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(Un)Settling Segregation: Architectures of Race, Labor, and Home-Building in Progressive Era Los Angeles

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Architecture

by

Melissa Anne Rovner

2023

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2023

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

(Un)Settling Segregation: Architectures of Race, Labor, and Home-Building
in Progressive Era Los Angeles

by

Melissa Anne Rovner
Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture
University of California, Los Angeles, 2023
Professor Dana Cuff, Chair

During the American Progressive Era, discourses of progress were co-constructed with racialized ideas about habitation. Communal, matriarchal, semi-nomadic, and self-built dwellings and their racialized inhabitants were positioned as antagonists to a single-family, heteropatriarchal, Anglo-American ideal. As associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement, the Craftsman, Spanish Colonial and Mission Revival style bungalows that defined Los Angeles' suburbs presented an illusion of self-made, simple living in connection with nature and frontier ideologies. Though purportedly democratic, the development of the suburbs involved the conversion of Indigenous lands into private property. Meanwhile, Indigenous peoples, Black migrants and ethnic Mexicans were funneled into worker housing while employed in the construction and maintenance of a domestic sphere that secured social and financial capital for beneficiaries of Whiteness. The dissertation focuses on three sites where this occurred that have since been erased in the physical landscape, as much as in the public imaginary: 1) The Pacific

Electric Railway Company's labor camps, home to Mexican workers who built and maintained Henry Huntington's exclusive Pasadena suburbs and resorts; 2) The homes built and maintained by students of the Sherman Institute, an Indian Boarding School in Riverside, California for the vocational training of Indigenous youth; 3) The bungalows of the industrial suburbs marketed to Black and unskilled employees of the Los Angeles Investment Company, a home-building enterprise that went on to build racially restricted, residential subdivisions in southwestern Los Angeles. In each case, laborers were racially targeted and housed in overcrowded, unsanitary, and flimsily built structures that materially foretold their demise and future redevelopment. This research challenges conceptions of the "slums" familiarized by neighborhood surveys, by exposing how their production was instrumental to the construction and maintenance of the suburbs. The chapters of this dissertation devote themselves to the designed details of these hidden histories, as emerging from three distinct labor camp, domestic service, and industrial suburbs. Though historically unique in their racial, material, geographic, and social composition, when considered together, the three sites demonstrate a commitment to settling labor and race through the uneven development of the domestic sphere.

The dissertation of Melissa Anne Rovner is approved.

Ananya Roy

Michael Osman

William Deverell

Dana Cuff, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2023

DEDICATION

For Isla

May you stay strongly rooted in the earth,

while surrounding yourself

with dramatically different habitats,

where oceans run deep.

No woman is an island.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIA | American Institute of Architects

ATSF |Atchison and Santa Fe Railroad

BHA | Better Homes in America program

BIA | Bureau of Indian Affairs

CCC-ID | Civilian Conservation Corps, Indian Division

CCIH | California Commission of Immigration and Housing

CHC | California Highway Commission

CPC | City Planning Commission

CSB | California State Board of Health

DCH | Division of Construction and Housing

FHA | Federal Housing Authority

FSA | Farm Security Administration

GCA | General Contractors of America

GSB | Globe Savings Bank

HLIC | Huntington Land and Improvement Company

HOLC | Home Owners Loan Corporation

IECW | Indian Emergency Conservation Work

LA | Los Angeles

LACOC | Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce

LADWP | Los Angeles Department of Water and Power

LAGC | Los Angeles Gas Company

LAHC | Los Angeles Housing Commission

LAIC | Los Angeles Investment Company

LAIU | Los Angeles Interurban Railroad

LARC | Los Angeles Railway Company

LAREB | Los Angeles Real Estate Board

LARy | Los Angeles Railway

MWD | Maintenance of Way Department

NAACP | National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

NAREB | National Real Estate Board

NIRA | National Industrial Recovery Act

OIA | Office of Indian Affairs

PERC | Pacific Electric Railway Company

PLPC | Pacific Light and Power Company

PLSS | Public Land Survey System

PPCC | Pacific Portable Construction Company

PRC | Prison Road Camps

PRCC | Pacific Ready Cut Company

RA | Resettlement Administration

RIBA | Royal Institute of British Architects

ROW | Right of Way

SERA | State Emergency Relief Act

SHWC | Sentinel Heights Water Company

SPRR | Southern Pacific Railroad

USC | University of Southern California

WNIA | Women's National Indian Association

WPA | Works Progress Administration

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Despite the reputation of doctoral pursuits, my experience was anything but lonely, competitive, or elitist. I am honored to have encountered and worked with such thoughtful, collaborative, and experimental scholars and humans. Though these acknowledgements can not do justice to their contributions, this dissertation would be incomplete without an attempt at paying gratitude.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Education

PhD Architecture University of California, Los Angeles (Expected March 2023)
Graduate Certificate Urban Humanities, UCLA (June 2019)
Registered Architect #C-36247, California Architects Board (January 2017 to Present)
Bachelor of Architecture Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo (June 2013)

Teaching

Lead Faculty
"Thick Mapping," UCLA (Fall 2022) Graduate Seminar/ Workshop for the Urban Humanities Institute
"History of Environmental Arts" UCLA Extension (Fall 2022, Winter 2023) Graduate Lecture/Survey
"History of Architecture and Urbanism I" UCLA (Winter 2022, Winter 2023) Undergrad Lecture/Survey
"Introduction to Architectural Design" UCLA (Summer 2022) Design Studio for JUMPSTART program
"Domestic Speculation: Race, Gender, and the American Home" UCLA (Spring 2022) Undergrad Seminar
"Humanists for Spatial Justice" USD (Summer 2021) Undergrad Seminar
"Modern Architecture History" USD (Fall 2020, Spring 2021) Undergrad Lecture/Survey
"Comprehensive Design Studio" Woodbury University (Fall 2017, Spring 2018) Undergrad Studio

Associated Faculty
"Theories of Architecture" UCLA (Fall 2022) Graduate Seminar
"Programming in Theory and Practice" UCLA (Winter 2019, Fall 2021) Graduate Seminar/Studio
"On Force and Form" UCLA (Spring 2019) Graduate Research Studio

Research

Research Fellowship, Huntington Library, Pasadena, Ca (Three months in residence, AY 2022-23)
Research Fellow/Associate, cityLAB, UCLA (Fall 2018 to Winter 2023)
Graduate Student Researcher, Chicana/o Studies Department, UCLA (Fall 2019 & Winter 2020)

Publications

Chapters in Edited Volumes
Rovner, Melissa, "The Bungalow as a Mediator of Modernity: 'Eastern' Experiments in Urban Renewal and their Translation to the 'Western' Metropolis" in *Canon(s) and Icon(s): Re-Wondering a North-South Contamination,* edited by Angela Gigliotti, Chiara Monterumisi and Monica Prencipe, ARID, Supplementa Book Series (Rome, Italy: Edizioni Quasar, 2023)

Refereed Journals
_____ "Architectures of Coloniality: The Sherman Institute and the Indigenous Labor behind the Development of Southern California," *Enquiry, the ARCC Journal for Architectural Research* 20 (forthcoming).
_____ "(Dis)possession: The Racialized Development of View Park and Los Angeles' Uneven Housing Market," *Critical Planning Journal* 25 (2022): 45-64.
_____ "The 'Social Science' of Segregation: Between the 'Charitable' Surveys of the Progressive Era and the 'Appraisal' Surveys of the New Deal Era," *Journal of Planning History* 20, no. 4 (2021): 326-337.
_____ "Historic Contingency in Dolgeville, Los Angeles 1903-1910," *Ardeth* 6 (2020): 49-65.
_____ "Between Ritual and Economy: A Brief History of Innovation in the Architecture of Death," *Pidgin* 28 (2020).

Public Scholarship

Rovner, Melissa, "L.A.'s 'Black Beverly Hills' Still Threatened by Racist Past" *KCET Lost L.A. Series* (Oct 26, 2021)

_____ "They Built this City: How Labor Exploitation Built L.A.'s Attractions" *KCET Lost L.A. Series* (Aug 31, 2021).

Conferences / Paper Presentations

ACSA 111th Annual Meeting, In Commons (Spring 2023)
"Modernization Magic": The Expansion of Imperialism and the Architecture Professional across the "Pan-Pacific"

UPenn Weitzman School of Design Conference, **PRECARITY** (April 2022)
"Decolonizing Discourses of Progress"

UCLA Thinking Gender Conference (Spring 2021)
"Systems of 'Care' in the Domestication of White Supremacy"

Exhibitions

"Demo Demo" Exhibition UCLA (Fall 2021)
Exhibition design & curation, focusing on housing justice

cityLAB Opens House, "Activism in Design and Dialogue" Exhibition and Symposium UCLA (Summer 2020)
Exhibition design & curation, symposium organization

"Fitting In, Fitting Out" Exhibition & Report UCLA (Summer 2019)
Exhibition design, design research, report writing

Grants, Fellowships and Awards

Collegium of University Teaching Fellow UCLA (AY 2021-22)
Mellon Teaching Innovation Grant Co-Principal Investigator, UCLA (2020-21)
Graduate Research Mentorship Award UCLA (AY 2020-21)
Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Award UCLA (Summer 2020)
Mellon Fellow, EPIC Seminar for Teaching Excellence: Urban Humanities (Spring 2020)

Professional Service & Employment

AEDI Ambassador UCLA-AUD (AY 2020-2021)
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Project Architect Eric Owen Moss Architects, Los Angeles (Nov 2014-Mar 2017)
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Introduction: Regional Speculation, Subaltern Specters

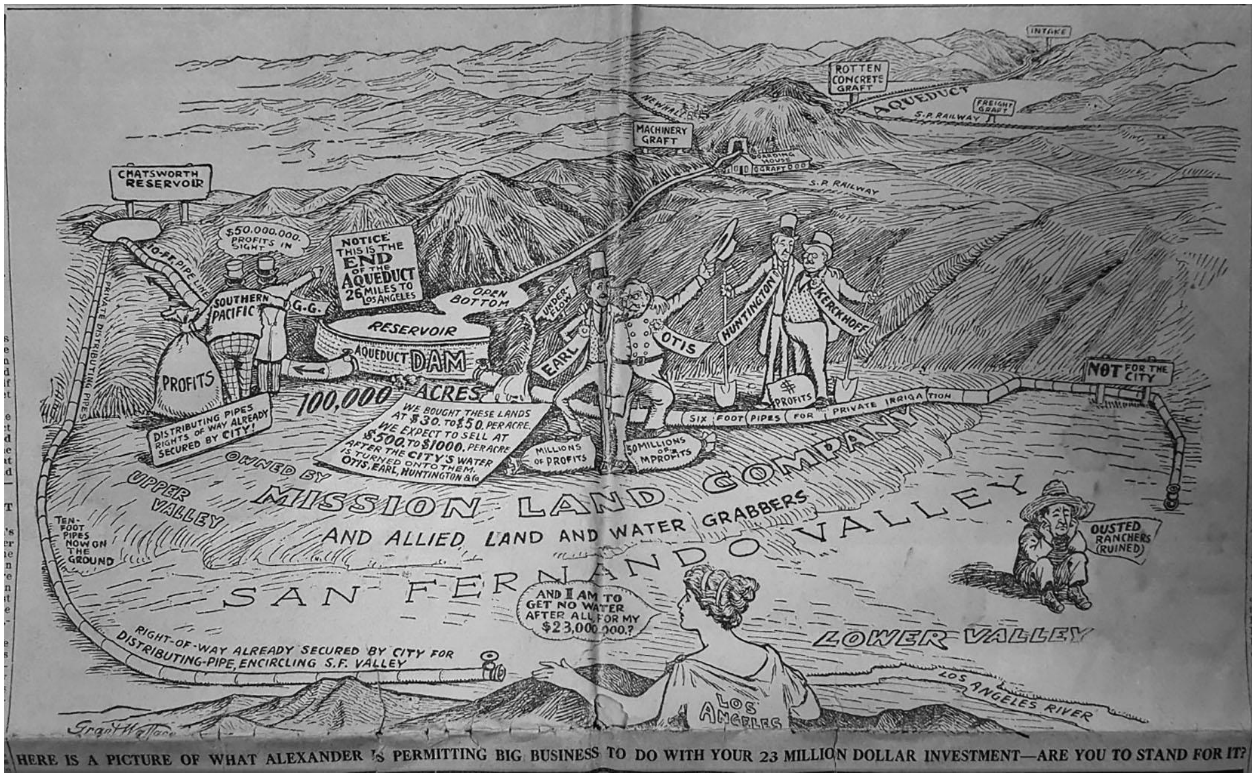

Figure 1: The cartoon reflects the perspective of the Socialist Party with respect to the development of the L.A. Aqueduct by entrepreneurs, as supported by the Progressive Party mayoral candidate, George Alexander. Henry Huntington and Harrison Gray Otis, figureheads of "big business," stood to gain profits for their allied land and water development companies with the extension of the aqueduct, if unregulated by the municipality (Source: *The Coming Victory*, November 25, 1911).

In June of 1985, the Pasadena Board of City Directors passed an emergency ordinance to prevent the current owner of the famed Blacker House in Pasadena, designed by esteemed architects Charles and Henry Greene, from removing its fixtures. In support of the preservation of the architectural masterpiece, local expert Randall Makinson stated, "there are certain pieces of architecture that rise above and beyond just the building."[1] Makinson's comment referred to

[1] Alan Multan, "Pasadena Moves to Protect Heritage: Emergency Law Prevents Further 'Rape' of Blacker House," *Los Angeles Times* (June 6, 1985).

the Greene brothers' employment of "total design," whereby fixtures, furnishing and equipment were designed and specified by the architect in alignment with the Arts and Crafts Movement. The historic Craftsman style of the Blacker house itself is in fact just one contributor to the wealth of the site; the prestigious Oak Knoll subdivision where the house is located was designed with an exclusive clientele in mind. The Huntington Land and Improvement Company (HLIC) developed the subdivision in 1905 to reap the benefits of the lush hilltop site, restricting access according to racial, economic, and aesthetic concerns. HLIC's realty company, Wm. R. Staats Co., advertised Oak Knoll as heavily restricted, with $10-15,000 minimum home prices including street work, sidewalks, pavement, curbs, gutters, sewers, shade trees and parkways, all supported by a new electric railway built through Oak Knoll directly to the central business district of Los Angeles. The value of the Blacker property then, can be attributed not just to its elaborate architecture, but to its historical relationship to regional speculation, including HLIC's investment in modern infrastructure and neighborhood improvements.

Though isolated as a suburb of Los Angeles, Pasadena was intricately tied to the expansion of Southern California's real estate market in the first two decades of the twentieth century. As described by James Thorpe in the biography of Henry Huntington, rail, water, power, housing development, and progressive politics were interconnected interests of Huntington's development enterprise.[2] In the entrepreneurial spirit of the Progressive Era, infrastructural developers bought cheap land in the city's periphery and invested money in residential improvements to drive up land prices for resale. The profitability of suburban development in L.A. relied, most notably, on the securing of water from Owens Valley for the

[2] James Thorpe, *Henry Edwards Huntington: A Biography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).

extension of the L.A. Aqueduct. William G. Kerkhoff, leader of hydroelectric endeavors throughout Southern California since the 1890s and founder of the San Gabriel Power Company, and Harrison Gray Otis, politician, and publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, joined Huntington in the fight to channel water to the San Fernando Valley, where they also sought to develop residential property. A cartoon from the November 1911 issue of *The Coming Victory*, published weekly by the campaign committee of the Socialist Party of Los Angeles, demonstrated the debates between Progressives and Socialists with respect to Kerkhoff, Otis and Huntington's endeavor (Figure 1). The three "allied land and water grabbers" stood to gain "millions of profits" from the construction of the aqueduct, while ruining "ousted ranchers" in the process, according to the article and the Socialist Party's platform.[3]

To prevent "big business" from sequestering the region's natural resources, the Socialist Party, backed by mayoral candidate Job Harriman in 1910, sought to place utilities under municipal governance. Otis, Huntington, and the Progressive Party were vocal supporters of "open shop" policies that allowed for entrepreneurs and corporations to control infrastructural development without municipal regulation. Two labor union advocates were charged with bombing the L.A. Times building just before the mayoral election, and Harriman, naïve to their guilt, backed their defense in trial. Following their conviction, Harriman and the Socialist Party's reputation were irrevocably tarnished. George Alexander won the seat for L.A. Mayor under the Progressive Party ticket, protecting public utilities for corporate, private interest. Huntington's

[3] "Aqueduct Facts Expose Huge Jobbery," *The Coming Victory* (November 25, 1911). The Homestead Museum Collection.

rail, water, and power infrastructures would go on to shape land and property values from the valleys to the beaches of Los Angeles in the following decades.

The documented history of regional speculation and suburbanization in Southern California is underpinned by the history of the home building industry, and more specifically, what Kimberly Hernandez describes as "the bungalow boom."[4] Hernandez sheds light on the growth of the home building industry during the Progressive Era, and the dependence on infrastructure and bungalow rhetoric in the making of Los Angeles' housing developments. The Craftsman Style bungalow presented an image of humility and simplicity for the upper-class facing rising class tensions due to industrial capitalism. By directing the Craftsman character of Pasadena's suburbs through the bungalow, Huntington could decouple himself from images of the robber baron opposed by labor unions and socialists. And with mass production and the temperate climate of Los Angeles, the bungalow became a more affordable option for homeownership among the working-class, if smaller and geographically removed from residential improvements.

Anthony King similarly traced the suburbanization of L.A. to the electric streetcar and the proliferation of the bungalow, stating that "Los Angeles became the prototype, and archetype, of the fragmented suburban metropolis now typical of the U.S.A."[5] While the Greene brothers were building elaborate Craftsman Style bungalows in the Oak Knoll neighborhood of Pasadena, the Los Angeles Investment Company (LAIC) were also utilizing bungalow rhetoric

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[4] Kimberly Hernandez, "'The Bungalow Boom': The Working-Class Housing Industry and the Development and Promotion of Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles," *Southern California Quarterly* 92, no. 4 (2010): 351-392.

[5] Anthony King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

to promote simple homes for the working-class near factories and industry south of downtown Los Angeles. King contrasted the bungalows built for middle-class Whites with the "ghettos" of central Los Angeles. Though working-class populations were renting properties in the congested downtown regions of L.A., labeled ghettos and slums by health officials, the "bungalow boom" also extended homeownership to a wider demographic. While attempting to reconcile old divisions between the housed and unhoused, new racial divisions were created through suburbanization. The primary expansion of property and public services occurred through mass suburbanization efforts post-WWII, as Lizabeth Cohen demonstrates in *A Consumer's Republic*.[6] The postwar "sitcom suburbs," supported by racist federal financing policies of the New Deal Era, followed what Dolores Hayden described as "streetcar build outs" and "mail order and self-built suburbs." [7] In each of these cases, the modest single-family home in the residential suburbs is central to the dominant history of American housing.

Worker towns were geographically and materially distinct from the residential suburbs. Margaret Crawford's *Building the Workingman's Paradise* demonstrates how the design of company towns during the Progressive Era shifted as a response to union organization and labor unrest.[8] Following the Pullman railroad strike and boycott of 1894, employers began hiring architects, landscape architects and planners to design comprehensive company towns with improved working and living conditions. Aligning with growing concepts of labor management, Taylorism and tenement reform, new Garden City models of worker housing were devised to

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[6] Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2008).

[7] Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003).

[8] Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso Books, 1995).

hide industrial origins and quell labor unrest. But worker housing in open-shop L.A. was driven by developers like Huntington and the LAIC rather than professional designers, and as interspersed throughout the landscape, presented unique challenges and opportunities from those of the company towns described by Crawford.

The history of worker housing in Los Angeles reveals a subset of labor settlement uncaptured by either suburban or worker town histories. Despite worker attempts at organizing into self-help cooperatives, workplace politics were dominated by employers and complicated by racism and union corruption in Los Angeles. Advertisements of sunshine and leisure in L.A. did not account for the labor and housing conditions of the working-class. As captured by John Laslett in his labor history of the region, "sunshine was never enough."[9] The working-class was composed of Black, Asian, Mexican, and poor White immigrant populations employed in low-wage, unskilled positions, leaving them with limited housing opportunities. And yet, the working-class was instrumental to the building of the metropolis. As William Deverell describes, "the color of brickwork was Brown."[10] Though ideas of White elite city builders were prominent, ethnic Mexicans produced the clay bricks that characterized Southern California's remaking of a Spanish fantasy past, while housed in worker cottages in Simon's brickyard. While their labor built and maintained the infrastructure and materials necessary for the expansion of the suburbs, the working-class was racially and economically excluded from the neighborhoods that benefited from their labor.

[9] John H. M. Laslett, *Sunshine Was Never Enough: Los Angeles Workers, 1880-2010* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012).

[10] William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past* (University of California Press, 2004).

The following chapters are devoted to the "subaltern specters," including the labor and worker housing that supported regional speculation prior to WWII and the dominant history of suburbanization. The domestic conditions of racialized laborers, though central to the regional development of the metropolis, are often excluded from the city's spatial narrative. Becky Nicolaides divides the working-class housing of Los Angeles prior to WWII into four ecologies: industrial suburbs, labor camp suburbs, domestic service suburbs, and farm fringe streetcar suburbs.[11] Counter to the exclusively residential suburbs of Los Angeles like Pasadena, highly controlled through racially restrictive covenants and use-based zoning, the working-class suburbs were spaces of racial, economic, and material complexity. Nicolaides demonstrates how small settlements of African American, Mexican American, and Asian American populations emerged in unregulated and undesirable regions of Los Angeles. In these materially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods of L.A., homeownership rates were high, self-building was common, and families put sweat equity into their properties for economic fortitude. Labor camp suburbs often evolved from temporary encampments built for and by railroad track layers. Within wealthy White neighborhoods there were also enclaves of Black families who worked as rail porters, waiters, and domestic servants, characterizing the domestic service suburbs. The industrial suburbs were characterized by pockets of self-built homes near factories. It is these histories that, though displaced, erased, or mischaracterized in the built environment and public imagination, built the global city.

Informal, temporary, or self-built housing for laborers were not only sites of oppression, displacement, or erasure, but also what bell hooks terms "homeplaces." The "slave hut" and

[11] Becky Nicolaides, "'Where the Working Man is Welcomed': Working-Class Suburbs in Los Angeles, 1900-1940," *Pacific Historical Review* 68, no. 4 (November 1999): 517-559.

"wooden shack" were sites of political resistance and belonging, as hooks narrativized.[12] Worker housing was also a site of identity formation and assertion, but as Katherine McKittrick's scholarship on Black geographies illustrates, the dominant narrative often disremembers violence and displacement. Despite "discourses that erase and despatialize their sense of place," Black women were always at the center of space-making, as demonstrated through McKittrick's work.[13] The dissertation draws from Subaltern Studies to understand spaces of labor settlement that have since been condemned as slums and cleared from the physical landscape. Following Ananya Roy's concept of "subaltern urbanism," it sees marginalized spaces and peoples as agents in the making of the urban condition, rather than as the constructed Other of the "First World."[14] Theories of the subaltern are not only applicable to the challenging of global colonial constructs like the First World/Third World or Global North/Global South, but also to the divides between the slum and the suburb on shared geographic and political territory.

The slum was connected to the suburb through "informal urbanism," as Roy describes. It is these spaces of informality that are hard to define, and at the same time, resist definition. While focusing on spaces of the subaltern, the dissertation contends with the problematics inherent in the defining of such spaces historically, and on their resistance to definition. Saidiya Hartman's outstanding book, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*, constructs an archive counter to that of sociological surveys, slum photos and White reform workers who problematized Black women and spaces of subalternity. Hartman recasts the halls, staircases, fire

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[12] bell hooks, "Homeplace (A Site of Resistance)" in *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics* (Boston: South End Press, 1990).

[13] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 121.

[14] Ananya Roy, "Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, no. 2 (February 2011): 223-238.

escapes, stoops, courtyards, and other extensions of living spaces in Black neighborhoods as sites where Black women practiced expanded notions of family and gender norms.

In recent years, humanist approaches to architectural history have refocused issues of race, gender, vernacular, material culture and labor within a discipline overwrought with celebrations of heteropatriarchal masculinity. The construction of a supposed masculine modernity and feminine domesticity paralleled the distancing of public/work from private/home during the nineteenth century rise of industrial capitalism. While home was expected to be a place for intimacy, care, and leisure, under modernity and the associated discourses of evolution and progress, it also demanded efficiency and the appropriation of material culture in the making of a self in the image of educated middle-class women. As Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar's scholarship on the spatial productions of gender in modern architecture demonstrates, women therefore held an ambiguous position within modernity.[15] They were similarly positioned outside of architecture itself, except as a client to Anglo-European White men.

At the root of these gendered spatial constructs was the rising field of study surrounding the environment and its effects on what were perceived to be fundamental differences in human nature. As with the construction of gendered spatial distinctions, social evolutionary theories were used to support racialized distinctions within the building environment and the architectural canon during the nineteenth century. As Mabel Wilson's work on the role of Black Americans in the building of the nation illustrates, the invention of racial categories paralleled advancements in

[15] Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar, *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2005).

the mechanics of drawing.[16] The architectural professional was distanced from the builder as a producer of taste, beauty, and knowledge in line with Greco-Roman classicism. Wilson shows how the Neoclassical design of Jefferson's Virginia State Capitol projected a White Euro-American vision for the nation, concealing the enslaved labor central to its construction. Enslaved Black Americans were distanced from the skills of drawing held by White architects and administrators, rendering their labor as exterior to the profession. The Capitol was also physically, aesthetically, and visually distanced from the slave quarters, rendering Black lives as invisible in the national image.

Charles Davis expands the connections between architectural style and race to considerations of the American domestic landscape more broadly in Building Character.[17] The title of Davis' book reflects nineteenth century preoccupations with the supposed inherent nature, or character, of buildings in relation to their context. The Prairie Style that characterized many of the houses built by Frank Lloyd Wright in the U.S. was described as a response to the assumed pastoral nature of the American frontier. Davis shows how this construction, part of the larger architecture organicism movement, was deeply tied to racial beliefs of White land ownership in America. Though portrayed as a modest, natural response to the American countryside, oppositional to the neoclassical grandeur of national civic architectures, the Prairie Style was no less a part of the construction of racialized hierarchies in America.

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[16] Mabel O. Wilson, "Notes on Thomas Jefferson's Virginia Capitol," in *Race and Modern Architecture: A Critical History from the Enlightenment to the Present*, edited by Irene Cheng, Charles L. Davis II, and Mabel O. Wilson (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020). See also by Wilson: *Negro Building: Black Americans in the World of Fairs and Museums* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

[17] Charles Davis, *Building Character: The Racial Politics of Modern Architectural Style* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019).

Moving beyond the domestic context has allowed postcolonial scholars to see correlations between race and the building environment as further entangled with colonial power dynamics. Recent studies surrounding the architectures of colonization and migration shift the focus of modern architecture away from mainstream Euro-American accounts toward the margins of the global colonial setting and the architectural canon. As Itohan Osayimwese's research reveals, the centrality of Germany within the modern architecture canon depended on the extraction of building practices in German colonies across Africa, Asia, and the Pacific around the turn of the twentieth century.[18] Facing economic challenges at home, German colonizers embraced structural technologies, materials, and labor local to the colonies within which they were building, leading to advancements in prefabricated systems. By codifying these systems through exhibitions and books in line with progressive architectural thought, Germany also colonized architectural knowledge production.

This dissertation expands studies of the margin within architectural history, by exposing the experiences of gendered and racialized labor settlement that connected the so-called slums to the racially restricted suburbs. Though built on shared ontological and geographic grounds, it demonstrates how colonial power dynamics were re-enacted through the building of differentially racialized and gendered domestic spheres. Following from the work of Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi with the "Feminist Architectural Histories of Migration" project, the dissertation sees architecture as a mode of cultural production within our everyday environments.[19] Siddiqi argues for embracing intersectional historiographic practices to recenter spaces of migration and

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[18] Itohan Osayimwese, *Colonialism and Modern Architecture in Germany* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017).

[19] Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi and Rachel Lee, "On Margins: Feminist Architectural Histories of Migration," *Abe Journal* no. 16 (2019) DOI: 10.4000/abe.7126.

histories of marginalized peoples within architectural history. In Siddiqi's work on refugee camps in Africa and South Asia, she counters colonial depictions to show how migratory architecture and labor were sites of negotiation against control and subjugation. Expanding on this work, the dissertation sees the migratory worker housing of Los Angeles' domestic labor force not through ahistorical racist rhetoric, but as a site of negotiation and possibility worthy of historicization within the architecture canon.

0.1 Description of Chapters: The Labor Camp, Domestic Service, and Industrial Suburbs

The chapters explore three sites of racialized labor settlement that range from temporary and portable to ostensibly permanent, drawing from Nicolaides' conception of the labor camp, domestic service, and industrial suburbs. The architectural changes across the three chapters follow a historical trajectory of racialized immigration and housing policies, demonstrating how physical environments were conceived as instruments of racial and social management. The first chapter begins with an exploration of the labor camp suburbs, because they were of the most temporary of worker accommodations, devised for the housing of immigrants while building the railways. As George Sanchez describes in *Becoming Mexican American*, alongside the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan in 1907, Mexicans replaced Asian immigrants as the region's primary cheap labor source, in mining towns, ranches and farms as agricultural laborers, and in the city as "section hands" or railroad track layers.[20] I start here because Mexico, and ethnic Mexicans, were constructed as an Other both racially and

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[20] George Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

geographically through the very founding of the country, lending to their precarious positioning in the building of the American West.

Constructs of the domestic and foreign were endemic to the making of national culture, according to Amy Kaplan's scholarship on United States imperialism.[21] Anglo-Americans fashioned themselves as agents in conquering and taming the wild, what Kaplan terms "manifest domesticity." With the United States' conquest over vast Mexican territories in the American West through the Mexican American war, Mexicans were made into an "alien people," a paradox according to Kaplan, given that the oranges in middle-class homes came from Mexican labor. At a time when the U.S. was aggressively expanding its imperial reach, domesticity was portrayed as a feminine space for intimate management. The labor camp, then, was a space for the management of the Mexican as Other in the domestic setting of the American West, where Mexican labor was instrumental to the domestic economy.

The chapter begins by tracing the history of portable domestic construction technologies, from their colonial beginnings in the management of cotton plantations and enslaved laborers, to the settler colonialism of the American West during the Gold Rush. The "tent cabin" became associated with the rugged frontiersman, especially following John Muir's publication of camping stories in the San Gabriel Mountains. Henry Huntington, who assumed control over the Pacific Electric Railway Company (PERC) after the turn of the century, capitalized on this narrative to entice travelers to Southern California. The chapter considers two endeavors in land development undertaken by Huntington through the PERC and the Huntington Land and Improvement Company (HLIC). The first involves his takeover of the Ye Alpine Tavern and

[21] Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

Resort of Mount Lowe in the San Gabriel Mountains. Here, Huntington hired Architect Myron Hunt to renovate and expand the resort, including a large bungalow building for accommodating multiple families, and the design of tent cabins or "housekeeping cottages" for individual families looking for a rustic experience of the mountains.

Having designed Craftsman Style bungalows for wealthy clientele in Pasadena, including Huntington's own home, Hunt earned a prominent position in the Arts and Crafts Movement. Housing for workers of the resort was designed instead by PERC's Maintenance of Way Department. Through an analysis of the architectural drawings and work orders, the designed differences between housing for workers and guests is revealed. The worker housing was even further subdivided into categories according to the supposed cultural needs of their racialized populations. The "permanent" cottages were designed for housing the families of White foremen. The "section houses," long sheds or barracks for housing Mexican section hands working for PERC, were built with portable construction materials and movable partitions. The architectural differences are analyzed to illustrate how racialized ideas of permanence and family were built into the domestic experiences of Southern California.

The chapter continues with an analysis of PERC and HLIC's development of residential and labor camp suburbs in Pasadena and in the construction of regional infrastructure because it demonstrates the pervasiveness of such practices in the building of the metropolis. I compare the density, cost, size, aesthetics, and neighborhood improvements of HLIC's Oneonta Park, Oak Knoll and South Raymond developments alongside their racial and geometric composition and governed restrictions. The differences in housing and neighborhood composition show how architecture and urbanism were correlated with race and socioeconomics. South Raymond contained a PERC labor camp, made publicly visible through its proximity to White middle and

upper-class neighborhoods and school districts in Oneonta Park and Oak Knoll. Reports by sociologists, news outlets and public health officials demonstrate how the supposed cultural disposition of Mexicans was associated with immoral and unsanitary living conditions. But read against the grain, the archival documents reveal PERC as an agent in the materialization of such associations.

This chapter contributes architectural specificity to scholarship that ties health to race-making in Los Angeles. As demonstrated by Natalia Molina in her scholarship on environmental racism, Chinese, Japanese and Mexican populations of Los Angeles were stigmatized in differing ways, evidenced by specifically racialized medical policies and practices during the Progressive Era. Health officials associated the plague outbreak of 1924, for example, with Mexican populations of East Los Angeles, triggering the mass burning of Mexican homes in Belvedere.[22] In Mexican labor camps, public health officials responded with sanitary inspections and legislation. The standard section houses and promotions published by PERC as a response to public health measures demonstrate an interest in sanitary appearances and the management of behaviors, rather than significant investments in housing or neighborhood improvements.

The dominant history of immigrant and temporary worker housing was authored by the California Commission of Immigration and Housing (CCIH). The CCIH was established in 1912, following an influx of ethnically Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, and Eastern European immigrants, for work in railroad construction, farming, and industrial labor. It addressed topics such as immigrant education, labor, housing, and assimilation, and regulated housing types

[22] Natalia Molina, *Fit to be Citizens? Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006).

including labor camps, tenement houses, lodging houses and family dwellings from San Francisco and Sacramento to Los Angeles and San Diego. The CCIH's legislative reach surpassed the State Tenement House Act of New York, to include a State Hotel and Lodging House Act and State Dwelling House Act, published between 1917 and 1922. The self-built single-family dwellings and house courts of Los Angeles' downtown regions were labeled "shacks" and "slums" alongside barracks, tenements, and labor camps. The CCIH's surveys demonstrate how neighborhoods were racially understood ("Mexican quarters", "Russian quarters"), and associated with filth, squalor, poverty, moral depravity, and crime. Intervention in "slum" districts identified by the CCIH often involved demolition, despite the acknowledged social and economic limitations placed on immigrant populations.

As public officials became increasingly involved in the regulation of labor camp housing and sanitation, and as Huntington continued to expand his infrastructure across the region, new standards in labor camp housing emerged. The chapter ends with an analysis of the development of portable housing technologies for labor camps in the 1920s, because it demonstrates the industry's growth, standardization, and eventual diminishment. The CCIH published standards for a "knock down tent" system in 1914, while their new legislation prevented temporality and portability through regulations in site planning. Their guidebooks reflected a preference for highly regulated, measured, and controlled plans and sanitary measures, despite the tents themselves utilizing precut lumber and bolted connections. From the CCIH to the Farm Security Administration (FSA) standards, housing for laborers became increasingly permanent, as evidenced by published drawings, construction techniques, and legislative standards. This transition aligned with changes in racialized immigration policies. As Genevieve Carpio demonstrates with the phrase "birds of passage," Mexican immigrants were rendered temporary

through mass deportation efforts in the 1930s.[23] These policies reflected shifting labor demands, resulting in policing and violence against Mexican immigrants when labor competition was high. FSA photographs from this period illustrate the architectural underpinnings of such efforts. Mexican housing in the city was portrayed as slums in support of clearance and civic improvement, while the FSA prepared permanent homes on the rural periphery for White farmers escaping the Dust Bowl.

From the independent and local practices of the PERC at Mt. Lowe to the government sponsorship of White housing and Mexican clearance across Los Angeles, the history of labor camps demonstrates a sustained commitment to White permanence and Mexican portability in the making of the Southern California metropolis. As Jerry Gonzalez describes, "in search of the Mexican Beverly Hills," Mexican migrants, denied mortgage loans through federal financing, established barrios in the unincorporated region of East Los Angeles in the 1930s.[24] While Mexican "colonias" like that of Chavez Ravine were slated for demolition, barrios emerged in the unrestricted and unincorporated regions of East L.A. This came in the decades after the "shacks" of "Hicks Camp," where ethnic Mexicans worked as seasonal agricultural laborers, were demolished. The history of labor camps was written off with their demolition, and yet, as this chapter demonstrates, they were intimately tied to the White residential suburbs of Pasadena commemorated by historical preservation societies and architectural history books.

[23] Genevieve Carpio, *Collisions at the Crossroads: How Place and Mobility Make Race* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019).

[24] Jerry Gonzalez, *In Search of the Mexican Beverly Hills: Latino Suburbanization in Postwar Los Angeles* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2017).

As chapter one demonstrates, the racially restricted suburbs of Pasadena relied on the cheap domestic labor of Mexican women living in labor camps, self-built homes, and “shacks” in the unrestricted pockets of South Pasadena. The second chapter asks how middle-class status was achieved through the production of such racialized domestic labor. It seeks to understand how neighborhoods like HLIC’s Oneonta Park were also enmeshed in systems of racialized labor settlement, despite their outward projection of democratic, middle-class values. The search for the “domestic service suburbs” led me not only to the White residential suburbs of L.A., but also to their entanglement with the vocational training schools of Southern California. Settlement houses and Americanization schools like that of the South Raymond district were products of the philanthropic efforts of White women. As demonstrated by Dolores Hayden in *The Grand Domestic Revolution*, “material feminists” fought to improve domestic experiences for women through efficient planning, domestic management, and community support groups.[25] Settlement houses aimed to provide community services for women without access to education in domestic science.

Contrary to the heteropatriarchal single-family home, communal forms of domesticity offered opportunities for the sharing of domestic labor, and therefore, greater public and professional presence in society for women. Jane Simonsen demonstrates how feminist efforts toward domestic management, on the other hand, were entangled with race and class through Americanization and assimilationism.[26] Sentimentalism in the home was associated with slavery, barbarism, the wigwam and the traveling herd, opposed to the civilized home managed by White

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[25] Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods and Cities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982).

[26] Jane Simonsen, *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860-1919* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

middle-class women. Depictions of the "Indian problem" were displayed in world's fairs and women's magazines, contributing to racialized ideas of taste and intellectual property, as Simonsen illustrates. The chapter considers how White reformists created domestic laborers out of Indigenous children, to understand how these middle-class domestic distinctions were made in the built environment. It chooses this subset of domestic laborers as its focus, because as with ethnic Mexicans, Indigenous people were domestic to the American continent, and yet, rendered as Other through settler colonialism and Anglo-American depictions of domesticity.

Huntington's infrastructural and home building empire connects the residential suburbs explored in chapter one to the training of Indigenous students at the Sherman Institute in Riverside, revealing the deeply entangled history of race-making in Southern California. The Sherman Institute's founder, Frank Miller, successfully lobbied for the relocation of the school to Riverside in 1902, in conjunction with his tourist enterprise. A PERC rail extension connected L.A. to Riverside, where Huntington and Miller partnered in several development projects. Miller joined Huntington in the development of a residential suburb at the base of Mount Rubidoux, Huntington helped Miller finance his renovation and expansion of the Mission Inn, and Miller employed Sherman students at the Mission Inn, each a part of Riverside's growing economy at the turn of the century. Like in L.A., Riverside's tourist industry was reliant on the architectural illusion of a Spanish fantasy past. Myron Hunt, architect of the Ye Alpine Tavern renovation, was hired to design a "Spanish wing" for the Mission Inn, likely built by the hands of Indigenous students from the Sherman Institute.

As the latest of Indian boarding schools to be established and run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the Sherman Institute allows for the study of domestic training on a scale unparalleled by private settlement houses. The history of Indigenous people in urban settings is

not well-known or documented. As Joan Weibel-Orlando's work on Indigenous life in L.A. during the Relocation Era demonstrates, Los Angeles constituted the largest urban Indigenous population post-WWII. Many lived in What Weibel-Orlando calls the "ethno-burbs" like Huntington Park and Bell Gardens and found ways to assert tribal identities while embracing modern urban life.[27] Indigenous people also held urban presences in L.A. prior to 1945, as Nicolas Rosenthal demonstrates in his study of Native American migration and identity in the twentieth century.[28] During this period, Indigenous people often combined seasonal work in agriculture with wage labor, building railways, roads, and houses and working in domestic service and other unskilled occupations. It is this marginalized history that the chapter focuses on, and it is this labor that was the focus of the Sherman Institute.

As with other Indian boarding schools established by the BIA, the Sherman Institute took children from their homes on reservations to assimilate them to Anglo-American, capitalist norms of living and working. At the heart of this training was the single-family home, whether as an example of the proper form of domesticity, or as a stage for the practicing of domestic service or construction labor. The curriculum guides explored in the chapter reveal an interest in teaching Indigenous boys to become agricultural, infrastructure and building laborers, and Indigenous girls to raise a family and maintain a home in accordance with Anglo-American standards. In the latter years of their schooling, students were sent to live and work in Riverside and Los Angeles. Indigenous girls were placed in the homes of White women as domestic servants. The chapter maps the homes accounted for in the archives, located in the middle-class

[27] Joan Weibel-Orlando, *Indian Country, L.A.: Maintaining Ethnic Community in Complex Society* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

[28] Nicolas G. Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

residential suburbs west of downtown Los Angeles. As governed through racially restrictive covenants, many of these neighborhoods prevented any "not of the Caucasian race" from occupying the house under any condition, except as domestic servants. Indigenous people were therefore rendered temporary, and Other, to the living conditions they were expected to assimilate to via their training.

By comparing the domestic experiences and portrayals of reservations, Indian boarding schools, and Anglo-American suburbs, the chapter demonstrates how domesticity was racialized through a multi-pronged approach. It depicts the settlement of Indigenous labor otherwise thought to be outside of the capitalist economy, and yet, its precarious positioning within that economy. I use the term "settlement" to evoke histories of settler colonialism, and coloniality more generally. As Patrick Wolfe famously theorized, "settler colonialism is a structure and not an event."[29] Beyond race, land was at the core of settler colonialism according to Wolfe. The history of the Indian boarding school in America correlates with that of the conversion of Indigenous lands into private property. Through this pairing, the chapter demonstrates how the growth of the metropolis relied on the extended network of Southern California's property development and educational systems. It excavates the hidden history of transitory labor in the residential suburbs, and the contributions of Indigenous labor to the building of the city through curriculum guides, correspondence, and architectural settings. As with the first chapter, the dominant archive is exposed for its construction of racialized domestic associations and countered with narratives and material histories of alternative forms of domesticity.

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[29] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Researc*h 8, no. 4 (Dec. 2006): 387–409, 388.

The final chapter questions the terms upon which working-class families achieved homeownership in Los Angeles. The dissertation ends here, because homeownership presumes socioeconomic ascension, beyond the temporary accommodations of the labor camp or domestic service suburbs explored in the first two chapters. And yet, the chapter demonstrates the disparate terms of the "American dream" of homeownership, as located in the multi-ethnic industrial suburbs. The focus of the chapter, the Los Angeles Investment Company (LAIC), provides a counterpoint to the prominence of Henry Huntington in L.A.'s development history. At the outset, LAIC's practice was specifically devised to extend the opportunity of homeownership to working-class populations otherwise excluded from neighborhoods like Oneonta Park. Without this counterpoint, the history of residential segregation in L.A. may appear to be driven by the economic prowess and top-down leadership of Huntington. LAIC's developments are explored, on the other hand, to demonstrate the multifarious and dispersed origins of race-making and space-making in the city. If Huntington had cornered the dominant residential market, then LAIC, with limited starting capital and political connections, would find a niche untouched by most developers. The bungalow business was expanding, allowing for quick and inexpensive building, especially when coupled with cheap land in South Los Angeles.

The writings of Gustav Stickley, architect and author of *The Craftsman* "who saw that the fuel question and the servant question and the question of health must all be reckoned with in the architecture of the modern home," contributed to the bungalow's national acclaim.[30] The sleeping porch, a common feature of the bungalow, was sold as a humbling agent, to provide outdoor sleeping at a small cost to middle-class families without the means for a servant or a

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[30] Editorial by W.F. Muse in *Mason City Globe Gazette* quoted on page one of: Gustav Stickley, *Craftsman Houses, the 1913 Catalog* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 2009).

vacation home. California specifically suited these narratives, with its relatively undeveloped, lush landscapes and temperate climate, serving as a counterpoint to eastern industrial cities like Chicago and New York. Though the earliest recording of the term in the United States was used to describe a Cape Cod vacation home, Clay Lancaster argued that the contemporary bungalow was defined in California. Lancaster aligned with Stickley, featuring the "simple and artistic" Craftsman Style homes designed by the Greene brothers as proof of this formulation. Contrary to colonial bungalows, those of the United States were described as "social leveling devices," associated with democratic, middle-class values.[31] A unique formulation of the bungalow emerged in the "industrial suburbs" of Los Angeles, "their sordidness redeemed only by the outdoor climate and the somewhat aesthetic tradition of the California bungalow," as described by Harlan Paul Douglass in 1925.[32] Though occupied by the working-class, the industrial suburbs were distinct from comprehensively planned company towns. Despite the bungalow serving as a small respite from the sordidness described of the industrial suburbs, surrounded by factories, busy streets and commerce, they were also a far cry from those in the bedroom communities associated with the suburban fringe.

Black populations asserted their presence in early twentieth century L.A. through discourses of racial uplift, thrift, and racial solidarity, achieving business development and homeownership, even within the confines of segregation. LAIC's first tract, "Butler and Elder," named for two of the company's founders, was marketed to industrial laborers living in the "colored section" between Alameda and the L.A. River. The multi-racial character of working-

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[31] Clay Lancaster, *The American Bungalow: 1880-1930*, reprint edition (New York: Dover Publications, 2012), 11.

[32] Harlan Paul Douglass, *The Suburban Trend* (New York, NY: The Century Company, 1925), 96, 115.

class neighborhoods and the racism of the real estate industry against Black, Mexican, Chinese and Jewish populations alike diffused anti-Black racism in the West, as described by Douglas Flamming in his account of Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America.[33] The paradoxes of L.A. described by Flamming were echoed by Josh Sides, who stated that "it was a city where white supremacy was as central to white self-perception as it was in southern Mississippi but where anti-black violence was quite limited."[34] N.D.B. Connolly likens the experience of Los Angeles to that of Miami, where segregation was modernized under promises of racial diversity. In the Pan-American city, "segregation itself becomes a kind of technology, one under constant innovation and responsible in no small way for the latter-day flowering of the transnational metropolis."[35] Black, Indigenous, Mexican, Japanese, and poor White populations shared topographic and ideological ground in Los Angeles, in the lowlands of West Temple, Boyle Heights, Alameda Corridor, and west of Watts, interspersed with oil wells, dumping grounds, rail yards and small homes. The industrial suburbs are the focus of this chapter because of their complicated racial and material history, both within and outside of the dominant history of suburban homeownership.

The chapter traces LAIC's trajectory, from their first tract at Butler and Elder, to their development of the racially restricted suburban development of View Park in the Baldwin Hills. The east-west cross section transformed by LAIC's bungalow building business is taken as the focus of the chapter, because it is representative of Los Angeles' geographic, material,

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[33] Douglas Flamming, *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press. 2005).

[34] Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present* (University of California Press, 2004), 12.

[35] N. D. B. Connolly, *A World More Concrete: Real Estate and the Remaking of Jim Crow South Florid*a (The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 244.

socioeconomic and racial correlation during the American Progressive Era. The small, cheap, and quickly built homes of Butler and Elder were available through payment plans secured by company stock. LAIC began establishing lumber factories and mills to support their home building enterprise while expanding their financial indebtedness. Many of LAIC's homeowners, who also worked for and owned stock in the company, were especially dependent on company growth and profit. The chapter demonstrates how as LAIC's business grew, they began speculating in higher socioeconomic markets, increasingly regulating financial, material, aesthetic, geometric, racial, and behavioral characteristics of their subdivisions. A pivotal point occurs when the company is indicted for fraud, bailed out and reorganized by the city in 1913. The transition demonstrates LAIC and racialized domestic development to be a systemic undertaking, one that belies any indebtedness to individual or collective agents like founders Butler and Elder.

The chapter takes us to View Park, developed by LAIC after reorganization, and the first L.A. subdivision to be sponsored by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). The racist history of the Home Owners Loan Corporation's (HOLC) "redlining maps," and the FHA's denial of mortgage loans to Black homeowners has been well-documented. As Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor shows through the history of banking and the real estate industry in the U.S., Black persons were either relegated to community-based networks with limited funds, or charged more for less secure loans, making it harder for them to invest in property.[36] Racial segregation ensured that the supposed financial risks associated with Black populations were isolated from superior geographies and the profits associated with rising land and property values. As Andrea

[36] Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

Gibbons demonstrates through the 100-year history of housing struggles in Los Angeles, the dynamics of home valuation were intrinsically tied to urban planning and form.[37] Though racial patterns of L.A. were less homogenous or binary than in the early industrial cities, there were clear racial and spatial distinctions between the city center, where ethnically Mexican, Asian, and Black populations were historically concentrated, and the periphery, where White suburban enclaves economically prospered.

"Redlining" maps, and the racialized legislative history they illustrate, overlay with LAIC's developments from South L.A. westward. In the district where Butler and Elder was located, rated "red," loans were denied, and in View Park, rated "green," investment was federally insured. The chapter illustrates how "redlining" was not the instigator of segregation and the federal disinvestment in Black communities, but rather, a marker of these practices occurring in the preceding decades. The detailed comparison between LAIC tracts marketed to Black laborers, millmen of a "better class," and wealthy White families that this chapter provides, demonstrates how racialized beliefs about value were materialized in the design of housing subdivisions. Setbacks, minimum house prices, maintenance requirements, and racially restrictive covenants (or their absence), were accompanied by differences in neighborhood improvements. The closer to the L.A. River, the closer homes were to industrial properties and noxious uses. As Richard Rothstein demonstrates more broadly, industrial or toxic waste zoning was often applied to Black neighborhoods, causing declines in environmental health and

[37] Andrea Gibbons, *City of Segregation: 100 Years of Struggle for Housing in Los Angeles* (Brooklyn: Verso Books, 2018).

property values.[38] Further west, neighborhoods were protected through residential zoning, further associating geography, architecture, and race with property value.

The chapter demonstrates how, despite the promises of security and permanence associated with homeownership, Black home owners were especially subject to processes of upheaval. As Dana Cuff illustrates in "the provisional city," neighborhoods where Black, Russian, Jewish, and Mexican populations formed coalitions through the informal housing sector were targeted by health inspectors for demolition and the construction of public housing projects.[39] When industrial expansion was desired, lands in South and East Los Angeles, dappled with modest homes of the working-class, were similarly targeted for clearance. As Greg Hise demonstrates, "colonias" in South L.A. were torn down for the making of the Central Business District and the building of racially restricted model communities like Torrance.[40] As the chapter shows, homes in Butler and Elder were subject to fire, replaced by transit corridors and manufacturing. With an analysis of LAIC's homes and neighborhoods through published plans, maps, and photographs, the chapter exposes the intimate material details that underpinned the paradoxes of Black homeownership and the "redlining" of L.A.

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[38] Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of how our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corp., 2017).

[39] Dana Cuff, *The Provisional City: Los Angeles Stories of Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).

[40] Greg Hise, "'Nature's Workshop': Industry and Urban Expansion in Southern California, 1900-1950" in *Manufacturing Suburbs: Building Work and Home on the Metropolitan Fringe,* ed. by Robert Lewis (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004).

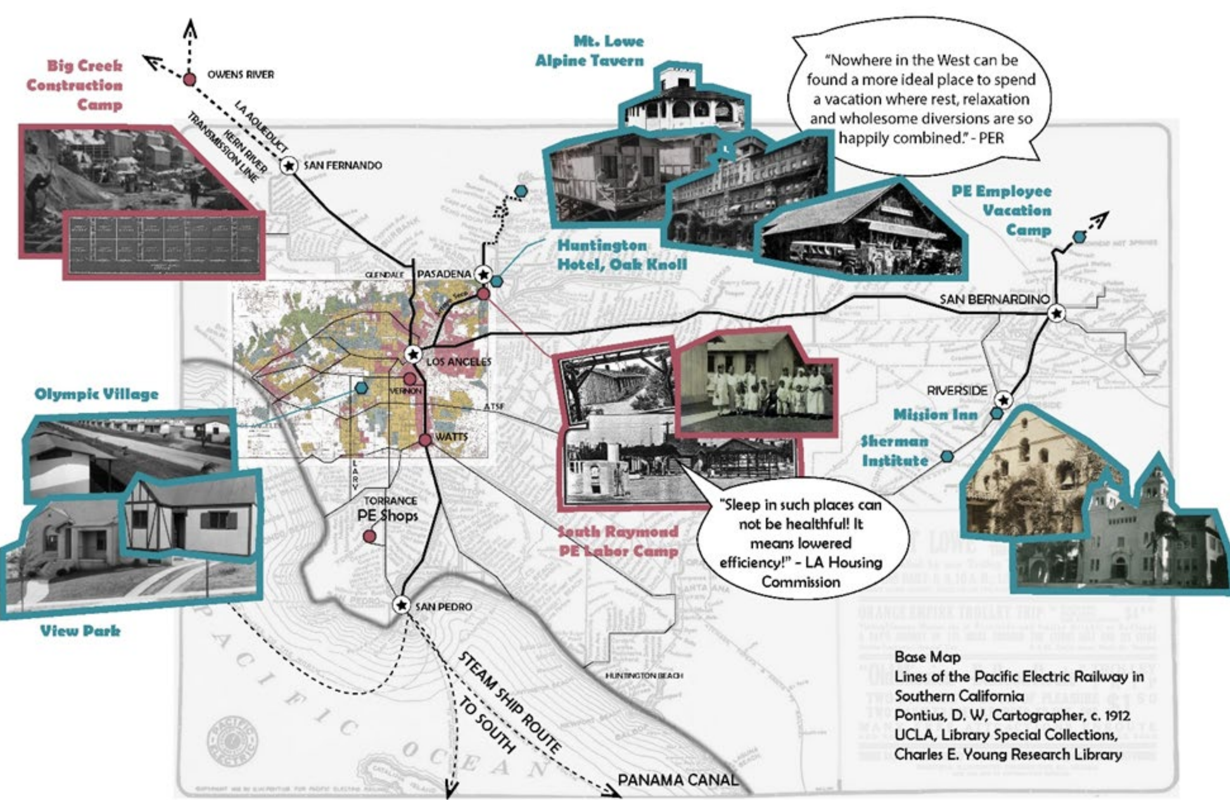

Figure 2: Illustration by author showing the contingencies between Huntington, Miller, and LAIC's "regional speculations," and the construction and labor camps, or "intimate specters" that underpinned the development of the racially restricted, exclusively residential suburbs.

