHWAY
AND TRANSPORTATION DISTRICT, USED WITH
PERMISSION



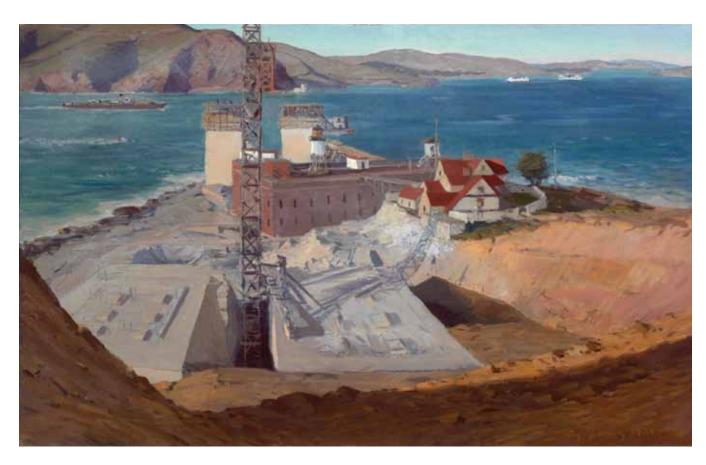






Upon completion of the bridge, engineering facts and data were widely available to the curious public. This 1935 booklet offering "a technical description in ordinary language" described the project through text, diagrams, and drawings by architectural renderer Chesley Bonestell (1888–1986), who also drew the cover illustration (above left). The world's longest suspension bridge in its day, the Golden Gate Bridge also boasted the world's highest and largest bridge towers, tallest cable masts, and greatest navigational clearance.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PAM 979.461H.M52G, CHS2012.887A.TIF (ABOVE LEFT); CHS2012.887B.TIF (ABOVE RIGHT); CHS2012.887C.TIF (LEFT)





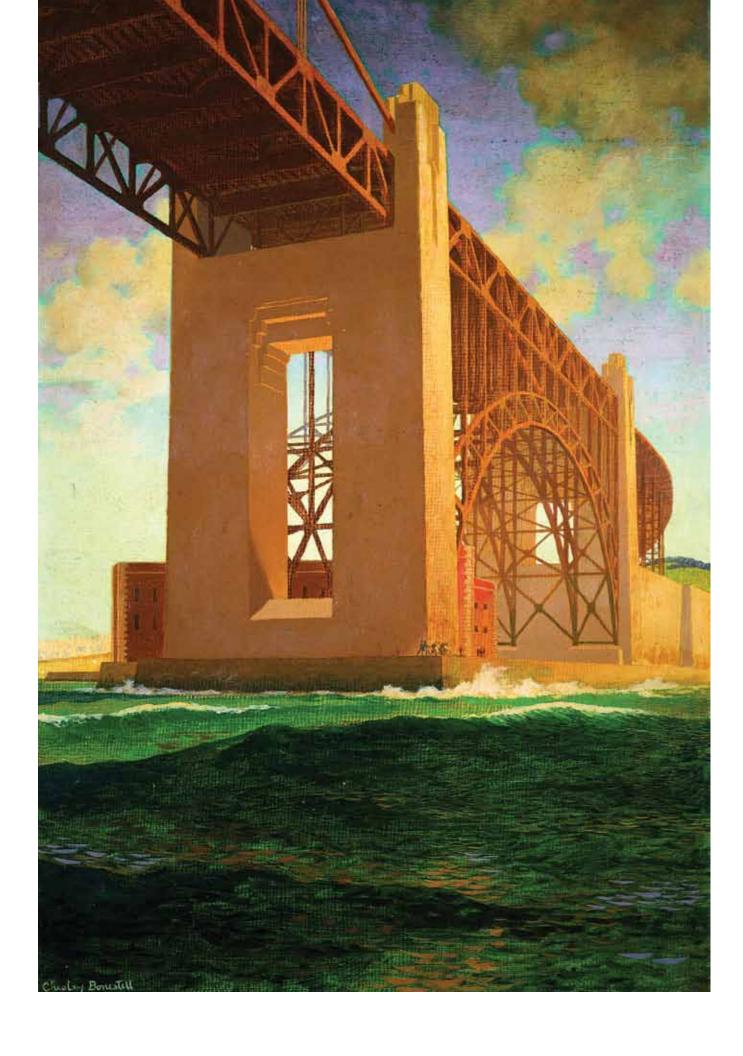
ART OF THE BRIDGE

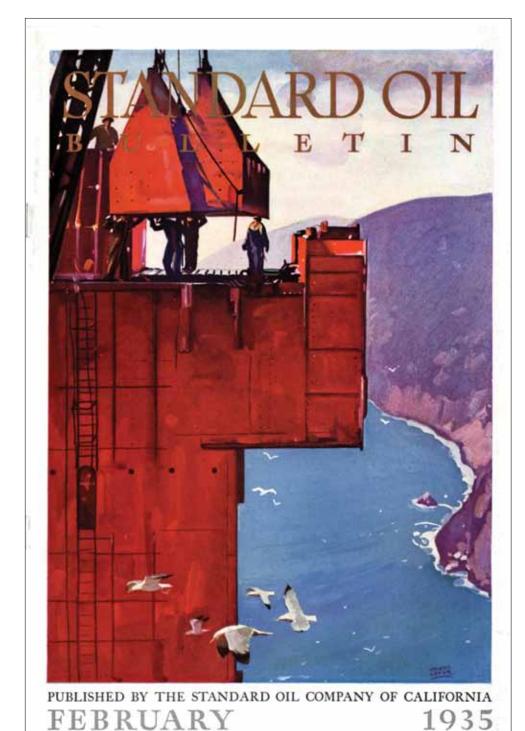
Landscape painter Ray Strong (1905-2006) was living in San Francisco in the 1930s when he participated in the Roosevelt administration's Public Works of Art Project, the first federal government program to employ artists. Encouraged to depict "the American scene"—the landscape and ordinary people working—Strong chose to portray the bridge under early construction. He made this study of the towers in progress (above) in 1934. The completed painting, which President Franklin Roosevelt selected to hang in the White House, is now in the collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum. The photograph (left) shows Strong at work on what is likely the study shown above from his vantage point in San Francisco.

COLLECTION OF FREDERICK BAKER (ABOVE);
ARCHIVES OF AMERICAN ART (LEFT)

FACING PAGE: San Francisco artist Chesley Bonestell, himself a trained architect, joined Joseph Strauss's team in 1932 to illustrate the bridge during various stages of construction. His paintings, including Ft. Point Base, helped the public to visualize the bridge.

© GOLDEN GATE BRIDGE, HIGHWAY AND TRANSPORTATION DISTRICT, USED WITH PERMISSION





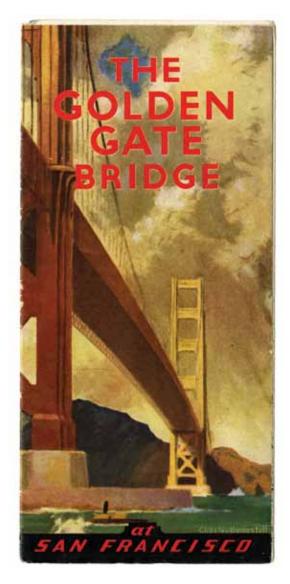
Even before the bridge was completed, Standard Oil (now Chevron) and other regional booster publishers began to use its image in promotional and informational materials. Well-known artists were commissioned for illustrations, including Maurice Logan (1886–1977), one of San Francisco's best-known commercial illustrators and poster designers. He created this bold and striking image of the bridge under construction for the February 1935 cover of the Standard Oil Bulletin.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TAYLOR & TAYLOR RECORDS, KEMBLE COLLECTIONS, CHS2012.881.TIF

OPPOSITE: The official guide to the bridge's opening celebrations offered a full program of events. The booklet also boasted that the bridge "will distinguish San Francisco's great harbor entrance to a larger degree than the Statue of Liberty does New York harbor." In the program's cover illustration by Irving Sinclair (1895–1969), the orange towers' eye-catching brilliance frames a scene symbolically forecasting a bright future: lively waves, a ship passing underneath the bridge, wildflowers in full bloom, and the golden hills of Marin County.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SAN FRANCISCO EPHEMERA COLLECTION, CHS2012.879.TIF





Chesley Bonestell's artwork appeared on the cover of this promotional brochure, extolling the bridge as a statewide phenomenon. "Not only will the Golden Gate Bridge benefit San Francisco and the North Bay Redwood Empire counties but it will serve the entire Pacific Coast," the pamphlet explained.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PAM 4454, CHS2012.888.TIF

Janet Fireman is Editor of *California History*. Shelly Kale is Managing Editor of *California History*.

ESSAY COVER: San Francisco Bay (detail), by Carl Von Perbandt, 1893, oil on canvas, California Historical Collections at the Autry National Center, 68-35-1-2.tif; "Golden Gate Bridge spanning San Francisco's 'Golden Gate' toward the Marin shore," ca. 1950 [82], postcard (detail), Stanley A. Piltz Company, San Francisco, Calif., California Historical Society, Kemble Collections, CHS2011.573.tif

#### NOTES

Caption sources: James P. Delgado and Stephen A. Haller, Submerged Cultural Resource Assessment: Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Gulf of the Farallones National Marine Sanctuary and Point Reyes National Seashore (Santa Fe, NM: Southwest Cultural Resources Center, 1989), 71-72; William Titus Birdsall diary, manuscript, Mar. 8-Sept. 16, 1849, CHS, Vault MS 44; James Linen, The Golden Gate (San Francisco: E. Bosqui and Company, 1869), 7, CHS Kemble Collections; Barbara Lekisch, Embracing Scenes about Lakes Tahoe & Donner: Painters, Illustrators & Sketch Artists, 1855-1915 (Lafayette, CA: Great West Books, 2003), 175; Interview with Dorothea Lange, conducted by Richard K. Doud in New York, New York, May 22, 1964; http:// www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/ oral-history-interview-dorothea-lange-11757; Jocelyn Moss, "Opposition to the Golden Gate Bridge," Marin County Historical Society Magazine 14, no. 1 (1987): 2-7; Elliott Family scrapbooks, CHS MS OV 5017, v. 10; "The Golden Gate Bridge at San Francisco" (San Francisco: Wobblers, Inc., n.d.).

Herbert E. Bolton, "Expedition to San Francisco Bay in 1770. Diary of Pedro Fages," in *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1911), 152; Theodore E. Treutlein, San Francisco Bay: Discovery and Colonization, 1769–1776 (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968), 36n55.

<sup>2</sup> John Charles Frémont, Geographical Memoir upon Upper California in Illustration of His Map of Oregon and California (Washington, D.C.: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, Printers, 1848), 32. In a footnote to his account of the bay entrance's sighting, Frémont explained that the strait was "called Chrysopylae (golden gate) ... on the same principle that the harbor of Byzantium (Constantinople afterwards) was called Chrysoceras (golden horn)." The Geographical Memoir, which he addressed to the U.S. Senate, is the first published account of the name of the strait as the Golden Gate.

<sup>3</sup> "Selected Census data from the San Francisco Bay Area," Metropolitan Transportation Commission and the Association of Bay Area Governments, http://www.bayareacensus.ca.gov/historical/copop18602000.htm.

<sup>4</sup> There were 461,800 vehicles in the Bay Area in 1930, or 1.04 vehicles for each household and .29 per capita. "The Big Picture: Vehicle Ownership between 1930 and 2010," Metropolitan Transportation Commission, http://www.mtc.ca.gov/maps\_and\_data/datamart/forecast/ao/table10.htm.

<sup>5</sup> Bridge tolls earned enough by 1971 to retire the bonds and provide almost \$39 million in interest earnings. Golden Gate Bridge Highway & Transportation District, http://goldengatebridge.org/research/BondMeasure.php.

<sup>6</sup> Kevin Starr, Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 309.

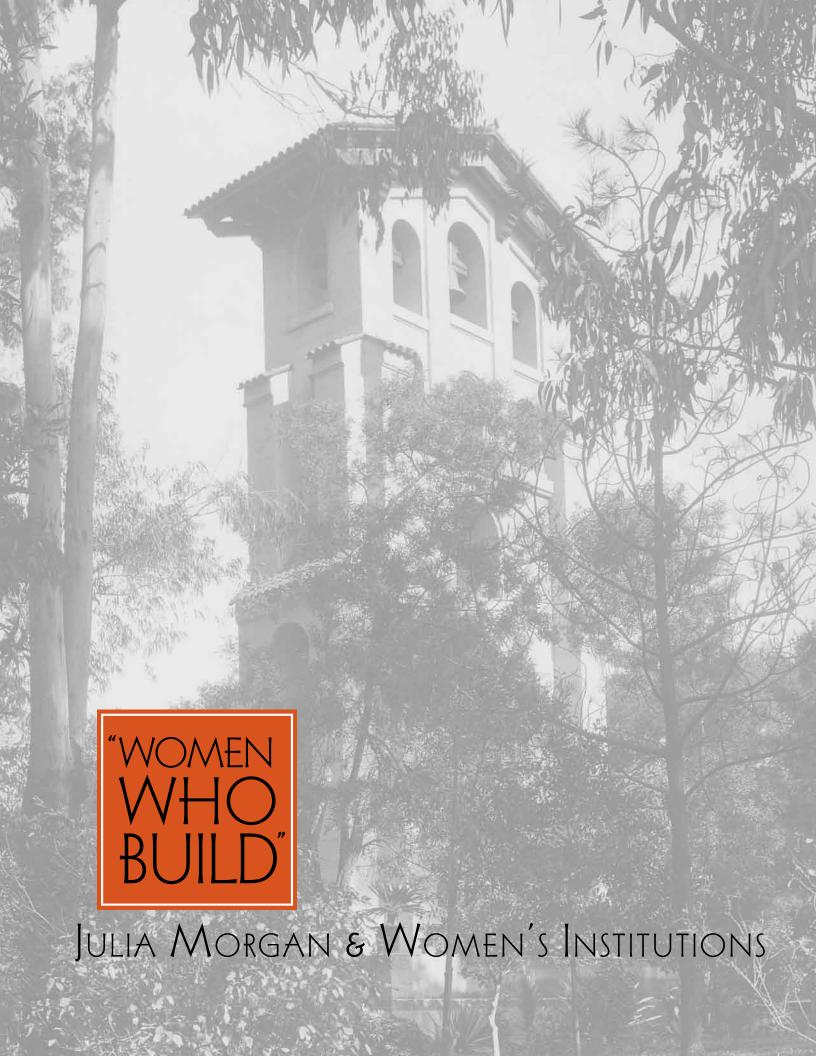
<sup>7</sup> M. M. O'Shaughnessy and Joseph Strauss, Bridging "The Golden Gate" (San Francisco, n.p., ca. 1922), I.

<sup>8</sup> The Golden Gate Bridge (Bethlehem, PA: Bethlehem Steel Company, 1937), 12.

This essay grew out of the exhibition *A Wild Flight of the Imagination: The Story of the Golden Gate Bridge*—commemorating the bridge's 75th anniversary—at the California Historical Society in San Francisco, February 26, 2012 to October 14, 2012, under the creative leadership of CHS Executive Director Anthea Hartig, and curated by Jessica Hough, with Anne Lansdowne Rees, Robert David, Erin Garcia, and Trubec Schock. A multimedia book based on the exhibition and developed with Wild Blue Studios will be available on iTunes; check www.californiahistoricalsociety.org for details.



The California Historical Society is a proud sponsor of the Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy's 75th Anniversary Community Tributes Program.





# Julia Morgan & Women's Institutions

By Karen McNeill

n 1922, Elsa Black, president of the Woman's Athletic Club of San Francisco, declared that her club's building stood as a testament to the "courage, valor, determination, business ability, integrity, optimism . . . romance . . . [and] feminine foresight" of "women who build." Since the late nineteenth century, California women had been shaping the built environment and using it as a path to power. This network of generally affluent white women was instrumental in creating urban parks, schools, hospitals, orphanages, and charitable organizations that particularly targeted underprivileged women and children.

The same women also founded exclusive social and cultural clubs that provided extradomestic opportunities for women. As with similar organizations throughout the country, these institutions served as sites of female empowerment and gender consciousness; as places where class, ethnic, and racial conflicts played out; or as mechanisms through which some women generated power in numbers and, consequently, acquired an influential voice in City Hall or the Chamber of Commerce. All of these institutions allowed

women to reimagine their place in the urban landscape and forge public roles in society.

For the most part, women built this nineteenthcentury landscape incrementally; they bought property with preexisting structures—often domestic buildings of various sizes—then adapted the structures to new uses. By the turn of the century, many of these accommodations proved too small and inadequate for their intended purposes. Frequently, their quarters were relocated or expanded, either through additions or by occupying multiple buildings, often creating an inefficient, decentralized network. The transitory nature of this situation lent an air of impermanence, however highly respected the institution might be. As the Progressive Era dawned, interest in centralized organization, efficiency, urban planning, and architecture took hold in the state and around the country. Women increasingly looked to modernize and expand their buildings and claim a permanent presence in the landscape. They engaged in both relatively large- and small-scale architectural developments. They became "women who build."3



Often referred to as Julia Morgan's "little castle," the Berkeley Women's City Club (1929) was one of the last and most complex buildings that the architect designed for the California women's movement. Through its height, mass, and Mediterranean Gothic style, the reinforced concrete building exudes strength and power, while its combined function as a residential, social, recreational, cultural, and commercial space attests to the monumental influence women had achieved in shaping the urban landscape of the Progressive Era.

Between 1900 and 1930, many women's organizations in California and elsewhere created new buildings to serve their causes. This relatively brief foray into a traditionally masculine activity addressed several goals of the women's movement-broadly defined as organized efforts to redefine the boundaries of feminine propriety and women's rights; raise awareness for concerns that particularly affected women; assert women's influence across a wide spectrum of social, political, economic, cultural, and intellectual issues; and achieve a greater level of independence from and equality with men. Suffrage was the most popular cause that women espoused, but they also promoted public education for children, higher education for women, job training and access, and addressed such issues as child welfare and juvenile delinquency, health and sanitation, environmentalism, public space and urban development, and labor reform.

Elite white women dominate this particular story of the California women's movement. By and large, they did not question the class and racial hierarchy in California or the nation, but as their buildings reveal, shifting relations of power allowed some ethnic minorities to assert their own goals, values, and cultural identities by the late 1920s. The long building campaigns (fundraising drives) and high level of publicity that these projects necessitated accelerated the ability of women's organizations to redefine their contributions to society beyond the maternalist rhetoric that dominated this era. In form and style, the buildings reinforced these modern notions of womanhood and subtly critiqued dominant gender expectations. Most still stand, leaving—as this essay suggests—a permanent imprint in the urban landscape thus far undervalued by historians as a rich resource for exploring the complexity and legacy of Progressive Era women's activism.

California women were not alone in their building programs, but the built environment they created stands out for one singular reason: the architect Julia Morgan. Born in San Francisco and raised in Oakland, she was one of the first female graduates in civil engineering from the University of California, Berkeley (1894), the first woman to gain admission to and earn a certificate from the architecture program at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris (1898–1902), the first woman to acquire an architectural license in California (1904), one of few women in the country to head her own architectural practice, and the nation's most prolific woman architect. She was an icon of the New Woman: a highly educated, independent, and single woman successfully pursuing a traditionally masculine career.

It was this reputation that led Marion Ransome, a dean at Mills College, to favor Morgan as architect of the college's alumnae house. "Being a woman's movement," she explained to Aurelia Reinhardt, president of that East Bay women's institution, "Miss Morgan, the best woman architect in the state, should do the work."4 And while Morgan was not the only woman who designed buildings for women's organizations (nor did only women design such buildings), she likely designed more buildings for women's organizations than any other architect in the country. Her oeuvre thus provides the most expansive body of architecture designed of, by, and for women, resulting in a rich source base for exploring feminism from a spatial perspective.5

#### THE ARCHITECT

Julia Morgan was born in San Francisco in 1872 and raised across the bay in Oakland. Her parents, Charles Bill and Eliza Parmelee Morgan, descended from prominent East Coast families. War heroes, wealthy business leaders, and powerful politicians dominated Charles's family tree. Strapped with the burden of this legacy,

he arrived in California in 1865 to seek his own fortune in oil speculation. He failed.<sup>6</sup> It was Eliza who secured the family fortune. Her father, a self-made millionaire, provided financial assistance to make sure his daughter lived more than comfortably. Upon his death in 1880, Eliza used her substantial inheritance to build the finest Queen Anne house on one of Oakland's finest streets in one of the city's best neighborhoods. Her mother and her mother's fortune soon moved in with the family. Thus, while Charles remained the public figurehead of patriarchal authority according to Victorian gender codes, his daughter grew up in a household where social status was essential and women provided the means to achieve it.7

College introduced Morgan to the California women's network. She enrolled at UC Berkeley in 1890 to study civil engineering and graduated in 1894.8 She and her cohort established the university's first real women's culture. They founded a chapter of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), organized several sports teams, and successfully fought for access to the gymnasium. Most importantly for Morgan, they chartered the Kappa Alpha Theta sorority. Characterized by academic excellence and exclusivity, it attracted a group of women who were particularly supportive of intellectual pursuits and who were affluent, well-connected members of society. The sorority hosted social events, including teas with professors' wives and influential society women. Phoebe Apperson Hearst, the wealthy philanthropist and widow of Senator George Hearst who invested heavily in women and higher education at the University of California in particular, may have attended some of these events. She later became one of Morgan's most important clients. The sorority also built a house, where Morgan lived. While most university women resided at home, dividing their attention between familial matters and academic work, Morgan had the opportunity to



California native Julia Morgan (1872–1957) blazed a trail for women. She was the first woman to graduate with a degree in architecture from the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, the first licensed woman architect in California, and the most prolific woman architect in the country. Though she is best known for her work on William Randolph Hearst's castle at San Simeon (1919–1947), Morgan devoted much of her career to designing spaces for the causes that women espoused during the Progressive Era.

California Historical Society, gift of Sara Boutelle, CHS2012.865.TIF; PHOTOGRAPH BY OTTO H. BOYE

focus almost exclusively on her academic work. At Berkeley, she gained an education in engineering as well as social networking and institution building. She also broke away from the confines of Victorian domesticity toward a more independent life.<sup>9</sup>

In 1896, Morgan sailed for France to study at the École des Beaux-Arts, then considered the most prestigious art and architectural school in the world. Her education encompassed far more than the art and science of designing and constructing buildings. Thanks to the efforts of a unionized

group of women artists, with whom Morgan associated and referred to as "bohemian," the École opened courses to women during the summer of 1896. Degree programs, however, remained inaccessible. That changed in 1897, when the institution finally offered its highly competitive entrance examinations to women. Morgan failed the examinations three times, at least once for legitimate errors and once, she was told, because she was a woman. In the face of such injustice, she vowed to compete in the examinations every time they were held before her thirtieth birthday, when all students were required to leave the École, or until she passed, whichever came first. She now understood her personal quest to be educated as part of a much larger contest for women's rights, and she would not be discouraged.

Unfortunately, no architectural atelier would accept Morgan into its masculine world of design, debate, and revelry. During the summer of 1898, however, François-Benjamin Chaussemiche, recipient of the École's highest honor, the Grand Prix de Rome, became Morgan's mentor. A few months later, Morgan passed the examinations. She was nearly twenty-seven years old, leaving just over three years to complete a curriculum that took the average student twice as long. Evidence suggests that the École's administration prevented Morgan from pursuing a diplôme, the highest degree awarded to international students, but she secured a certificat d'architecture, the second highest degree, before the doors closed on her in February 1902. In Paris, Morgan received formal architectural training, discovered a feminist consciousness, and endured constant reminders of the formidable challenges she faced as a woman entering a steadfastly maledominated profession.10

Later that year, Morgan launched her pathbreaking architectural career. Her reputation had preceded her. Newspapers in Paris, London, and the United States—especially the Bay Area—had followed her progress in Paris closely, and friends and family lined up to hire her to design their homes. Within weeks of her return to California, she accepted a position in the offices of John Galen Howard, architect for the new Berkeley campus, a Beaux-Arts masterpiece. Under Howard's tutelage, she worked on the Hearst Mining Building, was almost solely responsible for the Greek Theatre, and created the preliminary designs for Sather Gate, which demarcated the university's southern entrance. She also quickly surmised that she would be underpaid and officially unrecognized for her work, which would become increasingly narrow in focus, if she remained in Howard's office.11

In 1904, after saving enough money from her work in Howard's office and generating publicity through a few key side projects, Morgan acquired her California architectural license and opened an atelier of her own. She immediately won the patronage of Phoebe Hearst and Mills College. The San Francisco earthquake and fires of 1906 further presented her with opportunities to build a prolific and prestigious practice, particularly when she received the commission to rebuild the Fairmont, a luxury hotel on Nob Hill designed by James and Merritt Reid, a prominent San Francisco architecture firm. She soon developed a reputation for listening intently to her clients' needs and desires. She was generous to her employees and mentored them closely (though some would say suffocated them). Laborers and artisans had only respect for her. She paid close attention to detail, employed the most modern building technologies, and always demanded high-quality work. These attributes sustained her practice for the next forty years.

Over the course of her career, Morgan designed nearly 100 buildings for women's organizations in California and beyond. In 1903, Mills College offered Morgan her first commission for a women's organization and retained her as its unofficial architect for twenty years. In 1929, the Berkeley Women's City Club hired her for one of her last commissions for a women's organization. In between, she designed dozens of cultural, social, and civic clubs for women; social, academic, residential, and recreational buildings for college and university women and unmarried working women; primary schools and orphanages for boys and girls; and hospitals, sanitariums, and nursing residences. And between 1912 and 1930, she designed more than thirty buildings in at least seventeen locations for the YWCA, one of the nation's largest and most influential women's organizations.12

Morgan lost money on many of these projects, but she kept accepting them. In 1918, for example, the national board of the YWCA donated \$20,000 from its War Work Council funds to build a recreation center in Vallejo. Members of the Vallejo YWCA approved plans for a building that cost \$24,655 but did not organize a building campaign, leaving the project short of funds. To keep the commission, and despite a contracting debacle, Morgan pared down the building costs as much as she could and charged a lower commission, which she agreed to base on the \$20,000 budget rather than on the actual cost of the building. She lost the modern equivalent of over \$10,000. For many women's commissions, she donated her labor altogether. She also regularly contributed decorative objects. Morgan never explained her motives, but such anecdotes suggest that she was not simply a passive beneficiary of a niche market. Like so many of her clients, she was an activist, engaged in designing a new landscape that helped at least some women to redefine the boundaries of propriety and to lead a number of campaigns for Progressive Era causes.13

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California's progressive women activists conducted highly public, often years-long campaigns to raise money for their new, modern buildings. Here, members of the board of the Hollywood Studio Club—a residence for young women in the motion picture industry—pose in front of a billboard tracking the progress of their \$150,000 building campaign in 1925. Every passerby could see just how effective the women were at generating capital toward improving the city, which helped women influence the debate about their public roles. Morgan's design of the new three-story club (1926) included a sundeck, rehearsal hall, and small auditorium for its aspiring residents.

Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection

#### **BUILDING CAMPAIGNS**

Building programs of the early twentieth century required a level of capital expenditure that drew women's organizations into the public arena more prominently than ever before. Building campaigns were the means through which women's organizations raised the money for their projects, but they also provided an opportunity for the women to redefine and modernize their place in the public sphere. Efforts to educate the public about their building programs, combined with a bit of pageantry, a lot of ambition, and

persuasive use of booster rhetoric and the media, were not simply useful to these women's causes; they were essential to the vitality of the women's movement.

Since membership dues and privately solicited donations, which traditionally sustained the budgets of most women's organizations, could not generate the revenue necessary to construct a building, women's organizations engaged in a number of highly publicized activities to raise capital—sometimes for the first time. Throughout the state, they offered moonlight rides, sold

chocolates, olive oil, and handmade arts and crafts items, hosted breakfasts, staged fashion shows, held raffles, organized dances, earned proceeds from local circus and minstrel shows, and planned automobile trips and picnics. They mailed circulars with self-addressed return envelopes and a token thank-you gift and by the 1920s offered stock certificates, the newest entry in the fundraising repertoire.<sup>14</sup>

Building campaigns often occurred over the course of several years and always appeared in local newspapers, assuring a steady stream of free publicity. They also fostered a sense of inclusiveness, for an organization could boast contributions of hundreds and sometimes thousands of individuals—both rich and poor—in the creation of a new building. Thus women's organizations were not only constructing buildings, they also were building communities. This democratic approach to fundraising, steeped in nineteenthcentury precedent, allowed women to retain their image as selfless activists for social causes and differentiated their investment in the urban landscape from the sheer capitalist enterprises of most building programs spearheaded by men. 15

At the same time, organized women of California presented their building activities as entirely modern. Most commonly, they used building campaigns as an opportunity to explain women's contributions to urban growth, economic prosperity, and city beautification. Touted as "one of the largest association buildings in the west," for example, Oakland's Italian Renaissance-style YWCA building would be a "triumph of art" and could help the city in its efforts to emerge from the shadow of San Francisco. Publicity articles for the building also emphasized its cost, underscoring both the property value it would add to the city and—with a required a labor force of fifty men as well as thirty contracts to various companies in the building trades—its contribution to job creation and business growth.16

For their building campaign, leaders of the Berkeley Women's City Club similarly emphasized their club's long-term role in boosting the local economy. With its dining room, auditorium, theater, leisure facilities, hair salon, and retail spaces, the building would entice Berkeley women to shop locally while attracting women from outside Berkeley to shop in the city. In addition, the club's day-to-day maintenance and operation would require a significant workforce, which would generate jobs and create a demand for more consumer products, including food, clothing, and local housing.<sup>17</sup> Such arguments appealed to major donors; while hundreds or thousands of individuals did, indeed, contribute to building campaigns, realization of the new buildings more often than not depended on the generosity of a few wealthy individuals who were deeply invested in local, regional, and state economic and political affairs.

Morgan brought "star power" and expertise to these all-female building enterprises. With the press documenting her achievements from the moment she boarded the ship for France, organizations that hired her—and most were quick to note in early press releases that Morgan was their architect—thus associated themselves with a model of modern womanhood. But Morgan was more than an icon. She was a respected professional. Newspapers published elevations of buildings that she designed, an editorial decision usually reserved for those projects and architects deemed particularly noteworthy for their contributions to the built environment. Such media attention was a boon to any building campaign. It elevated the project's prestige and facilitated fundraising efforts.