0.2 Thick Mapping the History of Segregation

In each chapter, I utilize "thick mapping" to demonstrate the designed differences and hidden domestic histories within the dominant spatial narrative. Following the work of Todd Presner, thick mapping is a method of polyvocal, layered representation that connects the human experience to the urban condition.[41] Mishuana Goeman critiques the dominant spatial narrative as one of gendered colonial violence, where alternative modes of mapping and geographic experiences were silenced by models of territory, jurisdiction and race. Native women remapped

[41] Todd Presner, D. Shepard and Y. Kawano, *HyperCities: Thick Mapping in the Digital Humanities* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2014).

settler geographies and asserted tribal constructions, perceptions, and imaginations in what Goeman terms "shadow spaces."[42] The thick map illustrates how it is not only through narrative that alternative spatial imaginations are practiced, but also in the often overlooked or condemned spaces of the city's past. In the first thick map of the dissertation (Figure 2), HOLC's residential security map of Los Angeles is layered with the lines of the Pacific Electric Railway from Los Angeles to Owens River in the northwest, Riverside in the far east, and the port of San Pedro in the south. Along these lines are the South Raymond PERC labor camp, the Sherman Institute, the Ye Alpine Tavern, View Park, and the Big Creek Construction Camp. The sites of labor settlement comprise neighborhoods that were redlined in the 1930s and cleared for civic improvement. The popular tourist destinations of L.A., on the other hand, comprise neighborhoods determined to be historically significant and therefore worthy of preservation. But as the dissertation and the thick map illustrates, these were interconnected sites in the making of metropolitan Los Angeles.

Though specifically racialized, materialized, and localized, these sites map on to the larger history of segregation in Los Angeles in interesting ways. Charles Pinderhughes argues for the application of internal or domestic colonial theories to the U.S. and its "geographically based pattern of subordination."[43] Systemic group inequities are created through educational, economic, and health disparities, and imprisonment and segregation, according to Pinderhughes. The dissertation argues that beyond the initial taking of land by White colonizers from Indigenous peoples, colonial power dynamics continued to underpin the transformation of land

[42] Mishuana Goeman, *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

[43] Charles Pinderhughes, "Toward a New Theory of Internal Colonialism," *Socialism and Democracy* 25, no. 1 (2011): 235-256, 236.

under racialized discourses of modernity and progress. In each site of the dissertation, racialized laborers were housed in overcrowded, unsanitary, flimsily built or poorly financed buildings and neighborhoods, while providing low-wage work for the construction and maintenance of what were deemed ideal residential quarters, predominantly White bungalow suburbs. The development of temporary, under-funded, lightweight worker housing for racialized laborers served to hold land for the Anglo-American speculator, while materially foretelling its future demise. Representations of this land and housing in the archives were reflective of an interest in its demolition and redevelopment, to the benefit of wealthy White developers and politicians. When taken together and analyzed for their entanglements with regional speculation, the three distinct working-class housing ecologies explored in the dissertation provide evidence of what I argue constitutes a larger racial project.

The racialization of housing, labor and space in Los Angeles is much broader than the sites of this dissertation can account for. The centrality of Chinese immigrants to the construction of the Transcontinental Railroad, for example, has been well-documented.[44] When labor competition arose, policies were continually devised to the benefit of Anglo-European settlers. Through the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, for example, Chinese laborers were banned from immigrating to the U.S. for ten years. These histories illustrate how land and labor competition between White settler colonizers and Immigrant populations were mitigated through explicitly racist policies. Farm and infrastructural labor in the early years of California's population boom demanded mobile workers and forms of housing in regions removed from the urban condition.

[44] Manu Karuka, *Empire's Tracks: Indigenous Nations, Chinese Workers, and the Transcontinental Railroad* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2019); William F Chew, *Nameless Builders of the Transcontinental Railroad* (Victoria, B.C.: Trafford, 2004).

The sites of this dissertation demonstrate instead how worker housing was explicitly tied to the growth of the metropolis and the land-based wealth associated with land improvement, housing production and maintenance. Because the distinctions between the housing ecologies explored were governed by design rather than explicitly racist policies, the sites of the dissertation are selected to reveal a more pervasive and nuanced correlation between race-making and space-making in the city. As the "homeplaces" of working-class immigrants, Black migrants, Indigenous and ethnically Mexican laborers, the sites of the dissertation demonstrate the frailty of narrow categories of race, domesticity, property, and personhood conveyed by the dominant spatial narrative.

1

The Labor Camps Behind Los Angeles' Leisure Suburbs:
Racializing Portability & Permanence

Figure 1: Pacific Electric Railway brochure, 1912, illustrating the Old Mission of San Gabriel and describing the "beauty and rugged grandeur" of Mt. Lowe, the "city of millionaires" of Pasadena and the "beautiful cottages and bungalow homes" of Oneonta Park in South Pasadena, all points of interest along the electric trolley route.

1.0 Introduction: "The Threads of Huntington's Web"

Advertisements promoting the foothills of the San Gabriel Mountains during the first decade of the twentieth century presented conflicting visions of growth. On the one hand, promoters advertised the neighborhoods of Pasadena as indicative of "the old Spanish settlement of long ago." The Pacific Electric Railway Company (PERC) invited tourists and American-born Anglo migrants to see these "relics of the west" along with the "growing city of beautiful homes" in Pasadena, a "city of millionaires and their castles" (Figure 1).[45] The Huntington Hotel, the bungalows of Oak Knoll and the tent cottages and Ye Alpine Tavern resort at Mt. Lowe were among those special interest points noted by the PERC to convey the nostalgic past and modern future of Southern California. Each was associated with one of the region's most famed architects, Myron Hunt, and famed styles, Mission Revival and Craftsman, and was fed by the interconnected rail, water and power infrastructures led by Huntington's subsidiary companies. On the other hand, the southern regions of Pasadena were publicized for their scenes of track laborers, moving along the railroads while working to build the infrastructures necessary to support the region's primary economy. The *Los Angeles Times* reported in 1903 of a "peon tented city," a Pacific Electric labor camp moving its wagons, colored blankets, and folded tents up Fair Oaks Avenue to the Monrovia Junction.[46] The *Times* correspondent described themselves

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[45] Pacific Electric Railway, "Sight Seeing Trolley Trips," 1912. Pacific Electric Railway Historical Society, www.peryhs.org.

[46] I use "labor camp" throughout the piece to describe the gathering of tents or barracks, "section houses" as they were called, usually within a fenced in plot on employer property to house manual laborers. The term "work camp" was also used, especially with respect to those camps built by the government, but does not connote the purpose of such constructions, most often reserved for low-level workers, for which "laborer" more accurately describes employer attitudes and expectations. I also use "labor camp" instead of "work camp" with respect to government camps, to point to the similarities between public work camps and those for inmates, specifically named "labor camps" by the federal government.

and the gathering crowd to have witnessed "300 white mushrooms, under whose folds sleep 600 foreign beings who have toiled like ants through the long summer day; illiterate human machines, imported from the land of 'manana' to spin 'muy pronto' the steel threads of Huntington's web."[47] This depiction aligned with dominant Anglo beliefs of migrant and immigrant laborers, and especially those categorized as non-White, as "birds of passage," or temporary additions to the nation suited for low-level, seasonal employment.[48] The contingencies between PERC's renovation and management of the Mt. Lowe Railway and Ye Alpine Tavern resort, the Huntington Land and Improvement Company's (HLIC) development of the wealthy Pasadena suburbs, and the Pacific Light and Power Company's (PLPC) development of domestic water and power throughout Los Angeles, each supported by portable housing architectures for low-level laborers, will be explored in this chapter to demonstrate how these two scenes, though seemingly oppositional, were in fact deeply entangled through Huntington's speculative developments.[49]

From the 1900s to the 1930s, exercises in state power and violence led to the restricted immigration, encampment, and mass deportation of Los Angeles' Asian and Mexican populations.[50] In the early years of the century, rotating migrant labor supported citrus harvesting and other seasonal industries, as did temporary work camps and portable canvas structures.

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[47] Times Correspondents, "Los Angeles County: Cities and Suburban Places," *Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1903: A7.

[48] Michael J. Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor in Industrial Societies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[49] PLPC was later incorporated with the Los Angeles Gas Company (also a Huntington affiliated company) as the Southern California Gas Company and Southern California Edison.

[50] Genevieve Carpio. "From Mexican Settlers to Mexican Birds of Passage" in *Collisions at the Crossroads: How Place and Mobility Make Race* (Berkeley, Ca: University of California Press, 2019).

Ethnically Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican populations primarily held occupations in picking, track laying, and other unskilled labor positions that necessitated portability.[51] After the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Alien Land Law of 1913, that denied immigration to Chinese nationals and landownership to Asian immigrants respectively, Mexican labor became instrumental to the rail and farm economies in Southern California.[52] Mexico's proximity to the U.S. border, the railroad companies' desire for cheap, temporary, non-union labor, and the political climate in Mexico led to an influx of ethnically Mexican people in search of work at the turn of the century. With the start of WWI, the United States Department of Agriculture urged for permanent housing as a solution to labor shortages. If at once seen as flighty and in need of permanent architectural interventions to keep on the job, after the Immigration Act of 1924, and at the onset of the Great Depression with the rise in labor competition, Mexican populations were once again rendered as temporary workers, posing no threat to White workers due to their inability to attain permanent citizenship.[53] Again during WWII and into the 1960s, Mexican immigrants were brought over to maintain California's agricultural industry through the "bracero program," but only as explicitly temporary and

[51] "Portable" is used throughout this chapter to communicate dwelling types and technologies intended for temporary accommodations. Instead of common terms used within the architectural discourse to describe temporary dwellings like "mobile," or "flexible," "portable" explains the assembly, disassembly and reassembly of dwellings and populations in conjunction with temporary and migratory labor that this chapter intends to draw attention to.

[52] For a regional history of Mexican segregation and land and labor practices, see: M. Garcia. "The Colonia Complex Revisited" in *A World of its Own: Race, Labor and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 2001). Garcia describes how laborers were distanced from their employers through the establishment of segregated "colonias." Simon's Brick yard along the Santa Fe railroad tracks was one such colonia, where Mexican laborers were housed in worker cottages while working to produce roof tiles for the region's Spanish style roofs. On this, see: Deverell, William "The Color of Brickwork is Brown" in *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past (*Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

[53] Carpio describes how controls and surveillance were used to "police boundaries of whiteness and control non-white mobility," in "From Mexican Settlers," 2019.

supplementary, with wages equivalent to domestic workers by law and agreement.[54] This chapter traces the architectures of migratory labor that supported the development of Pasadena and Los Angeles' leisure, tourist, and suburban economies, as well as the portability of ethnically Mexican populations. By examining the labor camps and "section housing," or temporary barrack-like accommodations provided by the PERC for their Mexican track laborers before and after inspections and reforms initiated by the California Commission of Immigration and Housing (CCIH), the chapter argues that immigrant and migrant workers were rendered temporary through technical advancements and evolutions of portable architecture, despite being depicted as biologically and culturally predisposed to it.

Scholars have shown how the racial and ethnic history of Southern California was intertwined with the development of infrastructure. Prior to the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act, for example, Chinese immigrants were recruited and housed in labor camps while working to build the railroads.[55] As Greg Hise has shown with his research on farmworker housing, developments in prefabrication and portability often followed speculative surges in the agricultural economy.[56] Advancements in portable dwelling technologies for use in labor camps also followed shifts in the political economy. In the 1880s, a new governing class of local capitalists overwhelmed the monopolistic rule of the Southern Pacific Railroad, transforming the region's economic focus to industry and capital improvements, including the development of the

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[54] Don Mitchell, "La Casa de Esclavos Modernos: Exposing the Architecture of Exploitation," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 71, no. 4 (December 2012): 451-61.

[55] See for example: M. Karuka, *Empire's Tracks: Indigenous Nations, Chinese Workers, and the Transcontinental Railroad* (University of California Press, 2019)

[56] G. Hise, "From Roadside Camps to Garden Homes: Housing and Community Planning for California's Migrant Work Force, 1935-1941," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 5 (1995): 243–258

port, oil, and the LA Aqueduct. With the defeat of the Socialist candidate for mayor by the Progressive candidate George Alexander in 1911, support was secured for individuals and companies like Harrison Gray Otis and Henry Huntington and their development of infrastructure without municipal or union regulation. The PERC played Black migrants against Mexican and Mexican American workers to maintain an open-shop arrangement, which was instrumental to the racialization of labor and geographies across Los Angeles.[57] This racialized labor was used to secure transportation, water, and power, and therefore financial growth, for Huntington's subsidiary land company and housing developments. William Deverell and Kimberly Hernandez' work demonstrates how promotion and the railroad contributed to the proliferation of suburban housing developments and the expansion of the middle-class around the turn of the century.[58] These histories demonstrate the entanglements of infrastructure with regional housing development, but as this chapter will demonstrate, underpinning each of them is the construction and design of a spectrum of housing typologies that connected the labor camps to the leisure suburbs.

The first section of this chapter looks at the translation of portable architecture from its deployment in colonies and plantations to the leisure suburbs of Southern California, with a focus on the aesthetics of portability that were adapted through specific narratives and buildings to Pasadena by Henry Huntington and his preferred architects, Arthur Benton and Myron Hunt. The second section examines the corporate entanglements between Huntington's land, power,

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[57] Mike Davis, "Sunshine and the Open Shop: Ford and Darwin in 1920s Los Angeles," *Antipode* 29, no. 4 (1997): 356-382.

[58] William Francis Deverell, *Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Railroad, 1850- I9I0* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Kimberly Lynn Hernandez, "'Homeseekers' Paradise': Railroad Promotion, the Low-cost Housing Industry, and the Expansion of Working-class Los Angeles, 1896–1913" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2012); See also: Richard Orsi, *Sunset Limited: The Southern Pacific Railroad and the Development of the American West, 1850-1930* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005).

and water subsidiaries, with a closer look at how these physically coalesced in the socioeconomic housing scenarios presented by HLIC across Pasadena. The third section looks at PERC's development of cottages for White foremen and managers and section housing for Mexican track workers, in conjunction with the renovation of the Ye Alpine Tavern and leisure cottages at Mt. Lowe. Section housing both referred to the groups of "section hands," or rail laborers housed along sections of the railway under construction, and to the type of construction. More commonly denoted as "sectional housing" when referencing the latter, it utilized "sections" or panels of prefabricated wall, door, window, and lumber components which were quicker to assemble on site or disassemble and relocate. The fourth section considers the surveys, inspection and reform measures proposed by sociology students and the CCIH to ameliorate unhealthful and unpredictable living and employment conditions in Mexican quarters and railroad labor camps like those of the PERC in South Pasadena. It demonstrates how new housing standards emerged through exchanges between state and county health officials and corporations. And in the final section, I explore the developments of portable housing standards as a response to the CCIH's "Knock-Down System" and Labor Camp Act, and the deployment of prefabricated and sectional housing in the construction of hydroelectric power plants and the LA aqueduct, and for prospective homesteaders in the 1930s. In comparing the transformations in housing accommodations designed for Mexican populations to those of PERC's cottages for White foremen and managers and to the prefabricated homesteads built under the Farm Security Administration (FSA, formerly the Resettlement Administration, RA) for White veterans and dust-bowl migrants, the chapter intends to show how particular forms of labor housing were associated with racial and ethnic categories. Additionally, the chapter demonstrates how the portable architectures developed to house infrastructural laborers that were criticized by the

CCIH for their unsanitary conditions, were praised in connection with their usage in tent cottages for White tourists at the Ye Alpine Tavern resort and the Pacific Electric Vacation Camp, and in their adaptation as sleeping porches and rustic aesthetics for the upper and middle-class bungalows of HLIC's Pasadena suburbs.

1.1 Portable Architecture and its Neo/Colonial Translations

From the light-weight dwellings for accommodating colonizers overseas, to the novel experiments made by technocrats or mass-produced catalog homes for middle-class Americans, prefabricated dwelling technologies have largely been regarded as a failed experiment, relegated to niche mobile typologies or a distant historical past. The canonical and comprehensive *History of Prefabrication* by Bruce and Sandbank, for example, traced the advancement of prefabrication from experimentations such as Buckminster Fuller's Dymaxion House in the latter half of the 1920s, to the temporary need for mass production strategies postwar.[59] Scholars have argued that some of the most prolific producers of prefabricated houses, such as Sears Roebuck, failed due to liberal financing policies that were unadaptable to economic fluctuation.[60] Others have argued that strategies like mass production and distribution were absorbed by the building industry, while architects asserted their differences as bespoke professionals.[61] This section traces the movement and translations of prefabricated architectures from their colonial contexts, where they

[59] Alfred Bruce and Harold Sandbank, *A History of Prefabrication* (New Haven, CN: John B. Pierce Foundation, 1943).

[60] Amanda Cooke and Avi Friedman, "Ahead of Their Time: The Sears Catalogue Prefabricated Houses," *Journal of Design History* 14, no. 1 (2001): 53-70.

[61] Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

served logistical purposes, to their adaptations into permanent homes, where they served aesthetic purposes, suggesting that translation, rather than failure, characterizes the marginalization of prefabrication in the design professions. While Bruce and Sandbank's account focused on the evolution of shape engineering and materials, categorizing sections on precast concrete, metal panels, and monolithic structures, for example, Herbert Gilbert updated the history of prefabrication in the 1980s to include social and geographic considerations, in addition to material ones. In *Pioneers of Prefabrication*, Gilbert attributed the beginning of prefab housing to the British, considering for example how British emigration to Australia inspired developments in bolted connections and timber frame panels.[62] Prefabricated dwellings took many forms, and for the purposes of this chapter, will be considered those that utilized components that were patterned and cut in the factory, then brought to the site for assembly.

The history of prefabrication can be traced to colonial extraction and development projects in the late nineteenth century that depended on portability and localized construction labor. Skillings and Flint's patented designs for portable houses were of the first and most prolific prefabricated systems intended for colonization. Their 1861 *Illustrated Catalogue of Portable Sectional Buildings* was specifically advertised to railroad corporations and "to those owning large tracts of land on lines of railroad," and "to the emigrant," demonstrating how their system could be utilized by employers, developers, and government agencies alike (Figure 2).[63] Here, "sectional," referred to the construction system, which utilized components or "sections"

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[62] Gilbert Herbert, *Pioneers of Prefabrication: The British Contribution in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

[63] David N. Skillings and D.B. Flint, *Illustrated Catalogue of Portable Sectional Buildings* (Boston, MA: Andrew Holland, Wood Cut Printer, 1861); Patent 33,758 for a Portable House from David N. Skillings, November 19, 1861.

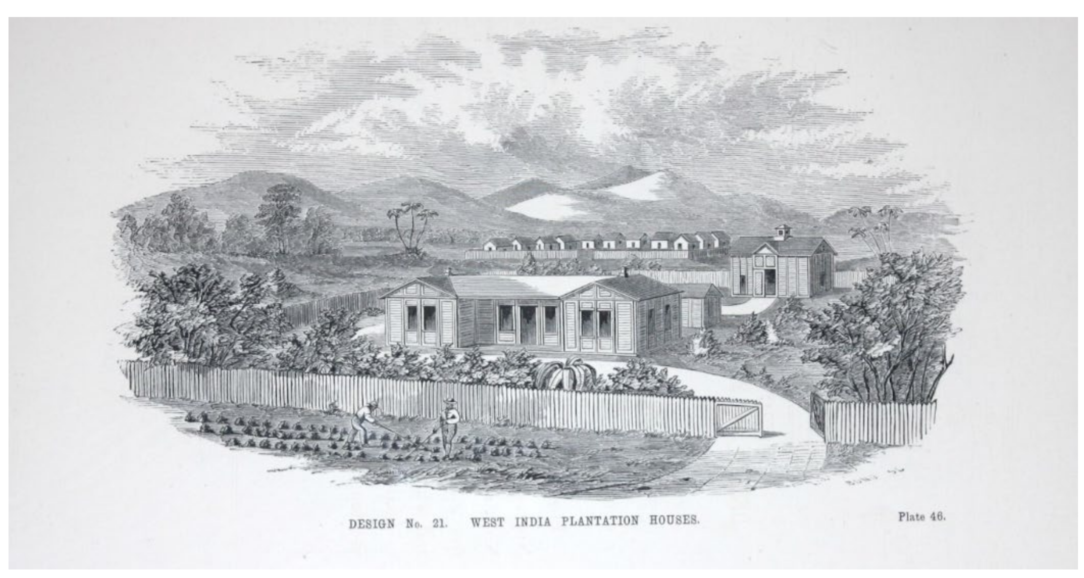
of the building that were precut and ready to be shipped to the colony for assembly in situ. The catalogue described the assembly sequence: precut sills were to be connected at the corners using corner irons and screws to square and fasten. Posts and studs were to be slotted into the sills, connected by mortise and tenon, and tightened to the corner irons. Wall sections were to be placed, aligning grooves in the weatherboarding or sheathing, and battens were to be nailed to the studs. The sills, ridge plate, and rafters were to be hooked together, and floor timbers and plates laid over the sills. The cut and measured components could be transported easily and assembled quickly with the use of unskilled labor, allowing for a "village in almost a day," according to the catalogue, making them ideal for temporary settlement in foreign territories. This unskilled labor was often enslaved labor, as Postcolonial scholar Itohan Osayimwese demonstrates in her research on the German advancements in prefabrication made in connection with their colonization of East Africa in the late 19th century. The portable dwelling company Christoph and Unmack promoted their barrack for this context stating, "it can be installed with the assistance of building instructions by blacks under the direction of a white carpenter or cabinetmaker in the colonies." [64] The prefabricated technology, then, served to mitigate cultural, material, intellectual or skill-based differences assumed to exist between the foreign colonizer and Indigenous laborer.

Skillings and Flint's designs for "houses for negroes" and "overseers" were detailed specifically for the West Indian colonial context. While corner irons, notched sills, and cross ties provided standard assembly procedures and easily squared joints for both types of sectional building, the overseer's house was imbued with forms of modern leisure, comfort, and health,

[64] Itohan Osayimwese, *Colonialism and Modern Architecture in Germany* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017), 209.

including an encircling verandah. Large overhanging eaves were added to the overseer's house to encourage light, air, and security at night. The overseer's house was divided into three rooms, the two flanking rooms being accessed by doorways from the room in the center. The barracks, on the other hand, were left undivided and were provided with two doorways directly to the exterior, allowing for an uninterrupted concentration of bunks, or for overseers to install ad hoc subdividers. The catalog featured a perspective sketch and description suggested for the site arrangement of a "West India Plantation House" that utilized both types of sectional building. The sketch suggested an I-shaped dwelling of five rooms with two accessory dwellings in the rear, surrounded by a picket fence for the overseer. The depiction showed crops and laborers in the front of the house, and in the distant horizon at the rear, an additional fenced in square with small barracks, "houses for negroes." Accompanying the illustration, it was stated that "no kind of building has been devised, that admits of so free a disposition, such a great variety of attractive styles, and whose general appearance when grouped together is so tasteful and showy, at so small a cost, as our Portable Section Houses. A village in almost a day."[65] The overseer's house was fenced in, with a private, landscaped lawn and curving paved drive, outside of which were houses for enslaved African laborers. Without the accompanying yard and curated hardscaping and garden, however, the workers' houses would have been more easily disassembled, moved, and reassembled, despite utilizing the same patented technology as the overseer's house. The overseers' domestic life was constructed to be more permanent, familial, and unfluctuating than the enslaved laborer, as demonstrated by the differences in size, interior arrangement, adornment, and site improvement.

[65] Skillings & Flint, *Illustrated Catalogue*, 46-7.



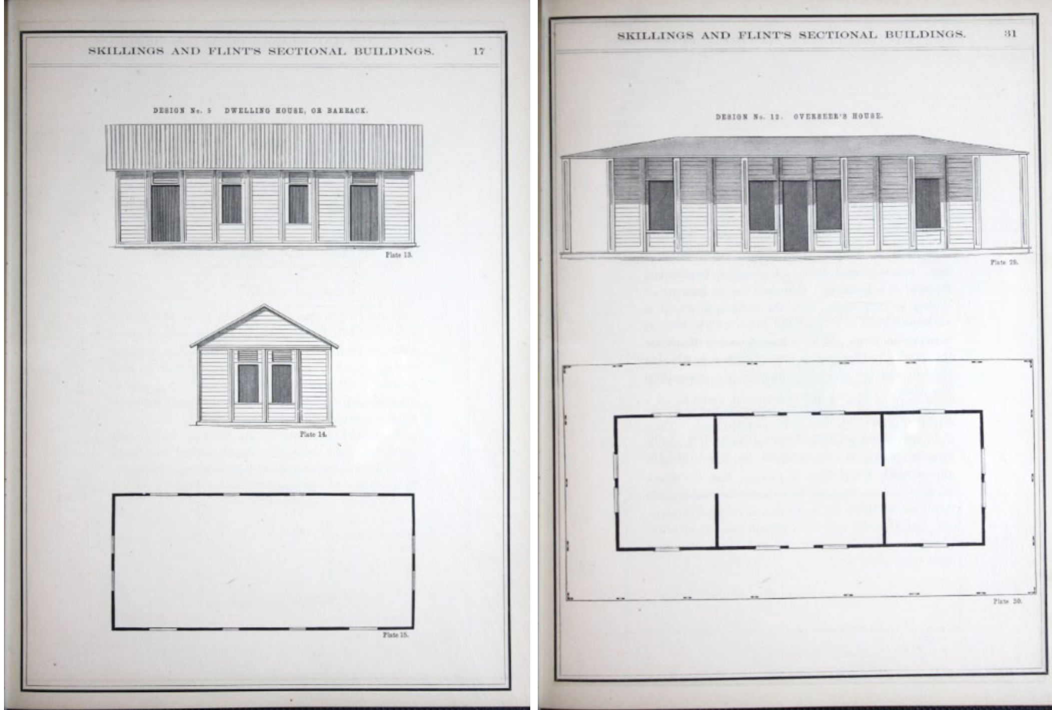


Figure 2: Skillings and Flint's designs for West India Plantation Houses, Overseer's House, and a Barrack, utilizing their patented construction system for portable houses, 1861.

Sectional construction systems were adapted for "country summer residences" in the American context in conjunction with the Boston and Maine railroad and the New England

tourist economy. “Colonel Andrew Derrom’s Improved System of Sectional Construction " was featured in the Manufacturer and Builder in 1876, complete with construction details and an assortment of styles and sizes.[66] The three-room cottage costing $750 was erected for the Centennial Exhibition of the Manufacturer and Builder in Philadelphia during the first official U.S. World Fair. With pre-milled pinned and bolted connections, the sectional system was delivered on site with all the materials necessary for assembly. Everything “from a railroad shanty to an Italian Villa” could be built according to Derrom’s system. Price ranges included $5 to $150 for “huts,” $100 to $5,000 for “cottages,” and $5,000 up for “villas,” but permanence came at a cost. More expensive and advanced models were finished with fireproof cladding, and “for permanence, the skeleton (was) made without the movable connections.” Safety, as with Derrom’s fireproofing, and comfort, as with Skillings and Flint’s verandah, presented obstacles to flexibility. The value extracted from the sectional system for the wealthy White settler, then, was the initial portability of components, and the ease of assembly. Prefabricated, sectional construction systems made their way across the U.S., used for temporary accommodations during extractive work, as with the California Gold Rush, and for garages and ancillary buildings, as advertised and sold through popular home journals. In 1907 *House Beautiful* advertised the Cornell Garage, a prefabricated, panelized construction that could be assembled with bolts. As with earlier systems designed for colonial settings, the garage could be “quickly taken down and transported to any place you may care to go,” and could be “erected by any help of ordinary intelligence.”[67] Rather than the pared back aesthetics of Skillings and Flint’s

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[66] “Col. Andrew Derrom’s Improved System of Sectional Construction,” *The Manufacturer and Builder: A Practical Journal of Industrial Progress* (April 1, 1876): 92.

[67] “Cornell Garage,” *House Beautiful* 22 (November 1907): 51.

barracks, however, the Cornell Garage was designed in the Swiss Chalet style, with decorative cross boarding recalling the design of turn of the century rail stations. From the colonial plantation to the American countryside, developments in portable dwelling technologies supported White, Anglo settlement in new global territories with the usage of localized, unskilled labor.

Portable dwelling forms and aesthetics were translated into the broader leisure economy in Southern California around the turn of the century, following depictions of the wilderness by authors like John Muir. After spending time hiking and camping across the Sierra Nevada Mountains, Muir wrote *The Mountains of California*, which documented and celebrated the beauty of his experiences and observations while immersed in California's Indigenous habitats. These narratives were put into policy in the 1890s, as Muir spearheaded efforts to protect the Angeles forests from suburban development. But as Kevin DeLuca's research on Muir's interest in the Southern Pacific Railroad (SPRR) demonstrates, environmentalism had corporate roots.[68] The SPRR financially benefitted from the wilderness of the San Gabriel Mountains in conjunction with National Parks and their associated tourist economies. Muir's preservationist interests were selective; in the San Gabriel Mountains, Muir asserted that "Mother Nature is a most ruggedly, thornily savage." Having encountered the Mono Indians on his mountain excursion, Muir recalled how "somehow they seemed to have no right place in the landscape, and I was glad to see them fading out of sight down the pass."[69] With this description, Muir saw Indigenous peoples as foreign entities in the wilderness, ready for removal in the preservation of

[68] Kevin Michael DeLuca, "Trains in the Wilderness: The Corporate Roots of Environmentalism," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 4, no. 4 (2001): 633–52.

[69] John Muir, *The Mountains of California* (New York, NY: The Century Company, 1894).

California's nature for the Anglo-European camper. In 1907, Muir returned to Los Angeles to visit his preservationist friend Charles Lummis and his "castle," and to see Frank Miller, the owner of the Mission Inn in Riverside, about establishing a hotel in Yosemite.[70] The protection of the San Gabriel Mountains served to attract tourists to visit the newly established trails and campgrounds of the National Parks, but the erasure of the Mono Indians and establishment of a hotel would have supported the taming of their supposed savagery. As Carey McWilliams famously described, the foothills of the San Gabriel mountains were regarded as "one vast sanitorium," comparable to the "climate of the tropics without its perils," "not indigenous, but rather an elaborate transmutation."[71] Though the lightweight and pre-sawn wood framing and thin cladding of Craftsman style accommodations suggested portability, once established in the Southwest, they were rarely disassembled and relocated, negating the need for flexible connections. The rugged aesthetics of portable architectures, associated with the frontier myth and a closeness with the wilderness, then, were divorced from truly portable construction systems in the development of the San Gabriel Mountains for tourism.

Pasadena became synonymous with outdoor living at the turn of the century, through the proliferation of bungalow and cottage architectures within range of the commercial business district by train.[72] One could escape the commercial bustle of the city by heading north on

[70] Letter from John Muir to [Charles F.] Lummis, July 4, 1907, John Muir Papers, Correspondence, Holt-Atherton Special Collections - Digital Archives, University of the Pacific Scholarly Commons, Accessed at: https://scholarlycommons.pacific.edu/muir-correspondence/3709

[71] Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 1980), 99, 103, 178.

[72] "Bungalow" and "cottage" were often used interchangeably to describe modest, one to one and a half story, wood frame houses built in California during the first three decades of the twentieth century, regardless of whether they were associated with the Mission Revival, Spanish Revival, Craftsman, Ranch, or other common styles. On the promotion of Pasadena, where the rural countryside met urban modernity, see: Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal*

Broadway Avenue over the LA River bridge on the SPRR and Santa Fe main line rails, and north from Raymond Avenue over to Fair Oaks at California Street via PERC's Pasadena cars. Pasadena was described by rail afficionados as an Eden, where "even the most modest residences were well-kept amid spacious, park like grounds."[73] The hilly environment of homes, with access to views and trails of the San Gabriel Mountains to the north, and breezes from the Arroyo Seco to the west, lent itself to the usage of lightweight construction and outdoor accommodations. In a 1909 article on the "joys of outdoor sleeping" in *Collier's Outdoor America,* John Muir was quoted in debate over the health benefits of camping, rather than staying in a hotel.[74] The article advised to keep tents lightweight, and to make camping beneficial to health, to leave the flaps fully open for ventilation. To attain the benefits of outdoor sleeping at home, the article listed several options: a sleeper extension through a window; a "porch tent" or "backyard shack" with lattice work and canvas storm curtains; and best, the "sleeping balcony." An adobe house with an encircling verandah and wood accessory structure with screened openings, as well as a thatched canopy on wooden posts in New Mexico, were noted for successfully taking advantage of the climate.

Gustav Stickley's *The Craftsman* became the most widely regarded publication on housing architecture in connection to nature and the outdoors and the Arts and Crafts Movement. A 1907 article on the California Bungalow described it as an ideal example of the new type of

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Environment: The Myth of The Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890 (New York: Harper Perennial, 1994).

[73] Charles Seims, *Trolley Days in Pasadena* (San Marino, Ca: Golden West Books, a Division of Pacific Railroad Pubs, 1944).

[74] Bailey Millard, "The Bed in the Open, The Joys of Outdoor Sleeping," *Collier's Outdoor America* 43, no. 25 (September 11, 1909): 14.

American architecture (Figure 3).[75] When designed in harmony with the surrounding landscape, the bungalow was stated to appear "more in the nature of a temporary shelter and resting place than a building designed to be lived in all the time and to afford constant protection from the elements." But in their deployment in Pasadena, Santa Monica, and Los Angeles, the bungalow homes featured were elaborately built and sited. Each of the homes pictured was designed by Myron Hunt and his then partner, Elmer Grey, and ranged in style from Mission to Mexican "hacienda" to Ranch house.[76] The Patio house, designed around a private courtyard in the rear, provided for circulation between the living and dining room under a covered, exterior walkway facing the garden. While the adobe walls used to enclose a rear garden were associated with those built for protection against hostile Indians in the Spanish colonization of California in the article, they now provided for complete seclusion of the occupants from their neighbors. The yard was privatized and protected, while the kitchen, servant's quarters and attached screen porch further buffered the patio and leisure spaces from the street. The home designed by Hunt & Grey for Mr. Gilbert Perkins in Oak Knoll, on the other hand, provided for views of the San Gabriel and Sierra Madre Mountains due to its raised hilltop siting, beyond the private gardens within the perimeter garden walls. Opposed to the East Indian bungalow or the Mission Adobe that the bungalow was associated with, it was stated to be "original because it is like the country it has grown out of; it is becoming a definite style because it has met a definite demand, and because it is genuine it will be permanent." These translations suggest a shift in preferences at

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[75] Gustav Stickley, "The California Bungalow: A Style of Architecture Which Expresses the Individuality and Freedom Characteristic of our Western Coast" *The Craftsman* 13, no. 1 (October 1907): 68.

[76] Baxter Art Gallery and Myron Hunt, *Myron Hunt, 1868-1952: The Search for a Regional Architecture* (Los Angeles, CA: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1984).

the turn of the century toward the aesthetics of lightweight, portable architectures for use in fixed bungalows and cottages with predictable, financially appreciable futures.

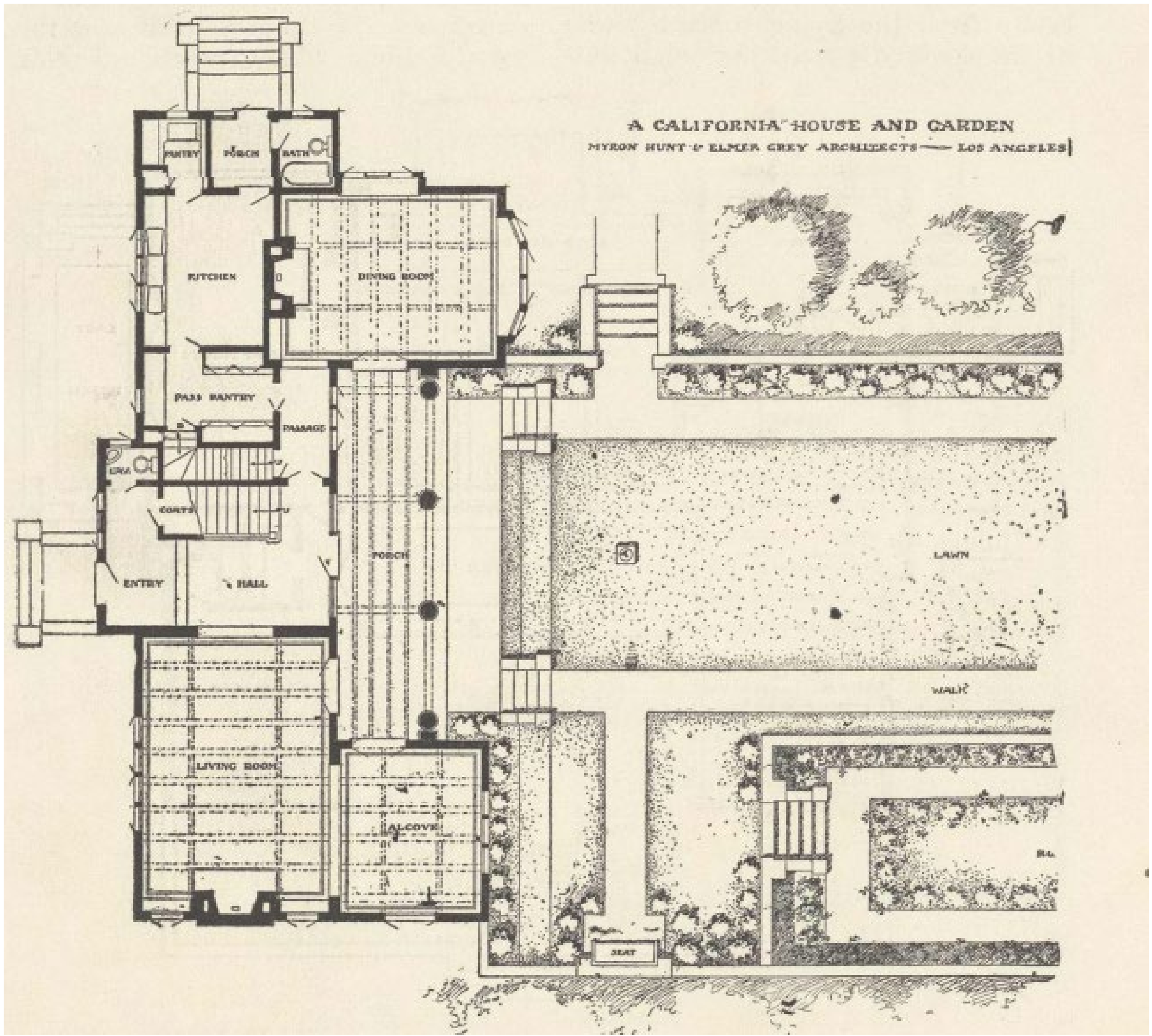

Figure 3: "A California House and Garden," designed by Myron Hunt and Elmer Grey Architects, Los Angeles, featured in *The Craftsman*, October 1907.

Pasadena's most important economic asset in 1910 was tourism, beyond the establishment of large bungalows by wealthy White migrants from the Midwest. After the

completion of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railways, tourists flocked to Pasadena looking to be cured of tuberculosis and other physical and mental ailments associated with cities. Pasadena's population rose to 9,000 by 1900, and by the end of the decade, it had nearly tripled. The Las Encinas Sanitarium, the Incline railway and resort at Mt. Lowe, and the redesigned Huntington Hotel were of the most acclaimed in the region for tourist accommodation. The Las Encinas Sanitarium, established in 1904 and expanded into the 1920s with designs by Hunt & Grey in the Arts and Crafts style, contained 8 single-story bungalows, an 8-room cottage, and a ballroom, gym, and bowling alley, and boasted views of the San Gabriel Mountains. The wood shingle cladding and balconies and sleeping porches, in connection with the environment of the Pasadena foothills, were designed to support mental as much as physical health.[77] The Huntington Hotel utilized similar aesthetics and rhetoric to attract Anglo migrants from the eastern U.S. for an extended visit. Originally opened in February of 1907 as the Hotel Wentworth, Huntington purchased and renamed the hotel in 1911. The resort was redesigned by Hunt from 1911 to 1916 in the Mission Revival style and was set in extensive gardens in the prized Oak Knoll neighborhood. Against the backdrop of the hotel, the lawn was used for events and gatherings into the 1930s.[78] Underpinning each of these resorts was the electric railway. In 1903, after acquiring PERC and the Los Angeles Railway (LARY) Huntington began upgrading the Pasadena tracks to be able to transport heavy construction materials like gravel, lumber, and oil. With a controlling interest in the toll road company to Mt. Wilson, William Staats, a real

[77] U.S. Dept of Interior National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places and Registration Form, Southern California Sanitarium Historic District, 2900 East Del Mar Blvd., Pasadena, Ca., April 17, 2013. Accessed at: http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.693.878&rep=rep1&type=pdf; Name changed from the Southern California Sanitarium for Nervous Disorders to the Las Encinas Hospital for Nervous Disorders in 1917.

[78] "Huntington Hotel, Pasadena" Photograph, Pasadena, Ca., 1937. Box 1085, Herald Examiner Collection, Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, Ca. https://calisphere.org/item/ce4638d6b714f2e9039afbd26bf7520b/

estate agent used by Huntington to sell Pasadena tracts, contributed to improvements and a tourist camp at the peak of the mountain. The Rubio Division track was re-laid in 60-pound rail, and all but three bridges were replaced with earth fill. By 1906, Huntington had extended the Pasadena line through Oak Knoll to Mt. Lowe, which he assumed ownership and development rights over that year. PERC's Maintenance of Way Department (MWD) built a new concrete, Mission Revival style cable house at the base of the incline railway, with a crenelated central bell tower, arched openings, and a clay tile roof. The cottage dwellings at the Ye Alpine Tavern resort on Mt. Lowe were advertised as offering "absolute freedom from all malarial or other injurious or noxious influences."[79] However, it was explicitly "not a sanitorium and has no facilities for taking care of invalids." Opposed to the targeted audience of the Las Encinas Sanitarium, Alpine Tavern was intended for healthy tourists, as well as "residents born and brought up in Southern California." [80]

After taking control of the Alpine Tavern, PERC, under the direction of Henry Huntington, initiated a series of renovations and improvements at the resort that paired rustic appearances with the modern conveniences of the city. In 1911, the MWD authored plans to expand the dining room and kitchen of the Alpine Tavern.[81] The Work Order stated goals to "increase the dining room capacity 90% [to] result in increased hotel revenue of approximately $600 per annum, besides considerable increase in railroad earnings." It was noted that the

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[79] George Wharton James, *Scenic Mount Lowe and its Wonderful Railway* (Los Angeles, CA: Pacific Electric Railway, 1905): 83.

[80] "Mt Lowe Tavern and Cottages: Year Round Resort" *Pacific Electric Railway Magazine* (October 1927): F 868.

[81] "Proposed Rearrangement of Alpine Tavern" First Floor Plan, Pacific Electric Railway Maintenance of Way Department, September 7, 1911. Pacific Electric Railway Collection, Southern California Railway Museum Archives, Perris, California (hereafter SCRM).

"installation of refrigerating plant will result in the saving of approximately $500 per annum in ice and supplies."[82] The PERC could encourage more day trips to the hotel with an enhanced dining experience and would decrease the cost associated with transportation by relocating the necessary support infrastructures up the mountain. The stair, ladies' lavatory and linen room were reconfigured, a new cooler was installed, and the dining room was refinished with a lath and plaster ceiling. A wing was added to the east, with a screened porch lining the face of the new kitchen, pantry, and help's dining hall (Figure 4). A separate lavatory was added for staff at the southeast corner of the dining hall next to a storeroom and trunk room, and a bath was added to the help's toilet at the back of the kitchen. A separate service stair connecting the main floor at the new east wing to the basement, where a new steam and hot water plant were added below the kitchen, was hidden from guests behind the screened yard. Operable clerestory windows above the rustic board siding along the perimeter of the new wing allowed for ventilation without visibility into the service spaces. Renovations were completed in June of 1912 for a total cost of $11,559.80 plus $1,574 for plumbing. The MWD's plans were intricately laid out to keep the staff and guests from crossing paths, except in dining service. Decorative cross-bracing, like that of early American rail stations and the Swiss Chalet style, were added below the roof line as an extension of the rustic character of the hotel along the new façade. The screened porch and clerestory, on the other hand, was an economical choice, negating the need for full-height, operable glazing in providing ventilation, while still concealing the circulation of service staff from support spaces to the exterior.

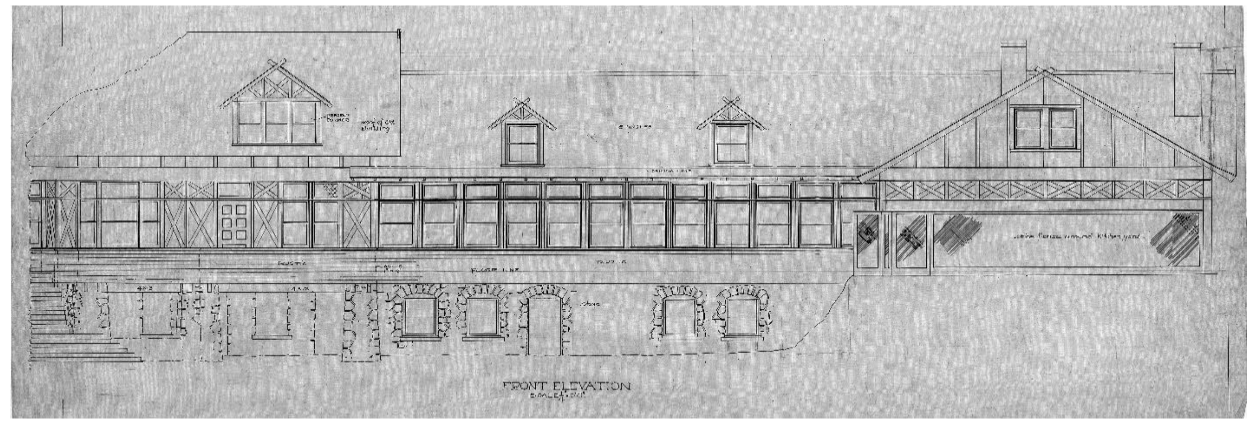
[82] Work Order #1439: "Reasons for Expenditure: Alpine Tavern Betterments 1911-1912," Envelope 5, Mount Lowe Line – Work Orders, Pacific Electric Railway Company, Los Angeles, California, HLSM.

In 1916, Hunt and his new partner Walter Webber were commissioned to design a new hotel bungalow and the remodeling of twelve tent cottages, a testament to the increased traffic at the resort due to improvements made by PERC.[83] The bungalow contained eight rooms with private entries, baths and sleeping porches, and was detailed with rustic redwood siding, a hipped shake roof, terra cotta stone vents, and oak sills and thresholds (Figure 5). The cottages, formerly served by hotel staff, were rebranded as housekeeping cottages with the addition of kitchens and sleeping porches (Figure 6). The rebranding spoke to the newfound desires of the Anglo-European, middle-class family, to live more simply and orderly in a home equipped with modern appliances. The role of the housewife was elevated to a managerial role, associated with family and morality. Both the bungalow and cottages were built atop flat decks, perched above the sloping topography below. The wood bracing and stilts were likely one of the few building components measured and cut on site. The substructure negotiated the incongruencies between the standard design and the nonstandard site, negating the need for extensive grading or bespoke building components, while allowing for drainage and runoff to pass below. Operable canvas shutters, located over screened openings next to the kitchen and beds, could be hinged and fixed at the roofline to form awnings. In select cases Hunt & Webber designed built-in furniture, such as the convertible seat bed designed to bridge the window opening onto the porch of Cottage K (Figure 7). In total, the renovations provided a range of options for format and length of stay. By the 1920s there were forty smaller cottages with hotel service or equipped for housekeeping, supported by a cold storage plant and ice machine, steam laundry, mechanical heating, hot and cold water, telephone, radio, and electric lights. The Hunt & Webber name brought prestige to

[83] "Pacific Electric Railway Company Hotel Bungalow, Alpine Tavern," Myron Hunt and Water Webber, Associate Architects, April 30, 1917. SCRM.

the resort, despite their designs' affinity to those authored by PERC's MWD. Underpinning the elaborate tourist resort was PERC and Huntington's infrastructural developments, stretching from Pasadena to Yosemite and south to the harbor. Without control over the water, gas and electricity of the region, the resort would not have boasted "all of the better elements constituting modern cities."[84] The curation of the grounds and provisions of the city that Huntington introduced were necessary additions to interest a modern tourist audience in a camp-like experience. From John Muir's preservationist efforts in the California Mountains, to Mt. Lowe, the camping experience became a highly curated event. It involved the removal of Indigenous people physically and narratively, and the channeling of the city's economic and environmental resources for the comfort of Anglo-European travelers. The next section looks at Huntington's land and infrastructure subsidiaries that threaded his tourist enterprise at Mt. Lowe to the foothill suburbs. Housing, water, gas, and power knitted together the Huntington Land and Improvement Company (HLIC)'s upper- and middle-class neighborhoods of Pasadena, as well as the Pacific Electric Railway (PERC)'s development of worker housing, from South Pasadena to Mt. Lowe, demonstrating their deep entanglements.

[84] Pacific Electric Railway, "Sight Seeing Trolley Trips," 1912. From Pacific Electric Railway Historical Society (www.peryhs.org)



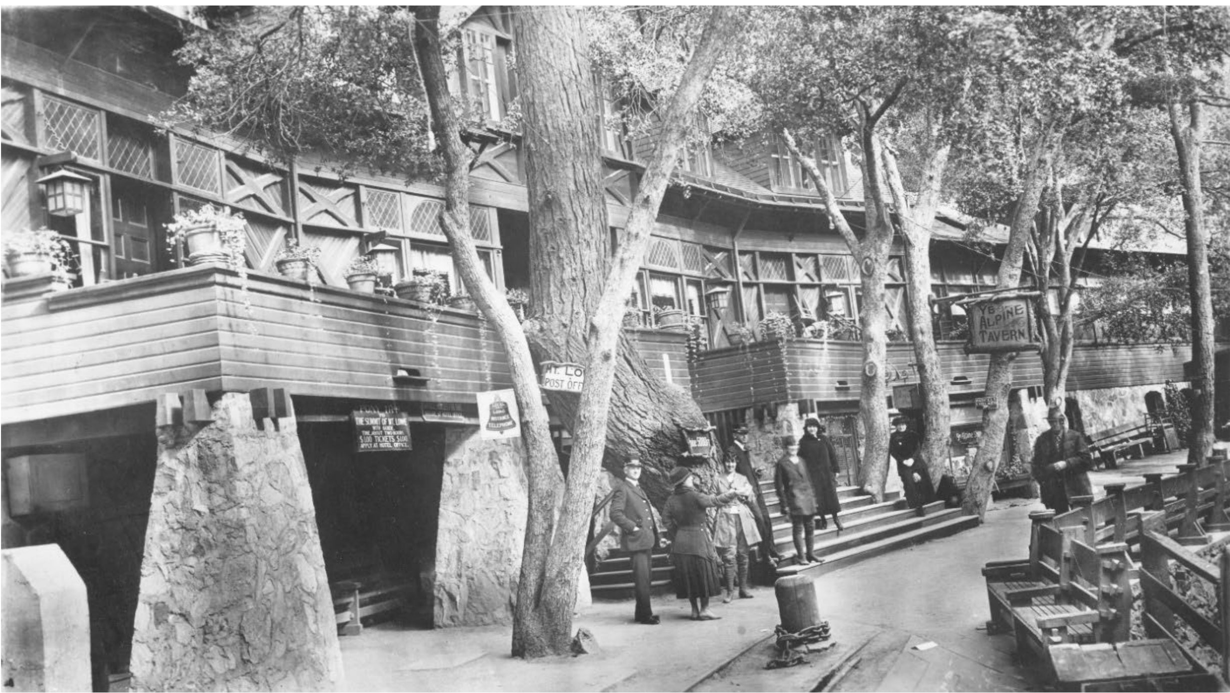


Figure 4: The main hotel building and lobby at Ye Alpine Tavern, featuring the dining room and kitchen expansion to the east in the elevation, 1911, PERC MWD, SCRM.