The importance of these building campaigns becomes particularly clear when examining the future of groups that did not embark upon them, including the aforementioned Vallejo YWCA. Lacking the educational experience of conduct-

ing a building campaign, the Vallejo YWCA had difficulty getting off the ground, let alone expanding its program. Despite lengthy negotiations among the stakeholders, Morgan's commission fees still "came as a total surprise" to the local association, and the bill was paid by the Pacific Coast Field Committee, the regional branch of the national organization. <sup>18</sup>

Similarly, the San Pedro YWCA, designed by Morgan and built in 1918, was denied a loan to expand its buildings and activities in 1926. A representative from the board of the national organization—the YWCA of the United States of America (YWCA of the USA)—reported on this subject, noting specifically that "there is little education of the community on giving to the Association." Because the women of San Pedro did not implement a building campaign and benefit from its accompanying publicity, banks perceived their building as a gift, not as a testament to the association's financial solvency or a manifestation of the important contribution women's work made to the city.<sup>19</sup>

Having begun as Hostess Houses during World War I—which provided food, shelter, and recreational facilities for the rapidly increasing number of women employed in industrial jobs that had been abandoned by men who enlisted in the military, or for those who found work on or near military bases—both the Vallejo and San Pedro associations failed to acquire the expertise necessary to demonstrate community support of their work to investors and donors. Subsequently, they could not grow their facilities and activities.<sup>20</sup>

# BUILDING THE CALIFORNIA WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

With funds in hand, architect secured, and design agreed upon, organizations finally could set about constructing their new buildings. The buildings varied in style, size, and plan according to location, site, function, and budget. In

keeping with public and commercial architecture norms of the day, the buildings were generally wood-frame or reinforced concrete structures in the Mission, Renaissance, Spanish Colonial, Tudor, Gothic, or Classical Revival styles. Morgan often combined elements from several of these traditions, creating a more generic Italianate or Mediterranean style. Particularly if budgets were tight, she worked in the Bay Tradition style, a regional variation on the Arts and Crafts aesthetic characterized by wood-shingle roofs with wideeave overhangs, unpainted wood exteriors and interiors, klinker brick or stone elements (such as chimneys or porch columns), and minimal ornamentation. Subtly critical of the status quo in their design, Morgan's buildings celebrated women's changing roles in the twentieth-century landscape.

Of the many buildings Morgan designed for women's organizations, three—the Mills College campanile, the Riverside YWCA, and the Berkeley Women's City Club—illustrate how white women defined modern womanhood and infused the built environment with feminine, if not always feminist, values.

#### **MILLS COLLEGE**

Mills College presented Morgan with one of her first and most important commissions: a campanile sensitive to the college's history, yet signaling the institution's transition from an almost obsolete frontier finishing school to a leading women's college of the twentieth century. Mills College was founded as the Young Ladies' Seminary in Benicia in 1852, during the height of California's unsettled Gold Rush years. Cyrus and Susan Mills, East Coast—educated missionaries who had served in Sri Lanka and Hawaii, took over the seminary in 1871 and moved it five miles outside of incorporated Oakland. From the outset, they sought to build a college that rivaled East Coast women's colleges, and in 1885 the

state of California granted the seminary a college charter, making it the only women's college on the Pacific Coast.<sup>21</sup>

Mills College gained significant prestige, but by the turn of the century the school found itself vulnerable to the rapid rise of coeducation in the Bay Area. The University of California, just a few miles north in Berkeley, and Stanford University, about forty miles south near Palo Alto, were building grand campuses and prestigious departments, offering low-cost or free tuition, and attracting young women in unprecedented numbers. <sup>22</sup> In response, Mills College embarked on its own building program, beginning with the country's first freestanding campanile.

Morgan designed a 72-foot-tall Spanish Mission-style tower among the California oaks at the southeastern edge of the oval driveway in front of Seminary Hall, the original campus building. The front and back measured twice as wide as the sides, and a series of low-pitched red tile roofs created colorful contrast to the drab concrete. The award-winning bronze bells, cast originally for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and rung a year later at San Francisco's California Midwinter International Exposition, were housed in seven arched openings that pierced the concrete walls. On the primary facade of the campanile, surrounded by the chimes, hung a blue-and-gold clock. A massive wooden door, whose nails and lock came from an old Spanish church in Mexico, created an imposing entrance. Morgan also designed twenty-eight earthenware jars fashioned after those at the Alhambra in Granada, Spain. Home for southern California flora such as cacti and yucca, these jars sat atop a low wall at the edge of a broad walk surrounding the tower.23 In April 1904, El Campanil, as the

tower was named, was unveiled with more fanfare, praise, and public attention than any Mills campus structure in its history.

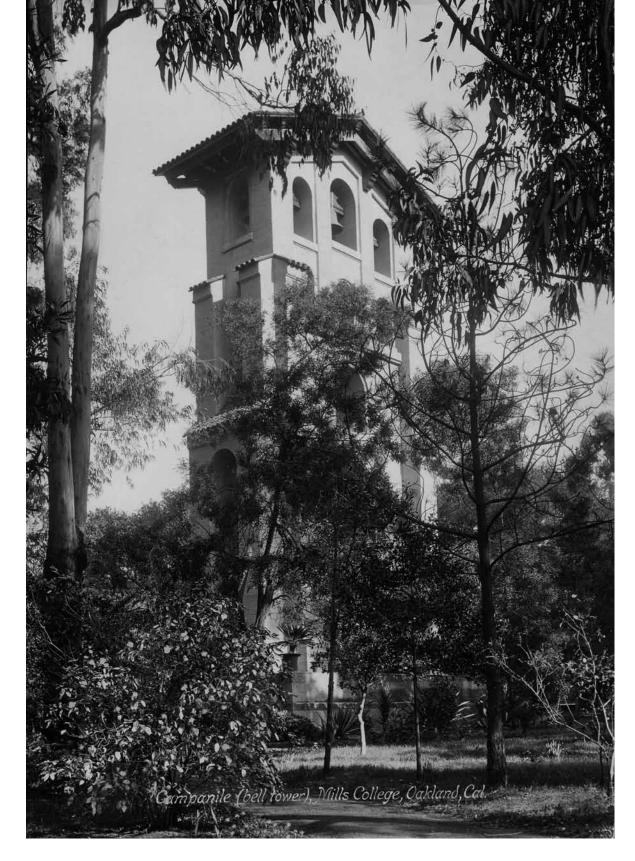
The campanile's Mission style distinguished Mills clearly from its competition. Unlike Berkeley's Beaux-Arts architecture or Stanford's Richardsonian Roman-

esque buildings, it reflected only California and Mills College history. Alluding to the state's religious origins, it celebrated the school's half-century commitment to a Christian education on the Pacific Coast. And the style recalled the institution's early days, when the Spanish missions offered some of the state's only permanent architecture; by selecting it for the campanile, Mills College symbolically reinforced its status as one of the oldest educational institutions on the West Coast.

Housed individually and in plain view, the ten bells marked the passage of every hour with the familiar Westminster chime, offering a note of Anglo-Saxon continuity and tradition to the majority of people who populated the region. Susan Mills further emphasized the institution's Christian mission—and her conservative values—by naming the bells after the graces of the spirit, as written in Saint Paul's letter to the Galatians. Faith, Hope, Peace, and Joy chimed

ABOVE: El Campanil, the country's first free-standing bell tower, was one of Morgan's earliest commissions (1904). Her design for the reinforced concrete Spanish Mission-style structure gave recognition to Mills College—the East Bay women's college founded in 1852—as an advocate of both traditional and progressive values. Critics universally praised the tower, and its unscathed survival of the 1906 earthquake helped catapult Morgan to the top tier of the state's architects.

Julia Morgan Collection, Environmental Design Archives, University of California, Berkeley



El Campanil was the first of six buildings that Morgan designed for Mills College, followed by the Margaret Carnegie Library (1906); a gymnasium and outdoor sports facilities (1909, 1922); Kapiolani Cottage, an infirmary (1910); Alumni House (1916); and the Ethel Moore Dormitory (1920, not built). The campanile's unqualified success cemented Morgan's reputation as an ideal architect for California women's organizations and causes.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY/USC SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

every hour, thus becoming the most regular sentiments emanating from the campus to its East Bay neighbors. Love was the largest bell; Meekness, the smallest and least often rung; Gentleness, Self Control, Longing, and Suffering completed the set.<sup>24</sup> These names also typified nineteenth-century notions of femininity, assuaging any fears that Mills College would plant the seeds for social rupture by offering young women access to higher education. On the contrary, in its education of women, Mills College would help preserve the moral stability of a rapidly urbanizing region.<sup>25</sup>

As much as El Campanil stood as a nostalgic emblem to the college's long history and Christian foundations, so too did it signal the institution's commitment to twentieth-century progress and change. With its choice of architect, Mills could boast that it stood at the cutting edge of regional expressionism in architecture and employed only the best-trained architects. Morgan's selection suggested that the school no longer aimed simply to provide young women with "good home training, teaching them to care for the wardrobes, their rooms, to wait upon themselves—in short training them as daughters should be in a good home," as Susan Mills had written to Phoebe Hearst; it also clearly supported women pioneers in male-dominated professions.26

Additionally, the campanile's design touted the college's embrace of California's role in the new empire. Though the missions had been part of the architecture of the Spanish empire in North America, by appropriating their design Mills joined its Bay Area neighbors in suggesting that Europe's old imperial powers must give way to America's manifest destiny. The lock and nails acquired from a Mexican Spanish church literally linked the school to the old empire, reiterated the transfer of power to America, and prepared Mills to play a key role in building the new empire further. Using architecture to emphasize its role

in shaping the California landscape, the college demonstrated that it would not define itself by East Coast or European standards of excellence.

One speaker at the dedication ceremonies proclaimed, "So perfectly does [the campanile] blend in line and color with the surrounding trees and lawn that we already feel as if somehow the tower had always stood here and was today but rediscovered."27 This bell tower symbolized the school's permanent presence in the California landscape. And through the southern California flora that grew in its earthenware jars, it proclaimed that the college's influence reached far beyond the boundaries of the Bay Area and ensured a space for Mills at the center of the Golden State's intellectual leadership. In the collaboration between the college and Julia Morgan, this single structure spoke volumes about the past, present, and future role(s) of women in California.

#### **RIVERSIDE YWCA**

By the time the board women of the Riverside YWCA embarked on a building campaign in the late 1920s, the YWCA was a well-known and highly respected institution in the state and in national and international landscapes. Begun in England in 1855, the YWCA established its presence in United States with the founding of the Ladies' Christian Association in New York City in 1858. Boston became the first city to adopt the YWCA moniker in 1866, and the organization arrived in California in 1876 when Frank Browne founded the Oakland YWCA.

From the outset, the YWCA embraced a Christian mission: to provide shelter and moral uplift for single working women arriving in the city from the country, abroad, or the familial home. As the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth, the organization's moral and evangelical tone became more secular. Job training and placement programs, language courses, cafeteria services, and sports and recreation dominated its modern



Determined that their 1928 club building would be designed not only for women but by a woman, Riverside YWCA directors rebutted local business leader Frank Miller's contradictory demands for the building's style, plan, and architect. Morgan's building—an eclectic mix of Spanish Colonial and Renaissance styles—served as the local YWCA chapter for nearly forty years. Today it houses the Riverside Art Museum.

COURTESY OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORY SECTION, CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY, SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

agenda. So vast had the YWCA's network become by the twentieth century that a national organization, the YWCA of the USA, was formed in New York City in 1906 to standardize programs across the country, oversee their proper implementation, and manage allocation of certain funds. The national board ran this umbrella organization, while regional field committees monitored the local associations to assure they conformed to the national organization's rules, regulations, and mission. California's local associations fell under the authority of the Pacific Coast Field Committee. In some cases, as in San Francisco, a metropolitan region hosted multiple local associations,

which came under the purview of a citywide central board.<sup>28</sup>

While in reality YWCAs were contested and dynamic sites of power, class, and ethnic relations, they symbolized the increasingly diverse roles that women played in the urban landscape as workers, policy developers, and educators in the public sphere. In fact, YWCA buildings became one of the most commonly recognized urban spaces for women in the country, including California cities, and the buildings stood as idealized monuments to noble womanhood. In their copious publicity for the new YWCA building at Seventh and Lime Streets, Riverside women were quick to build on these ideas. They

remarked that the new building would be an important asset to the city's Civic Center because of the services it would provide and because it was designed by the national expert in YWCA buildings, who was also the architect of media mogul William Randolph Hearst's lavish estate near San Simeon. They also linked the project to a transnational movement that aimed to unite all women in a common effort to create a more abundant life for their gender. And, above all, the building was a manifestation of women's leadership, defined by the association as "the modern trend of the time. . . . [Every woman] must choose her way and have conviction which will help her to form a platform for progress with other women."29

This emphasis on leadership and making choices is all the more significant given the organization's contentious dealings with prominent businessman Frank Miller, whom one local historian described as "having the power to make or mar any civic or private enterprise."30 Miller envisioned a city unified aesthetically by Mission Revival architecture, showcased by his ornate and sprawling Mission Inn. Recognizing potential value in the YWCA building toward this urban development scheme, he persuaded the organization to build on a large parcel adjacent to the recently completed Municipal Auditorium and Soldiers' Memorial Hall and offered to subsidize its purchase. Miller specified that the design follow the modified Mission Revival style of the Municipal Auditorium—which featured a monumental staircase leading to arched doorways separated by Corinthian pilasters, a star-shaped window at the center of the facade, a shaped parapet topped by an eagle perched on a shield, towers with tiled dome roofs, and a sheltered colonnade that ran the length of the northwest side of the building. He also proposed that the building connect directly to the auditorium to facilitate YWCA women in their roles as hostesses at auditorium events. Miller disapproved

YWCAs symbolized the increasingly diverse roles that women played in the urban landscape as workers, policy developers, and educators in the public sphere. In fact, YWCA buildings became one of the most commonly recognized urban spaces for women in the country, including California cities, and the buildings stood as idealized monuments to noble womanhood.

of Morgan and her plan to include a pool in the building's design. $^{\rm 3I}$ 

Within this context, the Riverside YWCA gains significance as a manifestation of women's leadership and rejection of male authority. Built of reinforced concrete, it fits harmoniously into the landscape but is stark and modern compared with the eclectic Mission Inn down the street or the adjacent Municipal Auditorium. It combines Italianate and Spanish Colonial styles in simple forms: rectangular in plan with asymmetrical massing, multiple gables, and a terra-cotta tile

roof. The entrance, located off center, features simple, wood-frame, multi-lite glass doors flanked on either side by plain pilasters and topped by a broken arched pediment with a finial in the center. Large urns top the balustrades on either side of the entrance steps. Multi-lite arched windows with keystones puncture the ground-floor walls, while two open loggia with slanted tile-clad roofs supported by simple rounded columns occupy the second story. Other decorative elements include medallions in the gables, a wrought-iron balcony, quoins, and finials.

From its single-story, flat-roofed northwest end in the shadow of the Municipal Auditorium, the Riverside YWCA grows progressively higher as it moves farther from the auditorium, culminating in the massive three-story gable that housed the swimming pool Frank Miller opposed but which a membership survey revealed to be among the building's most important attributes. The pool's inclusion assured that the building conformed to members' programmatic needs and aesthetic preferences rather than the visions of male business and political leaders. While Morgan's design created balance with the auditorium, it also clearly differentiated the women's building from its neighbors, helping Riverside women to assert an independent voice in local urban development.

#### BERKELEY WOMEN'S CITY CLUB

One of Morgan's last commissions for the California women's movement, the Berkeley Women's City Club, was created in response to challenges that women's clubs faced by the late 1920s. Collecting funds for the construction of club houses was one issue that many organizations skillfully had surmounted, but taxes, upkeep, service, repairs, and incidental expenses created constant financial difficulties that membership dues alone could not remedy. As their buildings proliferated, moreover, competition increased among clubs, which further strained financial resources. The buildings that

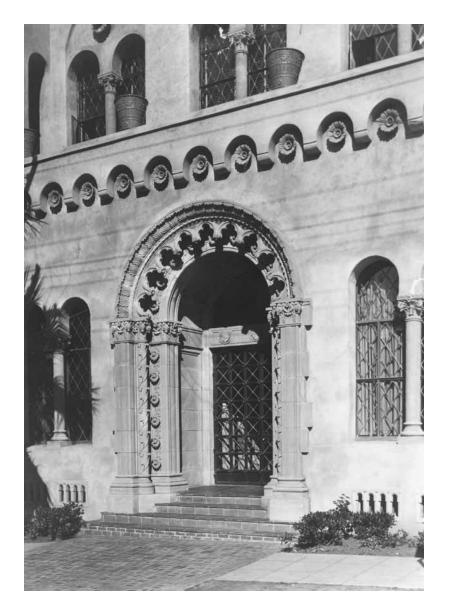
had brought so much attention to women's activities and had created the geographical and spatial landscape for modern womanhood to flourish now were cash drains. In response to these developments, and to the successful rise of women's city clubs in other parts of the state and country, Olga Beebe, chief accountant of the American Trust Company in Berkeley, devised a plan in 1925 for a modern women's club in Berkeley that would provide facilities for numerous individual clubs; housing for single women; and social, cultural, recreational, and retail spaces. The new club was to be "financed and operated on a sound business basis." With fiscal matters managed by professionals, individual clubs once again could concentrate on their intended interests.32

The Berkeley Women's City Club opened its doors in 1930. Like many of Morgan's commissions, it made a bold statement about the status of women. The club directors purchased two adjacent lots on the largely residential Durant Street one block south of the University of California's track and baseball fields. As Julian C. Mesic, a model maker and architect who often worked for Morgan at the time, noted, the location was appropriate for a partly residential facility.<sup>33</sup> It reflected conservative ideas about women's domestic roles and kept them separated from the world of politics and commerce, even as women were claiming new spaces in these two arenas. With two sizable churches on the

opposite: Julia Morgan combined Classical and Gothic architectural elements in the Corinthian columns, banister trifoils, and vaulted ceiling of the grand stairway of the Berkeley Women's City Club. The Morgan-designed gargoyles—shield-bearing bear lions—protected the castle-like building and its more than 4,000 original members. They also paid homage to the nearby University of California mascot and introduced a bit of whimsy to the design. Presently the Berkeley City Club, the building now functions as a private club and hotel.

COURTESY OF LANDMARK HERITAGE FOUNDATION/
BERKELEY CITY CLUB ARCHIVES





The Romanesque and Gothic-inspired architectural elements of the club's vast entrance archway infused the building with its stately and noble countenance. By decorating these elements with vines and flowers, Morgan transformed architectural symbols of traditional masculine power into feminine representations of modern womanhood. Subtle gestures like these made buildings an effective means to express women's changing roles in society.

COURTESY OF LANDMARK HERITAGE FOUNDATION/ BERKELEY CITY CLUB ARCHIVES block and Berkeley's First Congregational Church across the street, the site evoked traditional values and women's moral virtue.

Like the Riverside YWCA, Morgan's Romanesque and Gothic design complemented the surrounding built environment. It drew upon castles, cathedrals, cloisters, and skyscrapers: the quatrefoils in the towers and the arched entryway, with its tendrils, rosettes, shields, and flowered capitals; the vaulted ceiling and archways of the front hall and main staircase; gargoyles holding shields; the open loggia flanking the interior courts; and the machicolations and corbels above the entrance and below the top floor. At six stories, the City Club was the tallest building on the block—hardly a skyscraper but tending toward tall building construction. Yet despite these old-world architectural elements, rebar doubles as structural reinforcement and decoration in the arches over the pool, literally exposing the modern technology that made the building possible. Indeed, the architect and engineer Walter Steilberg, who worked with Morgan, cited this building—which Mesic called "symbolic of the changed status of women and their broadening outlook"—as the most complicated engineering problem of his long career and, as of 1976, probably "the most complicated concrete structure in this part of the country."34

Morgan and the City Club women explicitly appropriated the historic architecture of religious, political, and financial institutions—the architecture of male power. But the building also included such details as rosettes in the entrance archway and a bas relief for the fuchsia court of three dancing young women with bobbed hair (designed by divorcée and railroad heiress Clara Huntington Perkins), consciously feminizing the building types and claiming the space as one for modern women.<sup>35</sup>

## DIVERSITY WITHIN THE CALIFORNIA WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Morgan's work for Chinese communities in the Bay Area has left a particularly rich record for exploring some of the ethnic tensions in the women's movement. Five projects are directly and indirectly related to the Chinese: a house for Rose and Joseph Shoong, the founder of the National Dollar Stores and once among the wealthiest Chinese Americans in the country; the Methodist Chinese Mission in San Francisco, or Gum Moon; and several buildings for Angel Island Immigration Station, a site now synonymous with loneliness, isolation, and devastating hardship experienced by Chinese immigrants during the era of the Chinese Exclusion Act. The remaining two projects—the Ming Quong Home for Girls near Mills College and the Chinatown YWCA in San Francisco—expose very different stories about ethnic relations within the California women's movement of the Progressive Era.

### Ming Quong Home for Girls

That racial tension was manifest in the creation of the Ming Quong Home for Girls in Oakland, near Mills College, is evident in the contrasting goals of Donaldina Cameron and Aurelia Reinhardt, leaders of influential and celebrated institutions. Raised in southern California, Cameron broke off her marriage engagement to pursue her life's work: In 1899, she commenced her long tenure as leader of the Presbyterian Mission House in San Francisco's Chinatown, becoming a local legend and sometimes controversial figure for her crusade against the exploitation of women and children in brothels and opium dens. The mission sheltered women and children: schooled them in English, Victorian morality, Christianity, and job skills; offered marriage counseling; and intervened in immigration issues.<sup>36</sup> Reinhardt, who was born in San Francisco and graduated from the University of California before pursuing a doctorate in English from Yale University, found success in academia before marrying and raising children. Widowhood compelled her to return to academia in 1914. Two years later, she was elected president of Mills College and introduced ambitious plans to transform it into a rival of Vassar, Wellesley, and other prestigious East Coast women's colleges and universities.

Reinhardt, also a member and eventual chair of Oakland's Chamber of Commerce City Planning Committee, tied her ambitions for Mills College to those of the city of Oakland and its development. Wanting to build a world-class campus, she persuaded Phoebe Hearst to commission Bernard Maybeck to design a grand new scheme for the women's college. His vision included several monumental, Classical-style buildings as well as a boulevard along the East Bay hills, from the Claremont Hotel at the Oakland-Berkeley border to the eastern edge of the campus. Members of the City Council and Chamber of Commerce were also interested in rezoning the area immediately surrounding the college for a business district and in reconfiguring the streets to showcase the college's entrance. All of these plans were intended to make Mills College for Oakland what the University of California was for Berkeley: a destination along the local tourist circuit and an intellectual and cultural anchor for a neighborhood that attracted the most desirable residents, businesses, and merchants.37

Meanwhile, Cameron and the mission board were looking for a suitable location to build a new orphanage. The building at 920 Sacramento Street (now the Donaldina Cameron House) suffered from chronic overcrowding, and Cameron had never been satisfied with what she described as its cell-like quality. In 1915, the Tooker Memorial Home for Chinese Girls and Children opened in Oakland's Chinatown to relieve the San Francisco quarters of its youngest inhabitants, but it also proved too small and dilapidated.

When shipping magnate Robert Dollar, who had a longtime interest in the mission, donated land adjacent to Mills College to the mission board in 1918, a permanent home devoted solely to children finally was built. The \$125,000 building for sixty-five girls opened in December 1925. It was named Ming Quong, or "radiant light."

As with her other projects, Morgan's creation addressed her client's needs while responding to the preexisting environment. She designed a U-shaped, painted reinforced concrete building of two stories plus a basement, with a red-clay tile gable roof and teal-blue wide-eave overhangs. Multi-lite, wood-frame casement windows abound on every elevation, allowing natural light to flood all the rooms. The building features many Chinese cultural references, including a pailu, or traditional Chinese gateway, which lends monumentality to the structure. Chinese Foo dogs sit atop the pailu, guarding the entrance and courtyard and flanking a large lotus flower leaf, a symbol of purity. A low balustrade with raised panels and Chinese finials partially encloses the courtyard. The north and south elevations also have decorative molded archways that echo the main pailu. Other cultural references include glazed blue, brown, and green punched tiles from China, which break up the monotony of the frieze. Large flower boxes with decorative raised panels, carved brackets, and Chinese finials hang below the second-story windows overlooking the courtyard and part of the north and south elevations.

Despite these explicit Chinese references, the building fits harmoniously with the adjacent Mills College campus and its variety of Mediterranean-style buildings, many of which Morgan also designed. As such, an alumnus who visited the campus during the fall of 1925 mistook Ming Quong for a long-awaited memorial hall dedicated to education activist Ethel Moore, which Morgan also designed and whose funding Aurelia Reinhardt struggled to raise.<sup>38</sup>

Publicly and professionally, Reinhardt applauded Cameron and her new building. She even attended events at Ming Quong in support of improving Chinese and Anglo-Saxon American relations. Behind the scenes, however, she had engaged in vigorous efforts to stop the construction of the orphanage. Believing that the "Chinese Institute" would sink the district immediately adjacent to Mills College to "the lowest class possible," she requested to speak to the Board of Health about issues that adversely affected Mills in the nearby development, considered submitting a petition to zone the land to bar the orphanage, tried to persuade the mission board that the site would not suit its purposes, and sought to convince the college to purchase the land from the mission board. These efforts (concurrent with attempts to remove an African American school from the vicinity and "whiten" the community for development) ultimately failed, but Reinhardt did secure one mitigating measure to minimize the orphanage's perceived adverse effects: a row of pine trees that still stand along MacArthur Boulevard.39 The trees hid the orphanage from visitors as they approached the college, which was careful to place its gates to the east of the orphanage's entrance.

Cameron and Reinhardt represent two elements of the movement to enhance women's place in

opposite: In creating the Ming Quong home for orphaned Chinese girls (1925), Morgan resolved conflicting racial tensions between her clients Aurelia Reinhardt, president of the adjacent Mills College, and the famed missionary Donaldina Cameron. She included Chinese motifs in the building but made sure the structure fit harmoniously with the Mediterranean-style architecture of Mills College, which purchased the building ten years later. In 1999, the building's original purpose as a haven for young girls came full circle with its establishment as a middle school inspired by its namesake, the Julia Morgan School for Girls.

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California and broaden their opportunities outside the home. The stories behind Ming Quong and Mills College, however, reveal the continued racism and elitism that marked the women's movement, assuring affluent white women the greatest opportunity to pursue higher education, professional development, and a role in policy making or other fields across an increasingly broad spectrum of causes.

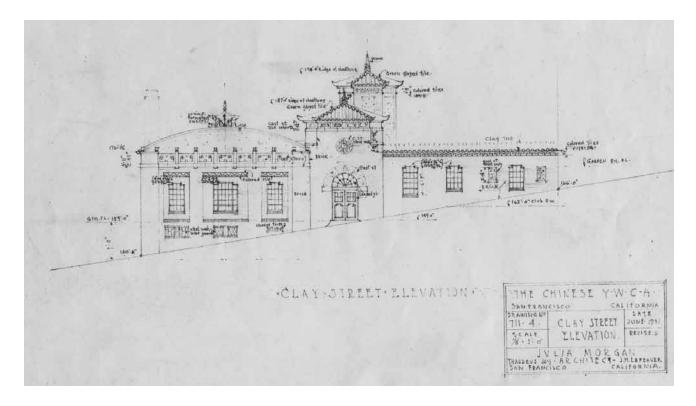
#### Chinatown YWCA

Three years after Ming Quong opened, the San Francisco YWCA initiated a building program that resulted in one of Julia Morgan's masterpieces and that foreshadowed an entirely different spatial politics of ethnicity and gender. The new building for the Chinatown YWCA was built concurrently with and adjacent to an eight-story residence for the San Francisco association. The relationship between the two buildings suggests the changing dynamics between white and Chinese women in San Francisco. As Peggy Pascoe and subsequent historians have noted, Chinatown women did not passively submit to the authority of the white women who ran institutions such as the rescue missions or the YWCA. But the white women who sought moral authority through charitable and social welfare work were not immutable to change, either. And whereas affluent white women dominated the fundraising, design, and operations of charities and welfare organizations that Morgan had designed previously for Chinese communities, women of Chinese heritage largely controlled the creation and operations of the Chinatown YWCA. Thus, while Morgan's earlier buildings like Ming Quong reflect an educated and sensitive curatorship of Asian art and objects, the Chinatown YWCA stands as an expression of Chinese American cultural identity.4°

Founded in 1916, the Chinatown YWCA faced challenging variables while developing its pro-

gram according to the prescribed goals of the national organization. As the central board of the San Francisco YWCA noted, the nature of most Chinese women's employment—in factories and tea rooms and as stock girls and domestic servants—required long and irregular hours that made scheduling YWCA recreational and educational activities difficult. Language barriers persisted, complicating the translation of YWCA goals and exacerbating generational differences within the Chinatown community. And the traditional social organization of Chinatown families, clans, and district associations intensified cliques or limited the activities that young women were permitted. While the Americanizing influence of the YWCA and other Christian organizations was notable and loosened the bonds of restrictive patriarchal power, the majority of Chinatown women still lived according to traditional gender codes and faced limited opportunities.41

Despite these challenges, the Chinatown YWCA quickly established itself as a vital neighborhood institution. By the mid-1920s, it counted over 700 members and served over 15,000 women and girls every year. A number of factors contributed to this success. Although a white woman managed the Chinatown YWCA until 1932, most of its board and employees were Chinese and especially sensitive to community needs. Its English-language courses and interpretation services were particularly important for dealing with labor and legal issues. The Chinatown association also offered assistance with immigration issues; job training for a social landscape in which women increasingly worked; and health, hygiene, and well-baby programs that improved infant mortality rates. Use of the Chinese-language press and devotion to inclusiveness assured that a wide cross section of the population learned about an ever-growing list of services. With such programs, the Chinatown YWCA also found significant support among white and Chinese business, political, and reform



The development of two adjoining YWCA buildings—the YWCA residence and the Chinatown YWCA (1932)—tells a tale of shifting power dynamics of ethnic groups within the California women's movement, and particularly in San Francisco. Morgan's L-shaped residence building straddled the affluent neighborhood of Nob Hill and Chinatown, blurring the traditional boundaries between white and Chinese communities. Her design for the Chinatown YWCA (above) rejected Chinese building stereotypes that emerged after the 1906 earthquake and fires and integrated Chinese motifs within the framework of Western architecture. Suitably, today the building is home to the Chinese Historical Society of America.