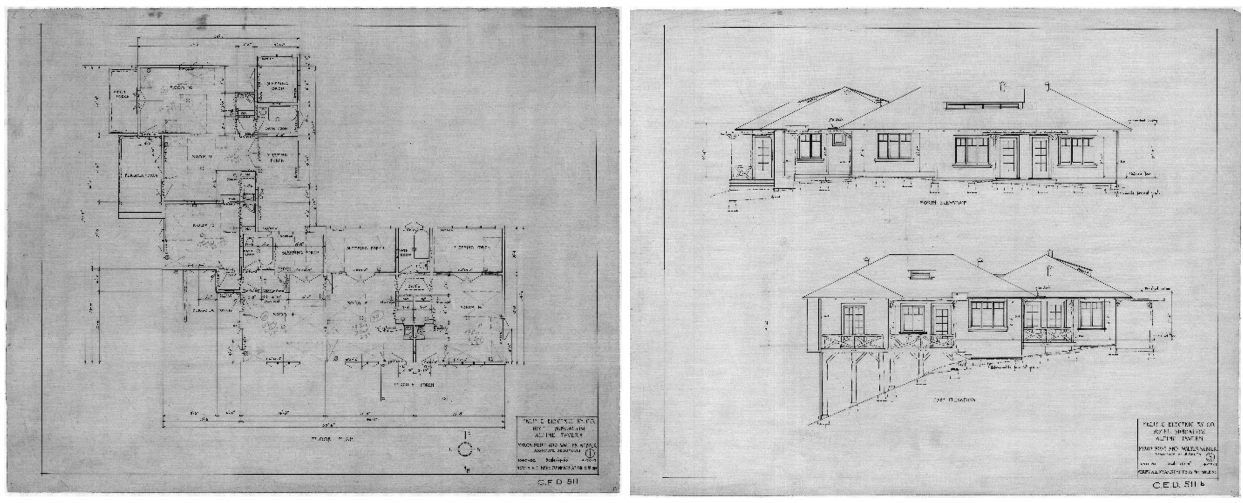


Figure 5: "Hotel Bungalow" addition, containing private rooms with screened sleeping porches and baths, perched above the sloping topography below, 1917, PERC, SCRM.

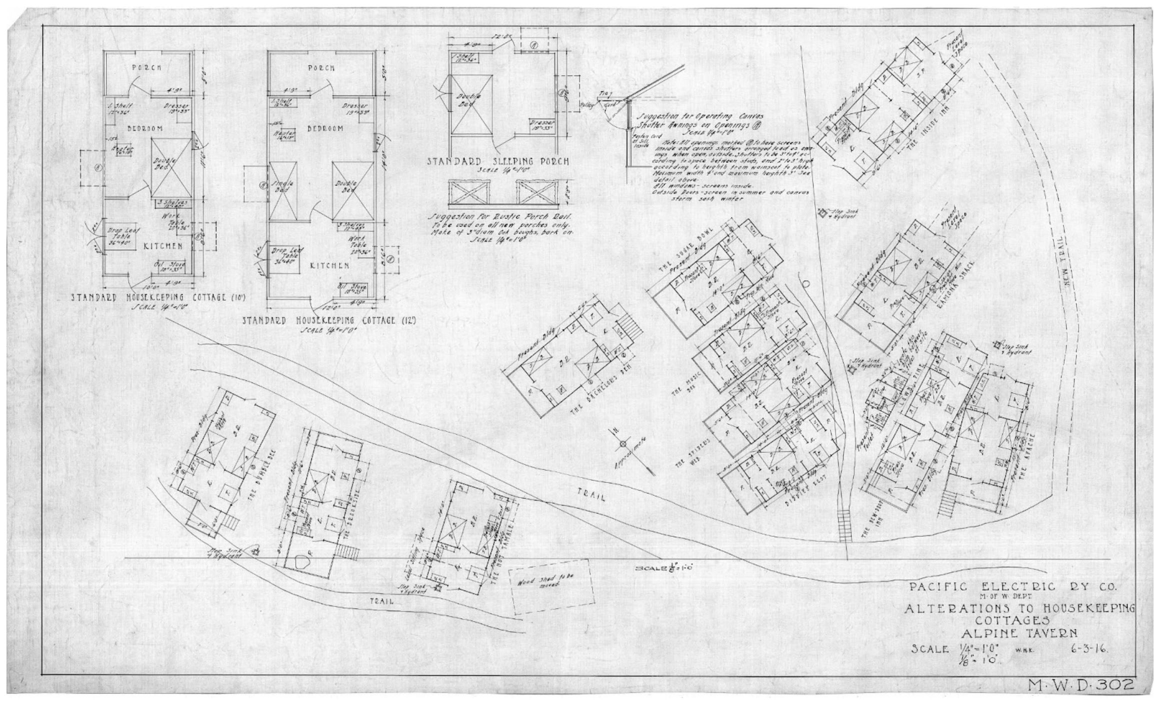


Figure 6: Housekeeping Cottages at the Alpine Tavern resort, with operable canvas shutters and rustic oak bough railing, 1916. PERC, SCRM.

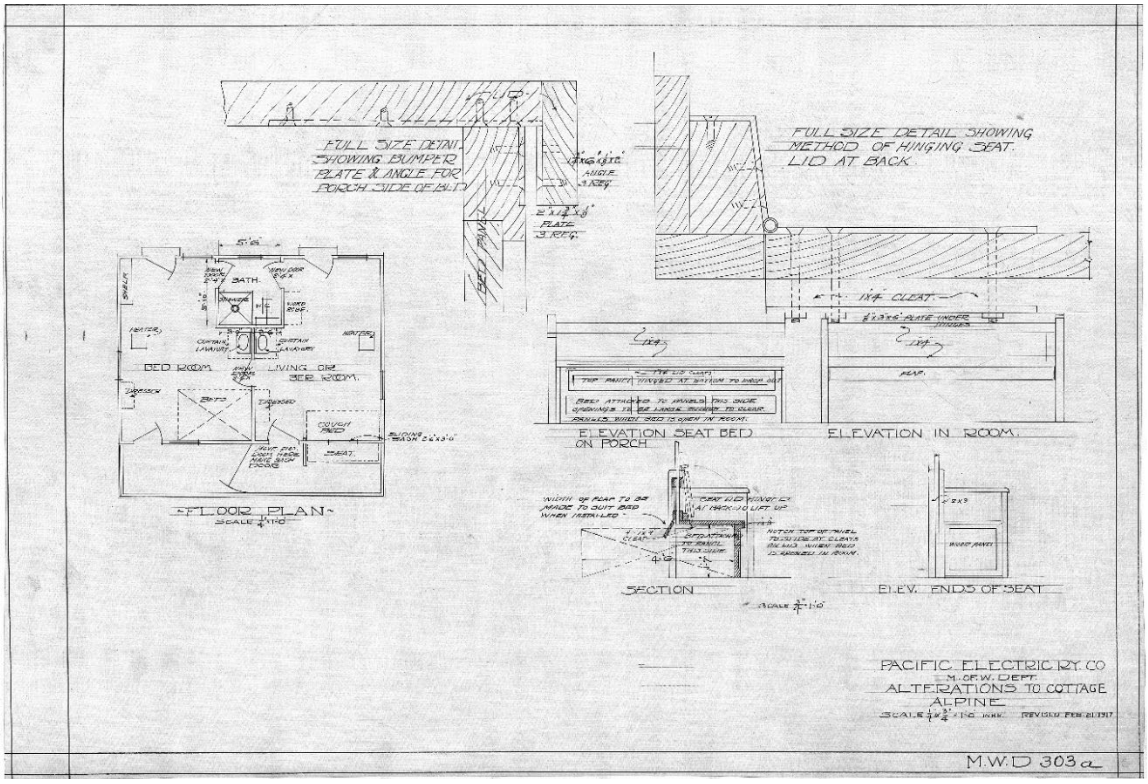


Figure 7: Detail for a hinging porch seat, positioned at the threshold between the cottage's front porch and living room, where it adjoins the interior couch bed, 1917. PERC, SCRM.

1.2 Huntington's Business Triad and the Creation of Los Angeles' Housing Market

From 1904 to 1913, 500 new subdivisions were built per year in the Los Angeles basin. During this time, Huntington expanded the electric trolley for the acquisition and financial appreciation of land and selling of property. When recessions hit, Huntington and the Huntington Land and Improvement Company (HLIC) responded by contracting with real estate companies and outlining specific building restrictions in their property deeds. Despite potential slowing in sales during periods of economic downturn, the value of HLIC's unsold inventory skyrocketed due to improvements made; from $4.3 million in 1908 to $10.9 million in 1910. In 1913, HLIC netted more than $2 million. Huntington used HLIC profits to finance the Pacific Light and Power Company (PLPC)'s development of the Big Creek Power Station, and PLCP was merged into the SoCal Gas Company.[85] Underlying their outwardly projected foci, Huntington's subsidiaries were all formed in some part according to the following bylaws of incorporation:

> To acquire by purchase, lease or otherwise, lands, water rights and other property, and to sell, convey or lease the same, or any part thereof, and convey by deed of trust or otherwise mortgage the same. To erect buildings and other improvements upon lands acquired and lease the same. To accept and hold the title of lands and other property in trust and to carry out and execute such trust. To purchase or otherwise acquire and hold, sell, and dispose of capital stock of other corporations. [86]

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[85] William B. Friedricks, "Twilight of the Business Triad" in *Henry E Huntington and the Creation of Southern California* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1992), 125.

[86] L.A. County Incorporation Records, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History: GC1145-4034 Huntington Land & Improvement Co. 1902, GC1145-5746 San Fernando Mission Land Co. 1904; GC1145-4816 Pacific Electric Land Co. 1903; GC1145-3789 Pacific Electric Railway Co. 1901; GC1145-4071 Pacific Light & Power Co. 1902; GC1145-5299 Los Angeles Gas & Electric Co. 1904; GC1145-10482 Los Angeles Gas & Electric Corp; GC1145-10482 Southern California Gas Co. 1909; GC1145-10674 Southern California Edison Co., Vol. I 1909.

The company pairing of stock and land was strategic. It allowed for borrowing against and transferring of stock between several subsidiaries under Huntington's direction to purchase more land or materials when cash was scarce. With respect to HLIC, their focus was on the subdivision and sale of land into lots and blocks, for farming or otherwise, and included the improvement of lands and water rights as necessary. Henry Huntington, John Muir, E.J. Cook, and John Bicknell were among the founding members of HLIC, demonstrating the range of interests involved in their operations. In his connection with preservation, John Muir held the power to grant rights of way for usage of national or state park land. E.J. Cook owned and operated commercial real estate, and John Bicknell was a big player in several Los Angeles railway companies. In September of 1913, HLIC's bonded indebtedness included 1.5 million of PERC's 50-year, 5% gold bonds. The San Fernando Mission Land Company was formed between Huntington, Job Harriman, Harrison Gray Otis, and William Kerkhoff in January 1905 as a "general land and water business," located in the lands between the Owens Valley and Los Angeles, through which the LA Aqueduct was to be constructed. Kerkhoff owned almost half of the PLPC, Otis was the president of the Los Angeles Times, and Harriman an L.A. politician, again representing the entanglements between suburban development and municipal power across greater Los Angeles.

The Pacific Electric Land Company was also founded with Huntington, Muir, Cook, Bicknell, and Epes Randolph on the board, for the purchase, development and sale of land and water, in addition to that for electric motive power and illuminating light. Randolph, Bicknell, and Huntington joined Frank Flint (to become a California Senator) in the founding of PERC to construct, acquire purchase or lease electric railway and the necessary lands and rights of way for the construction and maintenance of tracks, powerhouses, etc. Huntington and Kerkhoff were

also behind the incorporation of PLPC in 1902 to produce and supply electrical energy and gas for light, heat, or power, to acquire lands and construct supporting buildings, machinery, and appliances, and to sell and dispose of water for power, irrigation, or domestic purposes. With control over the water, power, gas, land, and transportation of the region, Huntington's subdivisions were sure to appreciate. In many respects, HLIC, PERC and PLPC were contingent operations; they owned stock in and depended on each other for economic and material viability. Access to power, gas and transportation ensured the marketability of subdivided lands and single-family homes to middle and upper-class buyers. Carolyn Loeb has called the design of 1920s developer subdivisions "entrepreneurial vernacular," due to their relatively ubiquitous and unremarkable character.[87] If the architecture with respect to the layout, form and aesthetics did not punctuate the developer suburbs, then how were socioeconomic classes of housing defined? From the Oak Knoll estate unit to Oneonta Park and South Raymond, HLIC regulated geometry, site relationships and race according to differing classifications, suggesting that in the developer suburbs, the market was created in the laying out of neighborhoods and housing, and in the writing and transfer of deeds. A scalar comparison of housing projects developed by HLIC and PERC demonstrates a range of socioeconomic interests that tie geometric, material and financial characteristics to the perceived identity of target audiences (Figure 8).

HLIC purchased the lands of Oak Knoll in 1905 for $300,000, reserving acreage for the Huntington Hotel and the development of estate housing tracts. The subdivision was opened for sale in 1906 and contained lots of 1-10 acres each for $5,000-$20,000. Purchasers were required to build a home with a construction price minimum ranging from $6,000-$15,000 depending

[87] Carolyn S. Loeb, *Entrepreneurial Vernacular: Developers' Subdivisions in the 1920s, Creating the North American Landscape* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

which streets the homes fronted onto. Trapezoidal lots were organized radially along curved streets, lined with landscaped, paved walks and street trees. Deeds for property in HLIC's Oak Knoll and San Marino estate neighborhoods were elaborately detailed. Homes were required to be set back from the front of the street 35 feet, from the side adjoining a lot 10 feet, and from a side street, 15 feet. No accessory buildings were allowed on the lot until the permanent residence had been completed, and even then, they must be placed no nearer than 90 feet from the front of the lot or 25 feet from any side street. The design and location of the residence needed to be approved by a committee appointed by HLIC, or in their absence, must be in harmony with the existing structures in the subdivision. Specific requirements were further detailed according to groupings of lots within the subdivision. In lots 1-7 of tract 11330 in San Marino, for example, the house needed to have a ground floor size of 2,100 sf minimum, a plot size minimum of 12,000 sf and plot width minimum of 70 feet, a 4 ft maximum fence height, cost at least $8,500, remain unoccupied until completed, and house no "noxious or offensive trade or activity," that would cause a "nuisance or annoyance to the neighborhoods." Accessory structures were strictly forbidden: "no trailer, basement, tent, shack, garage, barn or other outbuilding erected on any residential plot shall at any time be used as a residence temporarily or permanently, nor shall any structure of temporary character be used as a residence."[88] Only one restriction was stated to remain into perpetuity, and to belong to the land and therefore to be passed with the land: "no part of said real estate, or the improvements to be placed thereon shall ever be sold or leased to, or used or occupied by or permitted to be used or occupied by any individual of any other than the Caucasian race, except that domestic servants, chauffeurs or gardeners of other than the white

[88] Recorder 10-1-41. Lots 1-59 in tract 11330. Huntington HLIC Ledger – Prices & Restrictions (city of San Marino, LA, Ca) Henry Edwards Huntington papers, 1794-1983 (bulk 1840-1927), HLIC Binder, Price List & Restrictions, HLSM.

Caucasian race, residing with their employer may live on or occupy the premises where their employer resides." The upper end of the housing market in Pasadena was restricted to permanent residences for White people. So while the bungalow was associated with a rugged fantasy in connection with the California wilderness in the later years of the 1800s, in its correlation with conglomerates of land, housing, infrastructure and politics, it entered a world of ordered permanence in the early 1900s. Whereas it had been common for middle-class immigrants and non-White migrants to build their own house while living in a tent on a lot, or to work out of their home once completed, this would have been considered an offensive activity, and would have been forbidden through deed restrictions in the San Marino estate. In the pairing of material restrictions with cultural and racial restrictions, HLIC maintained an image of White leisure and non-White service in Oak Knoll and San Marino.

HLIC also speculated in subdivisions specifically designed for the middle-class, such as in Oneonta Park at the south end of Pasadena (Figure 9). Lots were 1/3 or 1/2 acre each and were stated to be worth $3,500 at minimum. Residential lots on Ramona Blvd, intermixed with commercial lots, contained no setback restrictions, and cost just $750.[89] On the residential streets of Westminster and Montezuma Ave. near the tracks of the Santa Fe Railroad, lots went for $700-$950, and contained setback requirements of 25 feet at the front and 5 feet at the sides. Several lots in the neighborhood contained easement requirements in their deeds. Lot 129 was subject to a storm drain easement, lots 133-135 for sanitary purposes, and lot 11 for roadway and pipeline purposes, all granted to the city of Alhambra. With respect to municipal interest in residential lands, Huntington stated "it is the houses on 25-foot (wide) lots that bring in the

[89] Huntington HLIC Ledger – Prices & Restrictions (city of san marino, LA, Ca) Henry Edwards Huntington papers, 1794-1983 (bulk 1840-1927). HLIC Binder, Price List & Restrictions, HLSM.

nickels."[90] With narrower lot widths, middle-class neighborhoods contained more houses per lineal foot of infrastructure than upper-class neighborhoods. Shorter setbacks from the street would require less infrastructure to connect the main lines to each house, meaning less of an investment for HLIC, PERC, and PLPC, who were still bringing in service payments from their homeowners. The payoff for HLIC in establishing middle-class neighborhoods was in the lifetime of service payments, rather than in initial land sales.

While structures physically associated with temporariness were forbidden from Oak Knoll and Oneonta Park alike, they were concentrated in South Pasadena along South Raymond Street, where PERC's worker housing was built. The multiethnic neighborhoods of South and East L.A., especially near the L.A. River, were home to ethnic Mexican, Asian and Black populations. The neighborhoods where Mexican populations found cultural, social, political, and domestic solidarity were often referred to as "barrios," "colonias," Mexican villages," or "foreign districts," as described by scholars of Mexican and Mexican American history, identity, and segregation in Los Angeles.[91] PERC acquired land near the railroad junction on South Raymond, where they built section houses, as employee barracks were called, for their Mexican track laborers. Employers like PERC, who commissioned famed architects to design buildings for their leisure resorts while devoting their Maintenance of Way Department (MWD) Engineers

[90] Quoted on page 100 of Friedricks, *HEH and the Creation*.

[91] See: George Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles From the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1983).Dana Cuff, *The Provisional City: Los Angeles Stories of Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2001); Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (London and New York: Verso, 1990); Scott Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of a Multiethnic Los Angeles* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007); Andrea Gibbons, *City of Segregation: 100 Years of Struggle for Housing in Los Angeles* (London and New York: Verso, 2018).

to labor camp design, encouraged a bifurcation in the building profession. By removing the architectural professional, associated with aesthetic and experiential design expertise, from the design of labor camps, efficiency was prioritized over humanity. And by relocating the intellectual, interpretive, or creative work of labor camp design to the factory by utilizing sectional construction systems, a greater distance was forged between White designers or engineers and non-White laborers on site. The deskilling of labor was not simply an economic strategy, but a social one. As colonial scholars have demonstrated, professionalization initiatives and advancements in building technology were used to maintain social order in a colonial context.[92] In the domestic colonial context, low wages, cheap housing, and unpredictable employment could be justified if labor competition was plentiful and racial lines were drawn.[93] Employers maintained distance from their laborers by eliminating the need for the employment or housing of skilled professionals.

In 1910, 258 Mexican immigrants were counted by the census to be living in the South Raymond district of Pasadena. Miguel Acabedo, a laborer for the Los Angeles Gas Company (LAGC), was living at 615 South Broadway. Other residents of the district included Jacinto Ananze Coronacel, a street railroad laborer living on South Raymond, Emilio Arieta, a "section hand," or railroad laborer, living on lands of the Santa Fe Railroad (SFRR), Antonio Canales, a rail laborer living on South Fair Oaks, Maximiliano Carrillo, a sewer laborer living at 619 South

[92] See, for example, Jonah Rowen's research on the building technologies of risk management developed for the British colonization of the Caribbean in: "Materials, Labor, and Apprehension: Building for the Threat of Fire across the Nineteenth-Century British Atlantic" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2020).

[93] On the contributions of racial formation to domestic colonialism in the United States, see: Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (New York: Routledge, 1986); Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Settler Colonialism as Structure: A Framework for Comparative Studies of U.S. Race and Gender Formation," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1, no. 1 (2015): 54-74.

Broadway, and Isabella Lopez, a laundress living at 128 Pico Street.[94] Of 1,736 Mexicans living in Pasadena in 1920, 947 were born in Mexico, most of whom migrated from Chihuahua, Jalisco, Zacatecas, Durango, and Sonora in search of work. Of the 984 Mexicans living in the South Raymond district in 1920, 541 were male, 443 were female. 576 were adults and 408 children. These statistics suggest that entire families migrated together from Mexico, or that Mexican immigrants established families once in the U.S. Of those, only three owned their own house and land. 149 had unsteady employment, making $1.50-$4.50 per day, and lived in "section houses, old houses vacated by people moving from the industrial section, hastily boarded up shacks, renovated barns, garages, tents and shacks made of old tin and scraps of lumber."[95] In total, 119 houses in South Raymond were divided into 191 tenements. 216 people were living in tenements of five or more rooms, and on average, eight persons shared one toilet. Despite living with their families, Mexican laborers in South Pasadena were relegated to low wages and temporary employment, making it especially difficult to purchase and maintain a home.

The South Raymond District attracted industrial uses, due to its positioning at the intersection of multiple interurban railways. In his expansion and renovation of Pasadena's tourist destinations and suburbs, Huntington established the Los Angeles Gas Company in the property adjacent to PERC's section camp. According to sociologists' reports, the LAGC settlement displaced 18 families from their homes south of Colorado Street. Of the 225 families living in the South Raymond district, 16% were homeless and 42% of deaths were attributed to tuberculosis. Sociologists had similarly taken interest in house courts, early labor camps, and

[94] United States of America Bureau of the Census. (1910). Population Schedule of Pasadena Township. Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration.

[95] A.C. Lofstedt, "A study of the Mexican population in Pasadena, California" (Master's Thesis, University of Southern California, 1922): 36.

other forms of concentrated, working-class housing where outbreaks of disease amassed, but the South Raymond District reflected a less homogenous and well-defined problem. In 1913, when the PERC camp on South Raymond was surveyed by the visiting nurse for the Associated Charities, it was stated that over one hundred men, women and children were sharing twelve rooms in low, long sheds, while single "traqueros," or track workers, were housed in tents.[96] The settlement was located just north of the gas tanks (Figure 10, Figure 11).[97] The neighborhood was comprised of a fruit packing plant, several Chinese laundries, the Pasadena Construction Company, a lumber yard, the Oak Hill Water Company, Pasadena Canning Company, Pasadena Ice Company, a Japanese laundry, and a municipal electric light plant, in addition to a scattering of dwellings and bunkhouses. The Southern Pacific bunkhouse was noted to have "cloth sides" and the lumber shed indicated that a "man sleeps in this building."[98] Despite extreme economic and material limitations, the residents of PERC's labor camp took pride in their homes, as suggested by the clean, orderly yard and potted plants perched atop the porch railing in a photograph of the "Mexican settlement" from 1932. As sociologist A.C. Loftsedt reported in 1922, Mexican households in South Raymond contained phonographs, musical instruments, and Mexican newspapers, demonstrating an expression of identity and taste beyond the banal confines of housing impressed upon them. The visiting nurse's description failed to acknowledge

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[96] *Pasadena News*, January 1913, quoted in: M. E. James. "Winning Them into Goodness" in *The Conspiracy of the Good: Civil Rights and the Struggle for Community in Two American Cities, 1875-2000* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2008), 145.

[97] "Mexican settlement north of gas tanks at railway section house, Pasadena," Anton Wagner, photographer, December 27, 1932. From Anton Wagner photographs of Los Angeles, 1932-33, California Historical Society.

[98] Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California, 1910, Library of Congress.

such indications of cultural and domestic pride, as did much of the "slum clearance" projects of the 1910s and 20s.

With a lack of available financing and investments, the neighborhood was noted to be subject to discussions of "slum clearance." As other studies have noted, slum clearance itself was defined in such a way that metrics could be assembled about such factors as structural conditions, sanitary facilities, and crowding, to justify the demolition of neighborhoods occupied by Black, Brown, and Asian peoples.[99] These were the same factors specifically required by the various worker housing administrators across California and Los Angeles. In 1905, the LA Department of Public Health called for the clearance of "shacks" of the "Mexican village" in Vernon, for example, which was reimagined as a racially restricted industrial suburb thereafter. Following the demolition of homes in neighborhoods marked for slum clearance, industrial districts like the Eastside Industrial District and Central Manufacturing District sprung up under sponsorship by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce (LACOC), posing threats to the health of those living in the remaining, unrestricted suburban pockets of South and East Los Angeles.[100] The PERC and LAGC's developments in South Raymond, like the "shacks" and "Mexican village" of Vernon, made the future demolition of the labor camp an inevitability. When PERC's section housing was surveyed by the CCIH, it was slated for demolition due to its overcrowded and unsanitary arrangement, paving the grounds for the new LAGC holding tank and facilities.

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[99] Cuff, *Provisional City.*

[100] Greg Hise, "'Nature's Workshop': Industry and Urban Expansion in Southern California, 1900-1950" in *Manufacturing Suburbs: Building Work and Home on the Metropolitan Fringe ed. by Robert Lewis* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004); See also: Tom Sitton and William Deverell, "Industry and Imaginative Geographies" in *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001).

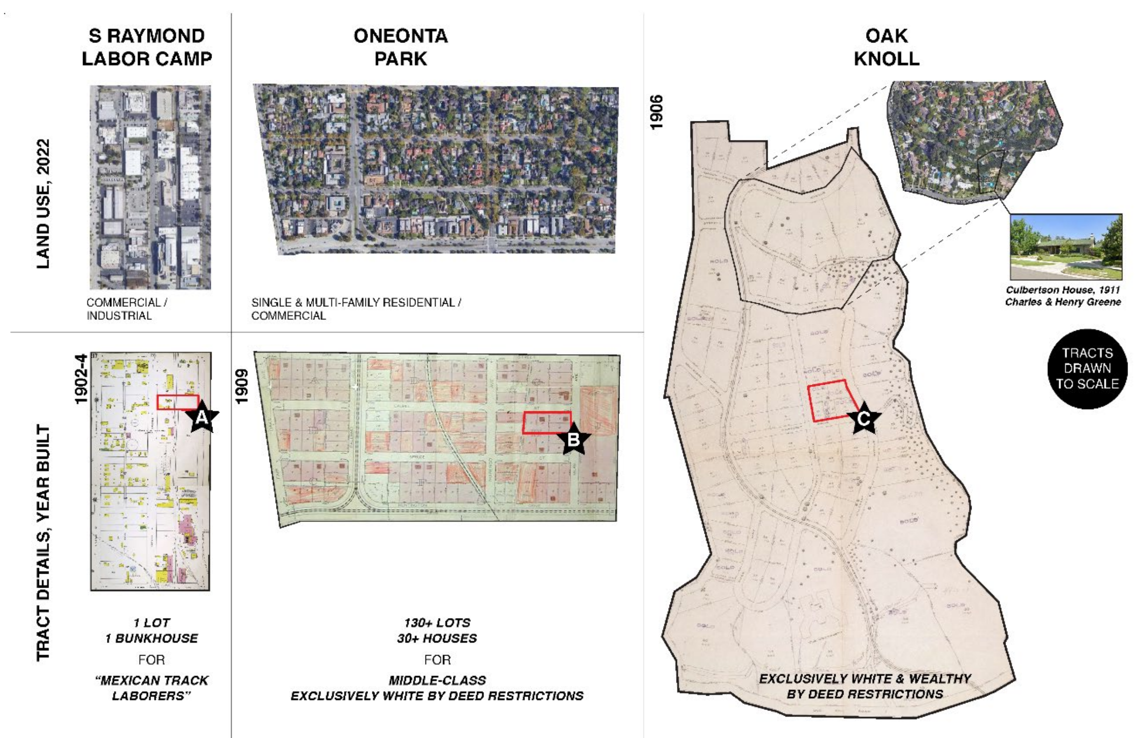
The heightened visibility of the South Raymond camp was tied to its proximity to the neighborhood of millionaires on the opposite side of Orange Grove Boulevard, where the famed Gamble House designed by Charles and Henry Greene was located. White women living in "Millionaires Row" fashioned themselves as charity workers, volunteering in the neighboring settlement houses, nurseries, kindergartens, and night schools for the Americanization of Mexican peoples. The Mexican Methodist Church offered Home Economics courses to Mexican mothers, and Reverend Olazabal opened the Bonita Cooperative Laundry, for Mexican women of South Raymond to earn wages working as laundresses for White families. Perhaps the most comprehensive reform effort was the segregation of South Pasadena's elementary school. Clara Odell, a White resident of the neighborhood west of South Raymond, was the mother of a child attending Garfield Elementary. With interests in charitable work, reform, and the Americanization movement, Odell had opened a day nursery and maternity clinic for Mexican women and children living in South Raymond. Odell lobbied for the construction of a new school for Mexican children of South Pasadena, to be segregated from Garfield Elementary, where they were not receiving the special attention she believed them to need.[101] The school was segregated in 1914, and 200 Mexican pupils were moved into a "temporary huddle of shacks," where administrators cut their hair and "scrubbed [their] filthy little bodies."[102] The Edna P. Alter Mexican Settlement was incorporated in 1921 and a year later, the Junipero Serra School was built to replace the previous bungalows of the South Raymond Street School, as it was called. Domestic science and manual training were offered to Mexican students within the new Spanish Revival Style school, constructed in brick and plaster with a clay tile, gabled roof.

[101] Michaela Jeanette López Mares-Tamayo, "Chicana/o Historical Counterstories: Documenting the Community Memory of Junipero Serra and Clark Street Schools" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2014).

[102] "Winning them into Goodness" in James, *The Conspiracy of the Good,* 2008.

Shower baths and lavatories were added in each classroom, to facilitate regular practices in personal hygiene among students. The style and naming of the school, which recalled the Spanish colonization of Mexican and Indigenous peoples in Latin America and the American Southwest, propagandized the benefits of or need for White savior. Despite the new façade and improved sanitary facilities, Junipero Serra was nicknamed the "gas tank school," due to its proximity to the LAGC's gas storage tank and facilities. Despite improvements made to the Junipero Serra school through charitable donations, it was sandwiched between industrial buildings and a tangle of transportation infrastructures. In Oak Knoll and Millionaire's Row, gas lines were run underground to provide domestic heat to the estate homes, but in South Raymond, Mexican laborers working for the railway and gas company were housed without heat or electric lighting next to the gas storage tanks. Huntington offered section housing free of charge to PERC's laborers, but this was a small price to pay when considering the value their labor contributed to permanent Pasadena properties. The tracks laid by section hands allowed for residents of the residential suburbs to live further from noxious facilities. By placing restrictions on income and identity in the deeds of properties within entire neighborhoods in northern Pasadena, HLIC effectively segregated the city. By placing the gas tanks and production facilities necessary to bring modern infrastructure to the residential suburbs near the lowest end of housing in the south, and by adding residential improvements in the neighborhoods to the north, HLIC effectively correlated race with land value, life expectancy, and other factors associated with environmental quality and use. The proximity between South Raymond and Oak Knoll allowed for ethnic Mexicans to serve as laundresses and laborers to the north, while the employer oversight and deed restrictions limited their personal and domestic freedoms. These pairings were written into the geometry of the sites and their susceptibility to inspection,

demolition, and renovation, leading to lasting inequalities between White and Mexican residents of Pasadena.



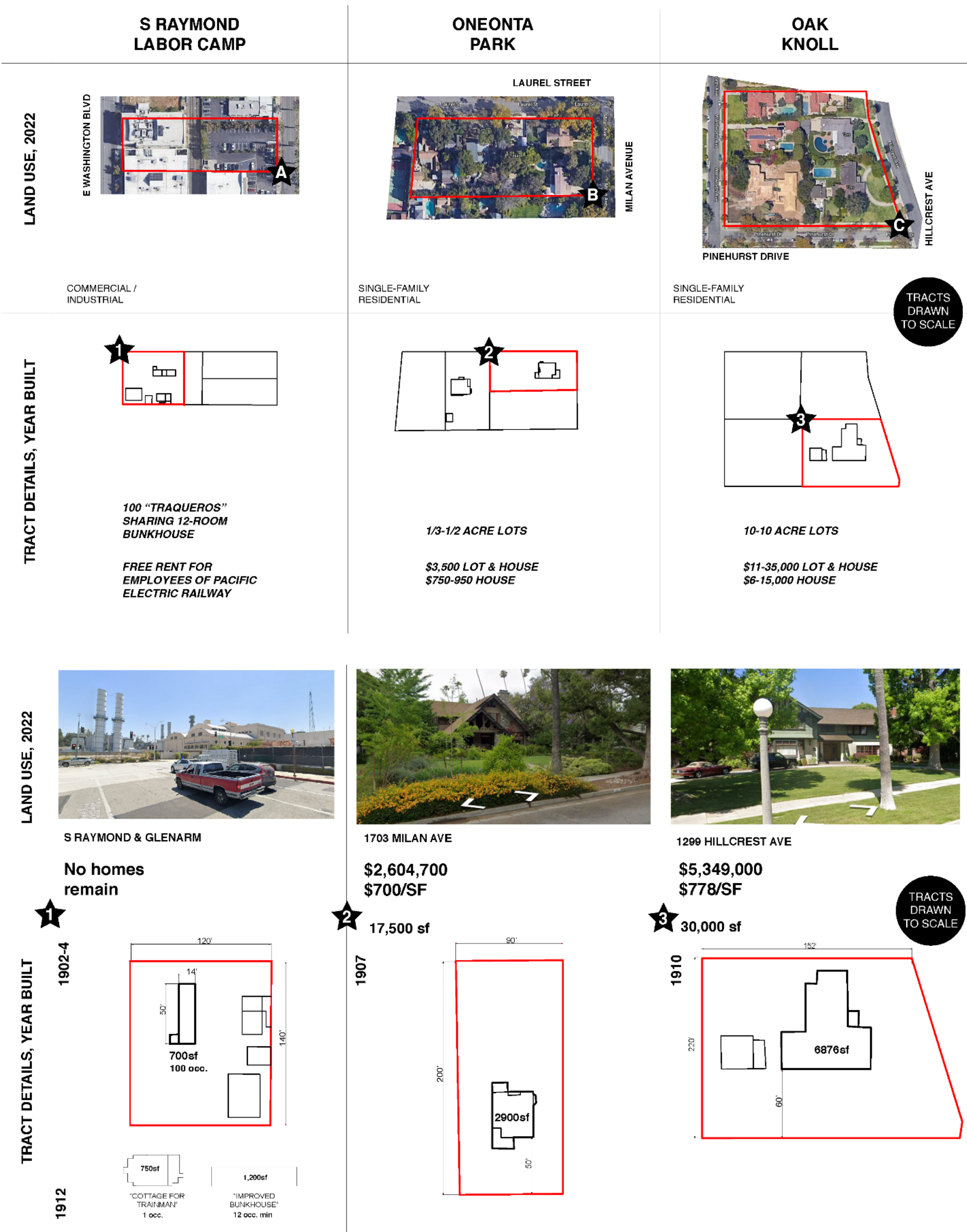


Figure 8: Illustrations by Author, demonstrating the scalar, geometric, material, financial and demographic distinctions between housing developments by HLIC and PERC, from the time they were built to today.

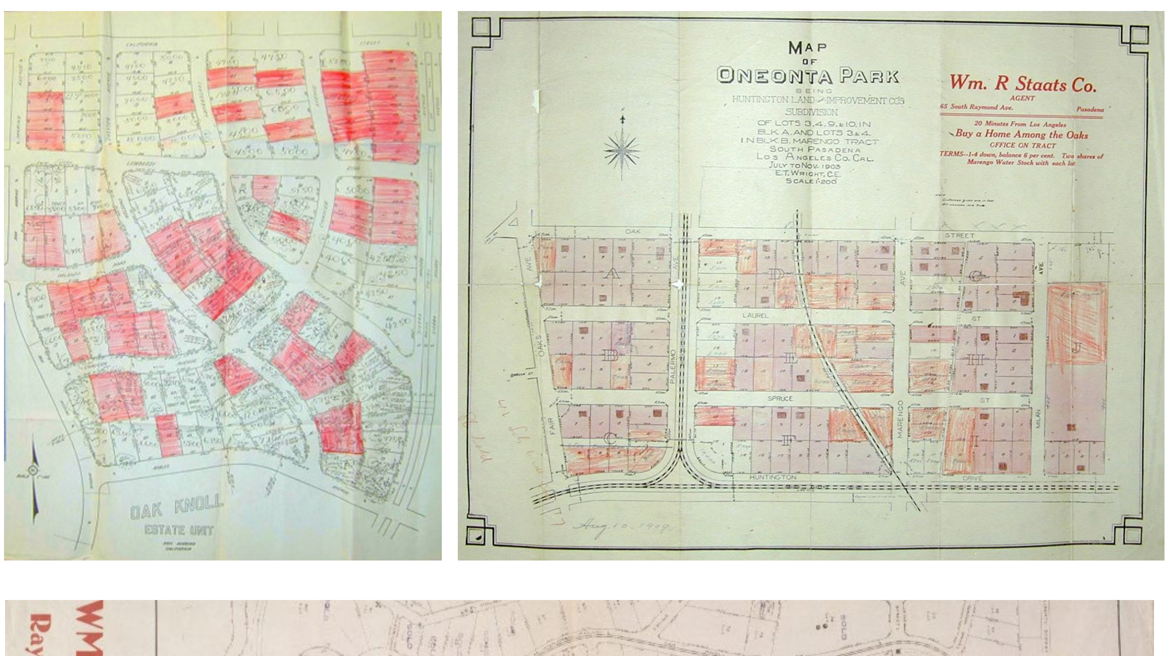


Figure 9: HLIC maps of the Oak Knoll subdivision (1906), Oak Knoll Estate Unit (ca. 1920s), and Oneonta Park (1903), as advertised by real estate agent William Staats. Oak Knoll, an upper-class neighborhood, features wide, curving streets separated from public infrastructure, street trees, and large trapezoidal lots of varying dimensions. Oneonta Park, marketed to the middle-class, is immediately adjacent to the rail line, and contains residential and commercial properties in a gridiron formation. Huntington Rare Book Maps, Huntington Digital Library.

Figure 10: Tract Map of South Raymond at Glenarm Street in South Pasadena, containing the PERC car house and oil tanks (lower left), and the gas company and railway section houses (upper right). Lot usage varies widely, with many remaining empty. The confluence of several rail lines can be seen where South Raymond Ave meets Glenarm.

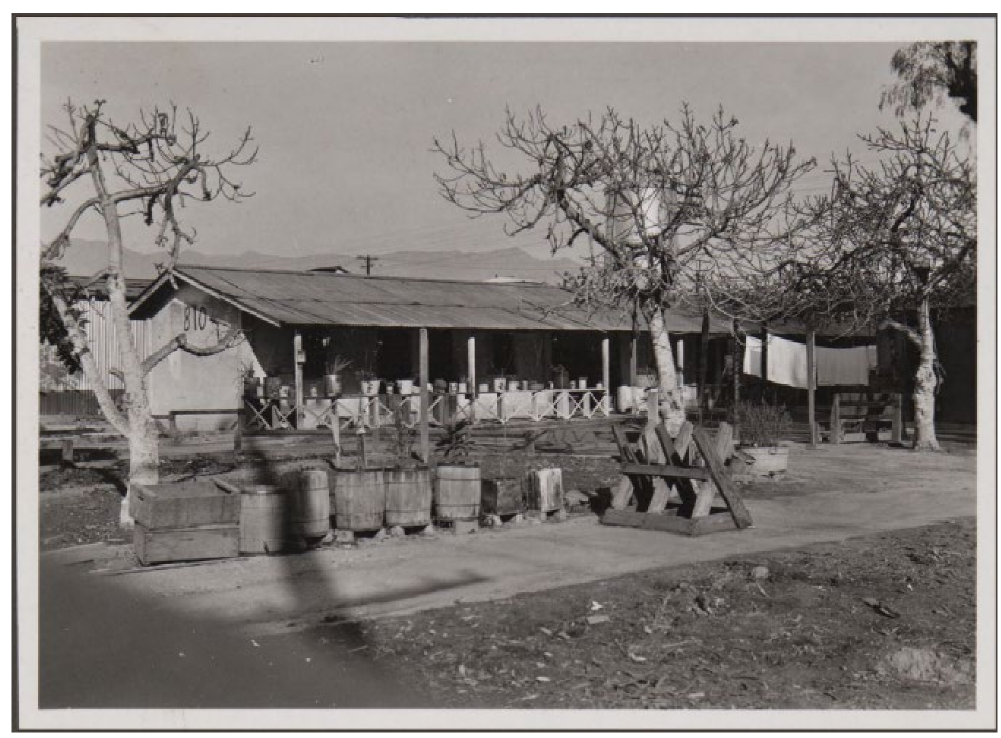


Figure 11: (above) “Mexican Settlement North of Gas Tanks,” 1932. Anton Wagner Photographs of Los Angeles, California Historical Society Digital Library; (below) Photograph of a work crew of pipe installers including Alberto Aviles, standing in front of a sign that reads “Danger: So Cal Gas Co.,” in a labor camp yard, with bunkhouse and gas storage tank in background, 1925. The images illustrate the proximity of labor camp dwellings to dangerous production facilities. Foto East LA Collection, Los Angeles County Public Library.

1.3 Worker Accommodations at Mt. Lowe

Ethnic Mexicans living in self-built, rental, or adapted structures in southern Pasadena often found employment working as laundresses or laborers for individuals and companies that were untied to their dwelling, except through their wages. PERC explicitly tied housing to labor in their South Raymond camp, where free housing was offered to employees who were paid by the same company. Low wages and racist restrictions on entire subdivisions of L.A.'s geography left section hands unable to leave what proved to be dangerous, if not deadly accommodations. As HLIC materialized socioeconomic sectors in the housing market with their range of subdivisions across Pasadena, PERC enacted a specific form of paternalism with their labor camps. At Mt. Lowe PERC combined these interests, building differential housing typologies for laborers of the company based on their socioeconomic (and racial) identity. This section considers the pairing of strategies

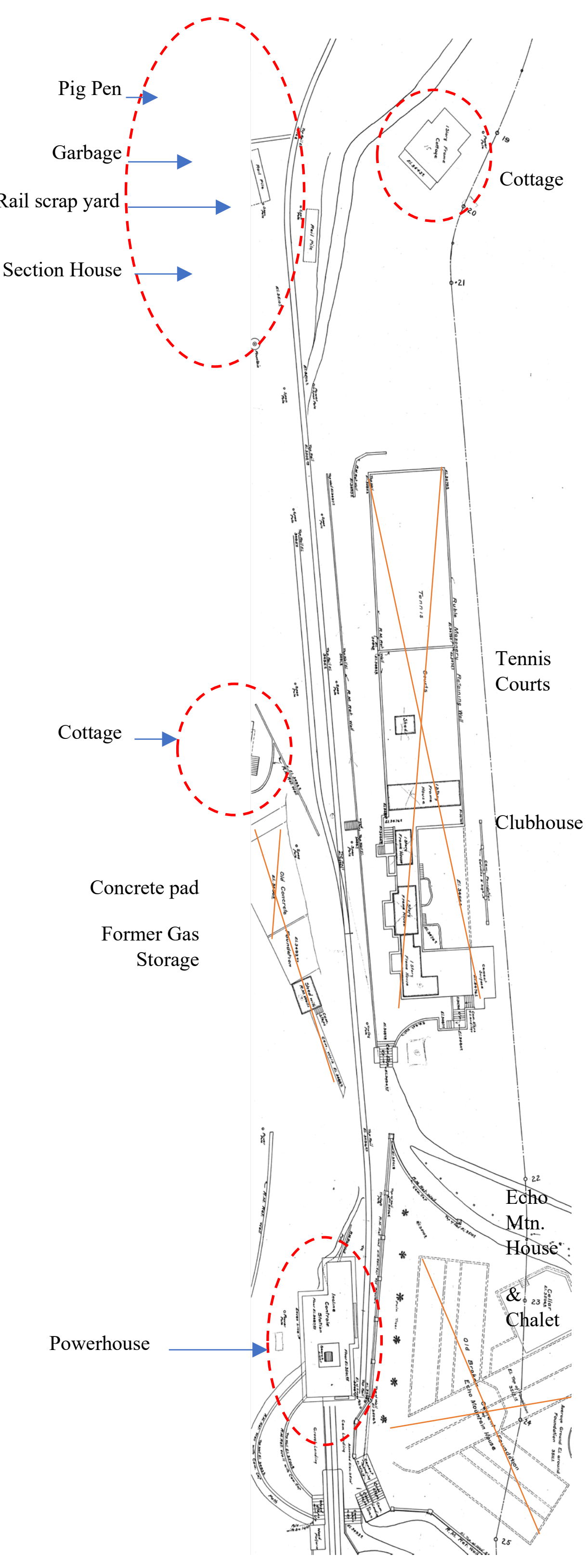


Figure 12: Pacific Electric Ry. Co. MWD, Map of Echo Mountain, Jan 13, 1913, SCRM.

developed by Huntington's subsidiary companies, with a focus on the designed details between several offerings of worker housing at Mt. Lowe. The renovation and expansion of the Incline railway and powerhouse, and the Ye Alpine Tavern resort on Echo Mountain required rail workers to lay and maintain the track and associated structures and equipment, as well as staff to serve guests and maintain the hotel. The hotel staff were housed in the "helps dormitory," built 1916-17 and hidden behind the dining service wing of the Alpine Tavern in the northeast corner of the site. Train crews were housed 3.6 miles south of Alpine Tavern, along the Echo Mountain Trail just north of the new incline powerhouse (Figure 12). The carriage road, corral, tennis clubhouse, casino, original power plant and wooden powerhouse, and the Chalet and Echo Mountain House at this site were subject to flooding and fire, rendered obsolete, and demolished in 1905, as Huntington shifted his focus to the Alpine Tavern.[103] As of 1913, on the east side of the tracks was a cottage, and on the west, a pig pen, garbage burner, car inspection pit, gas storage unit, scrap pile and section house in the northern part, and a one-story frame cottage and the new concrete power house, each framed by rubble masonry retaining walls, in the southern part.

The cottages were designed for trainmen (conductors or foremen) and were built and renovated by PERC's MWD from 1910 to 1924.[104] The first drawings to appear in the PERC MWD records for housing employees at Echo Mountain were dated October 1909 and April 1910, roughly four years after the construction of the incline powerhouse and two years prior to

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[103] Brian Marcroft, "Echo Mountain Through the Years, 1893-1992," Echo Mountain Interpretive Project, Scenic Mount Lowe Historical Committee, U.S. Forest Service, Pacific Railroad Society, SCRM.

[104] Pacific Electric Railway Work Orders, Pacific Electric Railway Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, Ca (Hereafter PERC, HLSM)

the start of renovations at Alpine Tavern. The first plans call for a square cottage divided at the center, with two rooms, including a living room and a kitchen with built-in millwork, a sink, and a vent to the roof on each side. The cottage was raised on concrete footings, and featured an overhanging eave, hipped shingle roof, batten and board siding, and double-hung casement windows. In April of 1910, an addition was detailed for the back of the cottage, with a separate room per side accessed by a door to the exterior and to the kitchen. In lieu of windows or full height walls, the addition offered a four-foot-tall screen, raised three feet from the floor surrounding the perimeter. Canvas was stretched across 2x4 studs at three-foot intervals, creating a breathable extension to the back of the kitchen.[105] Work orders described the construction process: the first plans were completed in February of 1910 and cost $533.03 to construct, porches and toilets were added in March for a cost of $39.38, and the additional two rooms were completed in June and cost $228 each.[106] The plans align with the footprint of the cottage located at the northeast corner of the site above the incline powerhouse. Two White families were photographed posing on the porch of the cottage, featuring a curated rose garden in the foreground and the rising San Gabriel Mountains in the background in the 1910s (Figure 13). A girl wearing an apron, likely a housekeeper and nanny for the family with the young child, stood in the shadows, behind the screened door to the right unit. If the family slept in the front living room, it is possible that the screened addition in the back allowed for a live-in domestic servant, with a private entrance and direct access to the kitchen without crossing the family's private quarters.

[105] "Double House Echo Mountain," December 21, 1909 & "Addition to Double House Echo Mountain," April 13, 1910. PERC, SCRM.

[106] WO #A-162, "Construct Cottage at Echo Mountain for Accommodation of Train Crews," February 1910. PERC, HLSM.

The PERC made clear their interest in attracting men with families to work as operators on Echo Mountain. In November of 1912, Assistant Chief Engineer E. C. Johnson of PERC's MWD signed off on plans for a proposed cottage for trainmen, with the addition of a back room to plans drawn the year before (Figure 14). The conductor had been renting a room intended for hotel staff at Alpine Tavern for $25/month. PERC stated that "it is the best policy to place married men on this run which will necessitate proper living quarters." According to this policy, it was "necessary that trainmen be provided permanent quarters."[107] The cottage was designed in alignment with the double house, but as a stand-alone unit. The floor was raised above the sloping topography with concrete footings and cross-bracing, allowing for drainage to pass underneath. The screened porch was accessible only from the kitchen, which contained a separate door to the exterior. Galvanized wire screen was used instead of canvas for the breathable enclosure in the rear room. The cottage was completed in June of 1913 for the price of $1,169.80. Whereas the double house sat on the ground, contained a shared wall, and cost a total of $1,028.41, likely housing foremen and their families, the conductor's cottage was lifted and free standing. Despite their differences, there were prefabricated components and details that were developed and learned through each, that were later used in the renovation of guest cottages at Alpine Tavern. The doors from the double house were used in the conductor's cottage, and the double swinging, multi-lite casement windows of the conductor's cottage appear in the housekeeping cottages remodeled in 1916 at Alpine Tavern. Regardless of their socioeconomic differences, White trainmen and managers were assumed to be inherently familial, and therefore unsuited to dorm style living. PERC's investments in single or double-family cottages supported this vision. The garden and porch accompaniments to the living quarters suggested that the

[107] WO #10234, "Construction of Trainmen's Cottages at Mt. Lowe," June 1913. PERC, HLSM.

trainmen’s families had time for leisure and recreation outside of work, likely a result of higher wages and the employment of a domestic servant.

Figure 13: Double House on Echo Mountain, employee residence, ca. 1910-20. The large, raised covered porch and ornamental planting fit with versions of single-family, permanent living developed by HLIC in southern Pasadena. PERC, SCRM.

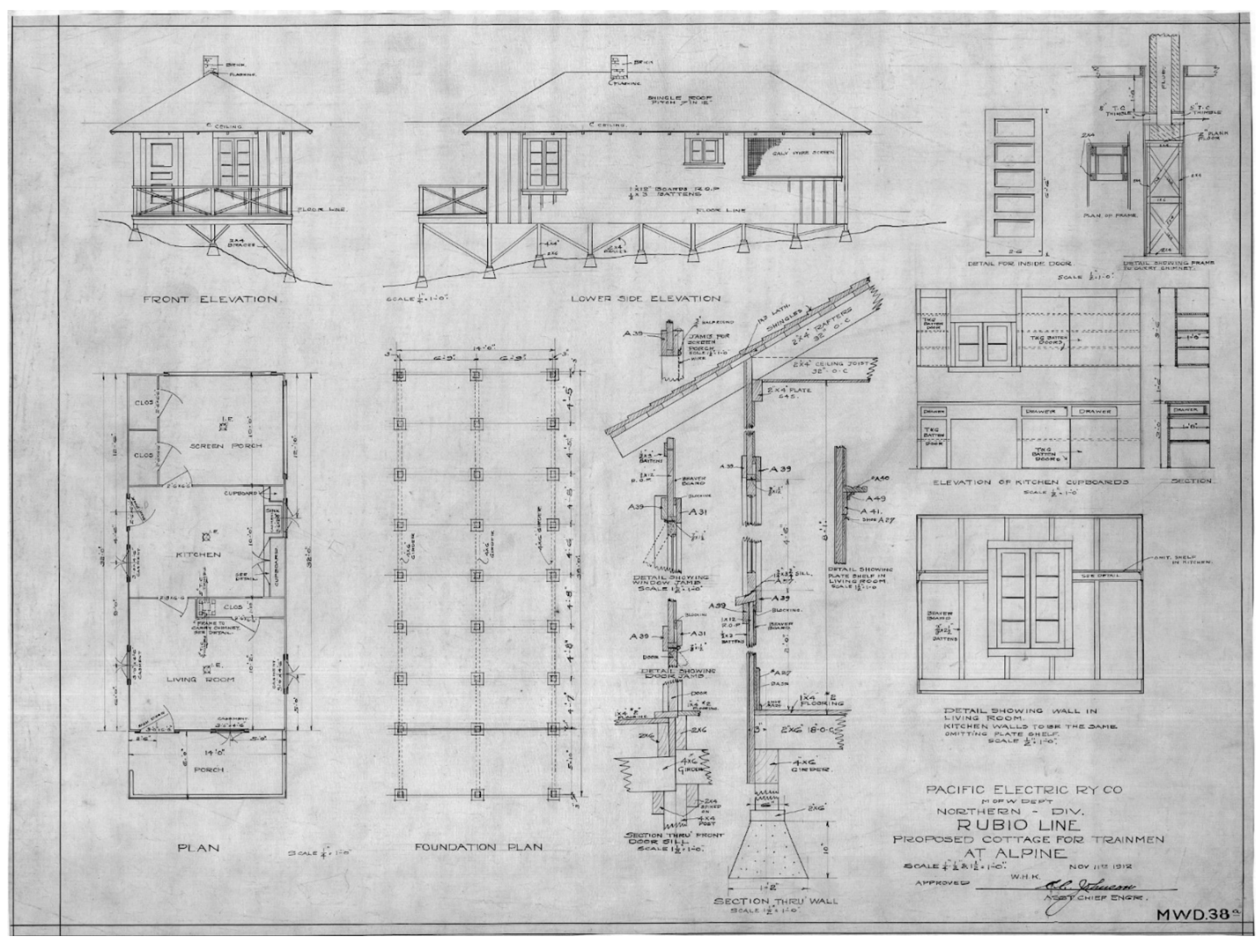

Figure 14: Proposed Cottage for Trainmen at Alpine, November 11, 1912. With a living room, kitchen, and screened sleeping porch, the cottage is built to support a married couple. Aesthetically and formally, the cottage is like the housekeeping cottages for temporary vacationers at Alpine Tavern. PERC MWD, SCRM.

Huntington built a company vacation camp in San Bernardino that capitalized on architectural strategies developed at Mt. Lowe. The camp, located at the far northeastern extension of the rail line between the city of San Bernardino and Lake Arrowhead in the San Bernardino Mountains, was opened in 1917 as a destination site, to incentivize allegiance to the company and promote recreation and community among PERC's White employees. The aesthetics and overall site planning mirrored those at the Alpine Tavern resort, including rustic cabins, bungalows, tent cottages and amenities lining curved, paved walks, that branched out

from the central social hall along Little Bear Creek (Figure 15). In its eleventh season of operation, PERC announced plans to replace the tent cottages they had been using for "permanent cottages," as part of a $17,000 plan for camp improvements.[108] Wooden doors and windows were manufactured at the company's shop in Torrance for the renovations, the grounds were re-landscaped, and permanent, curbed drives and paved trails were laid from the community center to all parts of the site. PERC asserted that "these improvements to be made, coupled with the additions that were made last year in new dormitories, refrigerating plant, water extensions and betterments, will indeed make our mountain vacation camp one of the most complete in the San Bernardino range and in point of sanitation and scenic beauty surpassed by none."[109] The permanent cottages featured prefabricated windows, doors and panels with decorative board framing in the Swiss Chalet style like those at Alpine Tavern, and were equipped with electricity, plumbing, and screened, operable openings for ventilation. The construction of the PERC employee camp followed a chain of business and construction dealings led by Huntington in the San Bernardino Mountain area. In 1903 Huntington acquired stock in the San Bernardino Valley Traction Company and PLPC acquired the Ontario and San Bernardino Gas and Electric Company.[110] With interest in the infrastructural development of the region, Huntington and the HLIC acquired shares in the Arrowhead Hot Spring Hotel and the

[108] "Employe's (sic) Camp Gives Alluring Recreation: Pacific Electric Railway Invests Fifty Thousand Dollars in the Welfare of its Employes (sic) in Order to Insure Happy, Healthy Workers," *Electric Traction* 20, no. 8 (August 1924): 355.

[109] Excerpt from *Pacific Electric Magazine* (July 1927) quoted in "Pacific Electric Camp, 1917-1941," Electric Railway Historical Association of Southern California (ERHA). http://www.erha.org/pecamp/Pacific%20Electric%20Camp.html

[110] See William B. Friedricks, "Appendix B: Chronology of Henry E. Huntington's Major Projects in Southern California," in *HEH and the Creation:* 163-5 and H.D. Walker, *Walker's Manual of California Securities and Directory of Directors* 2 (June 1910), 352.

San Bernardino Inter-Urban Railway and developed the employee camp.[111] In 1932, lower rates than had ever been offered at the camp were extended to employees. Single rooms in the dormitory could be rented for $1/night or $4/week, a tent for $1.50/night or $5/week, or a cottage for $2/night or $8/week. Rail ticket fares were subsidized for weekend visitors and waved for employees whose families stayed more than a week.[112] With the standardized production of building components out of Torrance, the interconnection of rails from LA to San Bernardino, and the tracing of gas, power, and water lines north to the Arrowhead Hot Springs, the PERC camp renovations were a small investment to keep White employees satisfied, while providing modern conveniences through permanent construction methods.

The section house located on the opposite side of the incline from the double house was designed instead to house the predominantly Mexican track laborers employed on Echo Mountain. In plans of the site from 1906 when the section house was built, it is drawn as a long, narrow rectangle without indoor-outdoor accessory spaces like those represented in the trainmen's cottages.[113] The depiction of a porch along the long end of the section house in the 1913 site plan suggests this was added during the renovations of the previous two years. The drawings authored by MWD illustrate the changes PERC made in the standard designs of their section houses from 1913 to 1945. The long rectangle of 1906 is reflected in the drawings for

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[111] For a list of companies owned in whole or in part by Huntington and HLIC see: Nancy Armitage, "H. E. Huntington Company Index (Southwestern Region of USA – California LA area)" in "Henry E. Huntington's Biography File (1850-1927)" February 27, 2020, from the blog "Inside the Huntington's Story: Domestic & Social Life of the Huntington Family," accessed at: https://insidethehuntingtonsstory.com/2020/02/27/henry-e-huntingtons-bio-biography-file-1850-1927/

[112] "Glamorous Days Now at Hand: Our Own Mountain Resort Ready for Summer Guests," *Pacific Electric Magazine* 16, no. 12 (May 1932): 3.

[113] Brian Marcroft, Echo Mountain Interpretive Project, SCRM.

PERC's standard section house issued in February 1913 (Figure 16). Vertical boarded and battened siding, a pitched roof and glass lite doors like those used in the trainmen's cottages articulate the envelope. Instead of double hung or swinging casement windows with screened openings, however, the section house features windows that slide horizontally behind a wall board panel. Redwood mudsills rather than concrete foundations are designed to sit directly on grade, and board partitions are used to frame out flues. As in the cottage for trainmen built in 1910, window and door sashes and jambs are numbered, corresponding to a detail sheet for standard profiles to be prefabricated in PERC's shops. The addition of doors and interior board partitions in the section houses, however, allowed for increased subdivision and multiple points of entry, to fit a maximum number of workers with the least amount of material. The section house featured 18 doors and 12 windows; time and cost in construction could be minimized by using a template to precut framing components off site. PERC issued drawings in June of 1913, and revised in January of 1916 and July of 1919, "for use where rules of housing commission apply."[114] The rear and interior doors were to remain as four panel, painted doors, but all doors were to be fitted with latches and rear doors with bolts, and the front doors with glass lites were to have screen doors behind them. The previous windows were replaced with the double hung casement windows used in the foremen's cottages, though no indication was made for the provision of a screen behind. The primary motivation for the improvements appeared to be the housing commission's most recent legislation, rather than the employees' quality of living.

PERC did, however, express anxiety and interest in keeping Mexican laborers on the job, as they did with White trainmen. In June of 1912, PERC issued a memo on the labor shortages

[114] PERC MWD 89b "Standard Section House," June 3, 1913, Revised 01/08/16 & 07/24/19. PERC, SCRM.

they incurred for maintaining sections and cleaning trails, stating “the labor situation at this time is very critical, and men are very scarce, so much so that my sections and extra gangs for the past several months have not been anywhere near their capacity. The Mexicans have been abandoning all railroad work for labor in the beet fields, paving and good road improvements, and for your information will advise that parties desiring industrial spurs installed have been requested to procure their own labor to make such installation, as we have found it impossible to obtain the Mexicans to put on such works.”[115] In July of 1918, the Cost Engineer for PERC’s MWD authored an article in the *Electric Railway Journal*, featuring copies of the revised plans for standard section houses from 1916.[116] Free section houses, located near gas plants and rail stations, with six units, stoves, fire protection, an area for laundering, and pergolas and chicken yards, were designed to attract married men and keep them in service to the company. Despite these challenges, PERC did not build private or double cottages for their Mexican employees. The appearance of order, paving of shared grounds, and additional garden spaces reshaped relationships between the labor camp barracks and their surroundings, but did not reshape the dwelling spaces themselves.

[115] WO #10730, in response to a request for laborers to oil the trail from Alpine Tavern to Inspiration Point. June 1912. PERC, HLSM.

[116] Clifford A. Elliot, “Home Attractions Keep Track Laborers Satisfied,” *Electric Railway Journal* 52, no. 4 (July 27, 1918): 150-152.

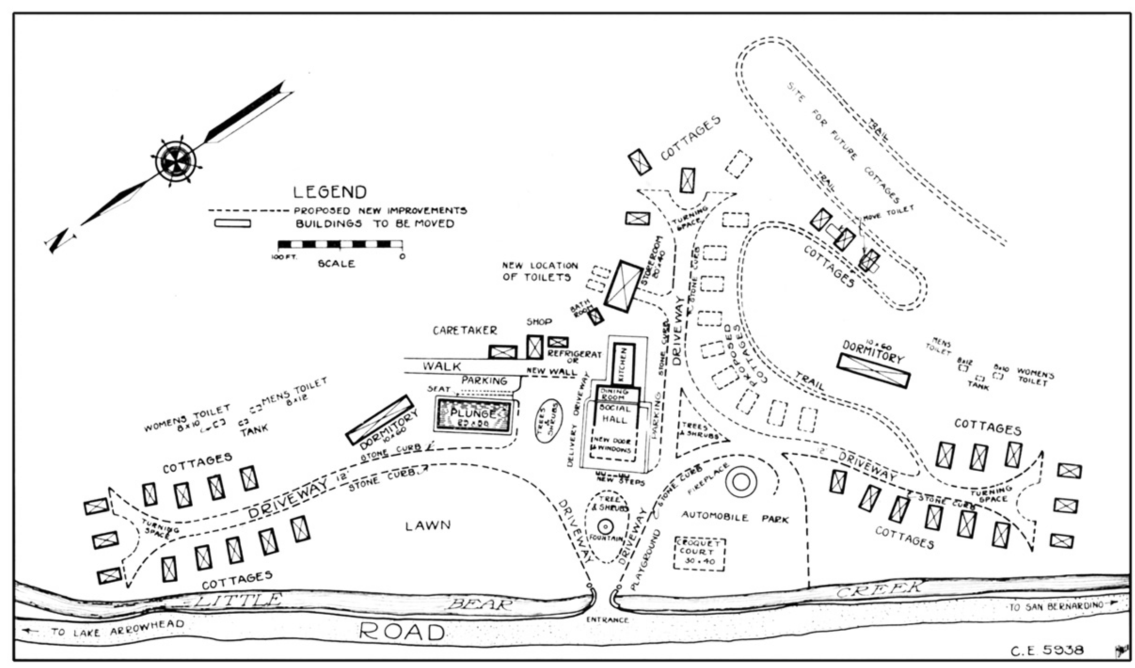

Figure 15: Pacific Electric, San Bernardino Mountain Vacation Camp, plan for improvements (1927) and lane of cabins (c. 1930). The Swiss-Chalet style, exposed wood bracing and white canvas panels of the cottages recall those of Alpine Tavern, as does the site plan, with cottages aligned in rows along curved driveways that branch out from the central commons. ERHA.

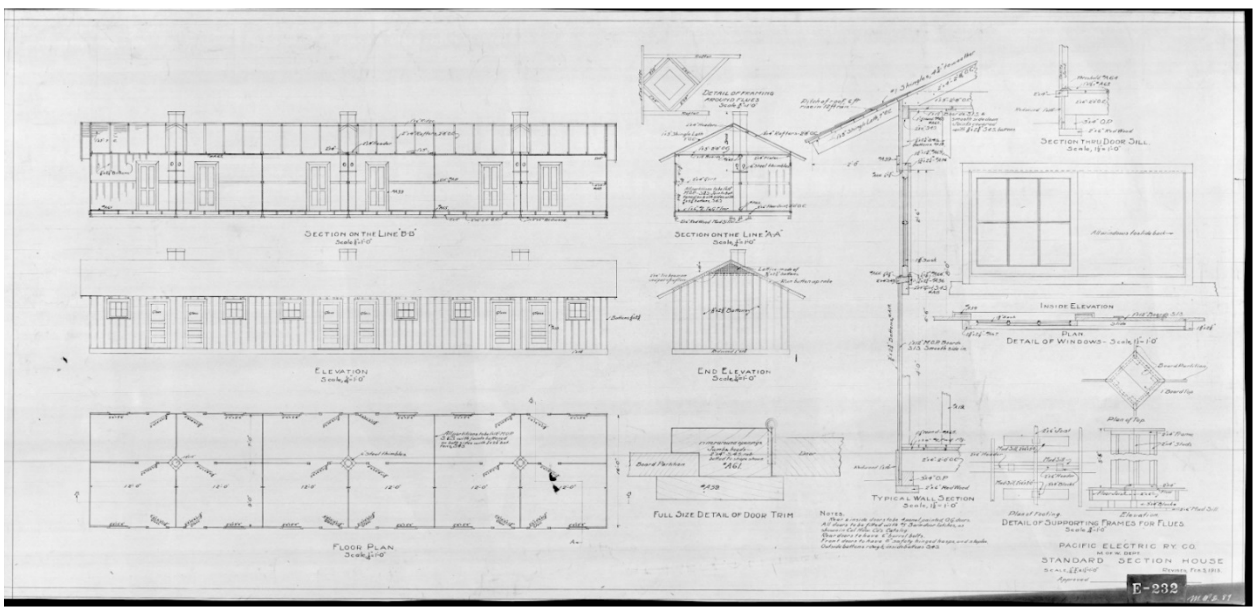

Figure 16: PERC MWD, Standard Section House, February 3, 1913. The long, narrow barrack is subdivided into twelve rooms, each with an unscreened door and window to the exterior. SCRM.

Several renovations were made to enhance the comfort of White foremen and overall sanitation of facilities across Echo Mountain in the time between PERC's issuance of standard section houses in 1919, and their next revisions for section housing in 1945. County Health Officers described the toilet facilities as unsanitary in October 1920, approving plans for the installation of sanitary plumbing and a septic tank on Echo Mountain two months later. Plumbing upgrades and septic tanks were added in 1921 and 1924, for the foremen's cottage and section housing at Echo Mountain, and at Alpine Tavern, respectively. In 1924, PERC MWD constructed a new house "to replace section foreman's house which is unfit for habitation," stating "it is impossible to keep a good foreman in this location unless he has a comfortable house." By 1928, the section quarters on Echo Mountain remained unsanitary and unsafe. The wire cage used for burning garbage, shown just east of the section house in the 1913 site plan, was replaced with a brick incinerator in March of 1928 to comply with requests made by the

County Department of Forestry. In response to requests made by the County Health Department for improvements "necessary for the general sanitary conditions of track laborers quarters at Echo Mountain," a combination toilet, shower, heater, and laundry shed was erected in July of 1928 for $727.[117] At some point between 1928 and 1945, porches were added along the length of section houses in PERC's standard designs, wherein shared shower, lavatory, and toilet rooms were placed.[118] The addition of a porch was not for leisure or sleeping outdoors in this case, but rather, was necessitated by the sharing of facilities. A connected, covered walkway between units provided circulation between the shared sanitary facilities in the most compact and efficient manner, without the need for extended site improvements.

Developments in standardization and lightweight construction supported PERC's ability to expand, from the cottages at Alpine Tavern, Echo Mountain, and San Bernardino, to the section houses along the railways of greater Los Angeles. Their differences lie in the specificities of siting; the paving of walks and routing of infrastructure necessitated fixity in leisure resorts, while the compaction of housing and services supported portability for worker housing. The renovations made to section houses had more to do with the aesthetic and sanitary relationships to neighboring properties and accommodations than to improving the living experiences of Mexican inhabitants. Stacey Lynn Camp's archeological scholarship on Mt. Lowe acknowledges the challenges of uncovering the material culture of peoples and ways of life that were physically separated from the leisure experience. In her dissertation and subsequent book, Camp argued that

[117] WO #21352, installation of sanitary plumbing and septic tank at Section Camp, Mt. Lowe, California, Echo Mountain, Northern Division, completed April & August 1921; WO #24263, construction of new septic tank at Alpine Tavern, completed November 1924; WO #26017, construct house for Foreman, 1924(?); WO #27646, construct brick incinerator, completed March 13, 1928; WO #28457, Erect combination toilets, laundry shed, etc. at Echo Mountain Section Quarters, completed July 1928. PERC, HLSM.

[118] "Standard Section House, 1945 Design," PERC Engineering Department, November 27, 1945. PERC, SCRM.

the Mexican workers at Mt. Lowe were treated differently than the White workers. Camp's findings suggested that the Mexican quarters were inadequately plumbed and drained compared to their White counterparts and were shielded from White visitors. She countered historical notions of Mexican employees as single and temporary by connecting the remnants of dishware and other interior furnishings found in the dig with an interest in establishing a familial home at Mount Lowe.[119] This research extends Camp's by looking closely at the design and construction of worker accommodations on site as further evidence of a racialized distinction in material culture. By demonstrating how this was part of the PERC's corporate housing standards distributed across Los Angeles and sponsored by the CCIH, it ties the designed details at Mt. Lowe to an economic strategy based on race, siting, and improvements. Situated on flat, low, unimproved grounds without sufficient infrastructure, configured in long, internally subdivided rows near refuse collection and car inspection pits, sectional housing for laborers at Mt. Lowe was not so different from the labor camps of South Raymond. And the single-family cottages with private bathrooms and screened sleeping porches up on the hill were not so different from HLIC's bungalows in Oneonta Park. Taken together, these practices demonstrate the beginnings of an architectural strategy that positioned non-White and White laborers on opposing ends of the temporal, economic and material spectrum of housing. In the next section, I look at the surveys, inspections, and state laws that inspired PERC and other employers that provided worker housing to revise their standards, suggesting it was driven by concerns for the transmission of disease, rather than the internal nature of the camps themselves. As the evidence

[119] Stacey Lynn Camp, "Materializing Inequality: The Archaeology of Citizenship and Race in Early 20th Century Los Angeles" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2009); See also: Stacey Lynn Camp, *The Archaeology of Citizenship* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2013) & "Introduction" and "Reform to Repatriation: Gendering an Americanization Movement in Early Twentieth Century California," in *Historical and Archaeological Perspectives on Gender Transformations: From Private to Public*, ed. Suzanne Spencer-Wood (New York: Springer, 2013).

shows, these acts often led to the removal, displacement or replacement of worker housing located near exclusively residential suburbs.

1.4 "The Mexican Housing Problem"

During the first three decades of the 1930s, the housing of Mexican, non-White, and immigrant laborers grew to become of central concern to regulating bodies. The earliest surveys and reports were characterized by an interest in transiency, danger, and the spread of disease. In 1895, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce (LACOC) argued for the City Council's provision of barracks, where those "hobos, tramps, beggars and other impecunious persons who are rendering themselves obnoxious and have become a dangerous element to the peace of the city" could work for lodging and food.[120] At the turn of the century, "hobos" was a derogatory term used to describe bindlestiffs, or transients who carried their belongings with them as they traveled in search of work. According to a survey of 100 transient workers active in the 1910s, only 58 bindlestiffs were American born, with the remaining representing Irish, Swedish, Italian, English, French, German, Russian, Finnish, Danish, Mexican, Bohemian, and Portuguese nationalities.[121] Following a series of labor contestations and racialized immigration restrictions, many Southwestern U.S. rail companies sought after Mexican immigrants, who were commonly non-union and had experience working in rail construction in northern Mexico. According to Carey McWilliams, from 1900-1940, 60 to 90 percent of railroad workers on 18 railroads in the

[120] Quoted on page 10 in Abel, *Tuberculosis and the Politics of Exclusion,* from the Minutes of the LACOC Dec 11, 1895.

[121] Walsh and Manly, 1916: 4933, Quoted in: Caltrans, *A Historical Context*, 2013.

U.S. were Mexican.[122] From 1906 to 1913, the Los Angeles Housing Commission (LAHC) performed a series of inspections of "house courts," under the direction of Chief Health Inspector John Kienle.[123] The 1906-1908 LAHC report featured improved railroad courts in comparison to older types that had been slated for demolition. The old type was illustrated by photographs of rooms outfit from the interior of rail cars, with children sleeping covered in flies and doors without screens. Old shacks, as they were called, were built of railroad ties, and were described as having defective construction, prone to flooding, infestation, and infectious disease. The new type of railroad court was illustrated by plans, elevations and aerial photographs of barracks carefully arranged on concrete pads. The Los Angeles Interurban Railway Company's (LAIU) court served as an example of the LAHC's standards, with ten feet between barracks, raised doors and floors, sliding windows with screens, and slop hoppers, hydrants, and separate men's and women's restrooms in the shared court space.[124] Five improved courts were highlighted, including the PERC camp at Pico and State streets and the SPRR at Mission and Alameda. The LAHC encouraged companies to provide improvements in line with their suggestions, arguing that home life was the foundation of all social conditions, and that the life of the unborn baby and fitness of the mother were products of the sanitary conditions of their surroundings. Moreover, companies could make a net income on their investments according to the report. Improvements only cost around $3,000 and could be regained quickly by charging occupants a modest interest rate of 6%. Each of the suggested improvements, including the battening of

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[122] McWilliams, 1968, cited in: California Department of Transportation, *A Historical Context and Archeological Research Design for Work Camp Properties in California* (Sacramento: California Department of Transportation, Division of Environmental Analysis, 2013).

[123] Cuff, *Provisional City*.

[124] Los Angeles Housing Commission, *Report of the Housing Commission of the City of Los Angeles, February 20, 1906 to June 30, 1908* (Los Angeles, Ca, 1908), 18-21.

spaces between board panels and the paving of the site, lent themselves to longer term occupation, and financial appreciation for employers.

In 1913, a deadly contestation between law enforcement and laborers at the Durst brothers' hop-picking ranch in Wheatland, California, created national awareness around the dangerous conditions facing agricultural workers. Following the Durst brothers' summer solicitation for seasonal pickers, 2,300 interested migrants arrived at the ranch, but only 1,500 jobs were available. The 2,300 workers were paid less than $1.50 per day, and were packed in tents, provided with only eight toilets, and were required to walk a mile to get water. Supported by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), workers representative of over 27 nationalities joined in protest at the ranch. The Durst brothers engaged with law enforcement to dispel the strike, and a violent contestation erupted, leading to multiple deaths. Progressive governor Hiram Johnson responded with the creation of the California Commission of Immigration and Housing (CCIH) and new legislation to govern the state inspection of labor camps.[125] The Labor Camp Act of 1915 established the authority of the CCIH to inspect, fine or condemn labor camps according to a set of material standards. Expanding upon the LAHC's ordinances in previous years, these improvements included the usage of "building material suitable for permanent house construction."[126] Earthen floors were not permitted, any room designated for sleeping or living required a window with moveable sashes, and the open space was required to be paved with asphalt or concrete. Through the Labor Camp Act, rising worker unrest due to low wages and

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[125] "Unbelievable Conditions at Durst Hop Ranch Caused the Riot Says Official Report," *Stockton Daily Independent* 106, no. 14 (February 14, 1914): 1. I.H. Gillmore, "The Marysville Strike" *Harper's Weekly* 59 (1914). Greg Hall, *Harvest Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World and Agricultural Laborers in the American West, 1905–1930* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2001), 48. Cletus E. Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers, 1870–1941* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982), 89.

[126] "City Council Ordinance No 14, 113" in Ibid, 28-31.

poor housing conditions were traced to those building materials associated with temporary housing.

A series of studies, including John Kienle's dissertation, were produced under the direction of Emory Bogardus in the Sociology department at the University of Southern California (USC) on the "Mexican housing problem" in the 1910s, that connected housing conditions to racial beliefs.[127] Bogardus classified house courts as old Spanish adobes, shacks, barracks, two-room houses, concrete houses, and bungalow courts.[128] Shacks were stated to be the worst type of house court, with board and battened barrack style structures following closely behind. House courts, and especially the worst kinds like shacks and barracks, were stated to be occupied predominantly by Mexican people. Bogardus attributed poor housing conditions to the cultural disposition of Mexican peoples rather than building materials, stating that their "siesta mentality," tendency to theft and violence, and inability to save money, lent to migratory work and temporary quarters. William McEuen's 1914 dissertation, produced under Bogardus' advisership, demonstrated that Mexican laborers were in fact loyal and committed to their employers.[129] Large construction companies employing 300-1,000 Mexican workers reported a preference for Mexican over cheap White labor. In response to McEuen's survey, employers expressed beliefs in the loyalty, quality, and desire for longevity of Mexican workers. In 1914,

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[127] Emory Bogardus, "The House Court Problem," *American Journal of Sociology* 22, no. 3 (November 1916): 391-399; Emory Bogardus, "Personality and Race Problems," in *Immigration and Race Attitudes* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1928), 219-229. Emory Bogardus, "Attitudes and the Mexican Immigrant" in *Social Attitudes* (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), 291-327. John Emmanuel Kienle, "Housing Conditions Among the Mexican Population of Los Angeles" (PhD. diss., University of Southern California, 1912).

[128] For more on the survey and publication on house courts from 1900 to 1930 see Todd Gish, "Bungalow Court Housing in Los Angeles, 1900-1930: Top-down Innovation? Or Bottom-up Reform?" *Southern California Quarterly* 91, no. 4 (December 2009): 365–387.

[129] William W. McEuen, "A Survey of the Mexicans in Los Angeles" (PhD. diss., University of Southern California, 1914).

12-18,000 Mexicans living in Los Angeles were working as common laborers, for railroad and streetcar companies, brickyards and gas and construction companies. Most were making $1 to $2.50 per day, with 29% working as section hands, a common nomenclature for rail laborers, for an average of $1.25 per day, at least 25% less than any other laborers engaged in the maintenance of way of railroads according to immigration commission reports. Despite employer satisfaction with Mexican employees, Mexican rail laborers were paid less than any other ethnic or racial group, making it exceptionally difficult for them to afford the building materials and land associated with permanence.

McEuen's survey of L.A.'s Mexican population expanded Bogardus' to consider shacks, colonies, and lodging houses, alongside house courts. For McEuen, house courts were comprised of three or more dwelling units sharing a common yard, toilets, and facilities. They could be arranged in barrack-like rows with thin board separations between interior apartments, or in small houses with narrow passages between. The dwellings of Mexican colonies ranged from cheap three-room bungalows to shacks made of berry boxes, old gas stoves, gunny sacks and tarred paper. Mexican shacks, according to McEuen's analysis, could also be found scattered across the regions north of the plaza, or within a mile of the L.A. River. It was stated that in Los Angeles, there were an average of 3.25 Mexican persons per habitation, and 1.5 per sleeping room. In house courts, these numbers increased to 3.9 per habitation, and 3.94 per room, well above the standard of 1.5 set forth by the Tenement House Act to prevent overcrowding. According to McEuen's definition, the barracks of railroad labor camps would have been considered house courts. Almost 48 persons would have been living in a single, twelve-room barrack on average. These were not only single men, but workers living with their wives and children. According to the Immigration Commission for Western Division, more of the Mexican

population reported their wives in the U.S. than any other non-English speaking race except northern European. 58% of Mexicans in the U.S. were documented to be living with their families, and of the 128 Mexican families reported by the Housing Commission to be living in L.A., 130 persons were men, 127 women, 127 boys, and 147 girls. While railroads were paying their Mexican section hands $13.50 on average per month, the average rental cost for a room in a house court was $5.68, and the estimated cost to support an average-sized Mexican family amounted to $24 per month. Whether escaping political or economic turmoil in the transition from Porforian to Revolutionary governance in Mexico, or searching for work in the rapidly developing Southwestern U.S., contrary to the CCIH's assumptions, Mexican immigrants were establishing homes with their families in L.A. The overcrowded barracks were resultant of economic necessity, more than "the lax moral standards of the race and the child-like disregard of our standard of marriage and parental responsibility," that USC sociologists narrativized in response to their findings.[130]

Migrant labor camps were held to newly established legal standards of accommodation and sanitation following the Labor Camp Act, but the CCIH associated the "migratory labor problem," and "rapid turnover" of immigrant laborers in rail camps with the supposed Mexican tendency to transiency. 101.7% of employees in labor camps were stated to have dropped out each month, necessitating replacement. Upon reinspection from 1915-1916, model bunkhouses in "permanent camps," were promoted as a solution to the costs associated with turnover. A fourteen-panel exhibit illustrated the differences between labor camp conditions before and after

[130] Elizabeth Fuller, "The Mexican Housing Problem in Los Angeles" *Studies in Sociology* V, no. 1 (November 1920). The issue was edited by Bogardus.

the CCIH's "constructive suggestions and orders."[131] Tented, canvas structures with wooden bunks and earthen floors were associated with lowered efficiency, while board floors, wooden bunkhouses and site paving and landscaping were associated with employee longevity and employer profit. Provisions for permanence in labor camps were modeled after the tenement reform measures of previous years. Under the State Tenement House Act, tenements were required to follow rear yard, front yard, and side yard setback requirements, tying them to land, infrastructure, and definitions of property. Dwellings with non-fireproof wood were required to have metal lath and plaster. Tenements were further required to have waterproofing, 18" raised floors, concrete foundations or screened air spaces below, mosquito screened windows with tight fitting removable sashes, and baths, showers and toilets to every three apartments.[132] In their incorporation in the Labor Camp Act, these features were stated by the CCIH to have "guarded against the lowering of workers' standards of living by those races that are more careless and more ignorant in this regard."[133] Despite the CCIH's interests in governing fixity and sanitation through the development of architectural standards, the conditions of court housing were associated with the racial disposition of ethnically Mexican inhabitants. As Natalia Molina argues in *Fit to be Citizens?*, racial stereotypes about disease, thought to be resultant of "purported deficiencies in the groups' biological capacities and cultural practices" inspired initiatives in inspection and sanitary education, rather than improved health measures and

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[131] California Commission of Immigration and Housing, "Labor Camp Inspection" in *Second Annual Report of the Commission of Immigration and Housing of California*, *January 2, 1916* (California State Printing Office, 1916): 9-40.

[132] M. C. Cohn and California Commission of Immigration and Housing, *State Housing Manual: Containing the State Tenement House Act, State Hotel and Lodging House Act, State Dwelling House Act, annotated* (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1919).

[133] CCIH, *Second Annual Report*, 1916.

practices.[134] As cases of typhus, tuberculosis and the plague amassed in Los Angeles' most crowded and infrastructurally deficient sectors, officials effectively blamed the racial identity of inhabitants, rather than company or developer contributions to inferior material conditions. Beyond those policing measures explored by Molina, architectural strategies were employed as a mechanism of social reform to keep laborers from posing a threat to the labor economy and public health, while there was a delay in the addition of sanitary facilities, ventilation, porches, and increased space.[135] The poor conditions of housing, temporary nature of work, and low wages, were likely primary drivers of employee turnover, rather than the presumed singularity or flightiness of Mexican laborers.

Following outbreaks of disease among labor camps, health officials and employers responded by investing in performative sanitary measures in the latter half of the 1910s. The 1916 *Home Teacher Manual* argued that sanitary education to those "seemingly more or less apathetic concerning general sanitary conditions" was a matter of maintenance and enforcement.[136] Placards, surveillance, and punishment were proposed as mechanisms to subvert the supposed Mexican tendency to uncleanliness. A 1917 report by the Health Officer of Los Angeles County associated the insanitary and overcrowded nature of the housing at a Southern Pacific Railroad camp in Harold with associated outbreaks of typhus. But the nature of the housing was attributed to the nature of Mexican occupants as "naturally uncleanly," with a

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[134] Natalia Molina, *Fit to be Citizens? Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 1.

[135] Emily K Abel, *Tuberculosis and the Politics of Exclusion: A History of Public Health and Migration to Los Angeles* (New Brunswick, Jew Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2007).

[136] CCIH, *The Home Teacher: The Act, With a Working Plan and Forty Lessons in English* (California State Printing Office, 1916).

"tendency to the life of the nomad," and "habits [that] tend to overcrowding," rather than the architecture or economics of the camp.[137] This followed a statewide mosquito survey initiated by the California State Board of Health (CSB) the year prior, that described Mexican families living in railroad camps as "the type of people who are bringing typhus," and cited cases among laborers employed by the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe railroads in Los Angeles, Kern River and Kings Canyon.[138] Living in crowded, poorly ventilated structures with shared toilets near industrial sites was sure to produce disease, regardless of the daily sanitation and inspection of individuals' bodies. Regardless, the CSB supported measures being taken by border patrol officials, camp owners, and local authorities including delousing, bathing, and rubbing Mexican bodies, as well as camp floors, with kerosene. By encouraging the regulation of Mexican bodies in addition to employer practices, the CSB decoupled sanitary concerns from building reform.

Despite the oppressive and violent acts of government officials and employers, Mexican workers found ways to organize socially and politically, to advocate for improved living and working conditions. The IWW was a powerful force against the American Federation of Labor (AFL), who commonly excluded non-Anglo-Europeans. While living in L.A. from 1907-1918, Mexican radical and labor organizer, Ricardo Flores Magon, created powerful ties between the Mexican Liberal Party and the IWW at the border. Magon flipped the script of colonialism and racism, using a racially defined group instead to advocate for recognition. By acknowledging, rather than denying, ethnic ties to Mexico, Magon established greater representation for Mexican workers in the IWW, as evidenced by their presence in the Wheatland Strike, and the camp

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[137] L.M. Powers, M.D., Health Commissioner, *Annual Report of Department of Health of the City of Los Angeles California for the Year Ended June 30, 1917* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Library). http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7930flu.0012.397

[138] California State Board of Health, *Monthly Bulletin* 12, no. 4 (October 1916): 200-202.

improvements legislated by the resultant Labor Camp Act. The sanitary measures and intimate policing of Mexican behavior and bodies in labor camps pushed back against the power of the union, beyond the legislation of the Labor Camp Act.

Improvements made by private rail companies following CCIH inspections reflected the inherent tensions between sanitary measures of the body and housing, and the desire for employee loyalty. The PERC's response to sanitary inspections included material improvements in accordance with CCIH's published standards, paired with behavioral measures in accordance with CSB's practices. In 1918, Clifford A. Elliot, Cost Engineer for the Pacific Electric Railway, authored an article titled "Home Attractions Keep Track Laborers Satisfied." The article featured drawings of the company's standard section house in conjunction with descriptions of improvements made to keep Mexican families from abandoning PERC for other employment opportunities.[139] WWI had caused a depletion in the PERC's Mexican labor supply. To keep Mexican men on the job while keeping wages low, PERC provided model section houses for Mexican families, devised to entice married men, and keep men stable who were otherwise believed to be "of a migratory nature." The addition of stoves in the model housing at PERC's Arcadia camp promoted domestic cooking, and fire protection was noted to have reduced insurance rates. The site featured toilets, garbage cans, a washroom, flower gardens, and chicken yards, with supporting infrastructure such as a cesspool and trash incinerators, designed for both the satisfaction of the worker, and the visual appeasement of the concerned public. Schools were established nearby, where Mexican girls were taught to sew and cook and Mexican boys were taught in carpentry, to enter the bridge and building department or shops of the railway company.

[139] C.A. Elliott, "Home Attractions Keep Track Laborers Satisfied – Solving the Labor Problem by Providing Free Section Houses with all Conveniences" *Electric Railway Journal* 52, no. 4 (1918): 150-152.

The permanence of camp architecture was not only a sanitary measure, then, but an instrument to ensure a reliable labor force for future generations. PERC was training Mexican bodies to maintain sanitary appearances in their closest approximation of "home," while only teaching skills that were applicable to jobs in manual labor, those that would not offer greater wages than the railroad. Regardless of appearances of sanitation and order initiated by rail companies to keep Mexican families on the job, low wages, a lack of independent living and shifting racial policies would continue to inspire processes of upheaval for ethnic Mexicans living in L.A.

The CCIH's recommendation for the Arcadia section camp in 1922 demonstrates the contradictions inherent in the projects of improvement and racial uplift. When the CCIH surveyed the camp, there were 2-7 occupants sleeping on 3-5 bunks in each room of a 3-room bunkhouse measuring 12x12x8.[140] At its most crowded, a single, 144 square foot bunkhouse accommodated 21 workers. To comply with the 1915 Camp Sanitation Act, the CCIH recommended that one room in each of the 13 3-room bunkhouses be used as a kitchen only, to prevent cooking and sleeping in the same room, and that wood cots be replaced for iron cots, and communal showers be erected. These measures promoted sanitation at the bodily level, while causing greater densification in the bunkhouses. PERC included photographs of their improved Arcadia camp in a 1928 article in the *Pacific Electric Magazine* as an example of "How Company Has Aided Mexican Worker."[141] (Figure 17) Following the CCIH inspections, PERC began employing nurses full-time to regulate sanitary practices. Supervisory attendants were employed along with nurses at PERC's twenty-two labor camps, to ensure the proper training

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[140] Carton 77, folder 4 Labor Camps, Operators, Pacific Electric Railway Company 1922-1932, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, Ca.

[141] "How Company has Aided Mexican Worker" *The Pacific Electric Magazine* 13 no. 2 (July 10, 1928): 3-4.

and management of resident employees in personal hygiene. Mexican women and children in clean white dress were pictured standing in neat rows within the camp, as if to suggest their benefit from the nurse's guidance. The gendered portrayal suggested familial living arrangements associated with fixity, but the rigid, unsmiling bodies and faces of the women and children suggested complacency more than satisfaction. Temporary dwellings in labor camps could be erected with minimal cost and time, and when offered as free accommodation to employees, would encourage allegiant, low-wage labor. The lightweight and flexible designs were also easily demolished and rebuilt when it was determined appropriate or necessary. Following demolition, the move to standard sectional building designs appeased health and immigration inspectors, presenting an image of cleanliness and control, without the costly inclusion of real health measures. Meanwhile, the aesthetics of portability implemented in tent cottages and bungalows in leisure resorts and the suburbs supported an illusion of frontier nomadism, without the unsanitary and unreliable attributes of functionally temporary dwellings. Beliefs about White stability were materialized with architectural forms of permanence, while Mexican instability was encouraged by employers' materially temporal contingency plans.

Figure 17: Images of the Improved Arcadia Section Camp, featured in the 1928 *Pacific Electric Magazine* article "How Company Has Aided Mexican Worker," PERC PhotCl 91, HLSM.

1.5 Portability, or Permanence, on Demand

While the CCIH promoted permanence as an architectural solution to migratory labor patterns, they, however contradictorily, established a comprehensive system of portable buildings for labor camps which they published in the 1914 *Advisory Pamphlet on Camp Sanitation and Housing*. With bolted connections at corner joints, the CCIH's "knock-down system" was "suitable for use in temporary camps," and could be "easily taken down and put back up again."[142] The CCIH provided detailed cost estimates and bills of materials, demonstrating how labor costs were saved through the pre-engineering and prefabrication of their knock-down structures. A model mess and cook tent for 52 persons, with bolted rafter and ridge connections, cost just $117.35 for materials and $40 for labor in the Los Angeles market. It featured boarded and battened walls at the base with copper screens above for ventilation, and a canvas roof stretched and pinned to wooden posts. The knock-down tent house for community camps featured boarded tongue and groove flooring and siding to a height of 4'-0", with stretched canvas above, extending to the top of the walls at 6'-2", and to the ridge of the pitched roof at 9'-0" from the floor (Figure 18). Screened or canvas-stretched panels allowed for ventilation, while the boarded walls provided privacy, without the need for costly glazing. The knock-down mess tent, latrines, and tent houses were deployed in the CCIH's renovation of the Durst brother's ranch after the strike of 1913. The newly arranged site plan, as featured in the CCIH's advisory pamphlet, was stated to be designed in "military style," with tent houses in groupings of five, on concrete pads between roads and alleys, where garbage and hydrants were located. The highly regimented plan contrasted with photographs of the hop workers' camp

[142] CCIH Advisory Pamphlet on Camp Sanitation and Housing, 1914: 15-16.

before CCIH's intervention (Figure 19). The newly built communal structures, like the sanitary toilet and mess and cook tent, followed the standard knock-down designs issued by CCIH, as did the tent houses. The major difference was not in the architecture or materials of the dwellings, though, but in the overall planning of the site. The layout gave less agency to the picker to select a dwelling location, instead tying the footprint of each tent to its distance to sanitary and regulatory infrastructures according to minimum dimensioning and quotas required by the Camp Sanitation Act. The footpads laid out by employers in accordance with CCIH standards echoed the ordered permanence of the middle-class suburbs, though without the investment in residential neighborhood improvements. While the investment in footpads and site paving, as required for proper drainage and the management of spacing, would be wasted when the job was complete, the knock-down structures themselves could be relocated, proving cost-efficient for transient jobs. Canvas would not have been considered a building material suitable for permanent house construction, demonstrating the discrepancy between CCIH's legislation, and their development and sale of prefabricated buildings as a business opportunity.

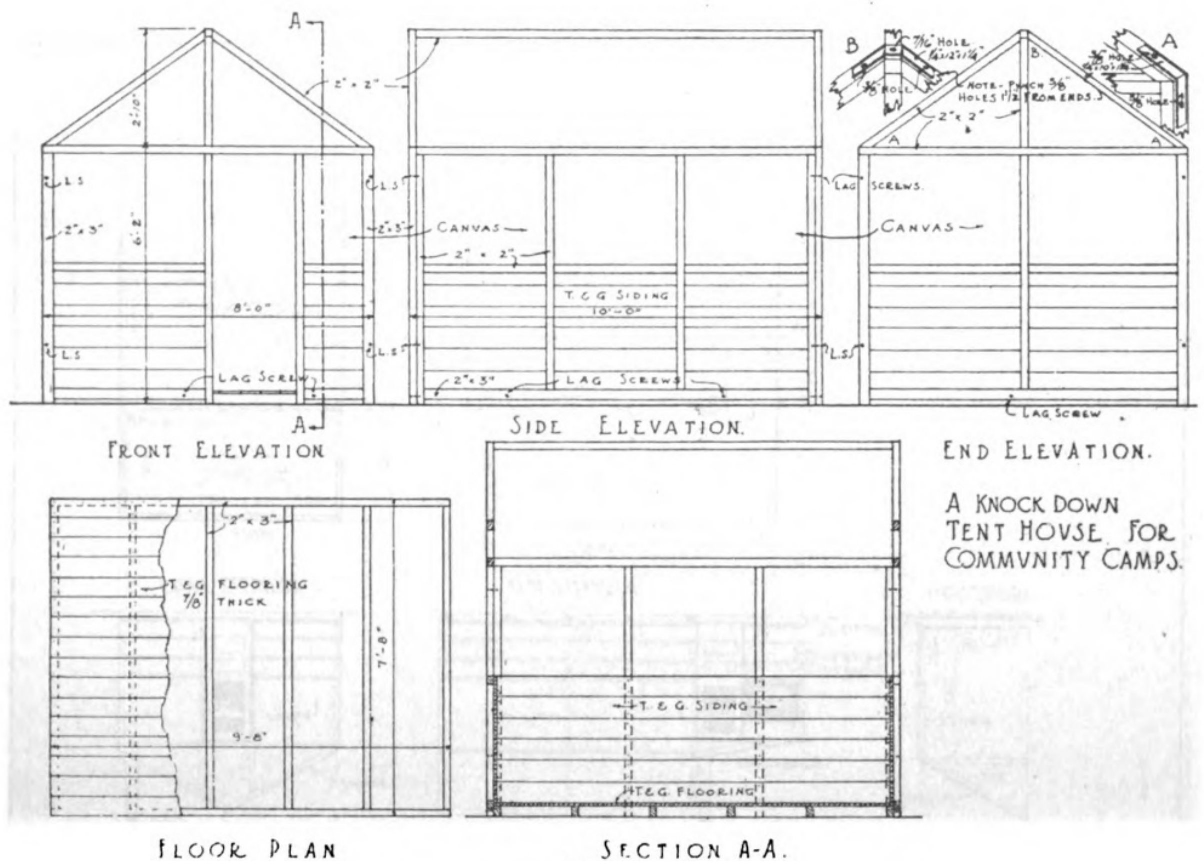
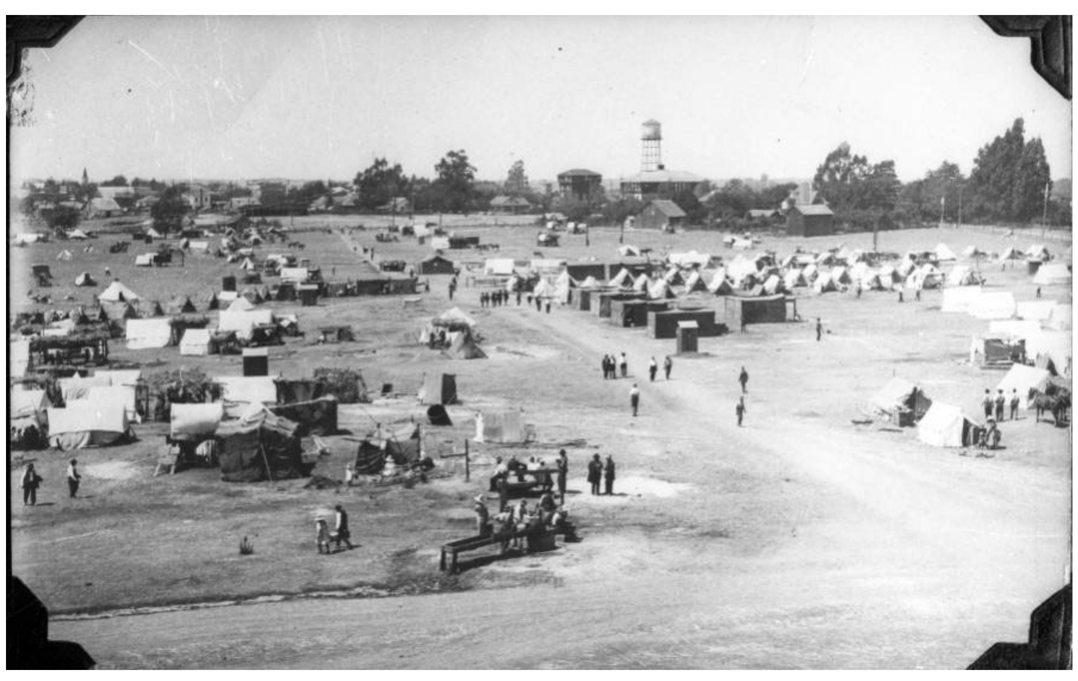


Figure 18: Knock-down tent house for community camps, CCIH Advisory Pamphlet on Camp Sanitation and Housing, 1914.



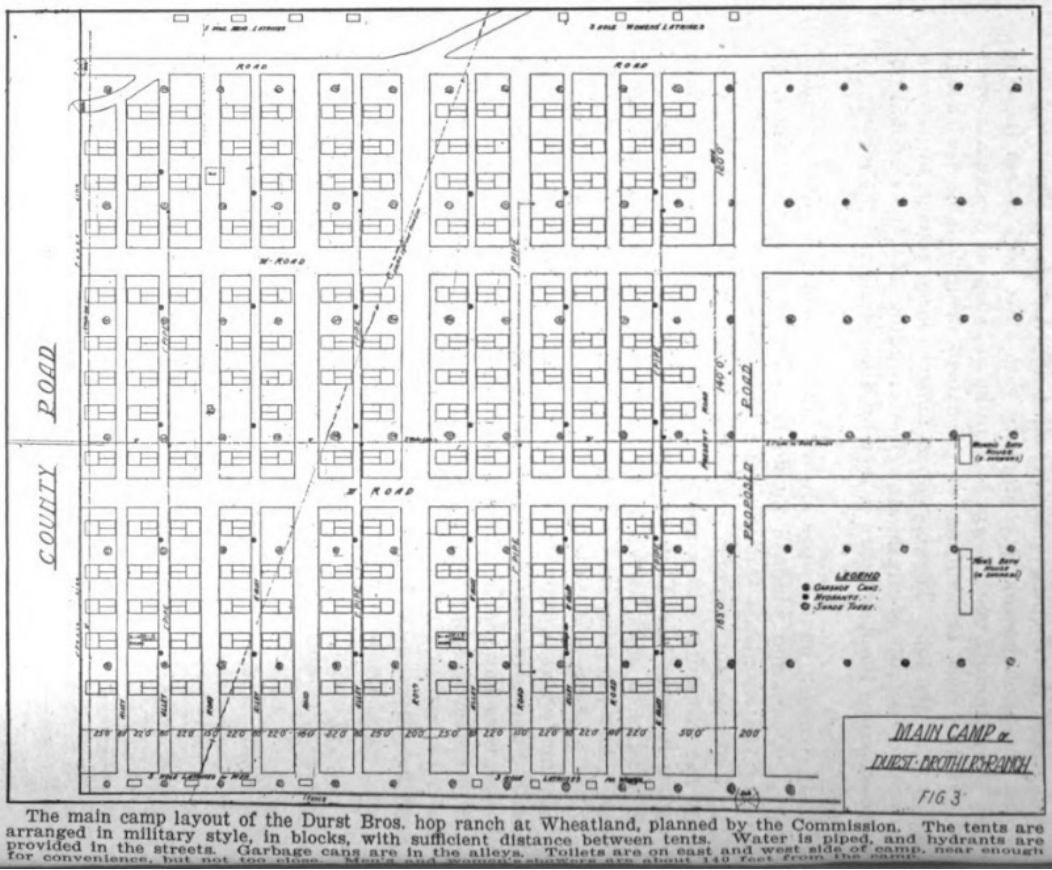


Figure 19: (above) Views of the labor camp at the Durst Hop Ranch in Wheatland, ca. 1913-14, Northeast California Historical Photograph Collection, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico, contrasted with (below) main camp layout of the Durst Bros. hop ranch at Wheatland, planned by the Commission, 1914.

The timing of CCIH's development and publication of a standardized knock down system opportunistically aligned with the beginning of Southern California's largest hydroelectric and aqueduct construction projects to date. The Pacific Light & Power Company's (PLPC) Kern power station was opened in 1905, after which a transmission line was built to the Oak Knoll property that Huntington's land syndicate, HLIC, purchased the following year. The portable worker housing, then, was instrumental to the construction and profitability of Oak Knoll and other upper- and middle-class suburbs of Los Angeles. In 1913, PLPC opened the Big Creek hydroelectric facility, and the following year, purchased distribution systems in San Francisco, Compton, Huntington Beach and Glendora. Runoff from the Sierra Nevada Mountains into Kern River and Owens Valley was channeled to Los Angeles with the construction of the LA Aqueduct in 1913, which would feed the burgeoning suburbs being built by Huntington's land syndicates, including the Mission Land Company, HLIC, and Suburban Homes Company. The domestic water and power of HLIC's subdivisions and tourist resorts, and the electricity required for PERC's railways, were tied to the construction of infrastructure from the Sierra National Forest to LA. These projects were initiated in the same year that CCIH asserted their interest in the construction and maintenance of labor camps (1913), demonstrating their shared interests in metropolitan growth. Photographs of labor camps built along the transmission lines from the Kern River and Big Creek powerhouses during the 1910s and 1920s demonstrate commonalities with the CCIH's knockdown system. At least 85 camps were built by PLPC during this time, containing variations of bunkhouses and tent cabins. Tent cabins, with raised floors and canvas walls and roofs hung across wood framing, were pictured in rows, marching along roads and transmission lines into the mountain slopes near dam construction sites in Big Creek (Figure

20).[143] Prefabricated redwood portable bunkhouses were also used in the labor camps along Big Creek, with tongue and groove board siding and casement windows (Figure 21).[144] Infrastructural development companies were either contracting with fabricators of labor camp dwellings, or developing their own internal building industries in alignment with standards published by the CCIH.

The mass-production of portable bunkhouses grew into its own subsector of the home building industry. In fact, the Pacific Ready Cut Company (PRCC), one of the nation's largest producers and distributors of prefabricated homes in the 1920s, gained their footings through the development and sale of portable bunkhouses for work camps at the start of their career. For housing workers in the construction of the Los Angeles Aqueduct in 1913, for example, the Huntington-affiliated Department of Water and Power (LADWP) utilized bunkhouses by the Pacific Portable Construction Company (PPCC), as PRCC was then named. The bunk houses featured sixteen rooms in long rows of two, with screened windows and a shared screened porch. The "factory house and bolt" system utilized for the construction of PPCC's bunkhouses was advertised as an inexpensive and flexible solution for construction camps.[145] Wall sections were pre-cut and constructed in the factory. On site assembly simply required the arrangement of doors, windows and walls and the bolting of each piece to the frame. Employers could govern living arrangements based on task force and racial composition, by grouping ten men in each bunkhouse. As Thad Van Bueren's archeological work on labor camps in Southern California

[143] Big Creek, Stevenson Creek Test Dam - Camp 35, June 9, 1923, Bishop, G. Haven, photographer. Southern California Edison Photographs and Negatives, Huntington Digital Library (hereafter SCEPN, HDL).

[144] "Big Creek, Miscellaneous," August 16, 1920, Bishop, G. Haven, photographer. SCEPN, HDL.

[145] Pacific Portable Construction Company, *Pacific Houses, Ready-Cut and Factory-Built: The Ultimate Types* (Los Angeles: Pacific Portable Construction Company, 1918).

demonstrates, workers were often organized along racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic lines.[146] The equal spacing of bunkhouses and carefully measured distance between living spaces and communal facilities like mess and cook tents and latrines followed CCIH's guidelines, but the co-development of CCIH standards, company labor camps, and the PPCC factory system, suggests mutual interests between the public and private housing sectors. By legislating forms of worker housing, the CCIH encouraged the consolidation and standardization of production, resulting in economies of scale that benefitted private corporations like the PPCC and PLPC. In deploying similar dwelling and site systems in hundreds of camps across Southern California, infrastructure contractors saved money, time, and labor in housing workers, that could be reallocated to municipal interests.