Julia Morgan Papers, Special Collections, California Polytechnic State University

leaders who wanted to rebuild from the ashes of the earthquake and fires of 1906 a Chinatown that dispelled nineteenth-century myths of an unsanitary, immoral neighborhood of people that could not be assimilated and therefore deserved little in the way of commercial, political, social, or charitable services and support.<sup>42</sup>

By 1926, the Chinatown YWCA had outgrown its facilities and its board members requested new quarters for recreation, education, and housing. Recognizing the Chinatown YWCA as a model in surmounting obstacles to build an important local institution, the central board of the San Francisco YWCA decided in 1928 not only to find new quarters for the Chinese association but also authorize a building campaign for its construction.<sup>43</sup>

The central board first addressed location. It decided to purchase three adjacent lots on Powell

and Clay Streets, the former technically in the affluent Nob Hill neighborhood and the latter just inside Chinatown, still a panoply of mostly negative stereotypes. This decision was risky. The board recognized the trend among young city women toward apartment living rather than group residences but felt that Chinatown's stigma could hamper efforts to populate the new building, making it a dangerously costly investment. However, convinced that Morgan's Italian Renaissance Revival design for the residence building—along with such amenities as laundry facilities, a beauty parlor, kitchenettes, and private social spaces—was so "exciting and attractive" that it would appeal to enough women to ensure occupancy near full capacity, the board decided to take the risk. This decision signaled the YWCA's movement toward ethnic integration, one that accelerated significantly after World War II.44

Choosing the architect came next. This decision also fell to the central board, which chose Julia Morgan. Her affiliation with the San Francisco YWCA began in 1927 with alterations and additions to the organization's headquarters on Sutter Street. Although she was the third architect the board had consulted in two years, Morgan proved the most adept at addressing its needs. By this time, Morgan had fifteen years of experience designing buildings for the YWCA in California, Hawaii, Washington, and Utah. As the women of the San Francisco YWCA quickly discovered, she knew better than any other architect—male or female—the organization's program requirements and how to translate them into spatial and aesthetic realities. Thus in January 1929, the central board hired Morgan to design the residence on Powell Street as well as new buildings for the Japanese and Chinese YWCA associations. 45

The residence and the Chinese YWCA buildings provide material and spatial evidence of an ongoing process of multiculturalism and intercultural cooperation. Morgan presented a design for the residence in which white and Chinese women shared the same building but not the same entrance. The women of both the central board and the Chinatown YWCA board considered this plan too radical at first but eventually accepted Morgan's scheme. A retractable partition separates the white members' section of the residence, which opens onto Powell Street, from the Chinese section, which has a separate entrance on Clay Street. Though the entire building is designed in an Italian Renaissance style, the ground-floor Chinese wing opens onto a courtyard featuring windows with a Chinese cloud lift detail. Three Chinese-style towers overlook the courtyard, two of which belong to the Chinese YWCA building and the tallest of which occurs where the white and Chinese wings of the residence building meet. The courtyard's south wall, which is part of the white members' residence

wing, features punched glazed tiles with Chinese motifs. Morgan's plan acknowledges that racism was by no means dead, even at the relatively liberal San Francisco YWCA (ethnic minority staff members, for example, earned lower pay for years to come), but the infusion of an Eastern aesthetic underscores a dialectic, rather than sheer dominance or oppression, between hegemonic and minority cultures.<sup>46</sup>

Morgan worked closely with the all-Chinese board of the Chinese YWCA to create an association building adjacent to the Chinese wing of the residence. Meeting in the library of her financial district office, they discussed programmatic needs and aesthetic preferences. The building's most dominant feature was the gymnasium, with its monumental arched ceiling and roof. Though it featured Chinese details, particularly in the screen that frames the stage, it is a decidedly American space. Like American educators who since the late nineteenth century embraced athletics as vital to the healthy development of young women and who made sports part of the high school and college curricula, the YWCA also focused increasingly on physical health. Basketball courts, tennis courts, and swimming pools were as important in YWCA facilities as were classrooms and even more important than large halls that served evangelical purposes. Similarly, the Chinatown YWCA building committee deemed a gymnasium of paramount importance and allotted it a full three-quarters of the construction budget. Morgan had to persuade the central board, which still controlled the finances, to release an extra \$10,000 for classrooms. If, as Judy Yung has suggested, the traditional Chinese practice of foot binding can be considered a metaphor for the changing place of Chinese American women from the mid-nineteenth century through the twentieth, no space better captures the idea of "unbound feet" and a definitive rejection of the traditional Chinese gender system than the Chinatown YWCA gymnasium.47



Morgan's design for the Chinatown YWCA combined traditional Chinese culture and an emerging Chinese American identity, including the dragon painted into the concrete floor, the meditation patio with koi pond, the imported Chinese glazed tiles with dragon motifs, the red, gold, green, and black color scheme, and the gymnasium, a quintessentially American space that dominates the building. Her work demonstrated the YWCA's expanding mission in the Chinese community—from serving the needs of San Francisco's Chinese immigrant women in the first decades of the twentieth century to the inclusion of American-born generations as members and the trend toward Americanization.

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Americanization programs were common to the YWCA's national goals, and although the women of the Chinatown YWCA embraced Western values, they also embraced their ethnic culture. Thus, presumably at her client's request, Morgan infused the building with many decorative Chinese details. Molded concrete panels with Chinese dragons in the center break the plane of the red brick exterior cladding, and the roof is covered with handmade green tiles imported from China. Inside, Morgan applied a traditional Chinese color scheme, with red posts, a red-and green ceiling, and blue-and-gold stencils. A Chinese dragon painted into the concrete floor of a hallway looks out onto a meditation patio and koi pond; this dragon motif continues subtly in the curvature of a stairway behind the entrance

desk, which features a gold screen. Although the rooms of the main floor are small—apart from the gymnasium—interior windows, decorated cupboards, and ornamental panels abound, resulting in an intimate and sumptuous space.

In her 1937 survey of the San Francisco association, national board representative Myra Smith declared the Chinatown building beautiful but "inadequate for YWCA purposes." 48 She did not elaborate on how the building failed to serve the national organization's purposes. Instead, she critiqued at length the San Francisco YWCA's decentralized hierarchy. Her interviews with members of the Chinese YWCA board reveal that they did not know much about the YWCA program, that the necessity to work long hours

prevented virtually all the women from attending meetings with the central board, and that when they did attend, the issues discussed remained remote to their needs.<sup>49</sup>

That the Chinatown YWCA did not conform to the national program reinforces the reality that however strong the national organization's Americanization efforts, Chinatown women drew from them only those that best suited the local community. Thus, though both Chinese and American ideas and ideals shaped the local association's program, the building at 965 Clay Street symbolizes a California women's movement in transition: neither unified and monolithic nor integrated, but beginning to embrace multiculturalism.

### WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE: ASILOMAR

One project stands out as a monument to the California women's movement: Asilomar, the YWCA's western conference grounds. Between 1912 and 1928, Morgan designed sixteen buildings, ten tent houses, a forty-car garage, and recreational facilities on a rolling landscape of sand dunes, cypress trees, and California native plants within earshot of the crashing waves of the Pacific Ocean and the soft sands of Moss Beach, as the beach beyond the conference grounds was named. She created a deceptively informal landscape, grading only the land immediately under each building, but carefully organized the buildings in a Beaux-Arts fashion around a series of circles connected by winding pathways.

The buildings, too, were informal. One or two stories high, they are designed in the Bay Tradition style with local materials. The unpainted shingled buildings blend into the largely untamed landscape, which serves as exterior ornamentation. And with the exception of the

large auditorium's stenciled frieze, the buildings feature little or no interior ornamentation. Redwood clads the walls. Exposed trusses and beams create visual interest and a sense of spaciousness, while large fireplaces in common spaces draw visitors to a central space. Merrill Hall, the auditorium, looms over the central circle of buildings. Its pointed-arch windows evoke Gothic architecture, underscoring the YWCA's Christian mission. Though the lodge, with its Beaux Arts-style grand stairway, appealed to the wealthy board members who resided there, the dusty paths approaching the building's off-center entrance undermine the building's formality and contribute to the democratic message that the YWCA hoped to convey to its members.

From the outset, Asilomar's creation linked YWCA women to powerful business interests and the broader development of the state. The Pacific Improvement Company, a holding company founded in 1869 by the "Big Four" of the Southern Pacific Railroad (Collis Huntington, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, and Mark Hopkins), owned the land on which the conference grounds were built. The company's purpose was to manage the railroad's extensive landholdings and develop the land to increase ridership. The most famous and successful experiment to that end during the nineteenth century was the construction of Monterey's luxurious Hotel Del Monte, which transformed that quiet fishing village into a popular seaside resort.50

In 1913, the Pacific Improvement Company agreed to offer the national board between twenty and thirty-five acres of land at Moss Beach, near the Christian resort town of Pacific Grove just south of Monterey. The board had to pay one dollar per acre per year, with the stipulation that \$20,000–\$35,000 worth of capital improvements (dependent on the size of land) be made over the course of ten years. If the YWCA accomplished this feat, it would own the deed to the land.<sup>51</sup>

While the company did not demand a significant outlay, it was not in the business of charity; development of Asilomar potentially could quadruple the property value for its Monterey-area landholdings and entice further development.<sup>52</sup> The offer challenged the YWCA to engage in property development on an unprecedented scale for women. And the women of the YWCA's Pacific Coast branch embraced the challenge.

Funding the project presented a monumental task. It brought together thousands of women from throughout the state for a common purpose. Despite regional rivalries that inhibited cooperation and civility between local associations, YWCA members from San Diego to Oakland engaged in creative and usually small-scale fundraising events. Nineteenth-century-style fundraising, however, was not enough to build Asilomar. The national board appointed Ella Schooley to manage the financial affairs for the new conference site. She had owned a large business in Kansas City, Missouri, before serving as general secretary of the St. Louis YWCA, where she had orchestrated the funding drives and worked closely with the architect in the erection of a \$500,000 building.53 Schooley pursued a number of funding resources, including gifts from southern California's wealthiest and most powerful business leaders and discarded silverware and dishes from the railroad companies. She also organized visits for potential donors to experience for themselves the site's natural beauty and the aesthetic appeal of Morgan's designs.54

Most importantly, Schooley linked Asilomar to California's significant tourism industry. She launched a statewide campaign to advertise the grounds as a vacation camp for women, distributing 1,000 posters to Southern Pacific Railroad depots, information bureaus, YWCA buildings, and churches and 3,000 informational booklets to libraries, stores, Sunday schools, and women's clubs. 55 Located just north of Carmel and south of Monterey, Asilomar was connected to two other

popular tourist attractions: El Camino Real, a romanticized automobile excursion roughly following the mission trail of Junipero Serra from San Diego to Sonoma, and the Seventeen Mile Drive, a scenic tour of the coast from the former Mexican California capital of Monterey to the bohemian arts town Carmel-by-the-Sea, including Pebble Beach and the jewel in the center of this drive, the new Pebble Beach Lodge. According to Schooley's discussions with a local builder, however, Asilomar's administration building was far superior to the lodge.<sup>56</sup> By 1918, Schooley could report to Phoebe Hearst—a member of the Pacific Coast Field Committee—over \$5,000 in profit, 93 percent coming from room and board, an indication of how popular the site had become in just five years. Indeed, so solid were the conference center's finances that the national board decided to purchase an additional twenty acres.<sup>57</sup>

A popular tourist destination in its own right, Asilomar also was an empowering women's space. It raised the profile of organized womanhood in California to a national level at a time when the importance of the state itself was reaching national attention. California had figured little in the minutes of national board meetings, but as YWCA women worked toward the creation of the first conference center designed and built by and for women, their activities began to fill pages. The ability to claim a space as the organization's own served as a declaration of independence, for it relieved the YWCA from the time-consuming task of securing rental spaces for conferences every year. Instead, other organizations sought to rent Asilomar.<sup>58</sup>

YWCA conferences at Asilomar not only trained college women in Christian leadership but also provided job opportunities and networking possibilities that placed young women at an advantage in the search to find work after graduation. One of the most striking features of the conference grounds and individual buildings is the emphasis



Morgan first worked with the YWCA in 1912, when she designed a temporary conference site on the grounds of La Hacienda del Pozo de Verona, Phoebe Hearst's estate in eastern Alameda County. The platform tent structures (above) were then moved to Asilomar, the country's first YWCA conference center, when it opened in Pacific Grove in 1913. They provided simple, but adequate accommodations for conference-goers and tourists until the 1960s. The first permanent building constructed at Asilomar was the Phoebe A. Hearst Social Hall (opposite), which brought the activities of California's YWCAs to the attention of national leaders. Designed in the Bay Tradition style, Asilomar buildings celebrate California's natural landscape; features such as unpainted woodwork, local river stone, exposed structural elements, and expansive windows appear to absorb the outdoors.

COURTESY OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORY SECTION, CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY, SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA (ABOVE); PHOEBE HEARST SOCIAL HALL, CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CHS2012.867.TIF (OPPOSITE)

on communal spaces, which facilitated the expansion of feminine discourse. As Asilomar women socialized, recreated, and learned in large numbers, they also engaged in serious discussions about current issues, from suffrage to war and world peace.

Even Asilomar's aesthetic generated an empowering image of California womanhood. As one writer observed, "Now, there are camps and camps. This one would satisfy alike John Burroughs and John Ruskin; Thoreau and Roosevelt would be equally at home here." 59 Like

this writer, virtually all scholars on Arts and Crafts architecture equate it with masculinity, an attempt by white, middle-class, and affluent men to counter the effeminate effects of white-collar work and a modern industrial society or to make the hearth more appealing to men and entice them to spend more time at home. The rustic aesthetic functioned in the opposite way for women. It evoked images of women unbound by domestic walls, getting dirty, perhaps, in skirts that rose well above the ankles. Through Morgan's design, California's women asserted strength and independence. <sup>60</sup>



The YWCA's function shifted significantly in the post–World War II era, rendering Asilomar redundant and a financial drain. The YWCA sold the facility to the state in 1956 and, to this day, it remains one of the two most profitable state parks (the other is Hearst Castle, another Julia Morgan creation). To echo Elsa Black's sentiments, it stands as a testament to the bold determination, optimism, and foresight of "women who build." <sup>61</sup>

### THE END OF THE BUILDING ERA

The 1930s marked the end of building for the California women's movement. A number of reasons can explain the demise of this political style

and path to power and influence. Funding for the maintenance of old buildings and construction of new ones disappeared with the onset of the Great Depression. Large donations from wealthy philanthropists, membership dues, or special event proceeds—on which most women's organizations heavily depended for their nonprofit or charity status—diminished dramatically in the sour economy.

Generational differences also rendered residential club life obsolete. As Estelle Freedman first argued, women's groups since the late nineteenth century espoused separatism as a strategy for creating opportunities in education, professions,

As the period of building came to a close, California's organized women could point to an impressive array of buildings—more designed by Morgan than by any other architect—that left a permanent record of their changing place in society and of the many causes they championed throughout the Progressive Era.

politics, and reform in order to achieve access to many of the same privileges as men without having to compete ferociously against them.<sup>62</sup> Their efforts resulted in a transformed landscape, particularly in urban areas, that drew women into more heterosocial spaces; created jobs, particularly for educated women who previously found very few places they could apply their knowledge; and fostered a general desire to live independently. Now the social, educational, economic, and political structures that had brought women together were no longer as firmly entrenched. Suffrage, the one cause that long united women across class, race, and region, also had been won. These changes made the need for women's clubs and institutions less important and their building programs less viable. With increased governmental oversight of and expenditure on health, social welfare, and educational programs—the mainstay of private organizations for decades—women's influence in the continual development of these landscapes was curtailed.

As the period of building came to a close, California's organized women could point to an impressive array of buildings-more designed by Morgan than by any other architect—that left a permanent record of their changing place in society and of the many causes they championed throughout the Progressive Era. That the buildings were completed at all testifies to the importance that Californians placed on the issues these women claimed as their own, for thousands of both wealthy and working-class people financed their construction. Though the stories behind these buildings confirm that privileged white women created the greatest opportunities for themselves and imposed their beliefs on the less privileged and on ethnic minorities, they also reveal that this hierarchy gradually gave way to a more democratic and inclusive movement.

Morgan generally refused to talk about her buildings, declaring that they speak for themselves. To this writer, they scream out that the architect was a devout women's activist. This essay only scratches the surface of the role buildings played in the California women's movement. Their study—which draws a link between the process of creation and the meanings behind aesthetic expression—is an invitation to future historians to peek inside and explore the interconnection between these spaces and the people who used them.

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- <sup>1</sup> Louis S. Lyons and Josephine Wilson, eds., Who's Who among the Women of California (San Francisco: Security Publishing Company, 1922), 47.
- <sup>2</sup> In his article on women's power and political style, Michael McGerr encouraged historians to recover alternative strategies to volunteerism that women employed in their paths to power during the early twentieth century. McGerr concentrated on ephemeral strategies that suffragists used—educating through pamphlets and the press; advertising and using automobiles and trains as advertising vehicles; making films and putting on plays; or making pageantry out of parades and meetings—and that largely disappeared after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. Michael McGerr, "Political Style and Women's Power, 1930-1930," Journal of American History 77 (Dec. 1990): 864-85.
- <sup>3</sup> This essay builds on scholarship about gender, women's clubs, space, and architecture. A few key studies are Karen Blair, The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914 (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1980); Sarah Deutsch, Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870–1940 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Gayle Ann Gullett, Becoming Citizens: The Emergence and Development of the California Women's Movement (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Marta Ruth Gutman, "On the Ground in Oakland: Women and Institution Building in an Industrial City" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2000); Paula Lupkin, "Manhood Factories: Architecture, Business, and the Evolving Urban Role of the YMCA, 1865-1925," in Men and Women Adrift: The YMCA and the YWCA in the City, ed. Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 40-64; Mary Ryan, Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880 (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Lee Simpson, Selling the City: Gender, Class, and the California Growth Machine (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2004); and René Somers, Edith

- Wharton as Spatial Activist and Analyst (New York; Routledge, 2005).
- <sup>4</sup> Marion Ransom to Aurelia Reinhardt, ca. 1915, Aurelia Henry Reinhardt Papers, 1877–1948, Special Collections, F. W. Olin Library, Mills College, Oakland, CA (hereafter cited as Reinhardt Papers).
- <sup>5</sup> In her recent work, Jessica Sewell studies Progressive Era feminism in San Francisco from a spatial perspective. She focuses on how women inhabited and engaged in everyday urban spaces to shape and reshape their place in the city, as well as notions of female respectability. Gradually, women from a cross-section of class and ethnic backgrounds politicized this landscape, eventually turning store windows, sidewalks, and lampposts into sites for suffrage campaigns. In contrast, this essay focuses on specifically designed new buildings. See Sewell, "Sidewalks and Store Windows as Political Landscapes," in Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IX, ed. Alison K. Hoagland and Kenneth A. Breisch (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 85-98; Sewell, Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco, 1890-1915 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).
- <sup>6</sup> The most prominent of Charles Morgan's relatives was Edwin G. Morgan, successful businessman, popular governor of New York, founding member of the Republican Party, and member of President Abraham Lincoln's administration. Kevin Murphy, Crowbar Governor: The Life and Times of Morgan Gardner Bulkeley (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2010), 5-22; "Biographical Sketch of Nathan D. Morgan, Esq.," The United States Insurance Gazette 35, no. 210 (Oct. 1872), 275-79; "Henry P. Morgan," in William S. Pelletreau, A History of Long Island: From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time, vol. 3 (New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1905), 115–17; James A. Rawley, Edwin D. Morgan, 1811-1883: Merchant in Politics (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955); Charles Morgan to [Thorb?], 1865, Property claim of John Weltz, Sept. 1865, and Charles Morgan's letter to an uncle, Sept. 11, 1865, carton 1, Hart Hyatt North Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA.
- <sup>7</sup> Karen Ann McNeill, "Building the California Women's Movement: Architecture, Space, and Gender in the Life and Work of Julia Morgan" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Berkeley, 2006), 3–30.

- <sup>8</sup> The archival record for Morgan's childhood is scant, at best, so tracing the influences that led her to choose such an unconventional major is difficult. Architect Pierre LeBrun, the husband of Eliza Morgan's cousin, was a likely influence. He was a partner in the prominent New York City firm of Napoleon LeBrun & Sons. While the firm's crowning achievement was the Gothic Revival-style Metropolitan Life Insurance tower overlooking Madison Square (1909), it was busy designing New York City's firehouses whenever Julia Morgan visited the East Coast during her childhood. Thomas W. Ennis, "1909 Tower Here Getting New Look," New York Times, Jan. 7, 1962.
- <sup>9</sup> Lynn D. Gordon, Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 52–84; Barbara Miller Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985); Helen Lefkowitz-Horowitz, Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s (New York: Knopf, 1984); Diana B. Turk, Bound by a Mighty Vow: Sisterhood and Women's Fraternities, 1870-1920 (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 13-79; see Chronicle of the University of California: Ladies Blue and Gold 1, no. 2 (Fall 1998): J. R. K. Kanto, "Cora, Jane, & Phoebe: fin-de-Siècle Philanthropy," 1–8, Dorothy Thelen Clemens, "The Want Most Keenly Felt': University YWCA, the Early Years," 11–19, Roberta Park, "A Gym of Their Own: Women, Sports, and Physical Culture at the Berkeley Campus, 1876-1976," 21-28; Alexandra M. Nickliss, "Phoebe Apperson Hearst's 'Gospel of Wealth,' 1883-1901," Pacific Historical Review 71 (Nov. 2002): 575-605; Mildred Nichols Hamilton, "'Continually Doing Good': The Philanthropy of Phoebe Apperson Hearst," in California Women and Politics: From the Gold Rush to the Great Depression, ed. Robert W. Cherny et al (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 77-96.
- <sup>10</sup> The entire story of Morgan's pursuit for the *diplôme* lies outside the scope of this essay, but correspondence between Morgan and her family, as well as of Victoria Brown, who was a neighbor from Oakland living in Paris with her son, Arthur Brown Jr., future architect of San Francisco's city hall and fellow student at the École des Beaux-Arts, make many references to decisions and

actions of the faculty, administration, and juries that sometimes facilitated Morgan's accumulation of points toward promotion and ultimately thwarted her from competing for a diplôme. This, combined with Morgan's student dossier and the broader context of the École's anxieties over a loss of masculine authority in the arts at the turn of the century, suggests that gender issues determined Morgan's progress at the École as much as did the quality of her work. Tamar Garb, Sisters of the Brush: Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 70-104; Marina Sauer, L'Entrée des femme à l'École des Beaux-Arts, 1880-1923 (Paris: École nationale superieure des beaux-arts, 1990); Susan Waller, "Académie and fraternité: constructing masculinities in the education of French artists," in Artistic Brotherhoods in the Nineteenth Century, ed. Laura Morowitz and William Vaughan (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Pub Ltd., 2000), 137-53; Richard Chafee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts," in The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts, ed. Arthur Drexler (New York: Museum of Modern Art/MIT Press, 1977), 61-110; Julia Morgan's individual dossier, AJ52 409, Archives nationales de France, Paris; Julia Morgan to Pierre LeBrun, July 19 and Dec.12, 1897, and Morgan to LeBrun, May 30 and Nov. 14, 1898, I/04/02/01, Julia Morgan Papers, MS 010, Robert E. Kennedy Library, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo; Brown Family Papers, a private, unprocessed collection provided to the author by Margaret Jensen, Arthur Brown Jr.'s granddaughter.

- 11 Letters from Victoria Brown to Arthur Brown Jr., Aug. 17, 1902; Sept. 3, 1902; Oct. 29, 1902; Dec.14 and 28, 1902; Jan. 8 and 14, 1903; Apr. 19, 1903; Sept. 27, 1903, Brown Family Papers.
- began in 1911, when Phoebe Hearst asked her to design accommodations for a temporary convention site at Hacienda del Pozo de Verona, Hearst's estate in Pleasanton, CA. This conference led directly to the creation of the Asilomar Conference Center, near Pacific Grove, a project that took more than fifteen years to complete and was the first YWCA conference center in the nation. In 1915, Morgan completed the Oakland YWCA, her first building for a local association. Over the next seventeen years, she designed association buildings for San Jose, Riverside, Hollywood, Pasadena,

Fresno, San Francisco, Honolulu, and Salt Lake City. The national board also designated Morgan the West Coast architect for World War I Hostess Houses. She designed hostess houses for San Diego, San Pedro, Menlo Park, Berkeley, and Vallejo in California and for Camp Lewis in Washington. For the most comprehensive list of these projects to date, see Sarah Holmes Boutelle, Julia Morgan Architect (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988), 249-62, though the list is not completely accurate, with incorrect dates for the Mae and Evelyn Cottages of the Mary E. Smith Trust Cottages (1905 and 1906 rather than 1902 and 1907, respectively) and missing projects, including a boarding house for Fabiola Hospital nurses (1905) and work for the Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Diego YWCAs.

- <sup>13</sup> Abby A. Rockefeller (chairman of Housing Committee War Work Council of the National Board) to Grace Southwick, Dec. 9, 1918; Southwick to Rose Kellock (President, War Work Council, YWCA), Feb. 6, 1920; Morgan to the national board, Mar. 1, 1920; J. W. Thomas to Southwick, Apr. 25, 1920; Mrs. Parker to Miss Smith, May 17, 1920; Southwick to Kellock, July 14, 1920, Record Group (RG) 8, reel 166, YWCA of the USA Records, 1860-2002, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA (hereafter cited as YWCA Record Files); Biennial Report of the President of the University on Behalf of the Regents to His Excellency the Governor of the State, 1910-1912 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1912),
- 14 The Berkeley Women's City Club employed the term "stock certificates" in its appeal to donors, as the stock market had become such a popular investment platform during the 1920s, but the club actually secured mortgage-backed bonds to finance the design, construction, furnishing, and decoration of the building. Few investors, including Julia Morgan, cashed in their bonds. Fred G. Athearn, transcript of address at the silver anniversary dinner of the Berkeley Women's City Club, Sept.II, 1952, Berkeley City Club Archive, Berkeley City Club, Berkeley, CA.
- 15 For example, the Ladies' Relief Society in Oakland in the 1870s: door-to-door canvassing for monthly subscriptions, bazaars, fairs, donations, lunches, dinners, dances, and other entertainments; Gutman, "On the Ground in Oakland," 109–10, 116.
- <sup>16</sup> Morgan toured new YWCA buildings

in Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Cleveland, and St. Louis. She also studied the swimming pools at girls' schools in Westover, Greenwich, and Boston. See Oakland Tribune: "Site for Y.W.C.A. Building Chosen," Dec. 18, 1912; "Y.W.C.A. Home to be Built Soon," Jan. 21, 1913; "Y.W.C.A. Building Site is Selected," Feb. 11, 1913; "Y.W.C.A. to Have Fine New Home," Mar. 16, 1913; "Plan for Y.W.C.A. Building Finished," Sept. 4, 1913; "Y.W.C.A. New Building is Commenced," Sept. 17, 1913; "Cornerstone Holds Dream," May 2, 1914; "New Y.W.C.A. Home to be Opened Tomorrow," Jan. 14, 1915; copy of letter from the national board, May 12, 1913, reel 25, YWCA Record Files; Simpson, Selling the City, 114-25.

- "An Asset to Business," *Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (August 1927), 2.
- <sup>18</sup> Kellock to Southwick, July 26, 1920, reel 166, YWCA Record Files.
- <sup>19</sup> San Pedro, CA, history, reel 165, YWCA Record Files.
- <sup>20</sup> Cynthia Brandimarte, "Women on the Home Front: Hostess Houses during World War I," *Winterthur Portfolio* 42, no. 4 (Winter 2008): 201–22.
- <sup>21</sup> Rosalind Amelia Keep, *Fourscore Years: A History of Mills College* (Oakland, CA: Mills College, 1931), 1–11, 34–50, 86–94; Elias Olan James, *The Story of Cyrus and Susan Mills* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1953), 164–236.
- <sup>22</sup> Jane Seymour Klink, "Shall There Be a Woman's College in California?" Overland Monthly 33 (May 1899): 461-67; Kevin Starr, Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 307-44; Susan Mills to Phoebe Apperson Hearst, Apr. 6, 1895, box 48, folder 13, George and Phoebe Apperson Hearst Papers, MSS 72/204 c, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter cited as Hearst Papers); Gray Brechin, Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 233, 280-89; Roy Lowe, A Western Acropolis of Learning: The University of California in 1897 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).
- <sup>23</sup> "The Campanile," White and Gold 10 (Oct. 1903), 32; "Statement by Mrs. C. T. Mills," Dedication of El Campanil and Its Chime of Bells at Mills College, April 14, 1904, 4 and "Mills History," Aug. 9, 1949, Mills College Archives, Oakland, CA.

- <sup>24</sup> Galatians, V: 22–23; Keep, Fourscore Years, 102.
- <sup>25</sup> Oakland's population grew at a fairly steady pace throughout the late nineteenth century, but it was poised to grow more quickly as the new century dawned. The Realty Syndicate, led by borax magnate Francis Marion Smith, had been buying large tracts of land, subdividing it, and investing in such infrastructure as sewers, electricity, and streetcar systems, since the 1890s. It was the San Francisco earthquake and fires of 1906, though, which finally spurred dramatic growth. Throughout the county, "instant cities" practically defined nineteenth-century urban growth and raised anxieties about moral decay. At least since the 1830s, death by botched abortion of a cigar girl named Mary Rogers in New York City, the fallen woman personified the modern metropolis. On Oakland, see Beth Bagwell, Oakland, the Story of a City (Novato: Presidio Press, 1982) and Simpson, Selling the City. Gunther Barth coined the term "instant city" in Instant Cities: Urbanization and the Rise of San Francisco and Denver (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975). For the history of gender, sex, morality, and the city, see Amy Srebnick, The Mysterious Death of Mary Rogers: Sex and Culture in Nineteenth-Century New York (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Peggy Pascoe, Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Mary Odem, Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885-1920 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); and Sharon E. Wood, The Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship and Sexuality in a Gilded Age Society (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).
- <sup>26</sup> Mills to Hearst, Apr. 6, 1895, box 48, folder 13, Hearst Papers.
- <sup>27</sup> "Address of Charles R. Brown at the Dedication of the Bell Tower at Mills College," *Dedication*, 22–23.
- <sup>28</sup> For the history of the YWCA, see Regina Bannan, "Management by Women: The First Twenty-Five Years of the YWCA National Board, 1906–1931" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1994); Brandimarte, "Women on the Home Front"; Gullett, *Becoming Citizens*, 19; Heidi Kenaga, "Making the 'Studio Girl': The Hollywood Studio Club and Industry Regulation of Female Labor," *Film History: An International Journal* 18, no. 2 (2006): 129–39;

- Antoinette J. Lee, "Supporting Working Women: YWCA Buildings in the National Register of Historic Places," OAH Magazine of History 12, no. 1 (Fall 1997): 5-6; Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt, eds., Men and Women Adrift: The YMCA and the YWCA in the City (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Nancy Marie Robertson, Christian Sisterhood, Race Relations, and the YWCA, 1906-46 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007); Marion O. Robinson, Eight Women of the YWCA (New York: National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, 1966); Judith Weisenfeld, African American Women and Christian Activism: New York's Black YWCA, 1905-1945 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).
- <sup>29</sup> See *Riverside Daily Press*: "Y.W.C.A. Architect Mrs. Love's Guest," Sept. 8, 1928; "Begin Work This Week on Y.W.C.A.," Jan. 1, 1929; "Local Y.W.C.A. Unit in World Program," Oct. 19, 1929; "Monumental Aim of New Y.W.C.A. Home Dedicated to High Ideals," Oct. 29, 1929. For more on contested landscapes, see Deutsch, *Women and the City*.
- <sup>30</sup> Lucile Lippett, "Case History of Riverside, California, July 1931," reel 164, YWCA Record Files.
- <sup>31</sup> Laura L. Klure, Let's Be Doers: A History of the YWCA of Riverside, California, 1906–1992 (Riverside, CA: Riverside YWCA, 1992), 18–27; "Wise Action is Taken," Riverside Daily Press, June 11, 1927.
- 32 See Berkeley Women's City Club Bulletin: "A Woman's Club," I (Aug. 1927), I; "Service to Women's Clubs," I (Aug. 1927), 3–4; "Growth," 2 (Sept. 1927), I; "History," I (Sept. 1927), I-2.
- <sup>33</sup> Julian C. Mesic, "Berkeley City Women's Club," *Architect and Engineer* 105 (Apr. 1931): 27.
- <sup>34</sup> Suzanne B. Reiss, ed., *Julia Morgan Architectural History Project Interviews*, vol. 1, Bancroft Library Regional Oral History Office, University of California, 1976, 111.
- <sup>35</sup> Huntington's marble sculpture is called "Youth" and was unveiled to hundreds of guests on the first anniversary of the club building's opening. Mesic, "Berkeley Women's City Club"; "Clara Huntington Bas Relief Unveiled at Berkeley City Club," *Oakland Tribune*, Nov. 21, 1931.
- <sup>36</sup> Judy Yung, Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco (Berkeley:

- University of California Press, 1995), 73–77; Lorna Logan, Ventures in Mission: The Cameron House Story (Wilson Creek, WA: n.p., 1976), 20–28; Mildred Crowl Martin, Chinatown's Angry Angel: The Story of Donaldina Cameron (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1977), 110–22, 229–31.
- <sup>37</sup> Aurelia Reinhardt to Milbank Johnson, August 3, 1917, folder 39, RG IIA; A. S. Lavenson to Reinhardt, Oct. 23, 1916 and Reinhardt to Lavenson, Feb. 7, 1918, folder 42, RG IIA; AR to Bernard Maybeck, Feb. 17, 1917 and Maybeck to Reinhardt [1919], folder 45, RG IIA; Reinhardt to Frank Colbourn, May 24, 1924, folder 11, RG IIC; J. W. Bingaman to Reinhardt, Sept. 18, Sept. 20, 1924, Feb. 25, Apr. 9, 1925, folder 24, RG IID; Reinhardt to W. J. Bacus, Sept. 24, 1924, folder 24, RG IID, Reinhardt Papers. See also Simpson, *Selling the City*, 122.
- <sup>38</sup> Julia Morgan designed Ethel Moore Memorial Hall, a residence hall, but not the one that was finally built. Walter Ratcliff designed the actual dormitory in 1926. Reinhardt to Morgan, Oct. 24, 1925, folder 111, RG IID, Reinhardt Papers; Woodruff Minor and Kiran Singh, *The Architecture of Ratcliff* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2006), 73.
- <sup>39</sup> Reinhardt to Johnson, Aug. 3, 1917, folder 39, RG IIA; Reinhardt to Robert Dollar, May 1918 and Dollar to Reinhardt, May 10, 1918, folder 19, RG IIA; Reinhardt to Frank Colbourn, May 24, 1924, folder 11, RG IIC; J. W. Bingaman to Reinhardt, Sept. 18, Sept. 20, 1924, Feb. 25, Apr. 9, Apr. 20, May 1, 1925, folder 24, RG IID; Reinhardt to Bingaman, Sept. 19, 1924, Apr. 28, 1926, folder 24, RG IID; Reinhardt to W. J. Bacus, Sept. 24, 1924, folder 24, RG IID, Reinhardt Papers.
- <sup>40</sup> In her book Relations of Rescue, Peggy Pascoe illustrates how Chinese women who lived at San Francisco's Presbyterian Chinese Mission acculturated to the Americanization program and Victorian womanhood inasmuch as they benefitted them materially and financially but retained aspects of their cultural heritage. In Pascoe's study, white women, particularly as represented by Donaldina Cameron, remain static figures in their quest to achieve moral authority, unchanged by their constant interactions with women of different social and ethnic backgrounds. While Jensen does not suggest that white women tried to change racial hierarchies, she does argue that the popular act of collecting Asian art and material or

- wearing traditional Asian clothes was less an act of cultural exploitation than a studied exercise and one through which many women expressed their identification with exploitative patriarchal domination. See Joan Jensen, "Women on the Pacific Rim: Some Thoughts on Border Crossing," *Pacific Historical Review* 67, no. 1 (February 1998): 3–38.
- <sup>41</sup> Yung, Unbound Feet, 94-96; Sucheng Chan, "Race, Ethnic Culture, and Gender in the Construction of Identities among Second-generation Chinese Americans, 1880s-1930s," in Claiming America: Constructing Chinese American Identities during the Exclusion Era, ed. K. Scott Wong and Sucheng Chan (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 127-54; "International Institute Report 1928," Minutes, San Francisco YWCA, Nov. 19, 1926, Oct. 15, 1928, and Annual Report of the President of the YWCA, January 1926–1927, Papers of the San Francisco YWCA, YWCA of San Francisco and Marin, San Francisco, California (hereafter cited as SFYWCA).
- <sup>42</sup> Yung, Unbound Feet, 94-96; Nyah Shah, Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 208-11; Cheung Sai Ya Po, "Why Chinese Americans Should Support the YWCA," Chinese Digest, Aug. 15, 1936, in Unbound Voices: A Documentary History of Chinese Women in San Francisco, ed. Judy Yung (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 240-41; Jane Kwong Lee, "A Chinese American," in Unbound Voices, 227-40, and "A Resume of Social Service," Chinese Digest, Dec. 20, 1935, 14, in Unbound Voices, 349-52; Erica Y. Z. Pan, The Impact of the 1906 Earthquake on San Francisco's Chinatown (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1995); Shah, Contagious Divides.
- <sup>43</sup> Annual Report of the President of the YWCA, Jan. 1926–1927 (hereafter cited as Annual Report) and minutes of SFYWCA board meeting, Oct. 15, 1928, SFYWCA.
- <sup>44</sup> The central board calculated correctly; the San Francisco residence ran at 98.5 percent capacity from the day it opened its doors through at least World War II. Annual Report and San Francisco YWCA board minutes, May 19, 1930, July 2, 1931, SFYWCA; "A Delightful Place to Live," brochure for the Residence Club, San Francisco YWCA, reel 165, and Questionnaire, 1946, YWCA Record Files.

- <sup>45</sup> Minutes, San Francisco YWCA, Nov. 19, 1926,Sept 23, Oct. 28, and Nov. 18, 1927, and Jan. 25, 1929, SFYWCA; Annual Report, SFYWCA.
- <sup>46</sup> Minutes, San Francisco YWCA, Jan. 25 and May 19, 1929, May 19 and Nov. 29, 1930, SFYWCA; Myra A. Smith, "San Francisco Standards Study Report," May 24–June 4, 1937, reel 165, YWCA Record Files.
- <sup>47</sup> Minutes, San Francisco YWCA, Mar. 10, 1931, SF YWCA; Chan, "Race, Ethnic Culture, and Gender," 127–64; Yung, *Unbound Feet*; Lupkin, "Manhood Factories," 40–64; Nancy Robertson and Elizabeth Norris, "'Without Documents No History': Sources and Strategies for Researching the YWCA," in *Men and Women Adrift*, 271–94.; Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 103–5.
- <sup>48</sup> Smith, "San Francisco Standards Study Report," 6.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid., 2, 6.
- <sup>50</sup> Richard J. Orsi, Sunset Limited: The Southern Pacific Railroad and the Development of the American West, 1850–1930 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 116–26; Russell Quacchia, Julia Morgan, Architect, and the Creation of the Asilomar Conference Grounds (Carmel, CA: Q Publishing, 2005), 125–27.
- <sup>51</sup> Pacific Grove was founded as Pacific Grove Retreat Association in 1875. It was a Methodist seaside resort and campground, and within its first year a dozen cottages and several tents were constructed to accommodate 400 guests. With the construction of Hotel del Monte in 1880 and the infusion of Pacific Improvement Company funds into the development of the peninsula, the Monterey area gained popularity. People of no particular religious affiliation began to settle in Pacific Grove, more or less closing its brief history as a Chatauqua of the West. Minutes, national board, May 29 and Oct. 2, 1912, reel 25, YWCA Record Files; Quacchia, Julia Morgan, 116-18.
- <sup>52</sup> Quacchia, Julia Morgan, 127.
- Harriet Taylor to Phoebe Hearst, Oct. 7, 1912, Hearst Papers; Minutes, Feb. 5, 1913, reel 25, YWCA Record Files.
- 54 Schooley to Hearst, May 12, 1913, and July 16, 1913, box 50, folder 24, Hearst Papers.
- 55 Schooley to Hearst, Apr. 23, 1914, box 24, folder 50, and Pacific Coast Field Committee Minutes, May 25, 1914, box 51, folder 6, Hearst Papers.

- <sup>56</sup> Schooley to Hearst, May 19, 1913, box 50, folder 24, Hearst Papers.
- <sup>57</sup> Notably, the invention of El Camino Real, which appealed to modern interest in automobile touring and nostalgia for California's Spanish past, originated with women. See Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 47–102. Chairman (Conference Grounds Committee) to Mrs. F. E. Shine, (President YWCA, Bisbee, AZ), Mar. 14, 1917, box 50, folder 21, and Schooley to Hearst, July 20, 1916, Apr. 1, 1918, box 50, folder 24, Hearst Papers.
- <sup>58</sup> News of the Pacific Coast Field Committee first appeared in the minutes of the national board meetings in Oct. 1911 with the announcement that Phoebe A. Hearst would hold the 1912 regional conference at her estate in Pleasanton, where the topic of most importance would be purchasing a permanent site for the Pacific Coast Conference. Executive Minutes, National Board of the YWCA of the USA, Oct. 19, 1911, 2, reel 25, YWCA Record Files.
- <sup>59</sup> "Asilomar Unpictured," *The Epworth Herald* [1916], in Schooley to Hearst, July 20, 1916, Hearst Papers.
- <sup>60</sup> For more on gender and the Arts and Crafts movement, see Eileen Boris, "Crossing Boundaries: The Gender Meaning of the Arts and Crafts," in The Ideal Home, 1900-1920: The History of Twentieth-Century American Craft, ed. Janet Kardon (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993); Boris, "'Dreams of Brotherhood and Beauty': The Social Ideas of the Arts and Crafts Movement," in "The Art that is Life": The Arts & Crafts Movement in American, 1875-1920, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1998), 208-22; Cheryl Robertson, "House and Home in the Arts and Crafts Era: Reforms for Simpler Living," in "The Art that is Life," 336-57; T. J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture (New York: Pantheon Press, 1981), 59-96.
- <sup>61</sup> Lyons and Wilson, Who's Who among the Women of California, 47.
- <sup>62</sup> Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870–1930," Feminist Studies 5 (Fall 1979): 512–29.

# REVIEWS

EDITED BY JAMES J. RAWLS

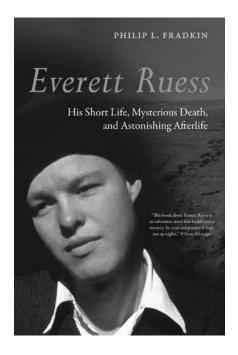
# EVERETT RUESS: HIS SHORT LIFE, MYSTERIOUS DEATH, AND ASTONISHING AFTERLIFE

By Philip L. Fradkin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011, 296 pages, \$24.95)

REVIEWED BY ROBERT S. MCPHERSON, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY, AND AUTHOR OF COMB RIDGE AND ITS PEOPLE: THE ETHNOHISTORY OF A ROCK

Americans love to contemplate lost things—gold mines, airplanes, ships, and people—then go looking for them. In the case of Everett Ruess, this young man became a symbol of the starry-eyed wanderer and poster child for wilderness advocates, receiving a good share of his notoriety due to two things—poignant letters that chronicle inner turmoil mixed with spirited elation and his disappearance in southeastern Utah, never to been found. Roughly a third of this book dwells on Ruess's "astonishing afterlife" and the people who unsuccessfully pursued the mystery of his demise.

Fradkin has created a work that surpasses all others written about Ruess. Heavily documented, it provides a rich



context in historical fact and social analysis, daring to go where others have not trod. Controversial topics such as the possibility of Ruess having a manic-depressive disorder, questions of sexual preference, his inability to maintain normal relationships, and academia's debacle in the DNA testing of skeletal remains give the writing an "edgy" quality. The author, backed by expert opinion, argues a point of view that removes any halo and grounds his subject in reality. Weaving Ruess's words throughout the text blends the familiar (with those who have read his writings) with a new awareness of his complexity. Fradkin achieves balance in portraying an unbalanced soul.

For the reader of California history, particularly pertinent are the chapters about Ruess's early years in this, his birth state, which he later explored at age nineteen (1933). Both his mother and father were comfortable in privileged society and so, not surprisingly, Everett chummed with a number of

California luminaries such as Maynard Dixon, Dorothea Lange, Ansel Adams, and others in the art community, as he worked on block prints and dabbled in poetry. Flirtation with formal schooling failed, society evoked claustrophobia, and sustained personal interaction was elusive. The open spaces—in both land and relationship— brought peace to his soul, if any was to be found. His letters provide the greatest insight into why he felt this way; the landscape that fostered this mood, and with which he is most often identified, was in the Four Corners region.

Ruess's disappearance, while tragic, seemed fitting for one wishing to be alone and at one with the universe. In life he only required a couple of burros, a dog, and some basic equipment to be generally happy, while the Great Depression encouraged others to seek material security. Only with departure and death did complexity find its way to his footsteps. From search parties to memorial services, from eyewitness interviews to DNA, and from the humblest Navajo to university professors, the interest in his disappearance catapulted him to fame; he remains an unsolved mystery. His "short life, mysterious death, and astonishing afterlife" says as much about society then and now as it does about the man. Fradkin triumphs in telling this story.

# REVIEWS

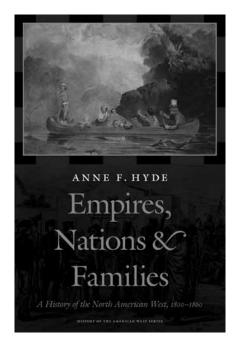
# EMPIRES, NATIONS & FAMILIES: A HISTORY OF THE NORTH AMERICAN WEST, 1800–1860

By Anne F. Hyde (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2011, 648 pp., \$45.00)

REVIEWED BY EMILY RADER, HISTORY DEPARTMENT, EL CAMINO COLLEGE

Empires, Nations & Families lives up to the promise of its title, placing families firmly in the context of empire and nation building in the American West. And Anne F. Hyde manages to do this in authoritative yet unstuffy writing and command of the broad sweep of relevant historiography. It is the second of six projected books in the "History of the American West" series.

Hyde synthesizes Western historiography to show how "vying empires"— French, Spanish, English, Russian, and American—were built by "family connections across national and ethnic lines" (5), which expanded global trade networks based on the fur trade and Indian nations of the Great Plains and the Pacific Coast. The "family connections" started with white men and American Indian or Mexican women. Hyde examines these mixed-race families by tracing the fur trade in a number of regions and, for each region, one or two families. These include the Chouteau-Laclede family, founders of St. Louis; the Wilson family in Los



Angeles; and the Vallejos in Sonoma. But the promise of the West as a place of flourishing "kinship across national and racial borders" (496), ended with the arrival of racist and land-hungry American settlers. They ushered in the "Indian wars" of the 1850s–1870s, along with anti-Mexican laws and attitudes. The 1860s saw "conquest of one people by another" by "extermination and erasure" (496).

Hyde's analysis of California succeeds when focused on the big picture—the interactions of international, national, regional, community and family relations—but is weaker when the focus is local. There are mistakes and misinterpretations, some coming from the secondary sources, but a number of the author's own creation. For example, Hyde confuses the Native peoples of southern California with those of central and northern California during the Gold Rush.

There is also a troubling equation between the fur trade in the Plains and the Pacific Northwest with the hide-and-tallow trade in California. American Indian hunters and traders and European traders cooperated as equals in the fur trade. But Hyde proposes a questionable definition: "[F]ur encompasses a much broader category of things. Animal skins include fur, pelts, and hide" (19). In California, Europeans married into land-owning Mexican families, whose wealth came from the labor of marginalized Native Californians (Indians). This three-part relationship differed fundamentally from partnerships in other regions.

One doesn't read a work like this to learn the details of local history, but the book's depictions of Native Californians bring out an important strength and a related weakness. The strength: placing Native tribes and families in the center of the story, alongside Europeans and Americans. The weakness: underusing Native sources.