Figure 20: Tent cabins for workers at Florence Lake Dam (1924) and Stephenson Creek Dam (1923) in Big Creek, SCEPN, HDL

[146] Thad M. Van Bueren, Judith Marvin, Sunshine Psota, and Michael Stoyka, *Building the Los Angeles Aqueduct: Archaeological Data Recovery at the Alabama Gates Construction Camp* (California Department of Transportation, District 6, Fresno, 1999). "The Changing Face of Work in the West: Some Introductory Comments," in "Communities Defined by Work: Life in Western Work Camps, Thematic Issue," *Historical Archaeology* 36, no. 3 (2002): 1–7.

Figure 21: Bunkhouses for workers at Big Creek, including prefabricated, portable redwood bunkhouses made by Pacific Readycut Homes, 1920 (left) and metal "portab" bunkhouses for 10 men, 1922 (right), SCEPN, HDL

As they transitioned into the single-family market in the 1920s, PPCC changed their name to Pacific Ready Cut, asserting that their products were "not portable, not sectional," and "cannot be taken down after built," but that they provided "immovable, permanent construction for generations of service."[147] The PPCC factory house and bolt system was intended for use by corporations moving from place to place, or in locations where carpenter labor was scarce, while their "precut lumber" system was intended for the mass production of bungalow homes. The precut lumber system utilized standard size notched wood framing elements, or studs, which would need to be nailed together by a semi-skilled carpenter on site. To overcome the public's distaste for portable forms in the suburbs, that had since been exposed as insanitary and immoral by CCIH's surveys, PRCC shifted away from sectional construction systems and asserted their product's allegiance to fixity. As Carolyn Flynn's thesis on PRCC demonstrates, they pivoted as

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[147] Pacific Ready-Cut Homes, *Pacific's Book of Homes: A Notable Exhibition of California Architecture* (Los Angeles: Pacific Ready-Cut Homes, Inc., 1925): 6.

the suburbs were quickly being expanded, suggesting the company's interest in building worker housing explicitly for the construction of the bungalow suburbs.[148] Quick, affordable, and easy to assemble systems that once suited worker housing also suited the mass production of bungalows across Los Angeles from 1908-1942. Even if containing forms or materials associated with camping and portability like screened sleeping porches and lightweight wood framing, the construction methods of PRCC's precut lumber bungalows were harder to disassemble and reassemble, like the tent cottages at Alpine Tavern, aligning with middle-class sentiments of ordered, domestic permanence.

The transition in corporate interest and CCIH rhetoric with respect to portable housing occurred around the creation of the Division of Construction and Housing (DCH) in 1921, under then Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover. The DCH supported the standardization of zoning and building codes and materials, to reduce the housing shortages resultant of the war. From the creation of DCH came the Better Homes in America (BHA) program in 1922, an organization led by Hoover that promoted model homes and education in moral and family life and saving and expenditure. Hoover's ideologies were shared by Lewis Mumford, who argued that spending money on land, utilities, improvements, and finance was more important than on labor or materials. Mass production contributed to the deskilling of carpenters' labor and depreciation of unskilled wages, placing value in land instead, and therefore wealth, with corporate and municipal led developments at the regional level. These sentiments further supported the disinvestment in portable construction typologies, and the investment in neighborhood improvements to support the expansion of the residential suburbs. Corporate buzzwords

[148] On the transition from PPCC to PRCC in the making of suburbia, see: Carolyn Patricia Flynn, *Pacific Ready-Cut Homes: Mass-Produced Bungalows in Los Angeles, 1908-1942* (M.A. Thesis, UCLA, 1986).

populated the BHA's 1925 guidebook: "improvement," "civilization," "private, permanent homes," "upright citizens," "finer type of home," "character training," "wholesome home recreation," "raise living standards, reduce drudgery, and make the conditions of life more attractive."[149] Modern appliances, supported by the extension of modern infrastructures and neighborhood improvements, would decrease the demands of manual housework, leaving time for recreation in the home. The guidebook associated leisure in the home with moral superiority, suggesting that worker housing, no matter the material arrangement, was a lesser form of life. As Gwendolyn Wright's work on the "American dream" demonstrates, the leisure home in the suburbs followed Jefferson's vision of a nation of independent landowners, removed from the city, immigrant populations, wage labor and commercialization.[150] The CCIH's 1925 report targeted "transient dwellings," stating that "tent cities" were "a menace to themselves and to the communities in which they are located."[151] Even if new, these forms of housing were of flimsy construction, contributing to the expectation that they degenerate into "slum areas." By subjecting these forms of housing to the State Housing Act, previously applied only to frame dwellings in incorporated communities, the CCIH was able to legislate the removal of labor camp housing in urban and suburban neighborhoods. As Bruce and Sandbank argued in their comprehensive research on prefabrication, the nation moved away from supplemented wage work whereby employers provided free housing to workers in exchange for lower wages, and toward self-sufficiency. The private housing industry accordingly moved toward permanent

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[149] Better Homes in America, *Guidebook of Better Homes in America: How to Organize the 1924 Campaign, with a foreword by Herbert Hoover*, Publication 1 (Washington, DC, 1924), 5.

[150] Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1981).

[151] California Commission of Immigration and Housing, *Annual Report 1925* (Sacramento, Ca: California State Printing Office, January 1925), 18-20.

design and construction technologies, leaving the government as "the prefabricator's best–and virtually his only–customer."[152]

The government's sponsorship of labor camps can be traced to their interest in putting prisoners to work at the turn of the century. As Kelly Lytle Hernández demonstrates, the rise of incarceration in Los Angeles from 1880-1910 was a response to the "tramp panic," or an increase in unemployed migrants due to a rise in corporate capitalism. Poor White prisoners, or "hobos" as they were called, were encamped, and placed in chain gangs to repair and build roads.[153] Hernández' work demonstrates a long history of incarceration in Los Angeles, from the imprisonment of poor White migrants to Chinese immigrants, African Americans, and ethnic Mexicans.[154] Transitions in the government's racial targeting and associated penal policies from the 1900s to the 1930s were paralleled by advancements in their standard designs for labor camps. In 1915, the Convict Labor Law was established, placing the encampment and employment of prisoners in the building of roads, bridges, and highways under the California Highway Commission (CHC). Prisoners working for the CHC built over 775 miles of highways from 1915-1974 while living in work camps, which were governed by the Prison Road Camps (PRC) department in 1923 and placed under the Department of Public Works in 1927. Site selection, near the center of construction on level and well-drained land, was as important as camp layout and construction. Convict bunkhouses were removed from the common areas and

[152] A. Bruce and H. Sandbank. *A History of Prefabrication*, 14-15. Bruce and Sandbank called the Farm Security Administration a "field laboratory of prefabricated housing."

[153] Kelly Lytle Hernández, "Hobos in Heaven: Race, Incarceration, and the Rise of Los Angeles, 1880–1910," *Pacific Historical Review* 83, no. 3 (August 2014): 410–47.

[154] Kelly Lytle Hernández, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771-1965* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

the quarters for free men or superintendents in the site planning. PRC's standards for inmate dwellings moved away from frame buildings or large tents with dirt floors toward larger bunkhouses, and later, smaller groupings based on the "squad system."[155] It was stated that panelized, 18x24-foot bunkhouses were used to house eight men of similar race and status to encourage cohesion, localized responsibility, and neatness.[156] This grouping may also have been devised to prevent social tensions from emerging between racial groups, or to organize according to assumed differences in temperament, wages, need for management, etc. Segregated housing was the presumed norm until the early 1940s, when housing activists insisted upon the integration of at least some government housing. As outwardly stated, as at Mt. Lowe, the segregation of worker housing was functional, but it was likely driven by racialized ideas about competency and status.

While prefabricated and portable dwelling systems were being condemned in urban or suburban neighborhoods where land ownership was of interest, they were embraced by the government for use in housing migrants, prisoners, and the poor on public or rural lands and leased property. The PRC peaked in 1929-30 with seven camps across California housing 700 inmates, but with the advancement of modern grading technologies, it dissipated into the years of the Great Depression. New government interests in work camps arose at this time, aimed instead at providing employment for White migrant farmers and veterans in the southwest. The shift in target demographics for placement in subsidized work camps followed a series of legislations passed to criminalize, deport, and repatriate people of Mexican descent living in the United

[155] R. M. Gillis, "Constructing Roads with Prison Labor," April 14, 1942. Manuscript, California Department of Transportation, Transportation Library, Convict Labor files.

[156] HARD Work Camps Team and Caltrans Staff, "Government Work Camps" in *Work Camps: Historic Context and Archaeological Research Design* (Sacramento, Ca: California Department of Transportation, 2013), 82-94.

States. From 1920 to 1930, an increase in the criminalization of people crossing the U.S.-Mexico border led to a rise in the incarceration of ethnically Mexican people, and from 1929 to 1939, somewhere between 500,000 and two million Mexicans and Mexican Americans were repatriated, 40-60% of whom were U.S. citizens.[157] The racialized deportation of low wage labor followed the decline in employment opportunities, clearing the way for White migrant laborers to find work in the American Southwest. This demographic transition paralleled the material transition of worker housing, from flexible barracks and tents to highly structured sites.

From the 1920s to the 1930s, the government sponsored the creation of work camps to help the economy rebound from recession. In the late 1920s, the government established the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), including a highway labor camp in Needles, California, featuring eight-man tents with wooden floors and screened sides, likely informed by PCR's design and operational experiences with prison labor camps in the previous decades. In 1933, President Roosevelt created the Federal and State Emergency Relief Act (SERA) and the Civil Works Administration (CWA, to become the Works Progress Administration (WPA) two years later), to fund public works projects and racially segregated work camps for the employment of unmarried men.[158] In 1935, the Resettlement Administration (RA) was formed to support the creation of subsistence homesteads, and in 1937, this interest was translated into the Farm Security Administration (FSA) that provided loans for the purchase of farms and migrant housing in the West. From 1936-41, thirteen camps were built across the rural agricultural

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[157] Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2006).

[158] On the mandated segregation (1935), and creation of separate companies for African American, Filipino, Indigenous, and Latinx workers of federal work camps, see: James Wilson, "Community, Civility, and Citizenship: Theatre and Indoctrination in the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s," *Theatre History Studies* 23 (2003): 78.

valleys of California.[159] As Greg Hise describes in his research on the first FSA migrant camps at Arvin and Marysville, during the 1930s, 90% of in-migrants were noted to be Caucasian, with more than 75% coming from Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri.[160] So as environmental conditions threatened White farm labor and subsistence in other parts of the country, the government sponsored the disinvestment in and displacement of non-White labor the investment in government camps in the rural outskirts of the city.

Toward the end of the 1930s, the FSA transitioned from providing bunkhouses and tent platforms, to the construction of single-family homes in community camps to house predominantly White migrant laborers. As a demonstration of not only the racial segregation of laborers, but also racialized ideas about the domestic needs of laborers based on their ethnic identity, “Garden homes,” as the FSA called them, were designed for young White family groups. The FSA believed White migrant laborers to have specific needs for single-family homes and expanded community services.[161] Garden homes were rented out for $8.20 per month, and featured sleeping porches, two beds, a kitchen, bath, shower, and dining room. At Woodville, 500-sf homes were constructed on 1/8th acre lots, with individual yards and lawns, situated in the plan according to zoning categories by type of use. In the FSA exhibit of 1939, simplified, mass-produced, and prefabricated construction methods were stated to produce better houses for half the price, built in a day (Figure 22). The FSA project homes, built on land purchased by the FSA

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[159] Much of the historical timeline of government interest in work camps is compiled from *Work Camps: Historic Context and Archaeological Research Design* (Sacramento, Ca: California Department of Transportation, 2013).

[160] Greg Hise, “From Roadside Camps to Garden Homes: Housing and Community Planning for California’s Migrant Work Force, 1935-1941,” *Gender, Class, and Shelter: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Elizabeth Cromley and Carter Hudgins (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995).

[161] Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth Century Metropolis* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 97.

and leased out to farmers, were contrasted with rows of "shacks." The major difference between the log houses with thatch roofs and the panelized timber buildings pictured was the regularity and relationship to the site. The log houses pictured were individual in form, but were lined in a row, each set about 20 feet back from the shared street. The FSA houses pictured were almost identical, but were placed at a distance from one another, surrounded by generous lawn and landscaping and oriented uniquely with respect to each other and the paved walk in the foreground. Homogeneity in the material and plan of individual homes, while being situated on curving paths and bespoke lots, echoed the National Real Estate Board's (NAREB) guidelines to ensure the escalation of property values in the suburban market. Greg Hise has argued that the FSA's transition from providing tent platforms to garden homes in their migrant camps was due in part to the nature of the populations being housed, stating that "unlike the reportedly peripatetic "foreigners" whom they replaced, "Americans" came to California with every intention of remaining beyond the planting and harvesting seasons."[162] But as McEuen's research revealed, Mexican laborers were largely living with their families while serving as loyal employees in the 1910s. The government's experiments with prefabricated methods for permanent dwellings came at a time when migrant labor in the rural southwest was predominantly White. The government's advancements in prefabricated dwelling technologies, then, encouraged the permanent relocation of White farmers, to populate, cultivate, and privatize the rural lands of the southwest.

The FSA presented opposite outcomes for Mexican and White workers and their living arrangements in Southern California. While working to document housing conditions for

[162] Ibid, 95.

the FSA in February 1936, Dorothea Lange photographed the “Mexican quarters” of Los Angeles as well as the new federal subsistence homesteads for White families being built by the FSA (Figure 23). Again, the relationship of the houses to the land was the major differentiating factor. The Mexican homes photographed by Lange for the FSA, even though equipped with raised floors, boarded and battened siding, ventilated grills in the pitch of the roof, and screen porches and sliding casement windows in accordance with the CCIH’s standards, were condemned. The homes were located a quarter mile from city hall, and despite their conformance with sanitary guidelines, were to be torn down to make way for construction of the new Union Railroad Station.[163] The land had been subject to a series of racialized acts of displacement throughout its history, including the removal of what was once known as L.A.’s “Chinatown.” The municipal provision for Mexican “shacks” may have been strategic, to hold the land with populations and housing types easily justified as temporary and replaceable in later years when development proved timely. The federal subsistence homesteads, on the other hand, were in relatively rural areas where the land was less valuable for civic development. The FSA homesteads photographed by Lange in San Fernando and El Monte that same month were posed in contrast to the city homes slated for demolition (Figure 24).[164] White families were pictured tilling the soil and planting crops on their fenced property, in front of their private lawn, garden, and home. Subsistence homesteader families, each making $800 per year on average, were given

[163] Lange, Dorothea, photographer, “Mexican quarter of Los Angeles. One quarter mile from City Hall. Areas have been condemned and will be torn down shortly to make space for the new Union Railroad station. Average rental eight dollars. Some of the houses have plumbing*,”* February 1936, Los Angeles County, Ca. From Library of Congress, accessed at: https://www.loc.gov/item/2017759626/.

[164] Lange, Dorothea, photographer, “San Fernando federal subsistence homesteads. Forty homes, all occupied, each with nearly an acre of ground. Average income eight hundred dollars yearly,” February 1936, Los Angeles County, Ca. From Library of Congress, accessed at: https://www.loc.gov/item/2017759569/.

$17.70 per month for the rental of a three-room house on a ¾ to one acre lot. One father of a family of four was stated to be earning $70 per month as a carpenter, and another, the head of a family of eight, to be making $100 per month as a streetcar conductor.[165] Though many Mexican and Mexican American migrants were repatriated and deported at this time, some found work at FSA camps like the El Rio Camp for Mexican migrant workers, where little more than tent platforms were provided. Having been evicted from company-owned camps after demanding better wages, ethnic Mexicans were replaced by "Okies," as poor White laborers from Oklahoma who migrated west in search for work were called.[166] With rising unemployment rates and a reduction of productive farmlands and jobs, poor White laborers assumed positions that offered more stable living arrangements, while Mexican laborers were relegated to living in tents in temporary camps. Public lands where Mexican families had established homes were reclaimed for the development of the civic sphere, converting Mexican settlers once again into migrant workers.

In many ways, the staging of temporary worker housing and the rendering of working-class housing as temporary on valuable L.A. lands served as a "holding pattern." If the housing thereon could be easily removed, it suited speculations of future development. Until land prices rose, and the population increased to an extent that demanded further development, as with Union Station, it would be of interest to keep a temporary hold on the site. Non-White racial

[165] Lange, Dorothea, photographer, "El Monte federal subsistence homesteads. Four in family. Three-room house, seventeen dollars and seventy cents rent to apply on purchase. Father's occupation: carpenter. Earns seventy dollars a month; Four-bedroom house. Eight in family, six boys ages one to fourteen, California. Father is streetcar conductor, one hundred dollars a month. Pays sixteen dollars and twenty cents a month rent to apply on purchase," February 1936, Los Angeles County, Ca. From Library of Congress, accessed at: https://www.loc.gov/item/2017759575/.

[166] Charles L Todd, Robert Sonkin, and Jose Flores, "Interview about FSA camp governance, camp work, non-FSA migrant camps, labor issues, attitude toward 'Okies,'" El Rio, 1941. Audio. From Library of Congress, accessed at: https://www.loc.gov/item/toddbib000359/.

groups held less economic, social and political sway, and were therefore easier to present as threatening, dangerous or diseased, and to displace. Worker, self-built or rental housing, as quickly put together and without elaborate siting and infrastructure, was easier to clear from a site slated for civic investment. With the inspections and publications of the CCIH, the Progressive government discouraged portable dwellings, justifying demolition, and reclaiming lands for private property. In moving away from portable systems, companies like the PRCC asserted their allegiance to this transition, and the associated profits it would garner for home building corporations and prospective homeowners. The government assumed responsibility for the development of portable dwelling technologies and work camps to support the construction of public works to re-energize the economy. When available lands and jobs were diminished with the onset of the Dust Bowl and Great Depression, these efforts were redirected to the development of rural farmlands into property for White migrant laborers. At each step, tents and barracks supported short-lived employment and independence from property, leaving their predominantly non-White inhabitants without stability or appreciable wealth.

Figure 22: Farm Security Administration Exhibit, 1939, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress.

Figure 23: "Mexican quarter" of Los Angeles, to be torn down to make space for the new Union Railroad Station, 1936, Dorothea Lange, photographer. FSA - Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress.

Figure 24: San Fernando Federal subsistence homesteads, 1936, were primarily reserved for White farmers leaving the Dust Bowl, and their families. Dorothea Lange, photographer. FSA - Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress.

1.6 Conclusion: Risk by Design in the Labor Camp Suburbs

The legacies of the racialized disinvestment in and displacement of housing can be seen in the geographies where labor camps once stood, especially in comparison to neighboring suburbs once explicitly forbidden from occupation by non-White peoples and temporary structures (Figure 25). When the South Raymond District was surveyed by the HOLC in 1939, it was home to Pasadena's African American, Latinx and Asian populations.[167] The Area Description noted the population to be 10-15% Mexican and Japanese and 40% Black, working as servants, service workers, laborers and WPA workers, with an average monthly income of

[167] "Distribution of Minority Racial Groups in Pasadena, 1935" in James Crimi, "The Social Status of the Negro in Pasadena California" (Master's Thesis, University of Southern California, 1941).

$700-$1,200.[168] Construction was predominantly noted to be of the "frame, stucco & shack" type, in poor repair, with only 15% owner-occupied, and rental prices $10-$25 per month. Though zoned as commercial and industrial, the district was dappled with homes that had been built almost 40 years prior, noted to be subject to "slum clearance." Many of the servants working in the "higher grade" districts to the west were living in this area, prevented from living further west due to racial deed restrictions.

Destabilizing effects of displacement and erasure were shielded from the upper-class White populations living in HLIC's Oak Knoll.[169] HOLC's Area Description noted an absence of "subversive" nationalities and Black people in Oak Knoll, stating that deed restrictions were ample and enforced. Homes included those with eight rooms and up, in the town house, mansion and estate types, constructed of frame, stucco and masonry, with 90% owner-occupied homes, valued at $7,500 and up. Ample financing was noted to be available for mortgage funds, due to the homogenous White population, harmonious architectural designs, costly, imposing improvements, and quality of construction and maintenance.[170] Though zoning, deed restrictions and policies played a large part in the racial composition and material evolution of both neighborhoods of Pasadena, the evidence explored in this chapter demonstrates the instrumental role of architecture in this equation. Worker housing developed by private companies like PERC and PPCC was not so different from the standard designs developed by the government to

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[168] Robert K. Nelson, LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., "Mapping Inequality," American Panorama, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, accessed at: https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=13/34.114/-118.155&city=los-angeles-ca&area=D9

[169] Dana Cuff, *The Provisional City.*

[170] Robert K. Nelson, LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., "Mapping Inequality," American Panorama, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, accessed at: https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=13/34.114/-118.155&city=los-angeles-ca&area=B34

temporarily house the poor, migrant, or incarcerated worker. Accommodating eight persons to a room was as crucial to efficiencies of space as to the cohesion and control of racialized work groups. When the tents and barracks of labor camps were condemned, they were easily scrapped or relocated by employers without incurring losses tied to land ownership and improvement. Meanwhile, the tent cabins at PERC's vacation camps and bungalows of HLIC's subdivisions were constructed for permanence, ensuring the appreciation of property as tied to the improvement of land for residential use.

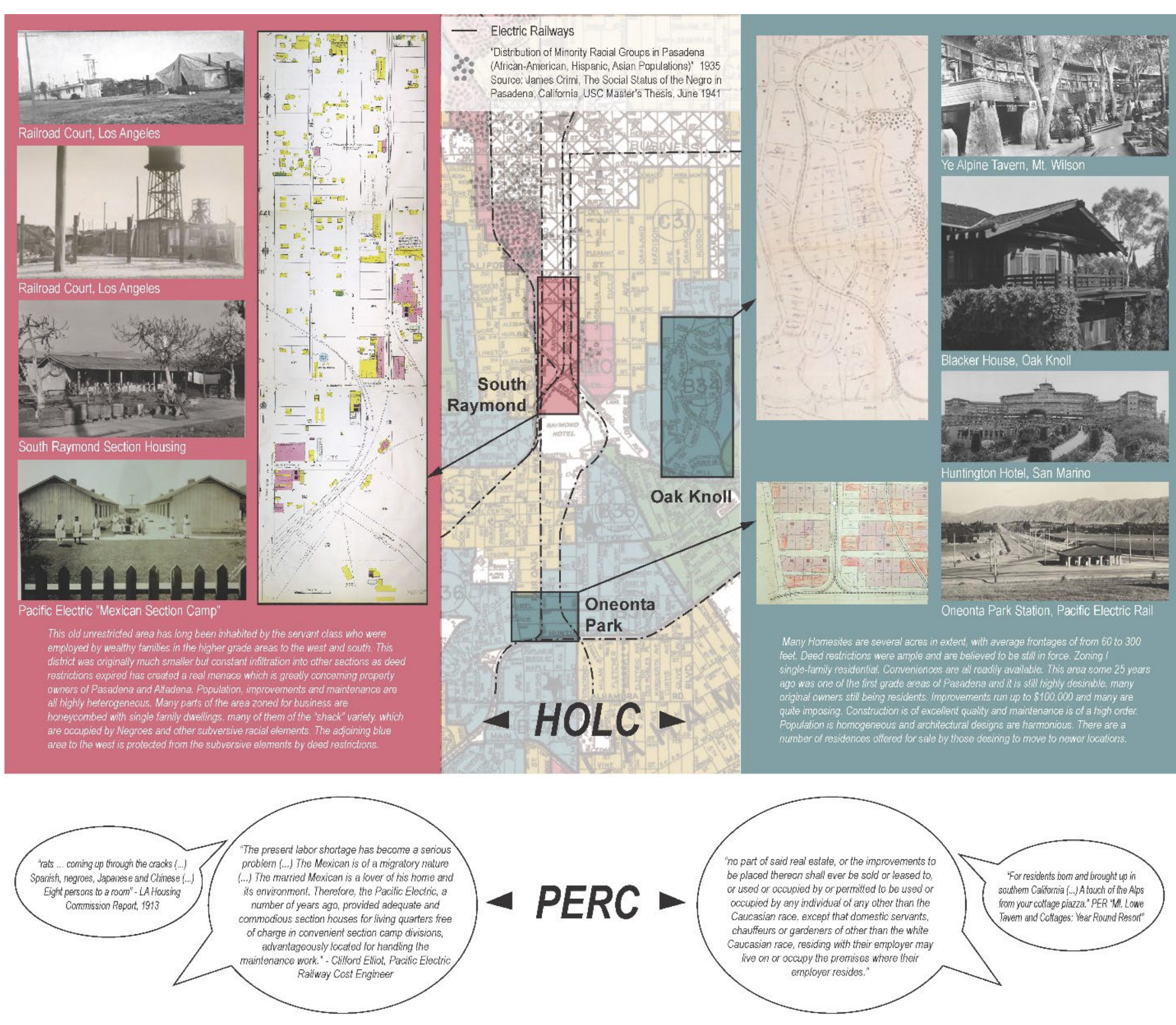

Figure 25: Thick map by author, comparing the properties owned and developed by the Huntington-affiliated companies PERC and HLIC in South Pasadena. Thick mapping is a form of Critical Cartography that can be leveraged to visualize the human and architectural layers of the urban condition. The practice follows from the work of urban humanists Todd Presner and Dana Cuff, and refers to the production of layered, polyvocal, interdisciplinary constructions of the city.[171] Learning from the work of Critical Cartographers, the thick map serves to demonstrate the contingencies between preserved landscapes and buildings, and those that were racialized, surveyed, and demolished in service of renewal or gentrification in later years. Despite their geographic proximity to one another, the planning, architecture, and rhetoric behind Oak Knoll and South Raymond were as distinct as their socioeconomic and racial composition.

[171] T. Presner, D. Shepard and Y. Kawano, *HyperCities: Thick Mapping in the Digital Humanities* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2014); D. Cuff, J. Crisman, A. Loukaitou-Sideris, T. Presner and M. Zubiaurre, *Urban Humanities* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2022).

Huntington's speculations were widespread, from the extraction of water from the Owens Valley to the establishment of shops in Torrance, to the extension of rail and transmission lines across Los Angeles, each designed to feed the tourist and leisure suburbs that he was simultaneously developing through his land syndicates.[172] Worker housing was instrumental to retaining low-wage laborers for the construction of these regional developments, up until the construction was complete. The temporary design of worker housing, an intimate spectrality of metropolitan expansion and suburbanization, proved instrumental to the later transformation of land to further profit from these developments. Municipal officials, corporate employers, industrial companies, developers and Anglo-European upper- and middle-class homeowners each profited from the rising value of land. Those without permanent stakes to the land, namely non-White laborers housed in portable dwellings or self-built housing painted as temporary, did not. Architecture was instrumental to the construction of difference between temporary and permanent housing, whether built from portable systems, or not. In the residential suburbs of L.A., as in British Colonial India, covered sleeping porches and verandas offered occupants privacy while accessing the benefits of the surrounding environment. Though promoted as an inexpensive mechanism for accessing the healthful benefits of the outdoors, these devices were only healthful when separated from industry and its pollutants. And when connected to infrastructure and equipped with operable, screened openings, tent cabins, bungalows, and other forms of lightweight, portable housing were associated with mental and physical health, as at the Alpine Tavern at Mt. Lowe. But when subdivided into small compartments without ventilation and with multiple families sharing single rooms, as in PERC's South Raymond labor camp,

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[172] Harry F. Gadeky, Secretary, Torrance Chamber of Commerce, "Torrance, 'The Modern Industrial City:' Faith of Founders Make of Agricultural Fields Thriving City of Factories and Homes. Growth is Unparalleled," *Pacific Electric Magazine* 8, no. 6 (November 10, 1923): 3-5.

lightweight, portable structures were dangerous, if not deadly. Though siting was an important factor in the construction of racialized housing inequality, design was instrumental to its susceptibility to demolition. Landscaping, lawns, paved, curving walks and roads and street trees were specifically residential improvements. Regularized or ill-defined lots were easier to convert for other uses, and buildings using bolted, panelized construction systems were easier to relocate. As managers of the PERC, PLPC, LAGC, and HLIC, Henry Huntington and his affiliates operated across these spectrums, learning from experiences in building worker housing, and adapting their systems for the construction of fixed bungalow suburbs for the expansion of the White middle-class. “Camp” architectures, including canvas siding and screened sleeping porches, were celebrated when fashioned for the Anglo-European tourist or homeowner in the residential suburbs. In the southern and eastern regions of L.A. targeted for future industrial development, these forms of architecture were painted as “shacks” and “slums,” needing intimate regulation, improvement, and finally, removal.

In the next chapter, I look at Huntington’s interest in the extension of water, power, and transportation infrastructures east to Riverside. Here, Huntington financially contributed to a different form of worker housing that would benefit his business triad. Huntington partnered with Frank Miller on the renovation and expansion of the Mission Inn, which, along with Miller’s Sherman Institute, served as key tourist sites along the Pacific Electric route. As at PERC’s labor camps for Mexican families, racialized discourses of uncleanliness and laziness would be used to support the surveillance and regulation of Indigenous students at the Sherman Institute. Portability and temporality would similarly be used to characterize housing arrangements for Indigenous students of the Sherman Institute, working across Los Angeles in the later years of their education. Many of the male graduates found employment working for the WPA and the

Indian Division of the CCC (CCC-ID), while female graduates were commonly placed in the homes of White families while working as domestic servants. While this chapter focused on the contributions of labor camp housing and Mexican populations to the infrastructure that supported the tourist and leisure suburbs, the next looks at the contributions of institutional training and Indigenous populations to the construction and maintenance of the domestic service suburbs themselves. The Progressive interest in reformist architecture took a different shape in the training and deployment of Indigenous girls in domestic service. Protestant narratives of uplift and hard work were contrasted with the supposed idleness of the Indian to support the forced relocation and training of Indigenous students in Mission Revival style settings, that themselves served as points of interest for White tourists.[173] Huntington's tourist and leisure suburbs stood not only to gain from the labor of section hands housed in cheap labor camps, but also from the live-in labor of domestic servants. Whereas corporate and government employers controlled the living arrangements of workers in labor camps, the private, Anglo family controlled the bodies of workers in the domestic service suburbs, presenting a new kind of intimate colonialism.

[173] McClung, *Landscapes of Desire*, 2000.

2

The Indian Boarding School Behind Los Angeles' Domestic Service Suburbs: Training Home Builders and Servants

Figure 1: The Campanile of the Mission Inn, featuring the bell tower and arched portico. The courtyard of Frank Miller's Glenwood Mission Inn, Riverside, Ca., 1910, California Historical Society Collection, 1860-1960, Title Insurance and Trust and C.C. Pierce Photography Collection, 1860-1960, University of Southern California Library Special Collections, Digital (hereafter referred to as CHS, USC, DC)

2.0 Introduction: Fabricating "Indianness"

In 1909, U.S. President William Taft marked the culmination of a publicity excursion across Southern California by unveiling a bronze tablet dedicated to Father Junipero Serra at the summit of Mount Rubidoux.[174] The peak overlooked Riverside's many tourist attractions, including the Mission Inn and Sherman Institute, both points of interest along Taft's tour. The Mission Inn, once a rest stop for traveling missionaries, and the Sherman Institute, a boarding school established by the U.S. Government for Indigenous children, recalled the tutelages of Father Serra. In the Spanish colonization of Alta California, missions were designed to inspire reverence among Indigenous peoples subject to Franciscan teachings of religion, language, and civilization.[175] Under Spanish governance during the Mexican period (1821-1848), Indians were enslaved and forced to build missions and pueblos as carpenters and masons.[176] At the Sherman Institute, the first of 25 off-reservation boarding schools run by the U.S. government, Indigenous students were expected to abandon their Indigenous languages, cultures and beliefs and assimilate to Christianity and an Anglo imaginary of heteropatriarchal, single-family domesticity. The Mission Revival style administration buildings and dormitories served as a backdrop for the display of assimilationist agendas, against which students performed military drills for the entertainment of Anglo visitors. At the turn of the century, California promoters and developers supported the preservation and proliferation of Mission Revival style architecture to

[174] "President Takes His Farewell at Coast," *Los Angeles Times (1886-1922),* Oct 13, 1909, I1, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[175] Samuel Y. Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (New Mexico: UNM Press, 2001), 275-81.

[176] Nicolas G. Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Indigenous Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

attract Anglo-Americans to the southwest.[177] In the February 1918 issue of *Touring Topics*, the Automobile Club of Southern California encouraged tourists to "see the missions of Southern California" by traveling from Los Angeles to Riverside, where one could "see the great government Indian School and then ascend Mt. Rubidoux to Father Serra's Cross for the sunset and spend the night at the Mission Inn" (Figure 1).[178]

The three tourist sites were connected through architectural design and rhetoric, as well as their financing, construction, and maintenance. In 1906, Frank Miller joined Henry Huntington in forming the Huntington Park Association, under which a road to the peak of Mount Rubidoux was developed along with plans for a housing subdivision at its base.[179] In 1909, the first house was built at 4570 University Avenue in what was named the Huntington Park Subdivision. The elaborate Craftsman style bungalow was built for Harwood Hall, the first director of the Sherman Institute, from a plan provided by the Los Angeles Investment Company in their bungalow catalog.[180] The contractor for the Hall cottage, Mr. O.G. Carner, instructed

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[177] Horace Stoll, "California's Modern Mission Buildings," *The National Builder* 52, no. 8 (August 1, 1911): 32; Dwight James Baum, "The Mission Inn at Riverside, California," *The American Architect* 118, no. 2330 (Aug 18, 1920): 201; "The Inn of the Bells: A Place of Contentment," *The Craftsman* (1901-1916) 29, no. 3 (Dec 01, 1915): 280. ProQuest Historical Newspapers; George Wharton James, "The Mission Style in Modern Architecture: V. The Arched Corridor or Ambulatory in Mission Days and its Modern Application," *Indoors and Out (1905-1907)* 4, no. 6 (Sep 1, 1907): 271.

[178] Illustrations and verbiage from the inside back cover of: Automobile Club of Southern California, "See the Missions of Southern California," *Touring Topics* 10, no. 2 (March 1918).

[179] Zona Gale, *Frank Miller of the Mission Inn* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938), 155-6; DeWitt V. Hutchings, *The Story of Mount Rubidoux* (Riverside, California: Mission Inn, 1926), 11.

[180] Superintendent Walter Runke at Pala, California wrote to the clerk at the Sherman Institute to request a blueprint of the Harwood Hall cottage in November of 1912. The clerk replied that "Mr. Carner does not like to destroy his book by outing a page from it," referring Runke to the Los Angeles Investment Company's *Practical Bungalows, Improved Addition* that could be purchased for fifty cents. It was stated that the cut of the cottage "would be of considerable value in construction of the building," suggesting that Runke could construct his own superintendent cottage efficiently and inexpensively if he also followed the plan Carner used for Hall's cottage. Correspondence from: School Drawings, Sherman Indian, Central Classified Files 1907-1939, 1912, NAID 563416, Box 28, Folder

boys at the Sherman Institute in carpentry, blacksmithing and engineering to prepare them for employment in the building trades. In their senior years at the school, boys were sent to work for meager pay in related industries. Many worked as carpenters for contractors like the Colton Hardware Company and the Cresmer Manufacturing Company, who built homes, institutional and civic buildings across the region using the cheap labor made possible by the Sherman Institute.[181] Indigenous students from the Sherman Institute were similarly employed as cheap laborers by Frank Miller in the renovation, expansion, and maintenance of the Mission Inn.[182] Miller began expanding the Mission Inn in 1911, with a $250,000 investment from Henry Huntington.[183] An 84-unit addition designed in the Mission Revival Style by Arthur Benton was added that year, and in 1914, a "Spanish wing" designed by Myron Hunt in the Spanish Revival Style was built. Famed architects Benton and Hunt designed numerous civic, hospitality and domestic buildings throughout Southern California for Miller and Huntington. Both Benton and Hunt worked with the Cresmer Manufacturing Company, who employed students from Sherman Institute as construction laborers.[184] As described in the previous chapter, Huntington's

442, Record Group, 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), National Archives at Riverside, California (hereafter cited as SI, RG 75, BIA, NAR)

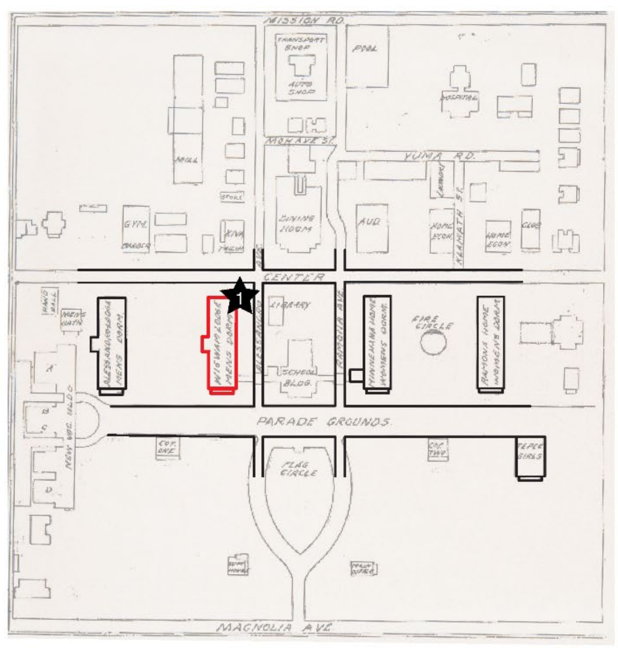
[181] Pauline O'Conner, "Spectacular Craftsman Bungalow in Riverside Asking $1.2M," *Curbed Los Angele*s, Jan 2, 2020, https://la.curbed.com/2020/1/2/21044014/historic-craftsman-bungalow-riverside-harwood-hall.

[182] For a biographical account of Miller and his role in the construction of Riverside's tourist economy, see: Nathan Gonzales, "Riverside, Tourism, and the Indian: Frank A. Miller and the Creation of Sherman Institute," *Southern California Quarterly* 84, no. 3/4 (2002): 193-222.

[183] Huntington asserted: "I am anxious (…) to have it located at the end of the street car line (…) there is a tract of land (…) that is suitable and can be bought very reasonably. I am especially anxious to secure the location of this building in Riverside, as it will mean a great deal to tourist business." George Frost et. al. to Henry Huntington, September 3, 1897 and Miller to HE Huntington, January 23, 1899, The Mission Inn/Frank Miller Hutchings Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum Archives, Riverside, Ca.

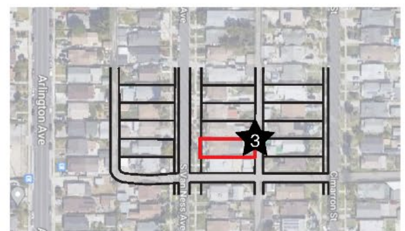
[184] Ross Townsend, an alumnus of the Sherman Institute, worked for the Cresmer Manufacturing Company in Corona, California prior to becoming an assistant carpenter at the Sherman Institute, where he built a small house to live in with his wife. General Correspondence, Records of the Outing Agent Fred Long 1917-1928 (NAID 563532), Folder: 1917-1918, SI, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

subsidiary companies connected the taking of Owens Valley, home to the Paiute Indian people, with the construction of water and power infrastructure for the expansion of the L.A. suburbs. Indigenous graduates of the Sherman Institute labored on the construction of water, power and building infrastructures across the American Southwest, connecting Huntington's speculations in Riverside to the metropolitan expansion of greater Los Angeles. While the last chapter focused on the worker housing built along the lines of infrastructural development, this chapter focuses on the conversion of Indigenous land and displacement and training of Indigenous students that made such developments possible. An illustration demonstrates the entanglement of the Sherman Institute with the Southern California suburbs through Huntington and Miller's developments (Figure 2).

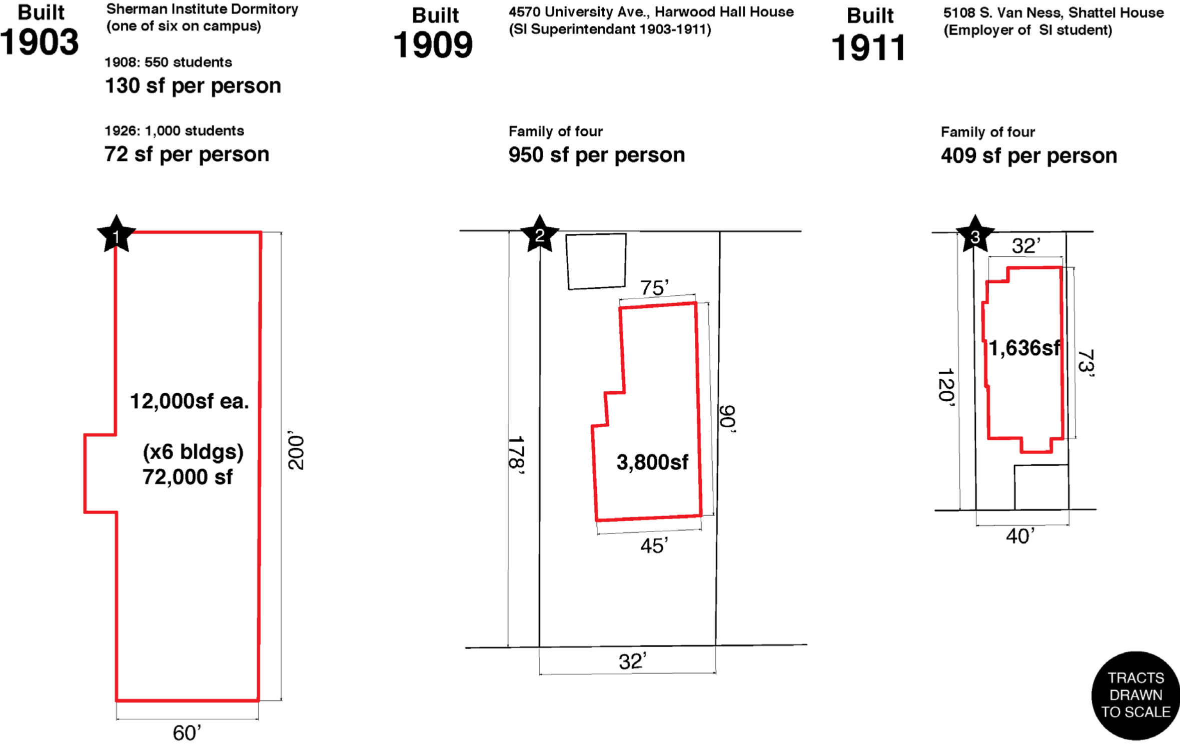


Sherman Institute, Indian Boarding School
Riverside, Ca

Mount Rubidoux Historic District
Riverside, Ca



View Park-Leimert-West Adams Distrct
Los Angeles, Ca



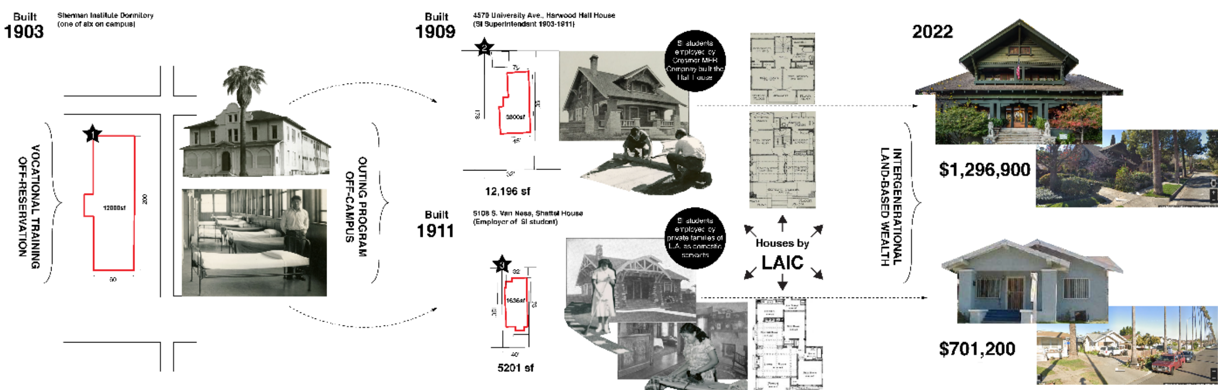


Figure 2: Illustration by Author demonstrating the Indigenous labor that connected the Sherman Institute to the Southern California suburbs. Students were housed in dorms while working to maintain and renovate the campus as part of their vocational training (1). In later years of their schooling, Indigenous girls were sent to work as domestic servants (as in the Shattel home in Los Angeles (3)), and Indigenous boys were sent to work in construction (building homes like the Harwood Hall bungalow (2)), adding to suburban property values and to the intergeneration wealth gained by their owners.

While Indigenous students were sent to off-reservation boarding schools run by the U.S. government, tribal lands were being subdivided into private property for single-family housing or traversed with infrastructures for the extraction of land-based resources. Alice Fletcher, after living with and studying the Omaha Tribe in Nebraska as a trained ethnologist, urged the federal government to enact a policy to break up tribal holdings across the nation. In 1882, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) hired Fletcher to survey tribal lands, and with the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887, all communal Indigenous lands were to be subdivided and allocated to individual families, what was termed "allotment." The representation, commodification, and solicitation of Anglo-American gendered ideas of domesticity relied on racialized depictions of Indigenous architectures. Seasonal migration, communal living, matriarchal societies, and extended kin networks, each a traditional form of Indigenous adaptation to the land and peoples, were prohibitive to the heteropatriarchal conversion of land for private property and single-family domesticity. As with Mexican workers in L.A., Indigenous peoples were portrayed as inherently less productive, civilized, and cleanly than Anglo-Americans. The boarding school, like the labor camp, was fashioned as a site for conversion to an English-speaking, sanitary and regimented lifestyle. The ways of the White man were taught to Indigenous students in an effort to convert them to useful citizens in the capitalist market, and into single-family homeowners, beholden to the laws of private property set out for former tribal lands after being subdivided and sold off. To acquire property as recognizable in the colonial context, the Indigenous "must do so by encoding the geography in the same gendered space-making terms as colonist – private, individuated holdings that only men can alienate and heir," as Saldana-Portillo states.[185] By depicting tribal,

[185] Saldaña-Portillo, *Indian Given,* 65.

communal, and self-built domesticity as a threat to civilization, those that benefitted from a patriarchal single-family structure (White Anglo Protestants), could ensure their sustained superiority.[186]

Scholars have demonstrated how both Mission and Spanish Revival vernaculars contributed to a myth about California's Spanish colonial past that positioned Anglo-Europeans as heirs to the land.[187] When considering their application to the Indian boarding school, Mission and Spanish Revival style architectures also staged the recreation of racialized labor divisions in the Modern Era. By 1921, it was stated that "the Indians are again making adobe bricks at San Gabriel - bricks that will be used in the construction of the new Mission Playhouse which will be dedicated to the memory of the past, and the glory of the missions."[188] Indigenous students were prepared to be efficient builders, having paved walks, plastered walls, laid bricks and installed infrastructure in the construction and renovation of campus buildings and employee housing as indentured laborers for the Sherman Institute. Indigenous labor continued to be used in the construction of architectures that threatened Indigenous relationships to land.

If the boarding school was a stage for the internalization of colonial relationships, the suburbs were the field where these were externalized. Scholarship on the formation of urban Indigenous communities before the relocation programs of the 1950s and 60s remains sparse, but

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[186] Jane E. Simonsen, *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Indigenous Assimilation in the American West, 1860-1919* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

[187] For an account of the association of Mission and Spanish Revival vernacular with Anglo-American boosterism at the turn of the century, see, for example: Abigail A. Van Slyck, "Mañana, Mañana: Racial Stereotypes and the Anglo Rediscovery of the Southwest's Vernacular Architecture, 1890-1920," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 5 (1995): 95–108.

[188] John Stevens McGroarty, "New and Larger Theater for the Mission Play: Fine Structure Will be Erected This Year on a Three-Acre Site at San Gabriel. Where Early California Life Will be Shown in Pageant." *Los Angeles Times (1886-1922),* Feb 20, 1921, V1.

as Kevin Whalen and Joan Weibel-Orlando's research suggests, Indian boarding school graduates found work and settled in the industrial suburbs of South Los Angeles in the early twentieth century.[189] In the latter years of their education, through what was called the "Outing Program," Indigenous boys were sent to work in construction industries with ties to the boarding school, and Indigenous girls were sent to work as domestic servants in the homes of White families who petitioned the school for inexpensive help. The domestic service of Indigenous students helped White women assimilate to a modern middle-class domestic ideal, where the housewife was the manager, rather than the laborer, of the home. White women became curators of Indigenous labor and products. As the aesthetics of Indian craft were co-opted for the mass-produced domestic market and the display of middle-class taste, employers and teachers encouraged the removal of ancestral and tribal affiliations among Indigenous youth. "Field Matrons," as the White female supervisor over students' domestic training was professionally titled, practiced intimate oversight in the classrooms and model homes of Indian boarding schools. When domestic employers demanded, Indigenous girls were scrutinized, reprimanded, relocated, or fired by boarding school administrators and field matrons. As with the Mexican laborers explored in the last chapter, Indigenous laborers were *made* transient at the discretion of the White employer, whose very fixity was a product of this migratory labor. The single-family homes built off-campus by Indigenous students for Anglo administrators of the Sherman Institute are a testament to this binary construction. Displacement of Indigenous peoples was justified

[189] Graduates of the Sherman Institute worked for Llewellyn Iron Works in Torrance, and Firestone in South Gate, for example. Whalen, *Indigenous Students at Work*. Weibel-Orlando demonstrates how Indigenous peoples populated the "ethno-burbs" of Bell Gardens and Huntington Park, for example, in: Joan Weibel-Orlando, *Indian Country, LA: Maintaining Ethnic Community in Complex Society* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

under auspices of moral, material, and economic progress in line with the tenets of the American Progressive Era but served to clear lands for Anglo-European extraction and occupation.

In recent years, scholars have exposed the violent and often deadly ways that the Anglo-American empire operated through the government's initiation of off-reservation Indian boarding schools across the country in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[190] Jodi Byrd demonstrates how the flattening of Indigenous identities into a singular notion of "Indianness" was instrumental to the transit of empire, from colonization to settler colonization to domestic colonization.[191] The term "Indian," as with the translation of the Bungalow from British colonial India to the United States, is indicative of an imperial mentality that categorized any non-Anglo-European population as Indian based on earlier encounters with India through Atlantic trade. In its modern usage, the term washed over a wide range of Indigenous identities, each with their own nuances of culture, ethnicity, religion, relation to the land, and ideas about domesticity and ownership.[192] As Mishuana Goeman's research demonstrates, through the gendering process and controlled migration, Indigenous peoples were organized into a progressive labor force. Domestic advice literature portrayed Indian minds as uncivilized and bodies as undeveloped, supporting Indian boarding school teachings of moral and manual development. Indigenous women were converted from farmers and herders to domestic workers in the Progressive Era, in

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[190] The National Indigenous Boarding School Healing Coalition (NABS), for example, has exposed the human rights violations committed at government boarding schools in the early twentieth century. NABS asks the United States to assume responsibility for the boarding school experiment, where Indigenous students were beaten, starved, abused for speaking their Indigenous language, and buried in unmarked graves.

[191] Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

[192] The flattening of Indigenous identities is indicated by the title of Saldana-Portillo's book, *Indian Given*. Maria Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, *Indian Given: Racial Geographies across Mexico and the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

alignment with Anglo-American gendered distinctions between public and private. The colonial sphere was interiorized in the home, where Indigenous women were expected to imitate Anglo-American women, with no chance of recognized assimilation.[193] The training of Indigenous girls in domestic science was often more important for sustaining the institution than for employment.[194] School repairs and building projects were often performed by Indigenous boys, while the Indigenous girls took care of the school's cooking, housekeeping, and laundry.

Although Indigenous children were forcibly removed from their homelands, distanced from their families, forbidden from speaking their Indigenous languages, and coerced into laboring roles, they also found ways to assert protest, resist assimilation, reassert their identities, seek agency, or form new practices, roles, and identities from these experiences.[195] As Tsianina Lomawaima's research on the Chilocco Indian School of northern Oklahoma demonstrates, students were not simply passive consumers of boarding school ideologies.[196] In countering oppressive regimes with an expression of self, and negotiating strategies of conformance with those of defiance, Indigenous students contributed to the culture and focus of the school. The stripping of Indigenous students' cultural identity and Indigenous languages could be both

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[193] Mishuana R. Goeman, "Notes toward a Native Feminism's Spatial Practice," *Wicazo Sa Review* 24, no. 2 (2009): 169-187.

[194] Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," *American Ethnologist* 20, no. 2 (1993): 227–40.

[195] Kevin Whalen argues in his research on the Sherman Institute, for example, that Indian students managed to operate within structures of power to achieve their own interests. By focusing on the letters sent by Indian girls working as domestic servants in Los Angeles to the superintendents of their respective boarding schools, Whalen shows how labor was a site of negotiation; Quechan and Mojave women working in LA gained access to urban and personal networks they may not have without the facilitation of the school Outing Program. See Kevin Whalen, *Indigenous Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-*1945 (University of Washington Press, 2016).

[196] Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

isolating and integrating, as Clifford Trafzer, Lorene Sisquoc and Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert demonstrate with their comprehensive history of the Sherman Institute.[197] Many alumni who returned to their reservations speaking and thinking like Anglo-Americans were seen as traders by their tribal networks, while others helped their reservations communicate to the U.S. government and work within the dominant capitalist economy to achieve their own economic and political goals. This chapter expands upon Trafzer, Sisquoc and Gilbert's groundbreaking work with the enormous collection from the Sherman Institute, now a high school and museum run by Indigenous communities, to consider the school's entanglements with the expansion of the Anglo-American domestic economy. Students were taught through the first year of high school and then diverted into agriculture and the "ordinary trades" to "supply the local demand for labor."[198] Indigenous girls often assumed roles as assistant matrons in the Indian Service, or as housewives in allotment households. Indigenous boys were commonly employed as manual laborers in farming and industry upon graduation. As "successful" alumni, the student stories documented by Lomawaima could not approximate the boarding school experience in its entirety. This chapter expands upon this work by considering how Imperial agendas enacted at government boarding schools influenced less overt, but more expansive, ubiquitous, and lasting systems of racialized labor exploitation in the domestic economy. It explores the vocational training of the school, including the private, municipal, and government interest in the

[197] Lorene Sisquoc helped facilitate the digitization of more than 13,000 items from the archives as the first Elder/scholar-in residence at the Sherman Indian Museum. Her personal history with the material provides context for her scholarship. Sisquoc is a member of the Fort Apache Sill Tribe and descendant of the Mountain Cahuilla of Southern California. Her grandmother was a Prisoner of War at Fort Sill Apache in Oklahoma, after which she moved to Arizona and graduated from the Phoenix Indian School. Sisquoc has contributed to several of the most influential publications to date on the Sherman Institute. See: Clifford Trafzer, Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, and Lorene Sisquoc, *The Indian School on Magnolia Avenue: Voices and Images from Sherman Institute* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2012).

[198] Curtis, "Sherman School Uplifts Indians," I13.

fabrication of racialized identity, labor, and material cultures, for the suburbanization and metropolitan expansion of Southern California.

A unique intersection of gender, race and architecture appears in this case in the expansion of the middle-class suburbs through the subdivision of property, building of single-family homes, and the domestic servitude of Indigenous boarding school students. By analyzing the curriculum guides, construction practices and employment history of Indian boys from the Sherman Institute, I intend to show how construction labor was separated from the related design and contracting professions economically, materially, and racially in the early twentieth century. And by analyzing domestic advice literature, along with the domestic science curriculum and practices both in the boarding school and in the suburban homes of White women, I intend to show how domestic servitude and production was separated from home management and taste by the same social and racial constructs. The chapter focuses on five interrelated venues that contributed to the manifestation of this intersection in the domestic sphere: 1. The domestic material economy that was developed by and sold to preservation-enthusiasts and middle-class Anglo women through domestic advice literature and catalogs; 2. The education in carpentry and domestic science given to Indian students at off-reservation boarding schools under the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA); 3. The domestic service and construction curricula specific to the Sherman Institute; 4. The construction, renovation and maintenance of the Sherman Campus that relied on student labor; And 5. The suburban homes of White middle-class families that relied upon the construction and housekeeping labor of Indian boarding school students.

In the sections that follow, I explore how distinctions were forged between the Anglo populace as managers and the Indian populace as laborers in the domestic economy. I argue that Anglo representatives became arbiters of taste and design through their management, display and

incorporation of Indigenous aesthetics and forms in the domestic sphere. Meanwhile, the various forms of tribal domesticities and Indigenous lifestyles were depicted as a detriment to the potential for Indigenous peoples to assimilate into White society. In the first section, I explore how tribal forms were both denounced and commodified, by examining publications by the President of the Landmarks Club and Editor of *Out West*, Charles Lummis, and the Superintendent of Indian Schools, Estelle Reel, and in domestic advice literature. In the second section I examine how these attitudes were both cultivated by and reflected in the curriculum guides of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Women's National Indian Association. I then show how these were applied and altered as they were put into practice at the Sherman Institute. In the fourth section I explore how this vocational training was applied in the construction, renovation, and maintenance of the campus, and in the final section I consider how each of these devices contributed to the larger racial project evidenced by Indian employment and labor in the construction and domestic service industries of Los Angeles. Tracing the living conditions and labor of students at the Sherman Institute, the "intimate specters" of this chapter, to the subdivision and improvement of land for the expansion of middle-class suburbs, demonstrates another aspect of the racialization of land and labor in the making of domestic colonialism.

2.1 Preservationism and Commodification in the "Indigenous Industries"

Just months before President Taft's promotional excursion to the top of Mount Rubidoux, the Mission Revival style was adopted by the Supervising Architect of the U.S. Treasury as the official style for the planning and design of government buildings, the first of which was underway in Riverside at the time. The policy emerged less than a decade after Congress granted

$215,000 to Frank Miller to construct the Sherman Institute in Riverside. The architecture and training of the school were said to "uplift Indians," who may be "converted into useful citizens."[199] A highly regimented site configuration with wide boulevards between buildings supported the efficient movement of students in their daily work (Figure 3). When the school opened, there were 35 buildings situated on the 40-acre site, including classrooms, dormitories, mills and shops, and an auditorium, library, and assembly hall. Upon entry to the campus from Magnolia Boulevard, visitors were presented with a large, landscaped park, with a flag circle in the center, and parade grounds at the rear (Figure 4). Within the park-like frontage were individual cottages for the superintendent, the main office, and the instruction of girls in home economics, all connected diagonally by paved walkways through the grand lawn. Lining the opposite side of the parade grounds were four identical dormitory buildings with gabled roofs, arched porches, and symmetrical bell towers. Two of the dorm buildings were connected through arched porticoes to the main school building at the center, forming a long facade interrupted only by Alessandro and Ramona Avenues, which connected to the parade grounds perpendicularly and extended to Mission Road at the back end of the campus (Figure 5). The right side of the campus was gendered as female, containing the women's dorms, home economics classrooms, laundry, and hospital. The left side was gendered male, containing the men's dorms, vocational shop buildings, and mill. The grandiose frontage presented a civic face, but the architecture of the cottages and dormitories conflated this with domesticity. With names like Ramona, Minnehana, Tepee, Alessandro Lodge, Hiawatha Lodge, and Wigwam, the dormitories played on

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[199] William E. Curtis, "Sherman School Uplifts Indians: How a Flourishing California Institution, Located at Riverside, Impresses a Veteran Newspaper Observer," *Los Angeles Times (1886-1922),* May 30, 1911, I13. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

ambiguous if not conflicting narratives of racial uplift and pastoral nostalgia (Figure 6).[200] They caricaturized Indigenous cultures that their very presence sought to erase. Renato Rosaldo has described this display of nostalgia for the colonized culture as a paradox, posing "'innocent yearning' both to capture people's imagination and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination."[201] While the main dormitory buildings were identical save for their naming and gendered living arrangements, the employee cottages on campus were each unique in siting, character, and materials. The single and double-family cottages on site served as an example of the type of living arrangements students may hope to achieve through their training.

Figure 3: "Regimented drill," a postcard featuring an assembly of Sherman students in white dress lined up along the parade grounds in front of the Mission Revival style campus administration and dormitory buildings. Ca. 1901-1920, Box 95, folder 2, Sherman Indian Museum Collection (hereafter referred to as SIM)

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[200] "Sherman Institute, The Indian School at Riverside, as it will Look when Completed." *San Francisco Chronicle (1869-)*, May 25, 1901, 3.

[201] Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 108.

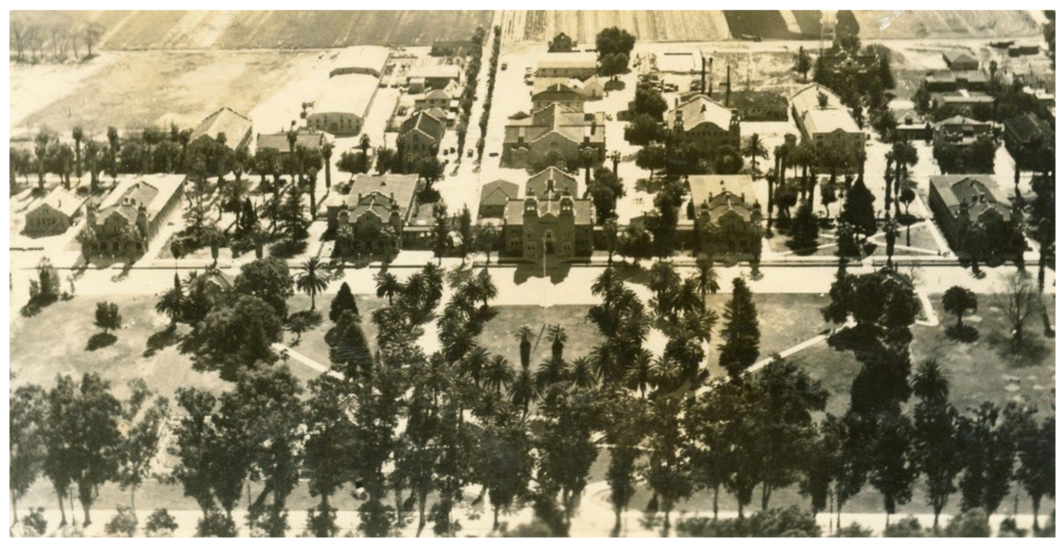


Figure 4: Aerial view of the Sherman Institute campus from Magnolia Boulevard looking toward the parade grounds and administration building at center, ca. 1930, Box 160, SIM.

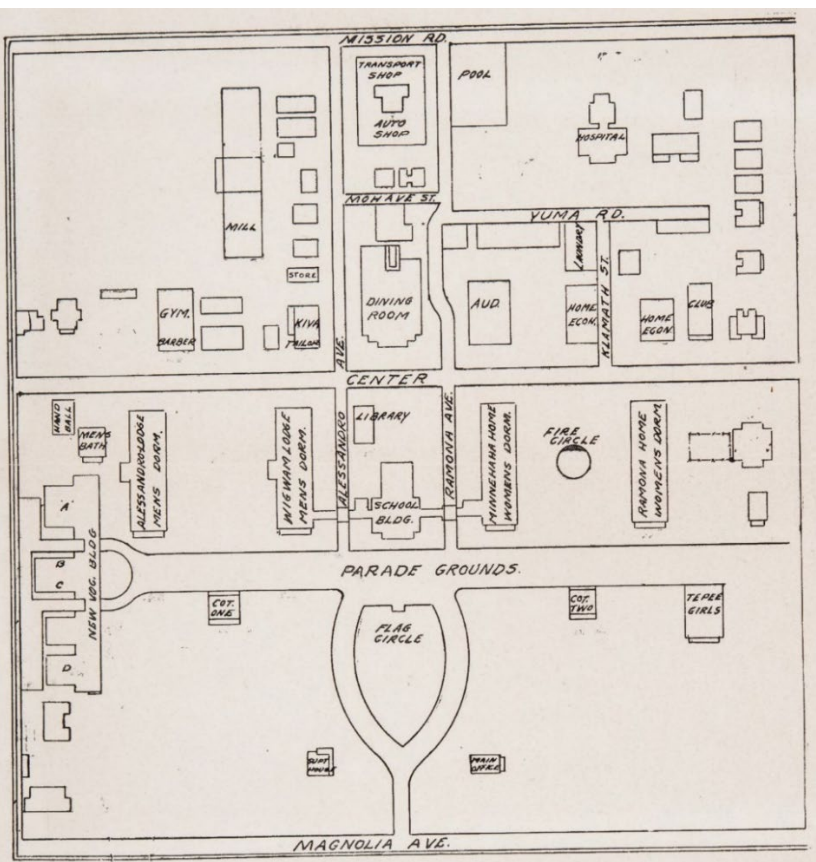


Figure 5: Map of the Sherman Institute campus, ca. 1940-60, Box 88, SIM. The four dormitory buildings and four cottages in the park on each side of the parade grounds were standing when the school opened in 1902. The new vocational building at the end was constructed in the 1930s.

Figure 6: View of the Sherman Institute girl's "Minnehana" dormitory from the parade grounds, ca. 1930-1960, Box 132, Folder 3, SIM.

Through vocational training in domestic practices and the environment of the Indian boarding school, Indigenous students were to model Anglo-American lifestyles. An image of "domestic work in the kindergarten" accompanied a detailed description of the intended training to be given to girls and boys in their first year at boarding school (Figure 7).[202] Throughout the year, the kindergarten students were to practice constructing and furnishing a home in miniature.

[202] Reel, *Course of Study*, 214.

The doll house pictured was a wooden box with pitched roof and interior partitions to estimate rooms and walls. In section, the house emphasized interiority. The house and the large family of dolls placed under the children's care demanded regular and daily maintenance. "Tiny cakes of soap" were to be made to accompany small wash tubs. The girls were to sew miniature clothes, blankets, curtains, and tablecloths and to build miniature furniture to furnish the home. It was stated that "the rooms must be made comfortable with carpets," which students would braid or weave on a hand-made loom. These model practices were extended to full-scale through training in weaving and caning. Card boards with hole punches supported the practice of caning chairs. Rows of damp cane could be stretched diagonally to form patterns for woven furniture that were developed and cultivated by Indian tribes and that had become popular commodities in the domestic market. Through this training, Indian girls were encouraged at the earliest stages of their education to take care of the appearances and sanitation of a home and children that were not theirs. The boarding school replicated the training they would have engaged with if living in their ancestral homelands, but here, for the benefit of their White administrators and the domestic market, rather than their personal and familial growth.

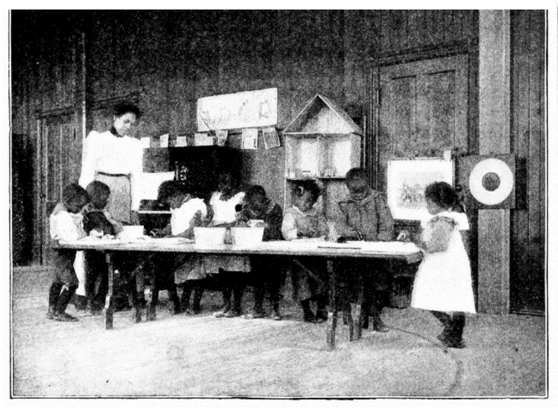
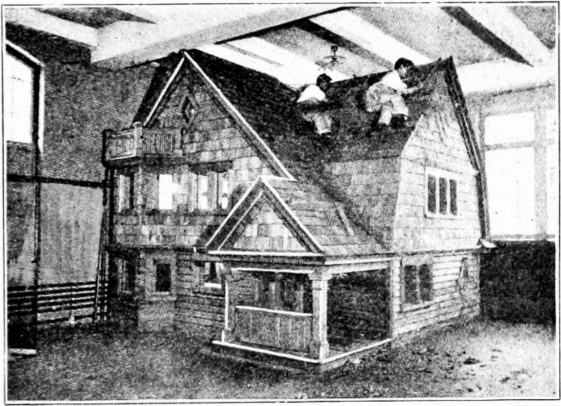
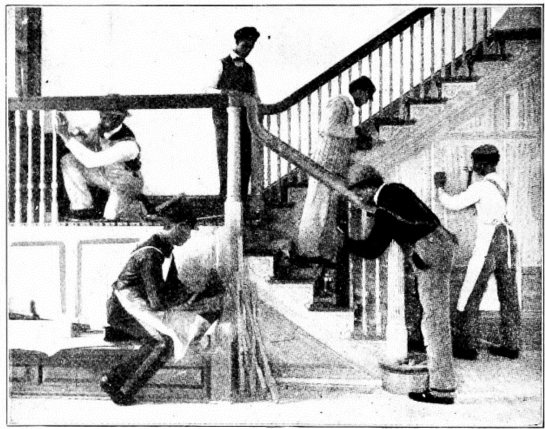
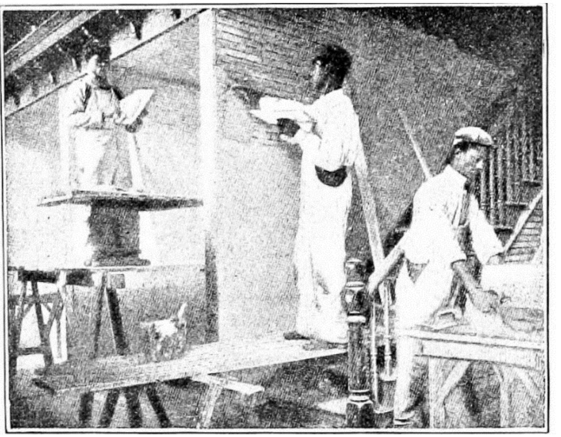
The vocational training outlined specifically for boys focused on the exterior of the home and garden, and on carpentry and construction in particular. Superintendent of Indian Schools, Estelle Reel, quoted Rousseau and Comenius in support of vocational, opposed to academic, methods of education, in support of the *Course of Study for Indian Boarding Schools* she authored for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Industrial education would "make the pupil himself more conscious of his capabilities." Boys were to construct their own shop equipment, including a vise, because they may "find [themselves] in a position where [they have] very little

with which to work, and it is well to train [them] now to meet such difficulties."[203] The curriculum was conscious of the inequalities experienced by Indigenous peoples in industrial employment, but rather than positioning them to overcome these obstacles, it encouraged them to use physical prowess to make do. First, students were asked to perform repairs on the campus grounds by mending fences, pouring walks, and building furniture. Then, they would be trained in laying foundations, constructing centers and window frames, making window cases, hanging doors, laying beams, setting bridging, erecting stud partitions, and laying flooring. Finally, students would practice framing a house, plastering and bricklaying. The curricular focus on carpentry and wood frame construction suggests an interest in building inexpensive, lightweight, portable, or temporary buildings. As advancements were made in intercontinental rail and shipping transportation, the lumber industry expanded, making it less expensive to obtain pre-cut lumber at the turn of the century. The balloon-frame construction method, using nails and dimensional lumber rather than timber and joinery, was an economic and efficient way to build one to two story dwellings.

As farm laborers, Indian boys were often charged with building and repairing barns and stables. In regions with more temperate climates, wood-frame construction was used for vacation homes and permanent dwellings. Following the transformation of common lands into private property under the Public Land Survey and Allotment systems, training in building construction supported the proliferation of the bungalow and the suburbanization of the countryside, as it did the maintenance of the farm. The vocational training outlined by Reel was focused on production; it was "not intended to make expert draftsmen, but to give such instruction as will

[203] Reel, *Course of Study*, 73.

enable pupils to readily read drawings, both of plans and of work, such as generally come before a mechanic in his trade."[204] The *Course of Study* featured images of pupils laying full scale foundations and plastering and building a full scale stairway, as well as building a complete model home at one quarter scale in the classroom. These skills were deployed in the building of a three-story mansion, with brick chimney, wood siding, painted shutters, and a raised porch with double Doric columns, illustrated as an example of a full house built by boarding school students. In total, the training served two agendas: it provided free labor in the construction and upkeep of ill-funded boarding schools; and it prepared Indian students to construct and maintain farms and homes for themselves or for White employers after graduation.

[204] Reel, *Course of Study*, 81.

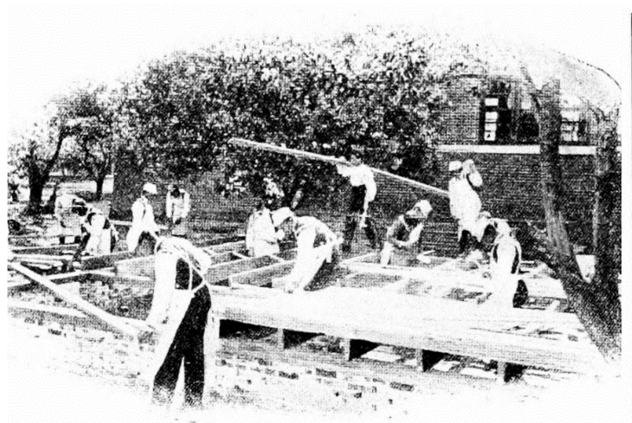
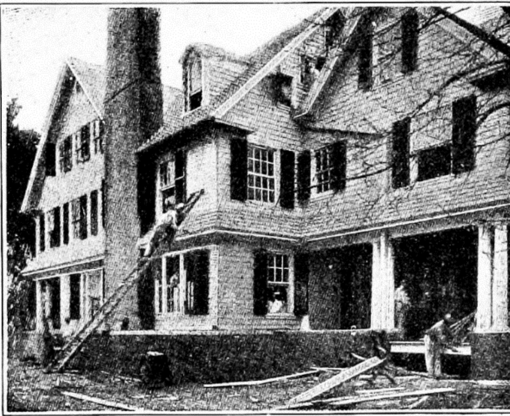
 

Figure 7: Images from Reel's *Course of Study* featuring students at work in various government schools including Haskell, Carlisle, and the Baron de Hirsch School. From top left to bottom right: a. Domestic work in the kindergarten (p. 214); b. Cottage built by the carpentry class (p. 83); c. Students building stairway (p. 88); d. Class in plastering (p. 80); e. Laying a foundation (p. 80); f. House built by students.

The curriculum at the Sherman Institute, following Estelle Reel and the BIA's newly drafted *Course of Study*, was designed as a departure from the government's earlier attempts at Indigenous education. At the turn of the century, reformists took issue with national Indian policy designed to "kill the Indian, save the man."[205] Richard Henry Pratt had coined this phrase in support of the establishment of the off-reservation Indian boarding school system. According to Pratt, "left in the surroundings of savagery, [the Indian] grows to possess a savage language, superstition, and life."[206] Pratt's writings were reflective of Social Evolutionary Theories of environmental determinism that had been used to justify colonialism and imperialism in Africa, the Americas and Asia.[207] According to Pratt and supporters of assimilation, Indigenous peoples

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[205] Pratt established the nation's first Indian boarding school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania in 1879.

[206] Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction (1892), 46–59. Reprinted in Richard H. Pratt, "The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites," Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880–1900 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 260–271.

[207] Mary Gilmartin, "Colonialism/Imperialism," in Key Concepts in Political Geography, Edited by (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2009), 115-123.

had not benefited from a civilized environment as Anglo-European people had, and were therefore evolutionarily behind. The nation's first off-reservation Indian boarding schools were designed as immersive and totalizing environments.[208] In 1928, the Meriam Report, or *The Problem of Indian Administration* as it was officially titled, was written as a critique of the government's prior assimilationist practices in Indian education. One of the key problems to date, according to the report, was a lack of Indian integration as productive members of society. According to the report, the stripping of Indian culture at government schools had made it more difficult for Indigenous peoples to transition to an independent life off of the reservation after graduation. The report encouraged the reorganization of boarding school curricula to focus on the "advancement of productive efficiency, maintenance of family and community."[209] With the government's subdividing of tribal lands and removal of support from reservations in the early twentieth century, Indigenous peoples were going to be left with few options besides self-sufficiency. The Meriam report advocated for teaching Indian students to acquire and maintain single-family homes through capitalist labor in support of this transformation. This section explores how public support was garnered for Indian boarding schools and their products in the early twentieth century through preservationist narratives and practices that opposed earlier government assimilationist agendas. Charles Fletcher Lummis and Estelle Reel's work as philanthropists and advocates for the preservation of Indigenous cultures was foundational to these narratives.

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[208] On the transition from the Dark Ages of Indian administration to the impetus to eradicate reservations and the publication of the Meriam Report, see: Adams, *Education for Extinction.*

[209] Lewis Meriam and the Institute for Government Research, *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), 21.

Estelle Reel advocated for self-sufficiency in her tenure as the Bureau of Indian Affairs' (BIA) Superintendent of Indian Schools from 1898 to 1910. As the BIA saw it, "self-sufficiency" meant contributing to the dominant capitalist economy through labor and consumption. The Indigenous alternative to self-sufficiency – living on land, sharing resources, producing, and trading goods within and across tribal networks – was beyond government control. It threatened the government's ability to govern and tax tribal lands and to control the division of labor among the American populace. In the *Course of Study*, Reel asserted that "the Indians as a people must be led to see the importance of developing the work they are so gifted in doing, and to help supply the market's demands; and thus take a long step in the direction of self-support, which, after all, is the end of all Indian education."[210] Reel believed that the incorporation of Indigenous handicraft and tradition in conjunction with industrial training would create more sustainable practices beyond the confines of the boarding school. Indigenous spokespersons such as Warren Moorehead similarly critiqued the government's earlier curricula for its inapplicability to the rural life that many Indigenous peoples led.[211] Moorehead referred to appeals made by Charles Fletcher Lummis, a celebrated Indian rights activist, as an example of the kind of positive intervention he wished to see the government model their educational efforts after. Lummis founded the Sequoyah League in 1902, through which he fought the BIA's Indian education policies that supported the forcible extraction of Indigenous children from reservations, cutting

[210] Estelle Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 189.

[211] Warren K Moorehead, AM. *The American Indian in the U.S.1850-1914, A Plea for Justice* (Andover, MA: The Andover Press, 1914).

of their hair, and removal of Indian clothing and traditions.[212] Lummis agreed with the interventionist approach supported by Reel and Moorehead, describing Reel's "course of study for Indian schools" as "the first ray of hope that the Indigenous industries are worth preserving."[213] The course included training in traditional Indian handicraft such as basket-weaving, rug-making and pottery. Lummis described the products of this kind of training as "a return to the beautiful artistic and valuable handiwork they used to do" opposed to the products of classes led by the BIA to that point, which, according to Lummis, had "gone downhill."[214] Lummis asserted that education in traditional "household industries" such as "making brogans, scouring pots and setting type," were a "preferable industry" for Indians "to help themselves," instead of the "make to sell" strategies taught in Indian Boarding Schools.[215] As with Reel, Lummis believed that courses reflective of Indigenous culture in the boarding school would prevent the loss of traditional Indigenous products and contribute to Indian students' ability to attain self-sufficiency and integrate into the dominant society after graduation.

Lummis formed the Southern California Landmarks Club in 1895 as a channel through which to advocate for preserving the Spanish missions of California. Under the Landmarks Club's direction, with financing from tourist admission payments and the Santa Fe Railroad, reconstruction was performed on Father Junipero Serra's church, "where first civilization was

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[212] These practices were recounted by Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin) of the Yankton Indian Reservation in South Dakota in her writings on the Indian boarding school experience, which were published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1900: Zitkala-Sa, "School Days of an Indian Girl," *Atlantic Monthly* 85 (1900): 185-94.

[213] Charles Lummis, "The Sequoya League," *Out West* 16, no. 1 (January 1902): 647.

[214] Ibid: 645.

[215] Ibid: 136-7.

introduced to the Natives of this region" according to what were called "old methods."[216] Rough, even plastered walls of the Mission Revival style were critiqued for their modern usage in covering up poor workmanship. Indigenous peoples used small flat stones, or Takkish, instead to create smooth wavy surfaces in the original construction of Father Serra's church. In the 1900s, hand trowels and machine-cut adobe bricks were used in the reconstruction of Serra's church to replicate appearances of the old missions. Arthur B. Benton, Secretary of the Landmark's Club and friend of Lummis, was the architect behind the reconstruction of Father Serra's church. Having designed the expansion of Miller's Mission Inn, Benton became a well-known architect of the Spanish and Mission Revival styles across the region.

Benton's work traversed the line between preservation, renovation, and replication, from the missions to new civic and hospitality buildings and single-family homes. The addition Benton designed for the Mission Inn contained a sampling of the most prominent features of the missions in Texas, San Gabriel, Pala, San Juan Capistrano and San Luis Rey. The *Los Angeles Times* stated that this was not a display of design, but rather, a preservation of the best examples of the missions built under Spanish colonial leadership.[217] The expansion was said to be true to the mission style due to the absence of lines or joints as would appear in brick or stonework. Frame construction, sheathed, plastered over metal lath, and painted or pigmented, was used to produce a seamless facade. This method could be easily adapted to smaller buildings, as with the $2,000 Consuelo Residence located in East Los Angeles, or the $4,000 curio building by

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[216] Wayne Goble, "Old Methods Used in Rebuilding Mission: San Juan Capistrano Ruins to be Reconstructed as Padres would do Work," *Los Angeles Times (1886-1922),* Oct 22, 1922, II1. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

[217] "New Inn will be Reminiscent: To Perpetuate Features of Ancient Missions," *Los Angeles Times (1886-1922)*, Jun 6, 1909, V1. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Benham and Brizard in Phoenix, Arizona.[218] According to architect Wharton James, during the Spanish civilizing mission in Alta California, there were no skilled laborers, brick makers or layers, leading to a less ornate and homogeneous look compared to the churches in Mexico. The Los Angeles Women's Club House and Harrison Gray Otis' residence were cited as successful modern reflections of the old style due to their contiguous plastered facades (Figure 8). The Washington Cedar, Oregon Pine, California Redwood and Batchelder tile used in the Craftsman and Spanish Revival style homes of the Arroyo Seco neighborhood in Pasadena were similarly admired for their harkening to Spanish colonial architecture. The doors of Benton's designs for the Oak Knoll neighborhood were particularly reflective of old Spain, according to Eastern architecture critic James Dwight Baum.[219] Doors were given an aged appearance by applying multiple coats of paint, then staining, whitewashing, sanding, and dragging nails through the surface.

[218] George Wharton James, "The Influence of the 'Mission Style' Upon the Civic and Domestic Architecture of Modern California," *The Craftsman* 5, no. 5 (Feb 1, 1904): 458.

[219] Dwight James Baum, "An Eastern Architect's Impressions of Recent Work in Southern California," *Architecture* 38, no. 2 (Aug 1, 1918): 217.

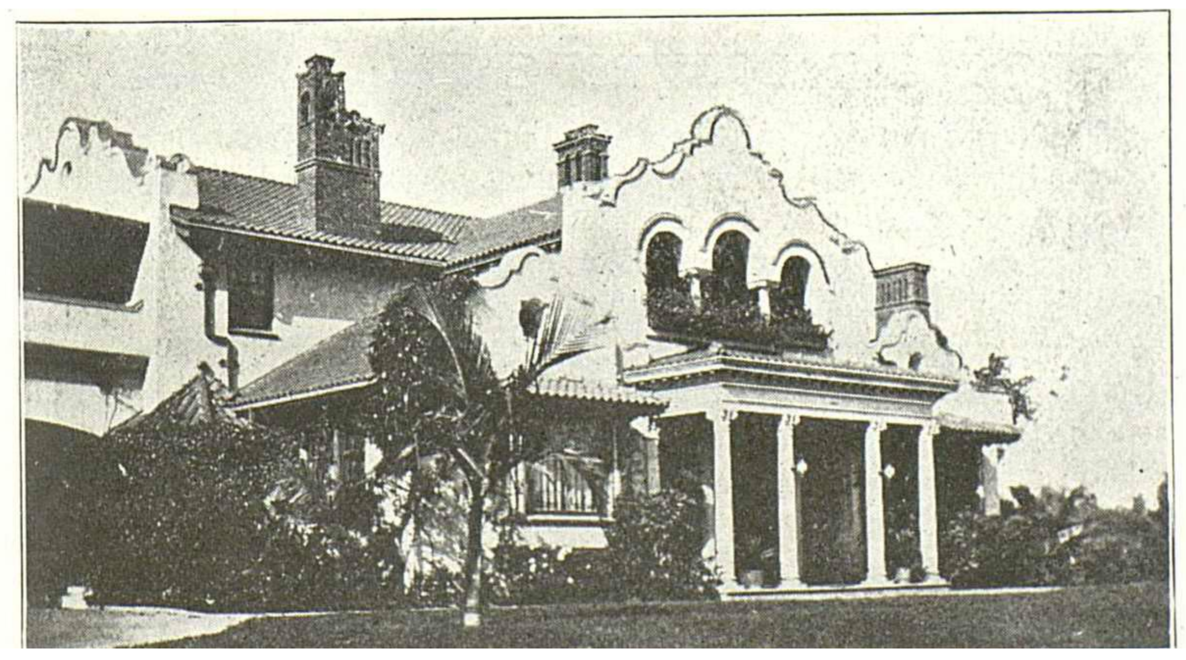

Figure 8: "The Bivouac," residence of General Harrison Gray Otis at Los Angeles, Ca. pictured along with the Glenwood Mission Inn as examples of the "mission renaissance" in: Horace Stoll, "California's Modern Mission Buildings," *The National Builder* 52, no. 8 (Aug 1, 1911): 33.

Spanish and Mission Revival style architecture held power in its modern application to portray racialized narratives about Indigenous skills and dispositions. Missionary architecture was a site of racial conflict, as demonstrated by the development of clay roofing tiles during the Spanish colonization of Alta California. According to Wharton James, the red tile roofs common to Mission and Spanish Revival style buildings were developed by the Spanish during the colonial period to prevent fires started by disgruntled Indians.[220] Enslaved and forced to build for the Spanish empire, Indigenous peoples asserted protest by starting fires. As with the construction of Spanish colonial buildings, Indigenous peoples performed the labor for the reconstruction of Father Serra's church and the expansion of the Mission Inn. But rather than calling for traditional methods of construction, Benton's designs embraced modern industrial

[220] James, "The Influence of the Mission Style," 458.

production. In the reconstruction of Serra's church, machine cut heavy timber was ordered larger than required, and then hand hewn down to size to give the appearance of the hand cut lumber developed by Indigenous loggers used in the original construction. Hand trowels were detailed to produce wavy lines in the facade to look like those produced by the Indigenous takkish. The raked facade of Serra's church and the plastered facade of the Mission Inn told conflicting stories about Indigenous labor. On the one hand, the appearance of Indigenous craft was to be desired and replicated, and on the other, the appearance of simplicity was indicative of a lack of Indigenous skill. But instead of contributing to the preservation of traditional Indigenous craftsmanship and methods, whether indicative of skill or the lack thereof, the Spanish and Mission Revival styles contributed to preserving the aesthetics of Spanish colonial architecture. Indigenous peoples were enlisted to perform the labor integral to the translation of colonial narratives to the twentieth century.

Though Lummis argued that the commercialization of Indian craft was a contributor to its demise, his philanthropic organizations, publications, and self-styling advanced this very agenda. Alice Fletcher, who had helped to establish the nation's first Indian boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was on the Sequoyah League's advisory board, suggesting that Lummis' approach was not so far from that which he criticized. In the same issue of Lummis' magazine *Land of Sunshine* (later renamed *Out West*) that promoted the efforts of the Sequoia League and Estelle Reel, were advertisements for dealers and collectors of Indian curios.[221] From Lummis' acclaimed magazine and home to popular domestic advice literature, Indian labor and craft were commodified and sold to the middle-class as affordable displays of taste in the early twentieth

[221] Lummis, *Out West* 16, no. 1 (1902): 136-7

century. This necessitated production labor, which through the curriculum established by Reel, was associated with the racial uplift promoted by assimilationists, preservationists, and interventionists alike.

In the 1892 article "The Indian who is not Poor" published in *Scribner's Magazine*, Lummis attributed his admiration for the Spanish colonists to their treatment of the Indian. Lummis thanked Lewis Henry Morgan and Adolph Bandelier for their contributions to American anthropology, and the "vast mass of reliable Spanish record," stating that "Spain's was the most comprehensive, humane, and effective "Indian Policy" ever framed." The "Policy" to which Lummis referred was "to make the Pueblo from a sedentary to a fixed Indian."[222] Through a Spanish land grant, since recognized by the U.S. government, the Pueblo people were no longer allowed to migrate. As converted to citizens and Christianity, persuaded to centralize, maintain rigid separation between sexes, and assume a "military democracy," Pueblos became "oases of approximate civilization in a continental desert of savagery," according to Lummis.[223] In his social anthropological work, Morgan regarded Pueblo architecture, and therefore peoples, as the most advanced of the Indians. On the trajectory from savagery to civilization, Pueblo Indians were indicative of a barbaric state, according to Morgan. This stage of development was depicted as the closest Indians had gotten to a civilized state, due to Pueblo architecture being the closest to the patriarchal single-family arrangement of Anglo-Americans. Opposed to the tipi, wigwam, or long-house of nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes that facilitated the seasonal following of traveling herds, Pueblo Indians depended upon agriculture for sustenance. Based along the Rio Grande Valley, Puebloans fished, grew crops, and built large stone and adobe building

[222] Charles Lummis, "The Indian Who is Not Poor," 366.

[223] Ibid, 867.

complexes. When the Spanish arrived in 1540, they recorded finding over one hundred Pueblos across the Southwest. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and the Spanish Reoccupation of 1692, had great influence on Pueblo architecture and ways of life. Admiration of the Pueblo Indians, in their transition from "a sedentary to a fixed Indian," and the civilized state associated with this transition, was attributable to the merging of Spanish culture and forms of domesticity after reoccupation, according to Lummis and Morgan.

In 1879, Morgan selected Bandeleir to accompany him on an archeological tour sponsored by the Archeological Institute of America across the Pueblos of New Mexico, Arizona, the valley of San Juan, and in Yucatan and Central America. Morgan published the following excerpt of their encounter with Pueblo architecture on the Animas River in New Mexico:

> "The progress made in house architecture by the most advanced Indians of our country is quite remarkable. It is shown by the use of stone, partially dressed, and laid in walls; in the use of a species of mortar having an adhesive bond; and in the construction of houses several hundred feet long, and four and five stories high."[224]

The Pueblos Morgan and Bandelier encountered in New Mexico were varied in material composition and planning but shared some commonalities they found worth noting in comparison to what they called civilized architecture. Despite earlier findings that supported the Puebloans' use of lime and sand for mortar, Morgan argued that the adobe sediment in the

[224] Lewis Henry Morgan, *On the Ruins of a Stone Pueblo on the Animas River in New Mexico, with a Ground Plan* (Salem, MA: Salem Press, 1879), 536.

earthen ruins demonstrated the usage of an inferior adhesive.[225] Puebloans used an external plaster with gypsum to help hold together walls assembled with adobe brick and mortar, according to Morgan. The white stucco walls in Pueblo architecture, then, were attributable to a lack of expertise that was associated with Anglo-American civilization and the use of quick lime for mortar. The hand chiseled stones found by Morgan and Bandelier that formed the doorways of the Pueblo were also indicative of barbarism by Morgan's account. Compared with the finished blocks of sandstone cut by American skilled workmen in the form of bricks, the hand chiseled stones were less dimensionally precise. According to Morgan, these building materials were a sign of the Puebloans making their way to civilization with the help of Spanish integration.

Perhaps most importantly for proponents of Morgan's social theories, the multi-storied, fortressed compounds of Pueblo buildings were indicative of a stationary way of life. In enforcing the centralization and fixity of the Indian peoples, the Spanish colonists "made him more secure; therefore, more adaptive," according to Lummis.[226] Adaption, here, might be read as assimilation to a way of life and law brought on by the Spanish and Mexican land grant system. Though it would not be incorporated as a state until 1912, the subdivision and sale of rancho lands according to the Public Land Survey System (PLSS) had swept across the Southwest, with California assuming statehood in 1850. The fixity of Pueblo architecture lent to the establishment of boundaries, by which territory and ownership could be demarcated in terms identifiable by European and Anglo-American colonizers and settlers across the Spanish,

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[225] Except for excavations made by "curious settlers." Ibid: 538-9.

[226] Lummis, Charles. "The Indian who is not Poor," 366.

Mexican and American periods. In *A Tramp Across the Continent,* Lummis provided a first-person narrative about his encounters with eight states and territories while migrating on foot from Ohio to California in 1884. Lummis expressed nostalgia for the old American West, having visited the Indian Pueblos of the Southwest and witnessed ranchos being converted into investment property.[227] Lummis' journey gained publicity when he assumed the role as city editor for the *Los Angeles Times* upon arrival. In a few years Lummis was forced out of his job, left sick and poor. He traveled to New Mexico, eventually settling down with a Tiwa family in the Pueblo Indian village of Isleta along the Rio Grande River in 1888.[228] Lummis described the Puebloans' initial antagonism toward his presence in his journals, which given the source, does not constitute a full story. Regardless, Lummis stayed until 1892, taking hundreds of photographs and gathering narrative accounts that would underpin his relocation to Los Angeles, founding of *Land of Sunshine* (1895, later renamed *Out West*), building of his life and home in the Arroyo Seco neighborhood (1897), and founding of the western branch of the Archeological Institute of America, the Southwest Society (1903), the Arroyo Seco Foundation (1905), and the Southwest Museum (1907). Though Lummis had established his reputation by writing about his nomadic journey across the country, he also capitalized on a narrative of the superiority of sedentary Indians, by photographing scenes and collecting items of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico to populate his magazine, home and museum.

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[227] Charles Lummis, *A Tramp Across the Continent* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892).

[228] For more on Lummis' time at the Isleta Pueblo, see: Colin Woodard, *American Character: A History of the Epic Struggle Between Individual Liberty and the Common Good* (London: Penguin Books, 2017); Audrey Goodman, "The Tasks of Southwestern Translation: Charles Lummis at Isleta Pueblo, 1888-1892," *Journal of the Southwest* 43, no. 3 (2001): 343–78.

Stylings of the Southwest grew in popularity around the turn of the century; *The Land of Sunshine* was a collaboration between three men with ties to the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, and commonly showcased people, events, stories and furnishings associated with romanticized narratives of the region's history to entice Anglo-Americans westward.[229] Healthy and robust White babies were photographed in rugged natural settings with Spanish style paraphernalia as a sign of "Old and New California."[230] The appeal of California's climate and narrative grew alongside the Arts and Crafts style that was taking shape throughout the country. As translated from the writings of John Ruskin and William Morris, the style was associated with a simpler life, away from the discomforts of the industrial city and reconnected with nature and handicraft. The Spanish and Mission Revival styles, especially in California, were advertised as a reflection of these sentiments. Popular household magazines commonly featured advertisements for Indian traders, who dealt blankets, baskets, rugs and pottery at wholesale. Wholesale dealers were stated to have contracted with tribes like the Hopi (Moqui) Indians to purchase Indian products from trading posts for resale. Some employed hundreds of weavers to produce Indian-styled products, claiming to "have taken the greatest pains to preserve the old colors, patterns, and weaves."[231] The staging of curio shops supported the translation of goods from the Indian Reservation to the single-family home. In an advertisement for the E. Mehesy, Jr. curio shop in Los Angeles, for example, Navajo blankets were hung next to taxidermy on the walls, and

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[229] For discussions of romanticized ideas of Indigenous architecture, see the following by Chris Wilson: "New Mexico Architecture in the Tradition of Romantic Reaction," *Artspace* 13, no. 1 (Winter 1988-89): 22-28; "New Mexico in the Tradition of Romantic Reaction," in *Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture*, edited by Nicholas Markovich, Wolfgang Preiser, and Fred Sturm, 175-94 (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1992).

[230] Jennifer A. Watts, "Photography in the Land of Sunshine: Charles Fletcher Lummis and the Regional Ideal," *Southern California Quarterly* 87, no. 4 (2005): 359.

[231] Advertisement on front inside cover for: J.L. Hubbell, "Navajo Blankets and Indian Curios at Wholesale," *Out West* 32, no.1 (January 1910).

furniture was set as one would in a living room. Mehesy employed assistants who acquired Indian baskets from the reservations that were portrayed by Wharton James in his photographs and publications, that were duplicated and manufactured for sale in the shop.[232] Regardless of style, the plans of bungalows and cottages built around the turn of the century supported the gendered distinction between rooms. The living room at the front of the house is where men would receive guests while their wives managed the kitchen in the rear. Adorned with mission style products, the living room sold an image of rugged frontierism, and therefore, male power over their domain.

Beyond trading and selling goods made by Indigenous peoples, European and Anglo-American designers created replicas to be displayed in hotels and homes. Gustav Stickley, editor of *The Craftsman* and famed furniture designer, created pieces for the Mission Inn, as well as the houses of the Arroyo Seco neighborhood in Pasadena designed by famed architects such as Benton, Myron Hunt, and Charles and Henry Greene. The Arroyo neighborhood and its Mission Revival, Prairie, Swiss Chalet, Bungalow, and Craftsman style homes were all loosely associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement due to their rustic aesthetics and materials. As with the door Benton designed for the Oak Knoll tract, rustic appearances, beyond the utilization of traditional construction methods and craft, were of utmost importance. According to *California Design 1910*, the Arts and Crafts style embodied by Charles Lummis' home and public lifestyle in the

[232] Mehesy Jr.'s Curio Shop, stated to be "the largest business of its kind in the world," was featured in the advertisement pages at the front of Lummis' February 1902 issue of *Out West*. "The collector who desires fine and rare specimens will commit the duty of selecting them to one who makes a business of it, and yet employs for the work only those who intelligently comprehend the subject (…) Such a dealer is Mr. E. Mehesy Jr. of the Curio Store, opposite the Van Nuys Hotel, corner of Fourth and Main Streets, Los Angeles (…) For many years, he has made the intelligent collecting of Indian baskets and other curios an important branch of his large and increasing business. His assistants in the field are well versed in Indian lore (…) They are purchasing in every field named by Carl Purdy and Mr. George Wharton James, and there are but few specimens there depicted that Mr. Mehesy cannot duplicate at any time," "A Suggestion to Basket Collectors," *Out West* 16, no. 2 (Feb 1902): 2.

Arroyo Seco neighborhood was reflective of the buoyant enthusiasm of the new frontier.[233] Though Lummis promoted the "household industries" such as "making brogans, scouring pots and setting type, or returning to the beautiful artistic and valuable handiwork they used to do," as the "preferable industry" for Indians "to help themselves," instead of the "make to sell" strategies taught in Indian Boarding Schools, the production and sale of Indian craft grew into a capitalist industry embracing of modern production methods.[234] By contributing to this narrative, Lummis supported the appropriation and commercialization of Pueblo aesthetics, while simultaneously denouncing nomadic lifestyles as uncivilized, unless paired with rugged, frontier symbolism.

These narratives were actualized in the construction of Lummis' home in Pasadena, named "El Alisal" in tribute to the trees that grew along the Arroyo Seco. Lummis designed the house to reflect the architecture he encountered on his journey across the Southwest. Forms common to Spanish colonial missions were combined with those found in New Mexican Pueblos in the design for El Alisal (Figure 9). The rounded arched windows and mission bell embedded in the stone wall, for example, harkened back to the belfry of the Mission San Gabriel, while the stacked rectangular forms and stone masonry construction were reminiscent of the Pueblos encountered by Morgan and Lummis in New Mexico.[235] The inspiration for this construction

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[233] For more on the relationships between design, the Arts and Crafts Movement, the philosophies of Morris and Ruskin, and frontier symbolism and narrative, see chapters including "Mission Inn, The Arroyo Culture, Education in the Arts & Crafts, Charles and Henry Greene," in: Timothy J. Anderson, Eudorah M. Moore, and Robert W. Winter, *California Design 1910* (Salt Lake City, UT: Peregrine Smith Books, 1974, 1980). Accessed at: https://www.craftinamerica.org/publication/california-design-1910

[234] Lummis, "The Sequoyah League," *Out West* 16: 645.

[235] The origins or inspirations for what have been identified as Spanish forms have also been questioned for their references to Indigenous landscapes and buildings. The open colonial chapels in Yucatan recall the Indigenous usage of spaces between individual dwellings for congregation and socialization. The arcades and single barrel-vaulted openings common to colonial architecture mimic the vaulted caves, believed to be sacred in Mesoamerican

technique can be seen in Lummis' photographs of several Pueblo buildings in New Mexico, where uncut stones were sandwiched between cement mortar to achieve densely insulated walls that protected interiors from the desert heat. Experience with masonry construction would have proved indispensable, given Lummis' interest in using natural boulders from the Arroyo Seco River for the exterior, load bearing walls of El Alisal. Lummis enlisted the help of Puebloans who he met while staying in Isleta such as Procopia Montoya to help construct the building. Ancestral Puebloans had centuries of experience in constructing complex multi-storied buildings with mortared and hand-set cobblestone that Anglo-Americans did not. In the public narrative, however, it was stated that "excepting the occasional help of one of his Indian boys [Lummis did] the work entirely alone."[236] Though it is commonly stated that Lummis built El Alisal himself through devoted and painstaking work over a decade, Lummis is pictured supervising, perched on scaffolding above an Indian laborer who is excavating for the foundations in an early construction photograph (Figure 10). Lummis' image as a rugged craftsman, supported by the usage of bespoke boulders in the walls of his home, and his role as a promoter of Indian antiquities, supported by the Navajo rugs, woven baskets and pottery displayed on the interior, depended not only on Indian labor, but more importantly, Indian craftsmanship and experience. The "blue-eyed adobe," as Lummis' home has been called, is a reflection of the tensions embedded in the Arts and Crafts Movement between image and lifestyle. Despite efforts to

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cosmologies. Chapels have been related to cenotes, and conventos to Kivas. Whether Indigenous references were enlisted to ease the Indigenous transition from paganism to Christian religion, or whether they were appreciated, learned, and implemented by the Spaniards, the forms were neither wholly "Spanish" or "Indigenous," but a hybrid form unique to the Spanish Indian colonial encounter in Latin America. See Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion*.

[236] Quote from Helen Lukens Jones, "The Home of an Author-Craftsman," *Good Housekeeping* 40 (January 1905): 18-24, 19. For an account of Isletan relations in the construction of Lummis' home, see: Richard Melzer, "Charles Lummis at Isleta Pueblo, 1888-1892" T*radición Revista* 54 (July 2011): 10-14.

embrace the beauty of Pueblo architecture, El Alisal was a single-family home on private property. Anglo-American practices of taking, subdividing, and selling land posed a most dire threat to the sovereignty and rights of Ancestral Puebloan peoples. As the title of Jeffrey Cook's article "Exploding Pueblos and Multiplying Hogans" suggests, the individual hogan was more conducive to suburbanization than the multi-family, complex Pueblo.[237] Lummis' Pueblo Revival style home was stripped of any associations with Indigenous lifestyles. What remained was an image, one that portrayed Lummis as self-sufficient and independent, and Indigenous peoples as in need of Anglo-American leadership, education, and employment for uplift. In substituting the stated role of Puebloans as creators for that of laborers, Lummis and other European and Anglo-American male preservationists were fashioned as descendants of the Spanish colonizers that Lummis so outwardly admired. To recognize El Alisal as a historic landmark, then, is to celebrate Anglo men as creators and overseers, and Indian men as silent laborers. As with the statue of Father Serra teaching Indian children in Christianity and European civilization at the new Mission Playhouse designed by Benton, El Alisal told a narrative of White savior to the benefit of Lummis' business enterprises.

[237] Jeffrey Cook, "Exploding Pueblos and Multiplying Hogans: Suburbanization of the First Americans," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 14, no. 1 (2002): 31–31.

Figure 9: Exterior photo of Lummis' house, "El Alisal," ca. 1898-1910, featuring arched openings and a cylindrical rock tower (CHS, USC, DC)

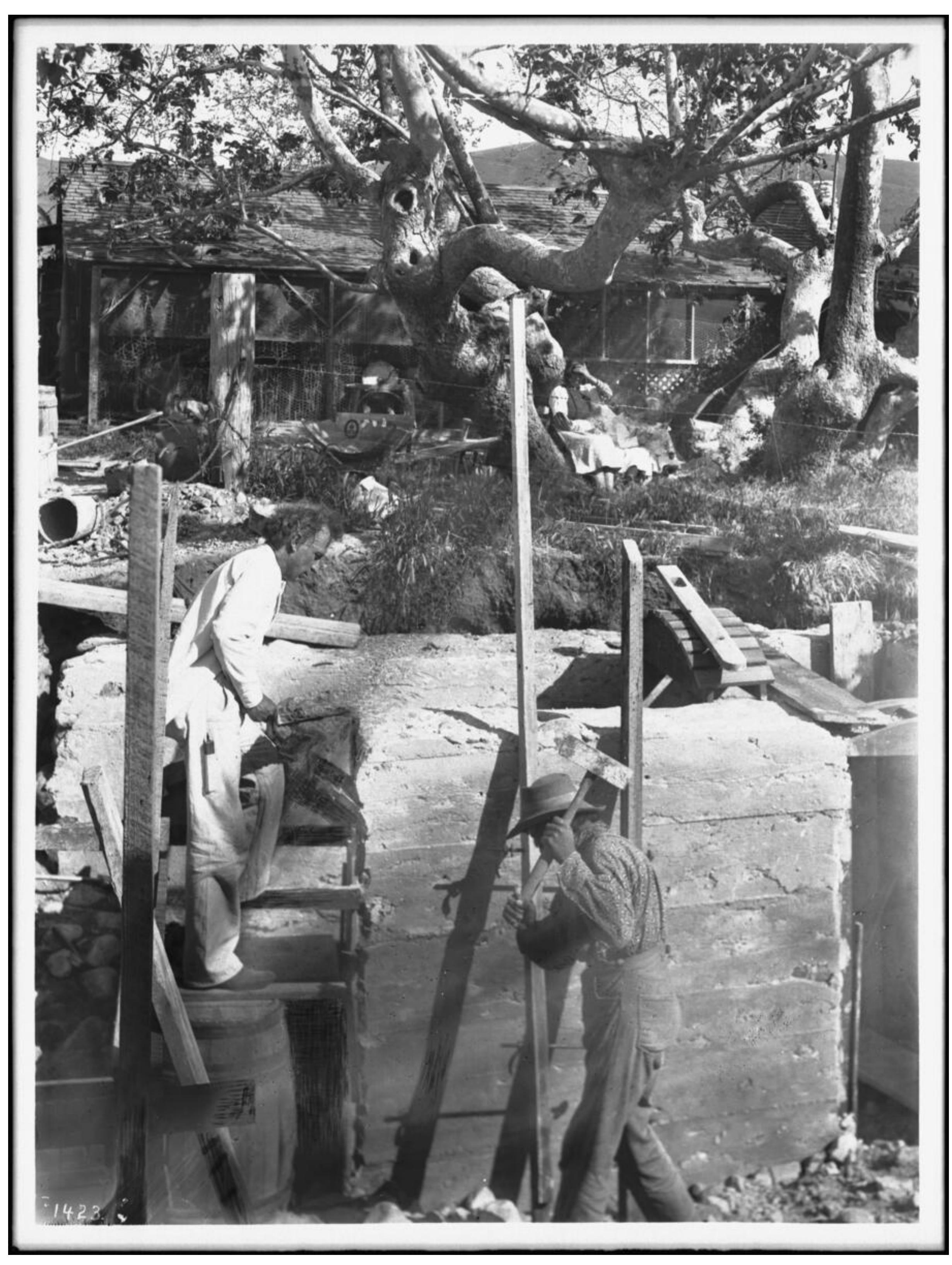

Figure 10: Lummis with construction worker (likely Isleta Puebloan), excavating for the construction of his home, El Alisal (CHS, USC, DC).