Empires, Nations & Families contributes persuasive arguments to the historiography of the American West. The author offers intriguing insights, such as the argument that "stability over time" (29), rather than change, characterized the growth of the fur trade in the first half of the nineteenth century. Hyde also reminds readers that without women—as spouses and co-managers—the fur trade would not have succeeded. Read this book for its sweeping analysis and impressive integration of family history with world history.

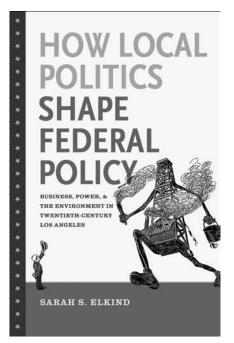
# HOW LOCAL POLITICS SHAPE FEDERAL POLICY: BUSINESS, POWER, & THE ENVIRONMENT IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY LOS ANGELES

By Sarah S. Elkind (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011, 288 pp., \$45.00 cloth)

REVIEWED BY JARED ORSI, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY, AND AUTHOR OF HAZARDOUS METROPOLIS: FLOODING AND URBAN ECOLOGY IN LOS ANGELES

SARAH ELKIND'S SUPERB BOOK explores the politics of natural resource management in Los Angeles between 1920 and 1950. This transitional period in American politics bridged the Progressive Era's use of government authority to check the power of business and the Cold War's suspicion of centralized government. As such, the period gave rise to some characteristic features of today's national political landscape. Los Angeles is a paradigmatic location for studying those origins.

Elkind answers two vitally important questions. First, how did business come to be equated with the public interest? Historians have long recognized the decisive political power that local business interests such as railroads, newspapers, and chambers of commerce wielded in early twentieth-century southern California. This power, however, has generally been taken as a given. Elkind, in



contrast, explains how it emerged. In three chapters on environmental controversies—beach access, air pollution, and flood control—she recounts the processes by which local business groups cast themselves as the voice of the public interest, and reinforced this claim by conducting studies, formulating proposals, and placing them before local officials stamped with the imprimatur of apparent public approval. Thus, these groups performed the important governmental function of vetting and prioritizing policy options while also providing officials effective political cover of appearing to advance the public interest. A powerful and enduring partnership ensued in which local officials accepted business interests as the voice of the people and business enjoyed considerable ability to influence policy in its favor.

That influence did not remain solely local. Elkind's second important ques-

tion is what consequences did such arrangements have for federal policy? The flood-control chapter, along with those on Hoover Dam's hydroelectric power and Harry Truman's Water Resources Policy Commission, demonstrate that because federal agencies relied on local government to set policy priorities and generate local support, local business agendas consistently found their way into federal policymaking. In fact, as the national crisis mentality of the Great Depression and Second World War gave way to Cold War fears of centralized power, the partnership between local government and local business came to be seen as the antidote to the threat of big government and the hallmark of good policy. This set the stage for the antifederal government rhetoric that has shaped American politics ever since.

Today's acrimonious debates over the proper relationship between government, business, and the public render the history of how business came to be seen as a bulwark against public institutions particularly salient. Elkind's book, which is clearly written, meticulously researched, and extraordinarily balanced in assessing historical players' motives and actions, offers a fine treatment of the subject and beckons additional inquiry into case studies beyond Los Angeles.

# REVIEWS

# A SHORT HISTORY OF LAKE TAHOE

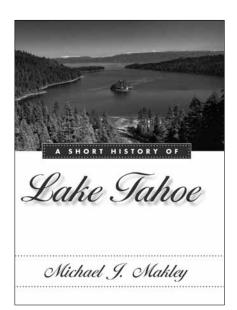
By Michael J. Makley (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2011, 192 pp., \$21.95 paper)

REVIEWED BY PATRICIA ANN OWENS, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, WABASH VALLEY COLLEGE, MOUNT CARMEL, ILLINOIS

LAKE TAHOE IS KNOWN FOR itS stunning beauty and its plethora of recreational opportunities, but without a doubt many of the lake's admirers do not know much about its history. Michael J. Makley, author of several regional histories, offers a succinct, readable account of the sapphire-jewel lake and its surrounding localities.

Divided into twelve chapters, each richly illustrated with black-and-white photographs, the author commences with the Washoe Indians who inhabited the lakeshore for hundred of years. Providing substance to the people, the Washoe revered the lake. This was not true of Anglo Americans, who first entered the region in 1844 when John C. Frèmont viewed Lake Tahoe from atop Red Lake Peak. Settlers soon followed, harvesting timber and cutting roads to such mining regions as the Comstock Lode, all in total disregard of the region's ecosystem: their emphasis was on making money from the bountiful natural resources.

By the late 1850s, a new source of revenue was available from tourists who came to take in the scenery while stay-



ing at the guest hotels that had sprung up around the lakeshore. "Resorting" became a thriving enterprise and the post—World War II years saw an influx of visitors with cars and money to spend at the gambling resorts that opened on the Nevada side of the lake. By the 1960s, the lake's ski areas were attracting even more tourists. Hikers and rock climbers discovered a locale rich in natural history, geology and adventure.

Increasing visitation places a strain on all those special natural areas that we love and the same is true for Lake Tahoe. Today there is renewed interest in preserving the ecosystem and the fragile environment while making the area accessible to visitors.

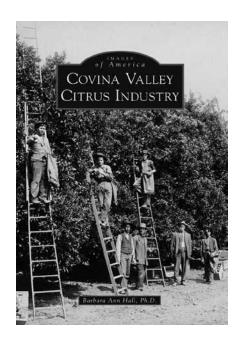
Makley presents a fascinating account of the people who have traversed through the region and those who stayed, of geology and nature at its best, and of the Native Americans who first recognized the sacredness of this scenic wonder that Mark Twain called "the masterpiece of the Creation."

# COVINA VALLEY CITRUS INDUSTRY

By Barbara Ann Hall (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011, 128 pp., \$21.99 paper)

REVIEWED BY PAUL J. P. SANDUL, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, STEPHEN F. AUSTIN STATE UNIVERSITY

"Covina Valley Citrus Industry tells the story of how 25,000 acres of dry, rocky land covered with cactus and sagebrush were turned into a garden paradise by settlers who came from all over the United States." This opening sentence to Barbara Ann Hall's introduction for Arcadia Publishers' Images of America Series gets immediately to the heart of the book's interpretive thrust. "These men and women developed a successful commercial citrus industry that flourished for 70 years" (7). And this is a story that Hall describes well. The people of Covina Valley in southern California, from Azusa to Glendora, are literally the face of the story. What is most meaningful for those with an interest in citriculture, southern California, labor, boosterism, and nascent metropolitan growth is the social history that Hall provides, which is also conscious of top-down forces such as transportation, technology, and architecture.



The social history of Covina Valley Citrus Industry is Hall writing at her best. Thought of as the "bottom up" approach, Hall does just that by making sure she goes all the way up. Mixed in with the faces of those who toiled the fields, worked the packinghouses, and labored in the service sectors are the faces of the middle and upper classes: the "community builders," entrepreneurs, land owners, and railroad barons. For these people, Hall unpacks a family history, workers' daily routines, and even seemingly mundane activities. Courting, marriage, leisure, and entertainment fill the pages, too. One cannot help but feel the activities as lived by those who are featured in this story.

The main critique that can be made about this work is not aimed at Hall per se, but is rather endemic of Arcadia's Image of America series broadly. For example, when looking at the images of the packinghouse employees, among others, it is quite noticeable that women fill out the ranks. Familiarity with the history of labor in California already provided me with much of the context I needed to appreciate the images. But, I suspect, many who pick up the book might not be as familiar. The story of why these women comprised the packinghouse labor pool in such large numbers is untold. Again, my intention here is not to throw the book at Hall, but to recognize that the medium through which the story is told is both a proverbial blessing and curse. Having authored two Arcadia books myself, I am painfully aware of the role that limited pages, and image, word, and caption counts play in the decision-making process concerning how and what to tell. So rather than complaining about what Hall did not do, I again return to what she did so well. That is, the images and the faces are the blessings we should focus on in Arcadia books, particularly Hall's. They are often a picture window, not the Hubbell Telescope, into a time and place that furthers our understanding of, and appreciation for, the history of any given place.

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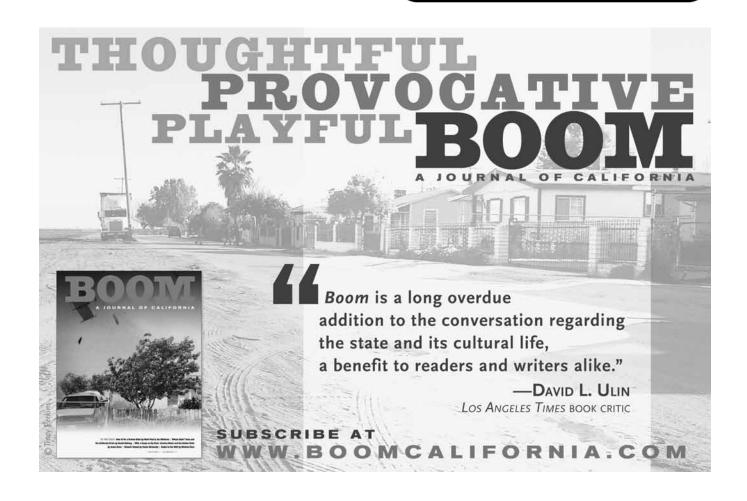
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San Francisco School of Design, ca. 1896, Silver gelatin print California Historical Society, FN-16648/CHS2009.104.tif

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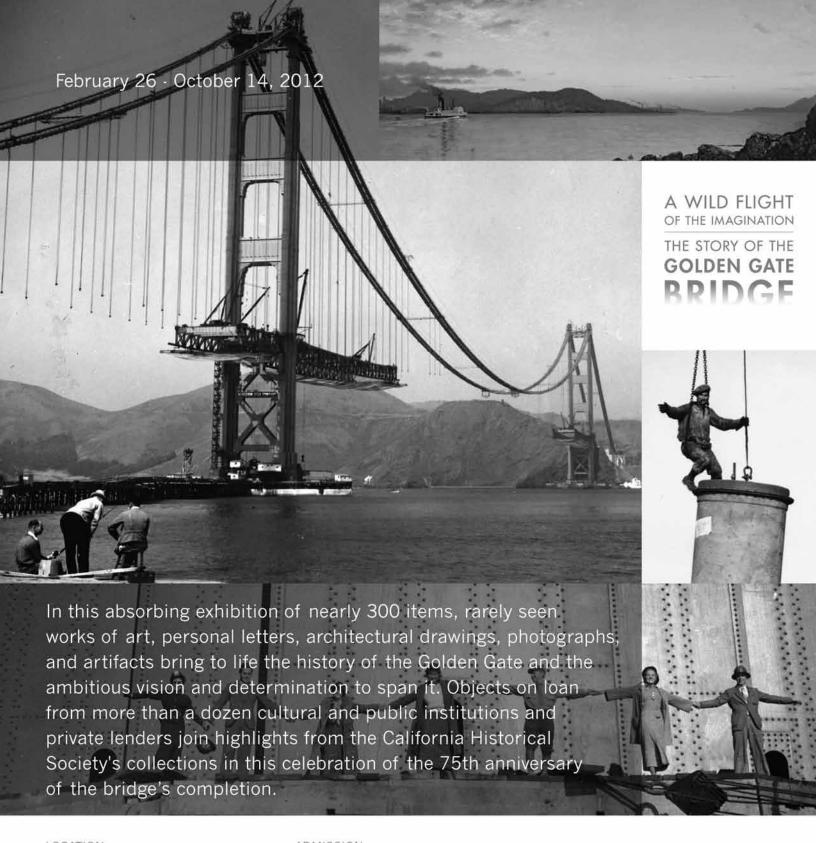
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Photographer Ted Huggins, a public relations representative for Standard Oil Company of California, captured this image of a Golden Gate Bridge worker sitting atop the bridge's South Tower at a dizzying height during the cable-spinning process. Huggins photographed construction of the bridge from 1934 to 1937. Some of the images he made for Standard Oil are featured in "Bridging the Golden Gate: A Photo Essay" (pages 9–40).

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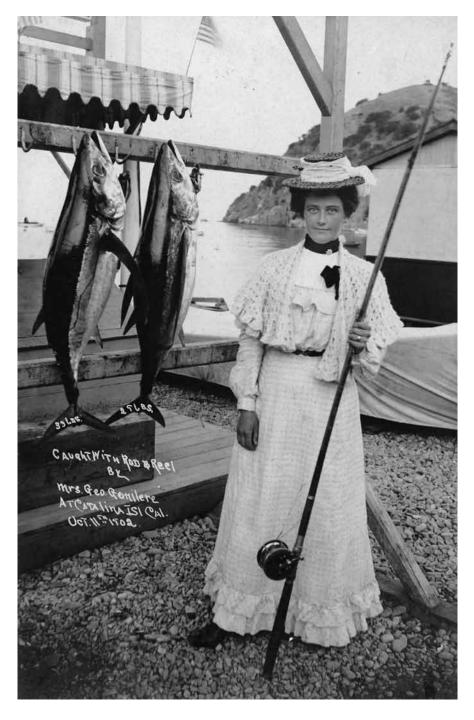
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# SPOTLIGHT



Photographer Unknown

LOCATION

Avalon, Santa Catalina Island

Caught with Rod & Reel
Avalon, Santa Catalina Island, 1902
Gelatin silver print
CALIFORNIA HISTORY SECTION,
CALIFORNIA STATE LIBRARY

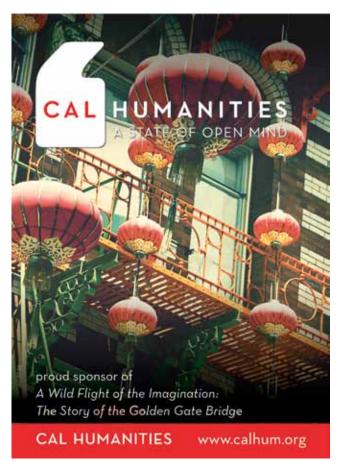
A very pleased and proud Mrs. George Genilere stands next to her catch of tuna at Avalon, Santa Catalina Island. One of her game fish weighed in at a robust thirty-three pounds and the other at twenty-nine pounds. Catalina, with its sublime climate and proximity to Los Angeles, was a sea angler's paradise. At the turn of the last century, the island's population swelled to eight thousand during fair-weather months.

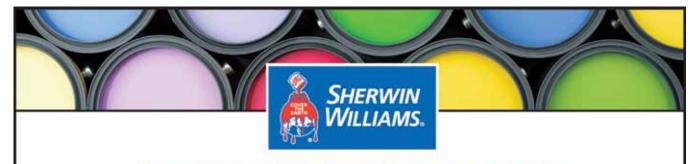
Catalina's popularity led to the establishment of the famed Tuna Club in 1898 by noted outdoorsman and naturalist Charles Frederick Holder. This photo, however, clearly demonstrates that piscatorial adventure was not for men only. Mrs. Genilere's dainty hat, crocheted bertha, and lace-trimmed dress disguised a lady of strength and athleticism who could handle a man-sized rod and reel. One can only imagine her pride as she reeled in the struggling tuna. Holder described the tuna as the pièce de resistance of game fish "on account of its uncertainty." According to Arturo Bandini, the author of entertaining books on early California and Catalina sport fishing, the spotting of tuna would cause a mad dash for all available boats.

Taken by an unidentified photographer, the print has its caption written into the dry plate negative. The weight of each tuna is carefully written over their tail fins. It is professionally and elegantly mounted on an 11 x 8-inch beveled board, indicating that this sportswoman may have planned to have it framed or placed in a prominent spot in her parlor or dining room.

GARY F. KURUTZ







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