While the rustic aesthetics associated with traditional Indigenous architecture and craft were deployed in the construction of a masculine image of Anglo-American domesticity, women were charged with managing these appearances. Beyond an association with Indian style products, Indian symbolism became a marketing tool in the sale of common household goods. "Indian Head" cotton, for example, was one of the most profitable white cotton wash fabric companies from the latter half of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. Advertised as a cheaper alternative to linen, the fabric was said to stay fresh and resist wrinkling. Ads for Indian Head commonly featured their logo, a caricatured rendition of an Indian with feathered headdress, fur cloak and bow and arrow, alongside images of White women and children in clean white dress.[238] In sum, the ad suggested that the "Indian Head" would save middle-class White women time and effort in household labor, while maintaining appearances expected of the Anglo-American populace. The naming of "Indian Head" recalled narratives of the wild west, wherein colonists severed the heads of Indians as trophies of their territorial conquests. The symbol of Anglo dominance was used to entice White women, who may also desire to claim their authority in an otherwise subservient domestic role.

The Progressive female identity emerged from the justification of White women's role in producing superior notions of domesticity within Anglo-American society. As Stephanie Lewthwaite argues in her research on reform work in early twentieth century Los Angeles, clubwomen allied with ideologies of the Arts and Crafts Movement.[239] Hoping to mitigate the

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[238] "Indian Head" Advertisement, *Ladies Home Journal* 32, no. 2 (February 1915): 51.

[239] Stephanie Lewthwaite, "Writing Reform" in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles: The Sonoratown Anthologies," *Journal of American Studies* 41, no. 2 (Aug 2007): 331-64.

dehumanizing effects of industrialization, reform women focused their public efforts, as with their private efforts, on personal and domestic development. White Suffragettes and liberal feminists saw traditional Victorian domesticity as a threat to their emancipation and recognition as professional citizens in an industrial society. Rather than being forced into demeaning labor in the factory, however, Anglo-American women such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Harriet and Katherine Beecher Stowe wanted women's work in the home to be respected and compensated for as a profession. As Dolores Hayden's research demonstrates, the "material feminists" like Gilman advocated for the reorganization of reproductive work, against the split between public and domestic life resultant of industrial capitalism, and for professional training in domestic work and child care.[240] In Beecher Stowe and Beecher's *Domestic Science*, it was stated that "she who is the mother and housekeeper in a large family is the sovereign of an empire."[241] A simple dwelling with a scientific kitchen replaced the bespoke Victorian home as the accepted norm.[242] As Gwendolyn Wright illustrates in her research on middle-class housing in the Progressive Era, the proliferation and dissemination of architect journals, builders catalogs, domestic advice literature and women's magazines contributed to the division between theorists and practitioners. General contractors took over homebuilding, and middle-class White women became managers of finances and efficiency in the home.

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[240] Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981).

[241] Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Domestic Science; As Applied to the Duties and Pleasures of Home* (New York: J.B. Ford and Company, 1870), 193. For the connection between Frederick and Beecher. See also: Janice Williams Rutherford, *Selling Mrs. Consumer: Christine Frederick and the Rise of Household Efficiency* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2003).

[242] Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913* (University of Chicago Press, 1980).

Rather than being relegated to a mere producer and consumer in an expanding capitalist domestic industry, White women were encouraged to exercise efficiency and scientific management, making "the problem for the housewife not one of drudgery but of open-eyed supervision." Christine Frederick's *The New Housekeeping: Efficiency Studies in Home Management* outlined how this may be accomplished. The "mistress-slave relation" could be transformed into "a businesslike one" by enforcing disciplinary measures on domestic servants in line with military tactics, according to Frederick. Instructional uplift could be provided to the servant class through organized philanthropy, and the White woman's curation of her work environment. "The light, cheery kitchen with sanitary fittings and decorative utensils cannot fail to react cheerily and happily on its worker."[243] For the rich woman, this was no more than an issue of cost, but for the average woman, it required trickery. As Grace Richmond's new romance portrayed, Indian rugs and a dyed silk frock in "Indian red" disguised an otherwise very simple existence for its heroine. Without excessive finances, White women could still cultivate an image of beauty, intellect, and taste by curating their domestic environments in line with the popular fashions of the time, and by managing household upkeep through the incorporation of efficient kitchens and cheap servant labor.

With the employment of domestic servants in their private homes, White middle-class housewives had more time to devote to domestic management and tutelage, both within and outside of the home. White women formed collectives and established charity organizations and settlement houses for teaching domestic science to girls who were portrayed to be domestically inferior. Indigenous relationships to land on Indian Reservations were beyond the management

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[243] Christine Frederick, "Servant Efficiency," in *The New Housekeeping: Efficiency Studies in Home Managemen*t (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1916), 173. Originally published in *Ladies Home Journal (*Sept-Dec 1912).

of White women, as removed from government ownership and property structures. White women fashioned themselves to be agents of the civilizing mission, having managed households and raised families in accordance with Anglo-American narratives of self-sufficiency. As Amy Kaplan illustrates in *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*, White feminist leaders argued that the home environment, and therefore women, were instrumental to the advancement of the Anglo-European race.[244] In positioning themselves at the helm of the conquering and taming, or domesticating, of masculine virility, White women took credit for the supposed civilization and superiority of White men over their Indigenous counterparts. White women's increasing political agency depended upon the rendering of Indigenous men and women as children in need of maternal guidance, as demonstrated by Jane Simonsen in her research on the model families and individuals behind the Indigenous assimilation campaign.[245] After living with and studying the Omaha Indians in Nebraska, anthropologist Alice Fletcher went to Washington to lobby for the subdivision of communal Indian lands as a mechanism of moral progress. In 1882, congress passed the Omaha Severalty Act, a measure that foregrounded the wide sweeping Dawes Act. With the support of congress, and the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA), Fletcher led the subdivision of 50,000 acres of Omaha land into single-family private lots. Fletcher's display at the New Orleans Cotton and Industrial Exhibition in 1885 illustrated the transition from sod dwellings and tribal circles to villages and cottages resulting from her efforts at Omaha. Patriarchal, single-family living arrangements were

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[244] Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

[245] Jane E. Simonsen, "'Object Lessons': Domesticity and Display in Indigenous Assimilation," *American Studies* 43, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 75-99

reflective of moral progress according to Fletcher's display, which in turn justified the expanded professional presence of the White woman in teaching Anglo domesticity.

Reform women, or Field Matrons as those who made a profession of this kind of work were titled, immersed themselves in the educational, as well as domestic, environments of Indigenous children. In response to her visit to the Agua Caliente Reservation in 1893, Field Matron Julia French reported that the dwellings were "built of adobe with earthen floors and roofs," where "only one small window lets in light."[246] As Lisa Emmerich's research demonstrates, Matrons were heavily influenced by their domestic observations on reservations. Earthen floors and dim interior lighting were associated with moral depravity and disease. In the Annual Report of the WNIA from 1896, it was stated that a "tastefully furnished home with vines, with little gardens in front" was a "model for imitation (...) though evils on the edge of the reservation linger."[247] Assimilation achieved under the direct supervision of the Matron and the allocation of property within the reservation was not guaranteed outside of these confines. The off-reservation boarding school was constructed to prevent the "evils" associated with Indigenous lifestyles before WNIA and BIA intervention from backtracking progress made on the reservation. Model cottages were built on school grounds to illustrate the kind of lives Indigenous peoples should pursue outside of the educational institution. Fletcher brought Omaha Indians, including Philip and Minnie Stabler, to the Hampton Institute to serve as model citizens for students to aspire toward becoming. With meager financial support, the Stablers built, maintained and lived in a cottage behind the women's dorms at Hampton. White reform women

[246] Lisa E. Emmerich, "'To Respect and Love and Seek the Ways of White Women': Field Matrons, the Office of Indian Affairs, and Civilization Policy, 1890-1938" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Maryland, 1987): 140-1

[247] *Annual Report of the Women's National Indian Association* (Lancaster, PA: Examiner Publishing House, 1896): 29.

fashioned themselves as maternal guardians, positioned to teach those portrayed as behind in heteropatriarchal, Anglo-American ways of life associated with superiority, sovereignty, and self-sufficiency. White feminist readings of Ruskin and Morris' socialist theories supported what Lewthwaite calls "the ambiguities of reform."[248] Missionary work relied upon an assumption of moral inferiority in non-Euro-Anglo-American peoples and ways of life. The efforts of White feminists and social reformers to uplift Indigenous peoples from their supposedly deficient moral status has been called "missionary-Imperial feminism." Their efforts "rested on the existence of a degraded female Other in the colonies and at home," according to Susan Thorne.[249] As Diana Meyers Bahr argues, the White woman's interpretation of Indigenous peoples involved the generalizing of identity, and the conception of deficiencies and moral assessment based on constructed beliefs.[250] These beliefs were constructed through the representation of domestic progress, as well as the physical immersion of White women and Indigenous exemplars of White assimilation into the homes and daily lives of Indigenous children, on Indigenous-owned lands, as in Indian boarding schools.

As with traders of Indian curios, White women needed to justify their role as arbiters of taste in order to ascend in the ranks of the increasingly hierarchical domestic industry. One of the most influential books of the Progressive Era among women in the United States was Charlotte

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[248] Stephanie Lewthwaite, *Race, Place, and Reform in Mexican Los Angeles: A Transnational Perspective, 1890-1940* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2009), 118.

[249] Susan Thorne, "Missionary-Imperial Feminism," in *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice* Edited by Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus (University of Michigan Press, 1999), 60.

[250] For an account of the conflicting arguments on feminism and its benefits to achieving sovereignty for Indigenous women, see, for example: Renya Ramirez, "Race, Tribal Nation, and Gender: A Indigenous Feminist Approach to Belonging," *Meridians* 7, no. 2 (2007): 22–40.

Perkins Gilman's *The Home, its Work and Influence,* published in 1904. The book featured plans and photographs of houses and interiors associated with moral superiority. A distinction was made between "taste," and "personal preference."[251] Supposed "physical deformities," like the tattoos of the "Flathead Indian" were said to indicate a lack of judgment in beauty. Personal appearances were translated into the built environment through the house, or what Gilman called "the foundation of tactile art." Echoing Social Evolutionary Theories represented by Morgan and Fletcher's domestic depictions, Gilman asserted that "the woman, confined to a primitive, a savage plane of occupation, continues to manifest an equally savage plane of aesthetic taste." According to Gilman "the White City by the lake was an inspiration to myriad lives and wrought a lovely change in her architecture and many other arts; but the Black City by the Lake is there yet, waiting for another extra-domestic uplifting." The White City to which Gilman refers is likely a reference to the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893, given the nickname "White City" due to its white neoclassical architecture and elaborate lighting. The "Black City," then, is the environment associated with the physical and moral depravity of the "Flathead Indian." The terminology recalls spatial distinctions forged in the British colonization of Kolkata, India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The British colonists called Fort William and the surrounding esplanade and colonial administration buildings the "White City," while describing the Indian lands to the northwest as the "Black City," due to perceptions of illegibility according to Anglo understandings of civilization. By enlisting this terminology, Gilman translated the Imperial agenda to the domestic sphere. What differentiated the "White City" and the "Black City" in the domestic sphere was the occupation of the woman, and

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[251] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Domestic Art," in *The Home, its Work and Influence* (London: William Heinemann MCMIV, 1904), VIII.

therefore, her aesthetic taste. The only possibility for the "evolution of the home" for the "woman, confined to a savage plane of occupation," was "extra-domestic uplifting." The housemaid was positioned to facilitate this transition, as the "modern derivative from the slave-wife."[252] The middle-class housewife could exhibit greater intellect and taste to a critical domestic audience by engaging in the management and aesthetic display of both her home and her servants.[253]

If individual White women were the foot-soldiers of the racial project of domesticity, then home economics teachers, nurses and field matrons were its sergeants. Attitudes and methods surrounding Anglo domesticity were cultivated in the domestic service courses of the institution, as they were in the private middle-class homes of the suburbs. In the 1910 issue of *Good Housekeeping*, an image of Indian girls in aproned uniforms, performing tasks in the arts and crafts under the supervision of White Protestant women during a home economics class, was contrasted with one of an Indian girl dressed in traditional attire, standing alone in front of a rough-log cabin. The lone girl was pictured in what appears to be a rendition of an Indian's natural state, as "one of the thousands who might be trained for successful service as housemaids and nurses." The contrasting imagery illustrated an illusion of progress from tribal expression and independence to disciplined labor and commodity production under the teachings of the matron. While Indian women were portrayed to lack the cultural awareness to properly care for their own children, White women were portrayed as experienced caretakers and teachers. This dichotomy was constructed through images like those in *Good Housekeeping* and supported the

[252] Gilman, "The Home as a Workshop," *The Home*, VI.

[253] On the inner workings of empire in the exhibition, see for example: Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," in *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995).

removal of Indian children from their homes and placement in institutions under the intimate supervision of White women. Thousands of Indian girls were "brought straight from the savagery of the tepee to the little schoolhouse on the reservation" under Reel's direction.[254] Here, the conflation between education and domesticity is made apparent; the "schoolhouse" nomenclature encapsulated the Anglo belief in White women not only as teachers of civilization, but as replacement mothers for Indian children in their new homes.

2.2 Curriculum Guides as World Views

While Fletcher and Gilman justified the White woman's interventionist role in Indigenous society and education based on the assumption that Indian peoples lacked taste, Lummis and Reel's calls for the preservation of Indigenous tradition in Indian boarding schools relied on a belief in the beauty of Indigenous artistry and craft. And while the 1928 Meriam Report criticized the government's previous work in stripping Indigenous students of their traditions and cultural identities in Indian boarding schools, the report encouraged the implementation of "a person to arrange for increasing production and better marketing of Indigenous Indian products" as a way to ameliorate these deficiencies.[255] Increased production and marketing for Indian products would cause a modern transformation in the means and methods of production, as well as the kinds of goods being produced. As with the renovation of Father Serra's church and the construction of El Alisal, the aesthetics of Indigenous tradition

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[254] Isabel Jordan Curtis, "The Housekeeper at Large: The People and the Problems She Meets" *Good Housekeeping* L, no. 1 (January 1910): 477-81.

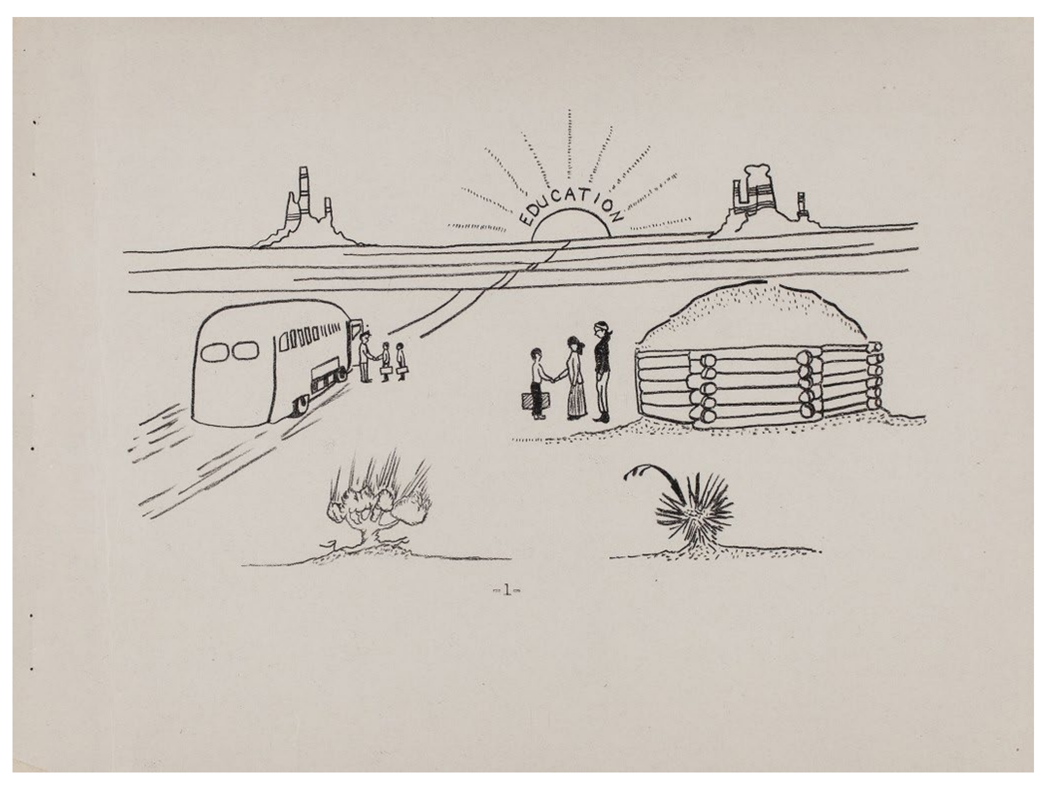
[255] Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 25.

would be stripped of the lifestyles and craft that underpinned their historical formation in Indigenous society. Reel's 1901 *Course of Study* similarly danced the line between assimilation and preservation, as did the courses of study authored by the BIA in the early twentieth century. Despite the Meriam Report's critique of government practices in Indian boarding schools up to 1928, the course curricula were designed in part to do what Meriam and the preservationists were advocating for. This section examines the curricula proposed by Reel and integrated in Indian boarding schools across the nation by the BIA in the early twentieth century. By examining the courses designed to facilitate Indian assimilation, I explore the role of architectural models in the construction of a sociocultural concept that positioned Indian students to construct and maintain Anglo appearances on and off campus.

Though created in the 1950s, the illustrations of the BIA's *Curriculum Guide for Special Six Year Adolescent Navajo Program* at the Sherman Institute serve as useful diagrams to understand how earlier courses for Indian teaching were conceived (Figure 11).[256] The first illustration shows what appears to be a tall White woman standing between a hogan and an Indian mother, bidding farewell to her child, who is about to board a bus on the route to "education." The hogan and the Indian mother are presented as obstacles to education, to be overcome with the help of the Matron and the physical distancing of the child from their ancestral home. The second illustration similarly features a singular hogan in a vast unoccupied desert, but here, accompanied by a lone Indian man. The man looks towards the clouds in the sky, where a journey to industrial employment is depicted: from students learning at a desk, to a White man offering a diploma, to the gears and smokestacks of buildings in the city. For the

[256] The US Department of the Interior, BIA also published *A Special Five-Year Program for Adolescent Indians: Education for Cultural Adjustment* (March 1962).

Indian man in the illustration the obstacle standing between his life, depicted as a recluse in the desert, and life as an industrial laborer in the city, is the boarding school. The architecture of the hogan creates a crucial contrast for the BIA's agenda. Pit houses, huts, hogans, tipis and other traditional forms of Indigenous housing were responses to migration patterns, intertribal trade, relationships between tribal members, and seasonality. As positioned in a grouping, multiple hogan represented a network across which childcare, domestic maintenance, and labor could be shared. In utilizing local materials and labor, the hogan was built outside of the capitalist system of commodities. The hogan, therefore, was a threat to the government interest in converting land into taxable private property for single-family homeowners, and to the expansion of the home building industry. These depictions encapsulate the mission of the Indian boarding schools devised by government personnel under President McKinley at the turn of the century. Young Indian girls and boys were to be taken from their respective homes and reservations and relocated to government boarding schools, where they would be taught in domestic service and industrial labor, respectively. Girls would be placed under the close supervision of the Matron, while boys would be directed toward self-sufficiency through manual labor.



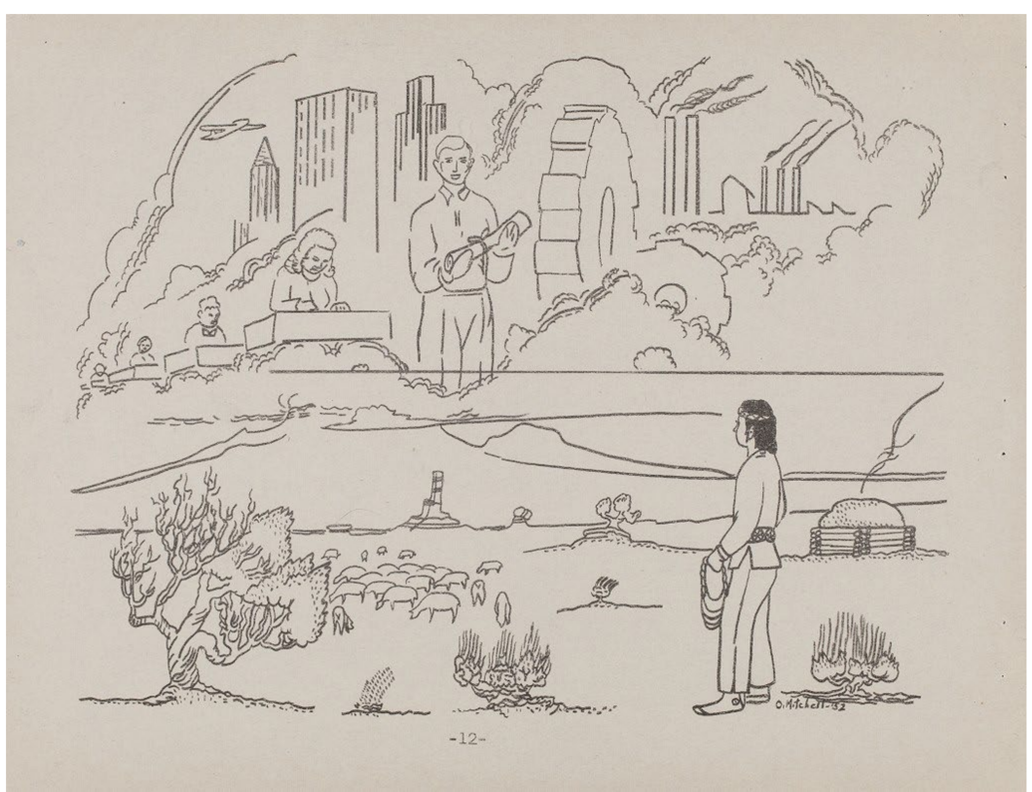


Figure 11: Illustrations from the *Curriculum Guide for Special Six-Year Navajo Program*, 1953, SIM.

Prior to the creation of the position of Superintendent of Indian Schools in 1898, boarding schools had operated primarily as experiments, driven by those that considered themselves philanthropists and civilizing agents, with minimal government oversight or intervention. Reel's position was one of the U.S. government's first attempts at consolidating and standardizing the BIA's educational agendas. As superintendent, she published the first course of study to introduce predictability and homogeneity to the types of education being offered across the country at the time. Whereas Gilman portrayed Indian women incapable of recognizing the taste and beauty of their own Indian crafts, rather than "copying from modern wares," Indian students were encouraged to practice "race pride" by doing "distinctively Indian work, thus making it historical, typical and of value" at the Indian boarding school under Reel's curriculum.[257] The affirmation of Indian identity, then, involved the production of goods that were associated with traditional Indigenous craft. These statements from Reel's *Course of Study* illustrate how the interests reflected in Lummis' advocacy work and in the Meriam Report were in fact endemic to how government education was conceived and scripted. But as with the preservationists, so too did the government's curriculum present conflicting agendas to preserving Indian culture. The course was designed to preserve the Indian crafts that had become popular commodities in White middle-class domestic circles, while eradicating those that posed a threat to capitalism: namely, working for the advancement of their own community, rather than that of the dominant Anglo populace.

Historical descriptions of Indian boarding schools created by their administrators present just one side of the educational exchange, while few documents speak to the student experience

[257] Reel, *Course of Study*, 189.

in negotiating and resisting Anglo tutelage. A paradox is presented by Reel's curriculum, as an agent of assimilation attempting to preserve an idea of Indigenous tradition that assimilation intentionally destroyed. It is in the liminal spaces of the Indian boarding school that Indigenous students fought against the in-between as inauthentic, according to Alicia Cox's reading of Polingaysi Qoyawayma's account of her experience at the Sherman Institute.[258] Qoyawayma recounts that she was seen as a trader in the eyes of some Hopi tribe members when she returned after graduation. Scholars have read Qoyawayma's autobiography as an example of the tragedy imposed by boarding school teachings. But as Cox argues, it was through the boarding school experience that Qoyawayma produced new modes of belonging. Qoyawayma designed a home away from the center of Hopi village life in Oraibi after graduation. While Qoyawayma lived in her home as an individual, she also offered accommodations for visitors brought from the newly built railroads and government roads. By exercising gender indiscipline against ideals of the Hopi housewife, while pushing the boundaries of the individual home to earn a living and develop community, Qoyawayma fought the confines of a binary identity. In their response to Qoyawayma's return, the Hopi traditionalists presented another form of resistance to assimilationism. By refusing to embrace the Anglo language and culture impressed upon Indigenous students at off-reservation boarding schools, tribal traditionalists prevented the dilution of their ancestral language and culture.

Despite the potential for Indigenous students to resist narrow definitions of identity through acts of resistance in the boarding school, Reel's curriculum was specifically designed to distance students from lifestyles associated with tribalism. A primary goal of government

[258] Alicia Cox, "Remembering Polingaysi: A Queer Recovery of "No Turning Back" as a Decolonial Text," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 26, no. 1 (2014): 54–80.; Polingaysi Qoyawayma, *No Turning Back: A Hopi Woman's Struggle to Live in Two* Worlds (NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1977)

education was “to place the student under the influence of the daily life of a good home, where his inherited weaknesses and tendencies are overcome by the civilized habits which he forms - habits of order, of personal cleanliness and neatness, and of industry and thrift, which displace the old habits of aimless living, unambition (sic) and shiftlessness.”[259] “Aimlessness” and “shiftlessness” were used to describe Indian modes of living and working that did not support the advancement of patriarchal, single-family modes of living. Training in “civilized habits” and “industry and thrift” would be necessary to extract Indian children from their familial and community ties and send them into lives of property ownership and capitalist production. Though seen as an improvement from tribal living, housing conditions on campuses were mostly of the dimly lit, poorly ventilated, unsanitary, and overcrowded variety. Despite the attention devoted to the model cottages built at the Hampton Institute, they were the exception, not the norm. As an Omaha Indian living in a model cottage, Susan La Flesche Picotte was fashioned as a cultural mediator. La Flesche Picotte became a highly educated physician and a representative of the transformational benefits of the boarding school experience. But in this role, as Sarah Pripas-Kapit asserts, La Flesche Picotte gained a new perspective on assimilationist agendas. In her work as a physician, La Flesche Picotte witnessed the negative effects of civilization on the health of Indigenous peoples, who contracted tuberculosis at disproportionately high rates.[260] The architecture of the Indian boarding school attempted to account for, adapt to, ameliorate, or hide the risks posed to Indigenous students’ health. As Myriam Vuckovic’s research on the Haskell Institute demonstrates, the cemetery and the hospital became crucial components of

[259] Reel, *Course of Study*, 189.

[260] Sarah Pripas-Kapit, "We Have Lived on Broken Promises": Charles A. Eastman, Susan La Flesche Picotte, and the Politics of American Indian Assimilation during the Progressive Era,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 51-78.

Indian boarding schools due to the health hazards that deficient living arrangements posed to students.[261]

Overcrowding in dorms led to outbreaks of communicable disease. Bahr's retelling of Viola Martinez' experience watching her cousin being carried away from the Sherman Institute in a casket before the campus hospital was built in 1909 illustrates the brutal effects of poor living conditions.[262] Sleeping porches were often added to create more room at minimal expense to the schools. The sleeping porch was advertised as an economic solution to healthful living and the prevention of tuberculosis in the early twentieth century.[263] Unlike in its application in the single-family home, however, the sleeping porch in the multi-unit dorm shut off light from interior rooms due to an interest in privacy between individual chambers. As Tsianina Lomawaima's research on the spatial arrangement of Indian boarding schools illustrates, the separation of spaces by function mimicked expectations of domestic architecture at the time. At Carlisle, spaces were separated based on their racialization. White spaces, such as the classroom and the administration, were placed in clear view of the front gate, while Indian spaces, such as the dorms, hospital, laundry, dairies, and workshops, were placed in another part of the campus.[264] A facade of order, control and cleanliness projected this image to the public, while hiding the often unsanitary, unhealthful, and dangerous realities of the boarding school.

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[261] Myriam Vuckovic, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students between Two Worlds, 1884-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008).

[262] Diana Meyers Bahr, *Viola Martinez, California Paiute: Living in Two Worlds* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010).

[263] "The fuel question and the servant question and the question of health must all be reckoned with in the architecture of the modern home (…) hence we have the outdoor sleeping porch." Gustav Stickley, *Craftsman Houses: A Book for Homemakers* (New York, N.Y.: The Craftsman Publishing Company, 1913), 1.

[264] Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools."

The Meriam Report exposed a range of hazardous conditions presented by the nation's first Indian boarding schools. Though the government had initiated private, modern bungalows for students living in Osage and Kiowa, most were "shacks" with inadequate ventilation, according to the report.[265] The living conditions exposed by the report were stated to be a threat to the advancement of productive efficiency, and the maintenance of family and community "so that [Indian students] may be absorbed into the prevailing civilization."[266] The prevailing civilization lived in single-family homes on individual lots and produced goods for the market through farm or factory work. The importance of boarding school education wasn't only the outwardly stated goal of self-sufficiency, then, but of the integration of Indigenous production and habitation into the dominant market economy.

Reel's *Course of Study* outlined how this agenda could be accomplished through gendered vocational training in the boarding school. The document outlined over twenty vocations that government boarding schools could choose to implement. Among the courses outlined were agriculture, bakery, basketry and caning, blacksmithing, carpentry, cooking, dairying, engineering, gardening, geography, harness making, history, housekeeping, health and hygiene, laundry, music, nature study, outing system, painting, physiology and hygiene, printing, reading and language, spelling and writing, shoemaking, sewing, tailoring, and upholstering. Reel encouraged individual schools to adopt different programs and select students for them based on an assessment of their health, physical strength and aptitude. Some subjects presented as recreational or bespoke, such as music and printing, were given just one or two pages of description, while others, such as agriculture, carpentry and housekeeping, were given ten or

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[265] Meriam, *The Problem of Indian,* 4.

[266] Ibid, 12.

more pages, indicating an interest in the Indigenous adoption of trades and skills associated with homesteading. Training in building and maintaining a farm and home would support Indigenous assimilation into a nation of yeoman farmers, as imagined by Thomas Jefferson and supported by the Land Ordinance of 1785. Even the academic subjects outlined by Reel such as arithmetic, geography, history and language were designed to support homesteading ideals: arithmetic was to be practiced through the counting of chickens and measuring of one's plot within the model garden; English was to be learned through writing and reading one's daily work plan; geography was to be studied in relation to soil and crop production; the history of the Indigenous race was to be taught in comparison to an idealized future. The construction of stairs, painting of farm equipment, keeping of barns, mending of fences, planting of crops, building of furniture, and cooking of food in the school was training for a future life as a farmer or farm laborer on an individual plot of land.

Many of the courses outlined by Reel had already been in practice at Indian boarding schools throughout the previous decade. The nation's first Indigenous program was a subset of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, established in 1868 as a school for Black Freedmen after the Civil War. In 1878, a total of seventy Indigenous peoples were enrolled in Hampton, including seventeen men who were held as Prisoners of War under Pratt at Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida. In 1879, Pratt headed the opening of the first government boarding school for Indigenous peoples in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Reel cited the outing system at Carlisle and the kindergarten program at Hampton as successful examples of the course outline in application. Indigenous children would be extracted from their tribal lands and homes around the age of five and placed into the kindergarten. Around the age of twelve or thirteen, students would be sent to live and work in the surrounding homes and industries as part of their training

in the outing program, before graduating around the age of fifteen. Reel encouraged schools to send students to live and work for White families in the country in the latter part of their schooling under the outing system, as Carlisle had done.

Occupations held by Indigenous men and women recorded in the U.S. Census parallel the vocational focus of Reel's curriculum.[267] According to the 1900 U.S. Census, of those Indian men gainfully employed, 22% worked as agricultural laborers, 41% as farmers, and 19% as domestic and personal servants. Of Indian women, 16% worked in agricultural labor, 25% as farmers, 21% in domestic and personal service, and 26% in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, with most in this category working as basket and blanket makers and weavers.[268] Of the 10% of Indian men with occupations in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits in 1910, the majority worked as laborers in the building and hand trades.[269] From 1880 to 1930 there was a shift in the occupational focus of the country. While 50% of the total U.S. workforce was employed in agriculture in 1880, by 1930, this number had dwindled to 21%. There was an increase in the U.S. population's occupation in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, from 22% in 1880 to 29% in 1930. Despite this general shift, by 1930, most Indian women were reported as working in semi-skilled positions in manufacturing (36%) and as domestic servants

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[267] Only those Indigenous peoples who were recognized as citizens, living under state or territory laws off the reservation were taxed, and therefore enumerated, in the U.S. Census up to 1890. It is estimated that in 1880, only 22% of the Indigenous population living in the United States were enumerated. James P. Collins, "Indigenous Peoples in the Census, 1860-1890," *Prologue Magazine* 38, no. 2 (Summer 2006).

[268] "Colored Persons 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in each of 140 Groups of Occupations, Distinguished as Negro, Chinese, Japanese, and Indian, Classified by Sex: 1900" General Tables, Occupations at the Twelfth Census, Accessed at: https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/occupations/occupations-part-7.pdf

[269] "Number of Indian males and females engaged in specified occupations, classified by age periods: 1910," Table 108 in Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Indian Population in the United States and Alaska, 1910* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), 259.

(21%) and most Indian men as agricultural laborers (32%) and farmers (33%).[270] The concentration on agriculture and domestic production in Reel's template likely influenced Indigenous occupation as farmers and weavers, aligned with the allotment of Indigenous lands into homesteading properties and the expansion of the domestic market. In 1880, there was an excess of farmers in the continental U.S. of 292,704, with a total of 4 million farms in operation. By 1900, there were only 36,920 farmers without farm work, and the total number of farms had increased to 5.74 million. As suggested by the dwindling percentage of the general population employed in farm work, while the percentage of Indigenous peoples occupied in farm work remained steady, many White homesteaders ascended in the ranks as foremen and managers or transitioned into industrial and professional work. As Rosenthal asserts regarding the impetus for Indigenous migration in the twentieth century, agriculture was a risky business. Not only were Indian farmers subject to unpredictable weather conditions, but also to the government's siphoning of water from Indigenous lands. Many Indigenous peoples combined seasonal farming with wage labor to survive. Indigenous peoples worked alongside Mexican, Japanese, and Black populations building railways, roads, and houses.[271] Without training in alternative trades, Indigenous students were less capable of adapting to the changing American landscape except as low-level laborers.

The government's focus on creating Indian laborers, rather than on draftsmen, foremen or managers, can be seen in the BIA's *Tentative Course of Study for United States Indian Schools*

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[270] Data compiled from: "Gainful Workers 10 years old and over, by Occupation, Age, Color or Race, Nativity, and Parentage for the United States: 1870-1930," in *Comparative Occupation Statistics, 1870-1930; 1930 Census: Volume 5. General Report on Occupations*; and "Males and Females 10 years old and over in selected Occupations, by Age, Color, Nativity, and Sex for the State: 1930 and for cities of 100,000 or more: 1930" in *1930 Census: Volume 4. Occupations, by States. Reports by States, Giving Statistics for Cities of 25,000 or More.*

[271] Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country*.

published five years after Reel's.[272] As with Reel's publication, the BIA emphasized the need for standardization and uniformity, while encouraging adaptation by individual schools based on local conditions. The main goal of the curriculum was to prepare Indian youth to become citizens by earning a living either among their own people or off the reservation. Student labor in the construction and maintenance of the school, stated to equate to "a very appreciable monetary value," was to compensate for the lack of adequate funding provided by Congress.[273] This required half of each student's day to be spent working outside of the classroom. The BIA outlined a progression from the Primary Division (grades 1-3) to the Prevocational Division (grades 3-6) to the Vocational Division (grades 6-10) to accomplish these goals. The first six years of industrial and domestic education were to be devoted to the maintenance and improvement of the rural home. Home training was crucial to Indian education, because according to the BIA, Indian children lacked the first five years of foundational knowledge that White children experienced in the home. In the Primary and Prevocational divisions, students were grouped by age and gender. Across all divisions, emphasis was placed on agriculture and homemaking, to prepare students for employment as farmers, mechanics, and housewives. Girls focused on Home Economics, including cooking, sewing, and child study and training, and boys focused on Agriculture, including studies on animals, plants, soils, farm and household physics, and farm implements. First to third grade girls would be trained in the home, with ten weeks of housekeeping practice. Third to sixth grade girls would be trained in motherhood and at the most advanced stages of their education, in cooking and serving for daily meals as well as elaborate

[272] United States, Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Tentative Course of Study for United States Indian Schools* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915).

[273] Ibid, 5.

dinner parties. Studies and applications in homemaking were also enmeshed in the agriculture program. Indian boys would be taught how to locate, size and plan, and care for a barn, as well as make earth roads, and beautify home grounds by laying walks and drives and planting lawns, trees, shrubbery, and flowers. Farm carpentry included lessons on building materials, repairs, and the construction of useful objects like a plank jack for roads, a rustic chair, or a simple frame building. Trade courses offered in the Vocational Division included carpentry, drafting, blacksmithing, engineering, masonry, painting, and printing, each with a stated application to rural home life.

While agreeing with Reel in stating that "Indigenous Indian art should also be fostered and adapted to the decoration of the Indians' new type of homes," the new course of study clearly weighed more heavily vocational training and production in cooking and sewing for girls, and carpentry and farming for boys.[274] In the general schedule for the ten-year program, the BIA asserted that time was allocated according to the relative importance of the lesson. In the early years of the program, students' daily schedules included: 25 minutes exercise, 110 minutes English, 20 minutes writing, 10 minutes breathing exercises, 240 minutes industrial work, 60 minutes physical training, and 60 minutes of free time in the evening before bed. Of the 240 minutes devoted to industrial work, 210 were for production. Most of the students' time was to be spent developing strength, performing military drills, and laboring. In the Home Economics program, Industrial Work was broken down into cooking and sewing, with 1 hour instruction, 3 hours application and 16 hours production to be devoted to each per week. The remaining time was to be spent studying and practicing home sanitation, house planning and furnishing,

[274] "Home Economics," in BIA, *Tentative Course of Study*, 239.

finishing of woodwork and floors, estimating costs and durability of furnishings, and comparing good and bad walls, finishes and furnishings. In the Vocational Division, Industrial work was increased to four hours per day. In the first four years, this was broken down as 1.5 hours instruction, 2 hours drafting, and 20.5 hours in application per week. In the third and fourth years, English and writing time was reallocated to farm and household physics, and rural economics and field crops. In the fourth year, drafting time was devoted instead to application hours. As students gained experience in the program, they would spend less time in the classroom and more time applying what they learned to the maintenance of the school.

A closer look at the Carpentry program illustrates an interest in home construction. The first year was devoted to carpenters' tools, equipment, lumber, and joinery. The second-year students focused on builders' hardware, woodworking machinery, joinery as applied to cabinet work, and windows and door frames. The third year was spent on the construction of a cottage, and the fourth on preparing plans, estimates and building construction. As with Reel's course, arithmetic was applied to vocational education. Students learned itemization and computation by preparing a list of tools and machinery needed for a farm, and a bill of materials for a house not less than four rooms. Students were taught to calculate labor costs for the building of masonry walls, carpentry, painting, plastering, excavation and construction of a concrete cistern, shipping, and miscellaneous family expenses. Students were taught to approximate the cost of living a rural life, made possible for people of moderate means through one's own labor. The BIA's template for Indian education assumed complete autonomy. The curriculum would prepare Indigenous peoples to earn money, purchase materials, and construct and maintain a home and a farm without support from the government or their ancestral or tribal communities. What it did not account for is the rapid suburbanization of farmlands surrounding industrialized urban

centers, or the standardization of building products and division of labor in the construction industry. To make money to construct a home off of Indian reservation lands without financial support, Indigenous peoples would need to obtain industrial employment. Training in carpentry would most directly apply to the building industry, where Indigenous peoples were relegated to low-level labor. With the standardization of design, the tasks of the contractor including itemization and planning were distanced from construction. Plans were simplified and standardized and building materials arrived on site pre-cut and ready for assembly. Physical labor was separated from intellectual or creative labor, rendering skill and craft as superfluous for those assembling the building on site. The BIA's vocational training program was most useful for obtaining employment in a trade that was regarded as not needing training at all.

2.3 Indentured Servitude on Campus

The government's agenda was put into application in the training of Indian students at the Sherman Institute in Riverside. The Sherman Institute, relocated from Perris, California and reopened in Riverside in 1902, was the last of 25 schools constructed by the U.S. government and operated through the BIA. The history of the Sherman Institute captures a transformation in Indian education attributable to its proximity to the rapidly developing regions of Southern California. The Pacific Electric and Santa Fe Railways connected tribes from across the Pacific Northwest, Southwest, the Plains and California to the greater Los Angeles region. In 1909, the student population of the Sherman Institute represented 43 tribes in total.[275] The school

[275] For the history of the "Sherman Indian High School Beginning to the Present," see the account by the Sherman Institute, accessed at: http://www.shermanindianmuseum.org/sherman_hist.htm

witnessed the government's shifting interests in the treatment of Indigenous peoples, from Elimination to Americanization in the nineteenth century, and from the Termination of tribal sovereignty under Roosevelt and Truman to the Relocation of Indigenous peoples in the 1950s and 60s.[276] The Sherman Institute also witnessed the transformation in focus of the regional economy from farming to industry, and the suburbanization and urbanization of farm lands. As tribal members and Indigenous lands were dispersed, Indigenous peoples forged new networks based on a "pan-Indian" identity.[277] The Sherman Institute's urban context influenced the formation of intercultural and intertribal solidarity. Rather than viewing this as a loss of culture, scholars have celebrated the adaptation of Indigenous peoples in their integration into metropolitan contexts, despite difficulties posed by racism and discrimination in employment and housing.[278] This section questions how the vocational training and servitude required of Indigenous students enrolled in the Sherman Institute supported the expansion of the home building industry that mushroomed during the Progressive Era in Los Angeles.

An assessment of the general migration of Indigenous peoples from rural to urban areas and from working in farm to industrial occupations in California from 1900-1930 can be approximated with data from the U.S. Census. The historical census data on Indigenous populations is not without inaccuracies and biases; scholars have argued that counts were

[276] During this period, 155,000 Indigenous persons moved to urban cities, with 29,000 in Los Angeles alone. Mackenzie Cosgrove, "Forgotten Angelenos: The Termination, Relocation, and Mobilization of Indigenous peoples in Los Angeles, 1870-1970," *The Toro Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (2017) Retrieved from: https://journals.calstate.edu/tthr/article/view/2669

[277] On the formation of Pan-Indianism as a substitute for tribal affiliation, see: Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 336.

[278] Diana Meyers Bahr, *From Mission to Metropolis: Cupeno Indian Women in Los Angeles* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1993).

unrepresentative of the total Indigenous population due to shifting definitions of what constituted Indian identity, or how race and ethnicity were understood and documented.[279] As of the 2000 U.S. Census, 60% of the Indigenous population were living in urban centers, but as Tonawanda Band of Seneca scholar Mishuana Goeman states, this transition began in the 1920s.[280] Acclaimed Dine author Esther Belin has written of her parents' experience at the Sherman Institute and its influence on their urban migration. As Belin wrote, the directive was to "Learn a trade and domestic servitude. Learn new ways to survive."[281] Employment and living opportunities for Indigenous peoples aligned with regional interests, as demonstrated by Belin's parents, who moved to Los Angeles after graduation to pursue work in the trades they learned in school.

The opportunities and interests of Indigenous peoples in the region of Los Angeles differed from that of the state or the country. In 1930, of the Indigenous population over ten years of age in the U.S. 33% of men were employed as farmers, 31% of men as agricultural laborers, 18% of women as agricultural laborers, and 21% of women as servants. In the state of California in 1930, 42% of Indigenous men were working as farm laborers compared with 10% of the total population, and 48% of Indigenous women were working as servants compared with 28% of the total population.[282] Of the total 997 Indigenous peoples enumerated as living in Los Angeles County in the 1930 Census on the other hand, 88% were living in urban areas, and 62%

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[279] 17.5% of Indigenous women and 31.3% of Indigenous men were working in agricultural labor across the United States in 1930 according to the census. 20.8% of Indigenous women were employed as servants, and 33% of Indigenous men as farmers (including owners and tenants).

[280] Goeman, "Notes toward a Indigenous."

[281] Esther G. Belin, *From the Belly of My Beauty* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1999), 68.

[282] Of the 19,212 Indigenous persons counted by the 1930 Census to be living in the state of California, only 14.2% were living in urban areas.

of those were living within the city proper. The occupational data for Los Angeles city was listed by color and nativity in 1930 under the categories of "Indigenous born white," "Foreign born white," "Negro," and "Other," giving us less of an idea of occupational employment specific to the city's population with Indigenous ancestry.[283] Despite the usage of inaccurately narrow categories to describe ethnic and racial identity, given that 88% of the population of Los Angeles County with some amount of Indigenous ancestry were living in urban areas, it is likely that they were employed where those categorized as "Other" or as "Negro" were working in the city. Of those men categorized as gainfully employed, over ten years of age, and non-white in the city of Los Angeles in 1930, 11% worked as farm laborers, 6% as building construction laborers, 6% as general non-specified laborers, 4% as road and street laborers, 4% as steam railroad laborers, and 11% as servants.[284] The redistribution from farm labor to general building and construction labor and maintenance or service in Los Angeles suggests that urban proximity was a definitive factor in the formation of Indigenous identities in Southern California.

Compounded by exponential population growth, expansive quantities of relatively undeveloped lands, and access to inexpensive building materials for a temperate climate, the western building industry went through phenomenal changes from 1900 to 1930. The population of the American West more than doubled between 1900 and 1920, compared to 40% for the country at large. Dwellings in eleven western states increased 224% during this time, with 98 cities averaging 500 million dollars spending per year on new construction, much of which was

[283] The "Other" category would have likely included those who self-identified in the census as Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Mexican, Filipino, or of mixed-race or ethnicity. Those with any amount of African American heritage would likely have been categorized as "Negro," regardless of mixed racial and ethnic composition (people of both African American and Indigenous descent, commonly referred to as "Mulatto," for example).

[284] Of those women of the same respect, 18% worked as servants, and 3% as laundry operatives.

devoted to farm buildings. In 1900, the average value of buildings per farm equaled $689. By 1925, there were twice as many farms, but the average value per farm had almost tripled.[285] The Southern California Chapter of the General Contractors of America (GCA) supported the sentiment that the "spirit of construction (...) made possible the marvelous history of the great West."[286] In the 1927 issue of GCA's *California Constructor*, advertisements for Riverside's Portland Cement Company and the Simons Brick Company in Los Angeles were featured alongside articles on the Chamber of Commerce building and the Walter P. Temple homestead. The building industry was associated with individualism as well as regional development, from the densification and monetary escalation of farms to the restoration and recreation of Spanish Colonial Revival mansions.

To what extent vocational opportunities and expectations for Indigenous peoples were influenced by or aligned with regional interests in building can be explored in the specific adaptation of the BIA's curriculum at the Sherman Institute. Educational changes were often associated with economic and legislative shifts. While throughout the Reservation Era Indigenous peoples worked in agricultural wage labor while living on reservations, during the Allotment and Assimilation Era, Indigenous peoples were taught to seek industrial employment and property ownership. In the Sherman Alumni updates from 1913, former graduates who were working as farmers and carpenters both on and off reservations were highlighted for their

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[285] According to the 1930 U.S. Census, in 1900 there were 243,000 farms with $167.5M in buildings or $689 per farm. In 1925, there were farms 499,000 farms, but the value of the buildings rose to $952M, leading to an average value of $1,906 per farm.

[286] Arthur S. Bent, "Construction and the West" *California Constructor* Vol 8 no 5 (March 1 1928): 3 Excerpts of "California Construction" Magazine posted in Paul R. Spitzzeri, "The Spirit of the West in 'California Constructor' Magazine, 1 Match 1928" *Homestead Museum Blog*, March 1, 2019, Accessed at: https://homesteadmuseum.blog/2019/03/01/the-spirit-of-the-west-in-california-constructor-magazine-1-march-1928/

achievements in wage labor and homemaking.[287] Alfonso Calac and Mariano Blacktooth were described as "making good" on their allotments at the Pala Reservation. With experience in blacksmithing at the Sherman Institute and the installation of an irrigation system at Pala, Calac and Blacktooth were able to make money by farming and performing their own repair work. Caferino Mojado, a Mission Indian from the La Jolla Reservation, had spent the past seven years after graduating from the Sherman Institute working in carpentry on and about the reservations of Southern California. Recently employed by the government in the Indian Service, Mojado was placed in charge of repairs and painting at the Pala School and Agency and the Capitan Grande School, while living in a cottage in Pala Village. Calac, Blacktooth and Mojado were portrayed as model citizens due to their single-family living arrangements and capitalist productivity.

As Kevin Patrick Whalen's research on the history of the Sherman Institute demonstrates, the school served as a migratory hub through which Indigenous students forged connections to factories and fields at the periphery of Los Angeles.[288] Sherman Institute's Outing Program ran from 1902 to 1940, connecting over 1,000 students with jobs across Southern California. Whalen's account of Fontana Farms, an industrial farm fifteen miles north of Riverside, shows how the vocational training in farm labor provided at the Sherman Institute was designed to feed into the local agricultural economy. Indigenous students were sent to work at Fontana Farms through the Outing Program, where they received lower pay than their White counterparts and lived in cheaply built, racially segregated housing. In 1924, citizenship was provided to all Indigenous peoples, which as Whalen argues was an act of inclusionary governance intended to eliminate the need for costly treaties. In 1933, the Commissioner of

[287] Sherman Alumni Updates 1913, Box 122, Folder 3, SI, SIM.

[288] Whalen, *Indigenous Students at Work*.

Indian Affairs, John Collier, initiated the closing of all outing centers. Collier and President Hoover encouraged a return to collective reservation life as a solution to the economic downturn and the resultant challenges facing Indigenous peoples. Toward the end of the 1930s, the Sherman Institute's curriculum was focused on subsistence ranching, farming and forestry, and Indian art in alignment with this agenda, rather than the lumber and agricultural industries of the Assimilation Era.

While it has been made clear that the agricultural training provided by the Sherman Institute fed into the maintenance of the region's industrial farms, given the urbanization of the Indigenous population in Southern California and the diversification of Indigenous employment in the building and construction industries across Los Angeles, there were additional interests represented by the Sherman Institute's curriculum of the first three decades. Course outlines from 1911-1912 that have been preserved in the Sherman Institute archives exemplify an interest in preparing students for wage labor in the building and service industries that was in accordance with the BIA's recommendations during the Assimilation Era.[289] In the senior vocational course in carpentry, fifty percent of student time was to be spent on vocational work, twenty-five on technical subjects, and twenty-five on general subjects. The course outlined a more detailed breakdown of the ways in which an Indian student would be expected to read drawings, lay out sites, and construct buildings. They were taught to read plans and specifications, extract dimensions and locations from blueprints, lay out property lines, and to align the front of a house with others on the street. In support of building, students were trained in excavation, laying mudsill foundations, making and fitting and hanging doors, listing lumber quantities, laying out

[289] Sherman Vocational Course Lecture Outlines 1911-1912 (NAID 563546), Box 114, SI, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

studs and walls, and plastering. A notably significant amount of training was devoted to the preparation and application of whitewashing. The course outlined how to kalsomine a wall: how to clean and prep the wall for application when covered with smoke or grease, how to mix and apply Kalsomine using painter's tools, etc. Kalsomine was a cost-effective and efficient method of finishing plaster, growing from its use in worker's cottages in Britain and Ireland among the rural poor. More recent iterations (Gold Bond's Hygienic Kalsomine, for example) featured shades and tints for ceilings or walls and included hygienic and germ-proof options for interiors. Modern products like Kalsomine were both aesthetically and functionally motivated. Without significant investment by the owners, buildings could be made to appear clean through whitewashing, and with hygienic coatings, they were prepped to be cleaned repeatedly throughout their lifecycle. With the training of Indian students to perform on each end of this equation, the government could save significantly in the maintenance of appearances at its boarding schools.

Indian students were taught to construct and maintain appearances through their applied labor at the Sherman Institute. Vocational training did more than prepare Indigenous students for wage labor, however. It helped save the government money in the boarding and care of the student populace. In an article in the September 1912 issue of *The Christian Science Monitor* on the "race building" provided by the Sherman Institute, a "model government school for Indians," it was stated that the student labor of carpenters and masons saved the government $55,680.[290] Student agricultural labor lowered the per capita cost of food, and all student clothing was made in the girls' industrial departments. The administration defined this labor as part of the

[290] "Southern California has Model Government School for Indians: Sherman Institute at Riverside Leading Factor for Bringing Education to Young People of the Race," *The Christian Science Monitor (1908-),* Sep 18, 1912, 7.

educational training offered by the school, and therefore, did not pay students for their efforts. The dormitory, classroom and campus accommodations that were constructed and maintained through indentured servitude ranged in scale and status. In the upper divisions, select Indigenous girls were provided with a comprehensive setting to apply their training. While living in an adobe home built on the campus, students would practice sanitation, controlling flies, rodents, etc. through the care of household supplies and cleaning of articles. Senior girls made all the furnishings for the home, including box furniture, rugs, and household articles, and took care of meals, cleaning, and the painting of kitchen supply containers.[291] This practice extended into the 1930s. The two-bedroom adobe of earlier years was replaced with a house with six rooms, three sleeping porches and two bathrooms. In the Home Management Course, five girls lived in the cottage with their home economics teacher for five weeks. Familial roles and titles were given to the students: the "mother" acted as hostess and manager, the "elder daughter" assisted and acted as waitress, and the "younger daughter" cleaned and cared for the laundry. The house itself was supported by a larger campus infrastructure, including a laundry building with a large workroom, supply room and toilet, a dining room and cafeteria that serviced 650 students, and a food lab.[292] Girls of the Sherman Institute were photographed doing the school laundry during a class in domestic science in 1910 (Figure 12). Instead of desks, the classroom was populated by ironing boards, organized with rigidly even spacing in six rows of three. Cabling was hung from the ceiling above each board, to provide light and electricity for ironing. The girls in the photograph appear docile and subservient, clothed in similarly styled dress and apron, with their heads down

[291] Domestic Science Course, December 1911, Sherman Vocational Course Lecture Outlines 1911-1912 (NAID 563546), Box 114, SI, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

[292] Home Management Course, Girls Vocational Training Department, 1936-7, Vocational Education Reports 1936-41. SI, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

and their hands in the same position on the board. The scene looks more like the interior of a factory than of a classroom, save for the bell clock on the wall. In the intimate setting of the cottage, girls played out a scenario where they served a fictional mother of the house under the watchful eye of the teacher, but in the institution, students worked to clothe, feed, and take care of the needs of the entire student body. Students further maintained the facilities by refinishing walls, woodwork, ceilings, and furniture, and producing decorations through weaving, beadwork, cross stitch, and pueblo embroidery. The interior furnishings featured in a photograph of the campus administration building were likely produced through the labor of Sherman students (Figure 13). Mission Revival style wooden furniture and a woven cane chair were juxtaposed with woven rugs, upholstered pillows, wall hangings, pottery and dolls adorned with Indigenous symbolism and craftsmanship.

Figure 12: Photo of the “Corner school laundry,” featuring women ironing in a Sherman Institute classroom, ca. 1910, Box 114, Folder 2, SIM.

Figure 13: Office at Sherman Institute, ca. 1940. Shades of L.A. Photo Collection, Los Angeles Public Library (LAPL)

The application of boys' vocational training can be seen in the continual renovation of the Sherman campus from 1907 to 1939. In July of 1908, the acting superintendent Frank M. Conser submitted a plan for a hospital training school to the Office of Indian Affair's Commissioner of Education.[293] In April of 1910, an Indian Appropriation Bill was approved through an Act of Congress that authorized an additional $15,000 for additions to dormitories, $15,000 for a new

[293] Plan for hospital training school at Sherman, July 8, 1908, to the Commissioner of Education for the Office of Indian Affairs, Sherman Indian, Central Classified Files 1907-1939, Box 28, folder 442: School Drawings, SI, RG 75, BIA, NAR. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) were used interchangeably to describe the government's involvement with Indian affairs.

hospital, and $10,000 for erecting and equipping a shop building one year later. Despite the additional funds, cost cutting grew to be of primary concern as Conser received bids for the work. In correspondence with prospective bidders, Conser frequently suggested having Sherman students take on more of the labor to reduce the contractor's fees. Using scrap materials, Sherman students constructed sleeping porches to provide more room for students in the dormitories, and tin porch roofs were used instead of clay to minimize material costs. The plumbing and electrical work for the shop building was to be done entirely by the students to save the BIA money.[294] With the omission of a fire escape, all painting, canvas curtains for the screen porch, plaster ceilings, and all heating and plumbing, the Cresmer Manufacturing Company's bid from June of 1911 came in at $12,925 for the shop building plus $14,680 for the hospital building.[295] Conser wrote to the OIA commissioner to justify changes in the approved plans, arguing that much of the work could be done by the students at no cost. Items to be removed from the bid set (and to be accomplished with student labor) included excavation, drip stones and gutters, lockers, and plumbing. Brick construction was to be replaced with wood, to reduce the shipping and construction costs and time associated with masonry. Wood facades were to be lathed and plastered to look like brick by Sherman students, and all flooring was to be furnished from materials on hand and laid by students in the rooms and halls. Sherman students would furnish and install pipes to extend the heating system from existing campus facilities, make connections for the installation of toilets in the porches, and construct manholes and a pit for a sump pump with materials on hand. Conser described this as "the best kind of training for

[294] Letters from Conser to the OIA, June 1911, Sherman Indian, Central Classified Files 1907-1939, Box 28, folder 442: School Drawings, SI, RG.

[295] Bid from Cresmer Manufacturing Company to Conser and OIA, June 29, 1911, from Ibid.

our school boys." By 1932, there were more than 100 buildings of the mission style built on campus, and course enrollment had risen to 1,277 students, representing more than 80 tribes. In the construction images from the 1910s to the 1960s within the Sherman Indian Museum collection, one can see the various projects undertaken by Indian boys in the construction and renovation of the school facilities. Students were photographed while laying concrete walks, plastering the exterior of wood framed buildings to look like masonry, excavating to lay new roads, salvaging bricks from demolished school buildings, and applying roofing paper and sheathing to campus buildings.

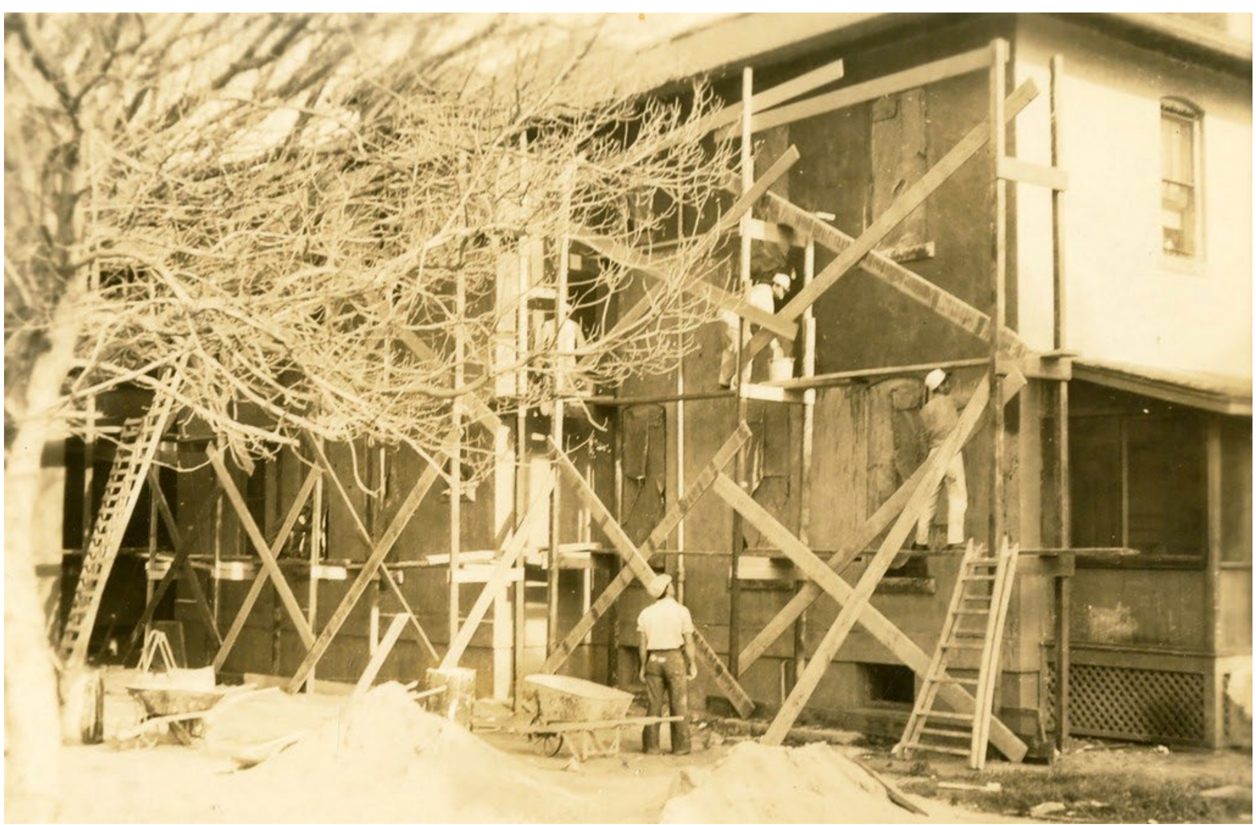

Figure 14: Sherman Institute students plastering the exterior of the campus hospital building, January 24, 1936, under the WPA project #1528, Box 123, Folder 2, SIM.

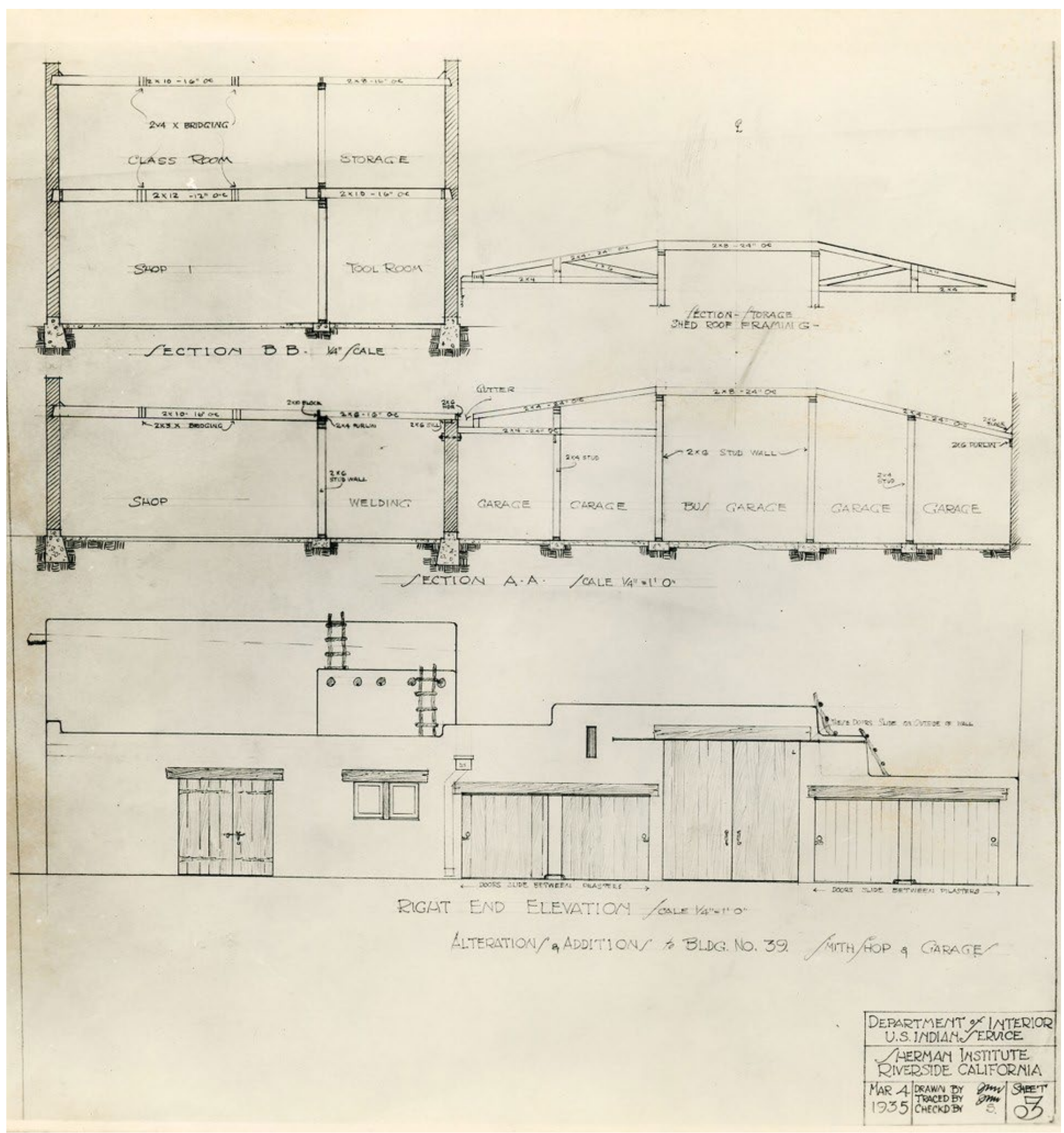

Figure 15: Alterations and Additions to Building No. 39, the Smith Shop & Garage, March 4, 1935, Box 101, Folder 3, SIM. Note the symmetrical garage and interior roof truss juxtaposed with the stepped roof in elevation.

Campus construction projects peaked in the 1930s, as the Sherman Institute received funding to renovate failing infrastructures through the newly created Works Progress Administration (WPA) and State Emergency Relief Act (SERA). A construction crew of SERA

workers were photographed clearing trees in preparation for new construction and digging trenches to install an irrigation system on campus in November of 1934.[296] In 1936, Sherman students were pictured filling pipe molds with cement for the renovation of campus plumbing and refinishing the plaster exterior of the campus hospital under the WPA project number 1528 (Figure 14). Besides those projects explicitly tied to government employment, additional employee cottages and campus buildings were undertaken throughout the 1930s. Three new vocational support buildings designed by architect James M. Wheeler for the Department of Interior, U.S. Indian Service, including the "Adobe Shop Building," "Smith Shop and Garages," and "General Shops Building," were slated for construction in 1935 (Figure 15). The new shop buildings differed from earlier campus buildings, reflecting more of the aesthetics and forms of the Pueblo dwellings of the Southwest studied by Bandolier and Morgan and popularized by Lummis. The BIA (at this point operating under the name Office of Indian Affairs or OIA)'s adoption of the Pueblo Revival style followed the discovery of oil and minerals on Navajo lands, and their engagement with Navajo tribal members for negotiating extraction rights thereon. As Rachel Leibowitz argues with respect to the design of the Navajo Central Agency at Window Rock, a combination of "Navajo style" and a modified Pueblo Revival or "Santa Fe" style, was enlisted to naturalize the agency's presence among the Indigenous peoples.[297] In fact, the Santa Fe style was primarily applied to administrator's buildings, while the "Navajo style" was reserved for Indigenous occupation, suggesting an interest in rendering aesthetic hierarchies, as well as hybridities. In the new vocational buildings for the Sherman Institute, as at Window

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[296] Photograph of SERA Workers digging a ditch to install an irrigation system, November 20, 1938, Box 123, Folder 3, SIM.

[297] Rachel Leibowitz, "The Million Dollar Play House: The Office of Indian Affairs and the Pueblo Revival in the Navajo Capital," *Vernacular Architecture Forum* 15 (Fall 2008): 11-42.

Rock, Indigenous laborers were typically led by White foremen. At Sherman Institute, Indigenous students who had been taken from their ancestral, potentially Pueblo, homes, were expected to build and continue to labor within buildings designed by White men as romanticized replicas of that which was taken from them.

In the drawings for alterations and additions of the Smith Shop and Garage, a striking distinction is made between the interior structure and function, and the exterior affect. The thick exterior walls support a smooth plaster facade and decorative roof profile, while the interior walls are economically framed with standard size wood studs and rafters. The front and right elevations demonstrate compositional interests liberated from the function and geometry of interior space. The roof profile steps down to the rear of the right elevation, despite the symmetrical nature of the garages inside. Decorative ladders, projecting beams and wood lintels over openings refer to the construction methods and materials found in Pueblo dwellings that supported traditional Pueblo lifestyles. In the perspective sketch of the Adobe Shop Building, the intended effect of these elements can be seen (Figure 16). Though the plan is symmetrical, and the shop, classroom and support spaces are standard, the addition of an arcade and patio along the front and sides of the building allows for more freedom in the treatment of the facade. Though only tasked with holding up their own weight, the exterior walls are thickened to appear like structural adobe facades. The walls are rendered to look as if the plaster is aged, revealing rough cut stone coursing behind. The building methods employed to achieve such effects can be seen in the images of Sherman students at work in the carpentry vocational program from 1930-1940 (Figure 17). Wood planks are used to box out larger wall sections, crenelated roofing elements, and decorative openings. Vertical shims are applied to the boards to support metal mesh, to which a rough stucco coating is applied. The skilled craftsmanship of students is

required to achieve the appearance of adobe, through a series of intricate sculptural and material relationships.

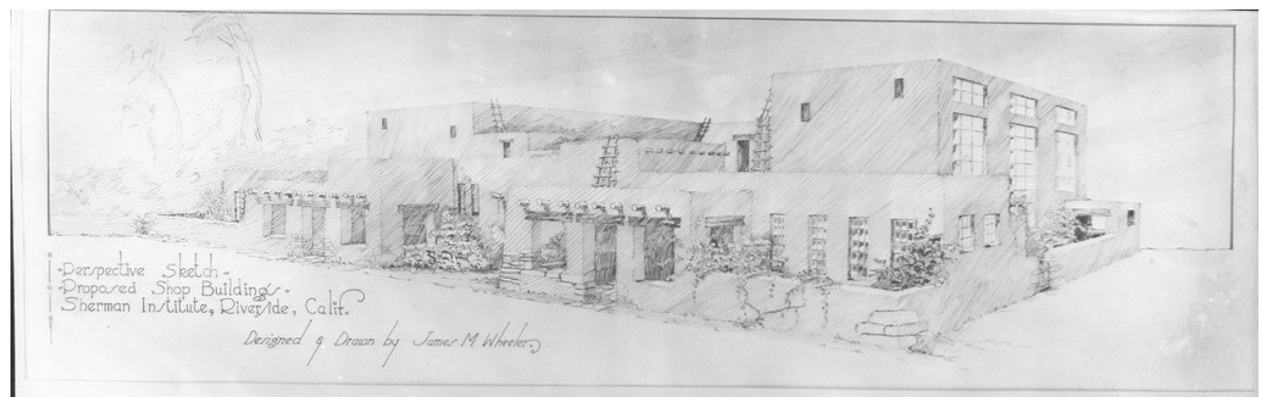
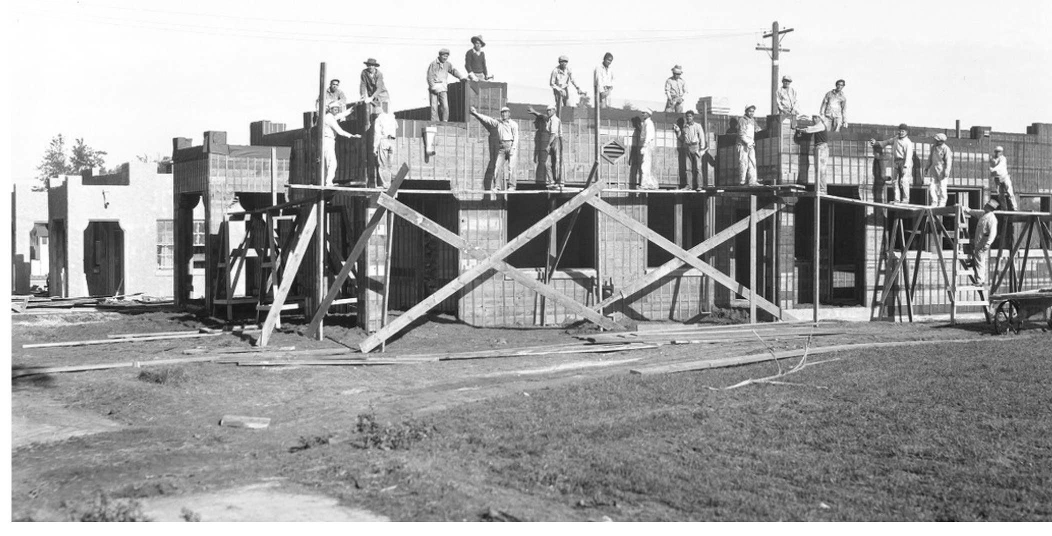


Figure 16: Perspective sketch of proposed shop building by James M. Wheeler, March 12, 1935, SIM.



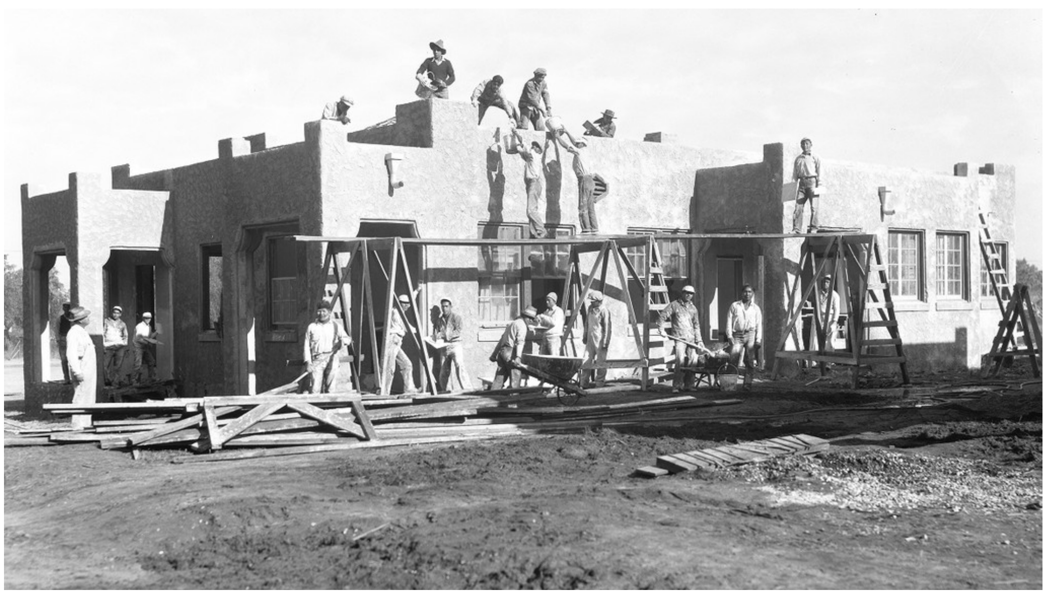


Figure 17: Construction photos, before and after the plaster façade is applied to the new shop building by students at the Sherman Institute, ca. 1930-40, Box 150&154, SIM

White Sherman administrators and teachers were housed in single-family cottages surrounding the campus, while the Indian students who built those homes and maintained the campus were housed in what were critiqued as overcrowded, dimly lit and unsanitary dormitories.[298] While the four primary dormitory buildings initially built along the parade grounds intended to accommodate 1,200 students cost $14,000-$16,000 each to build, the two employee quarters and the superintendent cottage cost $9,000 and $4,000, respectively.[299] In other words, $50 was allocated per student for campus housing in 1902, which is equivalent to ~$1,616 per student today, and $4,500 was allocated for one employee, with an equivalent value today of $145,438, or roughly ninety times more than was spent on a single Indigenous student. Despite the curated front facades of the main dormitories, the interiors consisted of narrow

[298] "Formal Education of Indian Children," Meriam Report, *The Problem of Indian Admin*, 11-13.

[299] "Corner Stone of New Indian School at Riverside Laid," *San Francisco Chronicle,* July 19, 1901, 11.

hallways with multiple beds placed a few feet apart from one another in long rows (Figure 18). The superintendent's residence, on the other hand, was two stories tall plus a basement, and featured a large, raised and covered porch on the ground floor, screened porches on each side of the ground floor as well as on the second floor, and a curated garden bracketed by palm trees that was tended to by students (Figure 19). In the 1930s, additional employee cottages were built along Jackson Avenue just outside of the campus. Each had its own individual lawn and paved walks, and featured stucco facades, planted decorative trellises, arched windows, articulated roof profiles and clay tile roofs (Figure 20). The salaries and superior accommodations afforded to BIA employees, and therefore their status as managers of taste, culture, civilization and the built environment, were supported with savings made through the usage of unpaid student labor in constructing campus and support facilities.

Figure 18: Interior of a dormitory room, ca. 1920-1950, Box 124, Folder 4, SIM.

Figure 19: Superintendent's Residence, Ca. 1910-1930, Box 119, Folder 3, SIM.

Figure 20: Employee housing on Jackson Avenue, cs. 1930-1950, Box 146, SIM

2.4 Servitude in Industrial Employment & the "Outing Program"

The Outing Program was devised to provide on the job training to students and bridge the gap between their academic careers and their integration into White society as workers in the domestic service and industrial sectors. For boys, this meant working for employers who had an agreement with the boarding school to provide low wage, temporary work and minimal, but more likely no, accommodations. The types of employment arranged for Indian boys in the Outing Program are described in the records of Sherman's Outing Agent Fred Long from 1917 to 1928, in the General Correspondence from the 1930s, and in Vocational Education Reports from various agencies from the 1920s and 30s. Often, these pairings were self-serving to the BIA. As with student labor on campus, employers and BIA agents capitalized on the vocational expertise

of Indian students to bolster their industrial and professional connections in the wider economic and political spheres. The Sherman Institute often utilized the Cresmer Manufacturing Company (who employed Indian students from the school) as contractors for their construction projects. Three boys from Sherman (Jesse Lowery, Ross Townsend, and Louis Momy) were stated to have worked at Cresmer on the construction of a new theater building in Riverside from 1917 to 1918.[300] Cresmer built the First Congregational Church designed by famed Architect Myron Hunt at 3504 Mission Avenue in the Spanish Colonial Revival style, which would similarly be used in the design of a wing for the Mission Inn. With practice in laying formwork and plastering walls for Mission Revival style buildings on the Sherman campus, Indian boys in the Outing Program were posed to provide skilled labor at low costs to contractors like Cresmer.

These efficiencies were also exploited in the employment of Indian boys and men in public works projects in the 1930s and 40s. While the Sherman Institute engaged with the WPA and SERA to support renovations on campus, many former students of Indian boarding schools were employed in WPA and SERA construction projects on reservations, due to their simultaneous experience with government labor and connection to Indigenous lands and peoples. Obtaining employment on public works projects outside of the reservation proved more difficult for Indigenous peoples, despite skills in excavation, irrigation and plumbing attained at Indian boarding schools. In a series of exchanges between the Superintendent of the Colorado River Indian Reservation and the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, the distinction

[300] The letter from Outing Agent Long to Mr. Mitchell (school account manager), for example, described the boarding of Coleta Taft at a home in Polaca, Arizona while working on the theater building for Cresmer. Letters between Outing Agent Fred Long and students, Records of the Outing Agent Fred Long 1917-1928, Folder: 1917-1918, SIM, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

between on and off reservation labor is exposed.[301] The superintendent advocated for Indians of Arizona and California to be employed in the construction of the LA aqueduct. He had authorized the Chairman of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (LADWP) a temporary right of way on the north end of the reservation to be used in the construction of a highway and argued that since the city of Los Angeles employed Indians on road construction projects that traversed the Parker reservation, and since these projects were dependent upon the usage of reservation lands, that they should employ them in the construction of the aqueduct. However, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) was designed to provide employment to ex-service men and residents of the county where the work was being performed, rather than for Indians living on reservations. Furthermore, NIRA funding did not apply to farm or domestic workers, where many former Indian boarding school graduates were employed. So, while their skill sets were suited to federally funded projects that could have provided greater opportunities, Indian students and graduates were placed at a disadvantage when it came to government-funded large-scale operations outside of Indian reservations.

According to the Sherman Graduate Report from 1931, former students who had graduated in the previous decades were most commonly employed by private companies in low-level industrial positions.[302] For example: Romaldo Helms, who focused on masonry at the Sherman Institute, was employed as a laborer in San Jacinto; Phillip Analla, who focused on engineering, was employed as a busboy in Los Angeles; Martin Napa, who also focused on engineering, was employed as a janitor at Mission Inn; Erwin Chaves, who focused on carpentry,

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[301] Letter from Superintendent of Colorado River Agency to Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, 1931, Colorado River Agency, Central Classified Correspondence: Box 180 Field Matron, Los Angeles, Ca, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

[302] Sherman Graduate Report, 1931, Vocational Education Reports, 1936-41, SI, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

was employed by the Santa Fe Railroad; and Florentine Angelo, who focused on masonry, was a plasterer in Los Angeles. The alumni listed were mostly employed in occupations unrelated to their chosen course of study in school. Given the school's connections to local industries and commitment to alumni placement, this could have been a response to the misalignment between course offerings and the job market. The BIA's curriculum sought to standardize Indian education across the United States, but with the localization of certain industries, there would not have been equal demand in different cities. The job market was also constantly fluctuating, proving difficult to align with a five-year vocational program. The offering of skilled concentrations like Engineering may also have been wishful thinking, unable to be applied in a racially discriminatory job market. Or, beneath the guise of the course offerings, the Indian boarding school sought to produce Indigenous laborers who could serve as liaisons, as teachers to future Indigenous students, or as communicators with Indigenous tribes on reservations in various construction projects. As with the hybridity of the Pueblo Revival style, perhaps the training of Indigenous contractors was a hegemonic device, devised for the naturalization of foreign operations on Indigenous lands and lives.

Several alumni were hired as employees of the Sherman Institute, demonstrating the government interest in training future teachers, for the conversion of future generations of Indigenous children. After graduating from the carpentry vocation, David Dele was employed as an assistant in the Sherman Institute laundry. Ross Townsend, who had formerly worked for the Cresmer Manufacturing Company in the Outing Program, was employed as an assistant carpenter at the Sherman Institute after graduation, along with Juan Chavez. Amos Patrick, who had studied masonry, was employed as an assistant plasterer at the Sherman Institute after taking a short course in ornamental plastering at the Frank Wiggins Trade School. Several others were

employed at Haskell and Yuma Indian boarding schools. Those alumni with positions at government boarding schools and agencies worked as assistants to White teachers in vocational courses, suggesting the government's interest in training Indigenous students to help translate the educational goals of the White administration and faculty into application. The incorporation of Indigenous staff may have served to ease the tensions documented between White teachers and Indigenous students in the early years of the government's educational agenda. It may also have directly demonstrated to future generations of Indigenous graduates what the government believed to be successful results of assimilation. Ross Townsend, for example, lived with his wife and children in one half of a double cottage on the campus grounds while working at Sherman in the 1930s.[303] While in establishing off-reservation boarding schools government officials hoped students would teach the ways of the White man to their elders upon returning to their respective reservations, in the later years of the program, officials employed alumni to help teach their Indigenous successors. But ultimately, most alumni were employed in low-level positions that did not commonly require education to acquire. Painting, plastering, rail construction and janitorial work were among few occupations available to those seen as non-white, Mexican or Indigenous at the time. It appears that the confines of race still weighed most heavily on the kind of employment Indian boarding school graduates could hope to attain.

This is not to say that county, city, state, and federal agencies did not benefit from the skills practiced and cultivated by students while at Indian boarding schools, or that Indigenous

[303] Ross Townsend, a laborer in Mill and Cabinet, was noted to be a farmer and Indian Assistant, an example of "self-supporting citizens on reservations and in white communities," according to the Boys Vocational Training Department records, 1936-7, SI, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

peoples were not assisted in finding employment through this connection.[304] Though hours of training were to be devoted to students' chosen vocational interests according to course curricula, as we see with the continual renovation of the Sherman Institute, many would be required to assist in the construction and upkeep of the school. Most students, therefore, would have hands-on experience in excavation, irrigation, construction, and plastering, for example. To carry out the subdivision of reservation lands into individual allotments under the orders of the Dawes Act, the BIA needed laborers. With New Deal funding, the Civilian Conservation Corps, Indian Division (CCC-ID) was established in 1933, to improve reservation lands for subsistence farming, ranching and forestry, as sponsored by Collier. With the Indian Reorganization Act (often referred to as the "Indian New Deal"), within six months there were 72 work camps set up on 33 reservations in 28 states.[305] Under this directive, 8,000 acres of the Colorado River Reservation were subdivided into ten-acre tracts, with roads and irrigation to support employment for Indians in farming or the general construction fields.[306] In 1938, the diversion dam was constructed and thirty miles of type two gravel surface roads were paved. Boarding school educated Indians were employed in the maintenance, blading of surface, and repairing, painting, or replacing the roadways as necessary. The BIA published *Indians at Work* throughout

[304] Several superintendents of Indian Boarding schools across the southwestern U.S. wrote to other superintendents looking for work for their students, and to directors of federal public works projects throughout the 1930s and 40s to request employment for former students. See, for example: Letter from Superintendent Gensler to Connor of the National Re-employment Service, Yuma, asking for students to be placed working on PWA Parker Bridge construction, or on projects funded by the Bureau of Public Roads; Superintendent Biery of Sherman to Superintendent of Colorado River, requesting the placement of boys to help construct a new hospital; Superintendent of Colorado River Agency to C.H. Southworth, Assistant Director of Irrigation, U.S. Indian Irrigation Service, for placement of students on the San Carlos Irrigation Project. Central Classified Files, 7/29/1918-12/31/1951 (NAID 6217323) created by the Colorado River Agency, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

[305] Cody White, "The CCC Indian Division," *Prologue Magazine* 48, no.2 (Summer 2016), Accessed at: https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2016/summer/ccc-id.html

[306] Colorado River Agency, Central Classified Files, 7/29/1918-12/31/1951 (NAID 6217323), Central Classified Correspondence: Box 180 Field Matron, Los Angeles, Ca, SI, RG 75, BIA-NAR.

the 1930s with descriptions of the kinds of public works projects the CCC-ID and the Indian Emergency Conservation Work (IECW) helped to accomplish. From reports on Indian homes being built on reservations in 1934, to the role of the Indian Service in national defense in 1942, *Indians at Work* heralded the efforts of Indigenous men that embraced an idea of both tradition and modernization.[307] The Sherman Institute was cited as one of the few Indian boarding schools that conducted national defense training and taught special skills in welding, carpentry, machine shop, painting, and plumbing that were applicable to employment in the CCC-ID and the war industries. In the 1942 issue surveying the past nine years of Indian Service, it was stated that former Indian boarding school trainees and CCC-ID enrollees were working as shipyard and airplane welders, signal operators, in lumber mills and in the construction of military roads, and as contractors on the Panama Canal.[308] As the Meriam Report had suggested, boarding schools began focusing on developing “opportunities for employment with industrial and other employing concerns operating in more than one of the employment districts” with the appointment of a Regional Employment Supervisor in 1935. Opportunities for employment and for “specialized vocational training in suitable institutions in Los Angeles and vicinity” were developed in cooperation with boarding school superintendents. By the 1950s, Sherman graduates found employment through the U.S. Employment Assistance Office and the Placement Committee in Southern California. According to Sherman’s report in 1963, of 430 total students to have graduated from 1960 to 1963, 138 were employed off the reservation, 20 were employed on the reservation, and 119 were unconfirmed but assumed to be employed.

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[307] Office of Indian Affairs, “Indian Homes at Mission Agency,” *Indians at Work* II (Aug 15, 1934): 20.

[308] “Indians in War Industries,” *‘9 years of’ Indians at Work* IX, no. 8 (April 1942) 8-11.

From the boarding school to the county, the labor of Indian students supported the health of the community. But in their living arrangements, Indian students were made increasingly susceptible to disease. According to narrative and inspection reports from the 1933 issue of *Indians at Work*, government employees such as those working for the SERA or WPA were housed in temporary camps or small permanent bunkhouses. "Typical" CCC-ID camps like those photographed at Pine Ridge and Crow Creek featured temporary tents aligned in rows across remote, untouched landscapes.[309] If bunkhouses were utilized, they were constructed by their Indian inhabitants, like the mobile bunkhouses featured in a CCC-ID camp photographs under construction across the southwestern U.S. Assembling and disassembling post-and-beam bunkhouses as crews moved along a job site, as in the construction of a reservoir, for example, would have been labor intensive. Moreover, these were not the single-family homes that the BIA touted as indicative of self-sufficiency and successful integration into White society. Given the lack of permanent accommodations, it is unsurprising that those former students that attempted to find employment and accommodations independently in the industrial sector often returned to the reservation a short time later. Phoenix boarding school graduate Herbert Doka, for example, went to Los Angeles to attend automotive school, but after only a few months contracted tuberculosis, causing him to return to his reservation at Fort McDowell.[310] Here, he worked for the city of Phoenix on the portion of a new municipal water line that passed through the reservation. Relegated to low wages and a racially discriminatory employment market, Indian graduates like Herbert Doka were forced into overcrowded, unstable, and unsanitary living

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[309] Roger Bromert and the South Dakota State Historical Society, "The Sioux and the Indian-CCC," *South Dakota History* 8, no. 4 (1978): 346, 349.

[310] Herbert Doka, Phoenix Graduate Reports 1929-30 and 31, Vocational Education Reports, 1936-41, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

arrangements, or into government labor that threatened the sovereignty of tribal lands, despite their educational status and vocational experience.

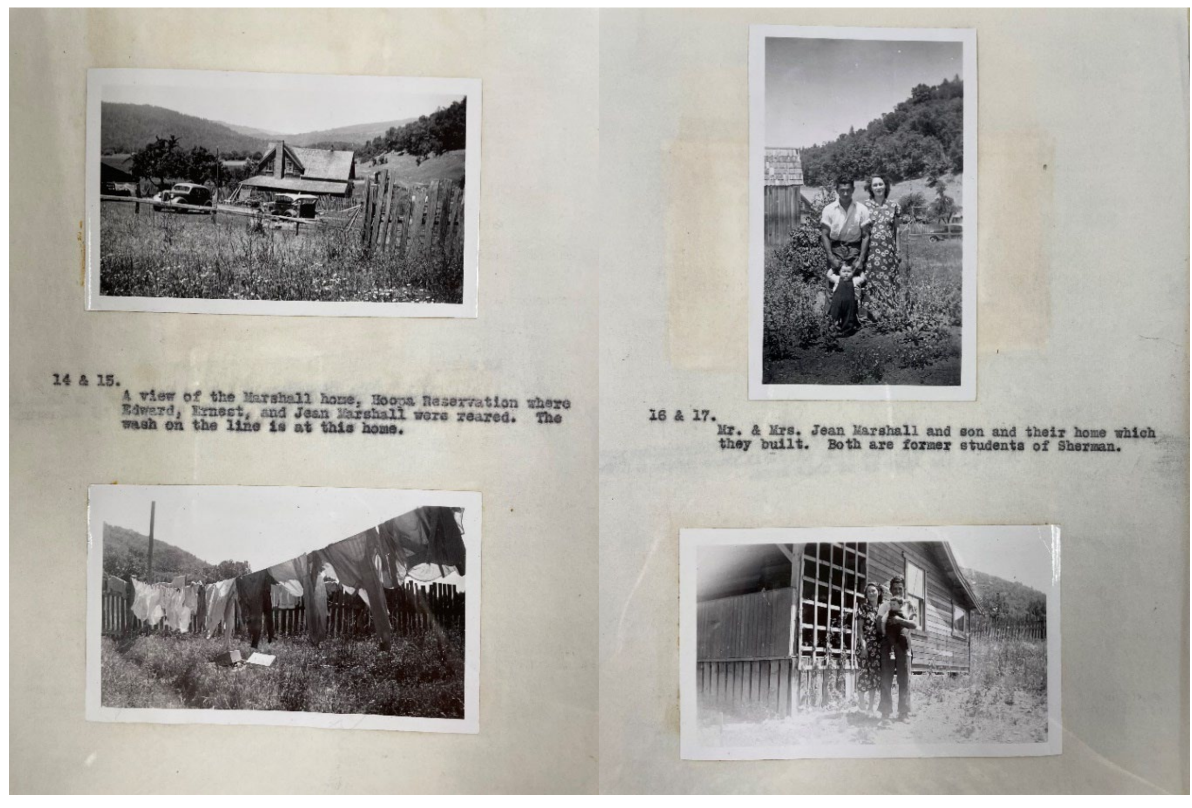
The inadequate conditions of Indigenous living arrangements did not go unnoticed. In an attempt to counteract Indians living in "unfit homes [...] in districts where there are no social agencies equipped to make the necessary adjustments for them," the BIA Commissioner of Education called for the incorporation of a health program, hospital, and physical exam of all pupils in non-reservation boarding schools, stating: "a comprehensive health program should include the home and here particularly the welfare worker can accomplish much, as well as other employees who contact Indians in their homes."[311] In order to assess the status of Indian living arrangements, boarding schools sent personnel to survey the homes of former alumni. Documentations of self-sufficiency dominated reports from the Sherman Institute's educational tour in 1939.[312] On the tour, government personnel visited Hoopa and Eureka reservations to make recommendations as to farming, hygiene, construction of a simple home, and furnishing and refinishing of simple furniture. Homes were featured in photographs from the tour to illustrate the superior living exercised by Sherman graduates compared to their non-boarding-school-educated counterparts. A home on the Hoopa Reservation built by Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Marshall, both former students at the Sherman Institute, was juxtaposed with a home outside of the Hoopa Reservation on the Klamath River, occupied by a family that had not attended Indian boarding school (Figure 21). Mr. Marshall was noted to have cut the timber, made the shakes, and built the fence for his house by hand. The home included four rooms and a front and back

[311] Non-Reservation Boarding Schools, Circular 3081, Education by Commissioner of Education, Sherman Vocational Course Outlines 1911-1912, SI, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

[312] Education tour and follow up of graduates and dropouts from the Sherman Institute, 1939. Vocational Education Reports, 1936-41, SI, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

porch, for which Mrs. Marshall had made furniture. The overall photo of the home was taken from outside the fence, highlighting its situation within a subdivided and enclosed plot of land, with washed clothing hanging on a line to dry in the yard. The home along the Klamath River, on the other hand, was noted to have been “very dirty” with the “yard grown up in weeds and underbrush.”[313] Though more modest in scale, what differentiated the Klamath house from the Marshall’s was not the construction or appearance of the home itself; both were sheathed in wood siding and capped with shingle roofs. Rather, the maintaining of lot boundaries and yard appearances seemed of greater importance. The inspectors highlighted integral aspects to the government’s allotment agenda, including a subdivided lot on a reservation, and the tilling of surrounding lands for farming. The Marshalls’ house, as built through their own labor without government funding, was aligned with homesteading principles that underpinned both the breaking up of tribal lands and the formation of the single-family lot and residential suburbs.

[313] The caption below the photo stated: “A home on the Klamath River, Hoopa Jurisdiction, where neither parents or children have attended Indian or public school. This family are merely existing and not living as they could if they would put forth a little effort and had had a little training.” A series of photos were taken of the families and rancherias of the Hoopa Jurisdiction at Orleans, California, where many former students and graduates of the Sherman Institute lived in 1941, when the “Hoopa Valley Indian Agency Educational Trip, taken by Mrs. Edna Schnarr and R.F. Sneddon” was made. Vocational Education Reports, 1936-41, SI, RG 75, BIA, NAR.



14 & 15.
A view of the Marshall home, Hoopa Reservation where Edward, Ernest, and Jean Marshall were reared. The wash on the line is at this home.

16 & 17.
Mr. & Mrs. Jean Marshall and son and their home which they built. Both are former students of Sherman.

Figure 21: (Above) Home of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Marshall, former students of the Sherman Institute, built by themselves; (Below) A home where neither parents or children attended Indian or public school. Photos taken on the "educational tour and follow-up of graduates and drop-outs from Sherman Institute," May 22, 1939, to June 5, 1939, and published in a report. Vocational Education Reports, 1936-41, SI, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

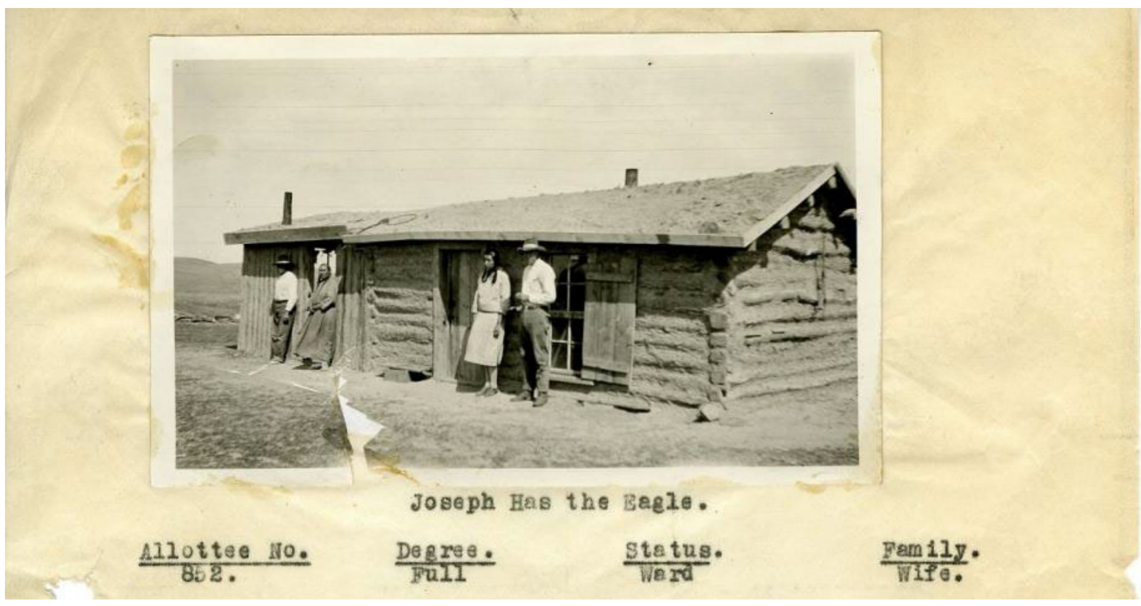


Figure 22: Industrial survey of the farm and home of Joseph Has the Eagle, produced by the BIA, in the assessment of the Indigenous response to allotment requirements, ca. 1920. National Archives at Denver, RG 75, in: Cody White, Prologue Magazine 49, no. 3 (Fall 2017), archives.gov.

The government interest in Indigenous homesteading can be seen in the BIA Industrial Surveys from the 1920s, designed to take account of Indian homes, health, debt, family, and farming on every reservation in the country. Joseph and Victoria Has the Eagle were cataloged as model Indians, due to their assimilation into a mode of living that emphasized private property and market production. The survey highlighted the fact that both had attended Indian boarding schools, and stated that Joseph was a productive farmer, and Victoria a "very neat housekeeper."[314] A single image accompanied the survey, featuring their one-room log house on Joseph's father's allotment (Figure 22). What appears to be Joseph's father and mother are lined up in front of one door of the house's front facade, while Joseph and Victoria stand stiffly in front of a second door, suggesting that all four family members were sharing the small house. Together with the posed image, the verbiage of the report implied that through Victoria's labor on the interior of the home, and Joseph's labor on the allotted farm, the isolated, minimal, and crowded accommodations were to be appreciated. Through the surveys made by superintendents and field matrons, notions of productivity were constructed based on an Indian family's adherence to practices that supplied the greater market, rather than those that were truly self-sufficient (or, independent from government taxation and control). With the allocation of an individual piece of property to Indigenous families, the government removed their ability to practice communal ownership and tribal sovereignty. Indigenous peoples living on subdivided lots were required to make payments to the government and maintain employment or productive labor on their lot over ten years to obtain real, unencumbered ownership over their piece of land.

[314] Survey of the Joseph Has the Eagle Allottee No. 852 from National Archives at Denver, RG 75, featured in: Cody White "Homes on the Range: BIA Industrial Surveys from the 1920s" *Prologue Magazin*e 49, no. 3 (fall 2017). Accessed at: https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2017/fall/bia-surveys

Reports of Sherman girls in the Outing program similarly show how they were limited to a type of employment and housing misaligned with the expectations of them as boarding school attendees. As students, they were trained to help construct, furnish, and maintain their own single-family home as housewives and mothers. As employees and graduates, they were subject to the racialized job market and the racist beliefs of their employers. For Indigenous girls and women, the Outing Program involved working as a housemaid in the homes of White middle and upper-class families for low wages, while paying for room and board and sending any extra money back to be managed by their respective boarding school.[315] Education on school grounds was portrayed as insufficient on its own, without the immersion of Indigenous girls in the setting of the White household. As Branch and Wooten's analysis of the "racialized rationalizations for the ideal domestic servant" demonstrates, the "servant problem" was a racial problem.[316] By 1900, less than one quarter of the nation's Indigenous and foreign-born White women were employed as servants. With a decline in the availability of Irish, Russian, Polish, and Italian women who were accepted into professions reserved for White women, a greater demand arose for domestic servitude by those seen as non-White. As Margaret Jacobs illustrates in her research on domestic servitude in White women's households of San Francisco, Indigenous women were placed in a unique position due to ongoing colonial relationships in the American west. With disrupted economies due to the government's Assimilationist agenda, and the BIA sponsorship of an intimate transaction in the domestic sphere, Indigenous women assumed servant roles

[315] Accounts of the Sherman Institute's policy on Outing Program wages and money management referenced from Records of Boys Outings, 1912-1918, Records of Outing Agent Fred Long, 1917-1928 (NAID 563532), SI, RG 75, BIA-NAR.

[316] Enobong Hannah Branch and Melissa E. Wooten, "Suited for Service: Racialized Rationalizations for the Ideal Domestic Servant from the Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century," *Social Science History* 36, No. 2 (Summer 2012): 169-189

previously occupied by Mexican women and Chinese and Japanese men. Through their training in home economics at Indian boarding schools, Indigenous women were primed to take care of other women's children under the watchful eye of the house mother (or, more fittingly, manager). By immersing students in the predominantly White suburbs, the BIA hoped to influence their assimilation into White civilization. But rather than making "model housewives" out of "Indians [in their] new type of homes," as the *Course of Study* purported to facilitate, the Outing Program made model housemaids in the home communities of White families.[317]

Figure 23: "Training in Southern California Homes," picturing Clara Belone ironing and Rose Nez sweeping while working in the Outing Program, ca. 1950, Box 107, Folder 1, SIM.

[317] United States, Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Tentative Course of Study for United States Indian Schools* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915), 239.

Figure 24: "Women Meeting" and "Paying a Visit," while on the front porch of a house where an Indigenous girl was placed to work as a housemaid in the Outing Program, 1956, Box 117, Folder 1, SIM.

Photographs commissioned by the Sherman Institute for their annual brochure circa 1950 illustrate how Indian girls were constructed as model housemaids for White women interested in inexpensive home and childcare. Students participating in the outing system, such as Pearl Chee, Cora Charlie, Helen Attaki, and Eileene John were individually featured in the images, with pin curled hair, stylish 50s dresses and aprons, and a smile, while performing various household tasks (Figure 23). The girls were posed vacuuming, ironing, doing dishes, and most commonly, caring for White babies and children. An emphasis on the placement of Indigenous women's bodies in the photographs supports Lomawaima's argument that domestic training was paired with constructions of uncivilized minds and undeveloped bodies. Boarding school authorities commonly confined girls indoors, and scrutinized their bodies, hairstyles, behaviors, and dress more than male students.[318] In a two-part series of images, an Indian woman is shown being

[318] Lomawaima, *Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools*.

greeted by the White housemother, and then, being introduced to her child (Figure 24). The Indian woman is posed at the door of the home alongside her suitcases, looking out to the White woman posed off the doorstep. The inverted positioning seems to suggest that by boarding an Indian student, White women may be freed from the confines of the home and their expected role as a housewife and mother. According to Amanda Zink, White women embraced fictions of domesticity to colonize Mexican and Indian women in order to expand their social and public lives.[319] In practice, this was one of the main issues that girls in the outing program raised to their superintendents and matrons. Bertha Baker, an Indian girl from Fort Yuma, sent numerous letters to her school's superintendent while participating in the Outing Program at Mrs. Terrile's house at 912 S New Hampshire.[320] From the letters it is clear that Baker was expected to be a model housemaid for other students; she helped the superintendent facilitate transfers for other girls working in Los Angeles as requested, and often painted herself as happy and grateful for her position with the Terriles. Reading between the lines, however, illustrates a more complicated experience for Ms. Baker. In one letter, she shared a story with the superintendent in which the family left her for two weeks. She expressed fear of a boy who continually came by and harassed her. Bertha arranged a transfer for a girl in a similar situation. Mary Durand was working for Mrs. McCreary at 2301 5th Avenue, when she wrote about her experience. The family fought all day and left her alone at night, unprotected from the "man that nearly got me while the folks were away."[321] When students like Durand wrote asking to return to their

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[319] Amanda Zink, "Fictions of American Domesticity: Indigenous Women, White Women, and the Nation, 1850-1950" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2013).

[320] Letters Between Bertha Baker, Cousin Edith, Mr. Odel, Superintendent of Yuma, Fort Yuma Agency, Administrative Subject Files (NAID 603475), Folder: "Outing System," RG 75, BIA, NAR.

[321] Mary Durand was making just $15 per week in Los Angeles working for the McCreary family. She sent letters to Superintendent Odel of Yuma in June 1913 asking to be relocated. Fort Yuma Agency, Administrative Subject Files (NAID 603475), Folder: "Outing System," RG 75, BIA, NAR.

boarding school or reservation due to unsafe or abusive environments, the superintendent denied their requests. Gertude Smith asserted that she was lacking sleep and getting sick because the family she worked for at 231 West 28th Street left her with the baby until late. The superintendent wrote to Orington Jewitt, the Los Angeles Outing Matron at the time, saying he did not want Smith to return to Yuma. When the mother employing Edith Acquinas wrote superintendent Odle that she wanted a replacement because Acquinas came home too late, Odle responded that she must "break her." Instead of allowing girls to return to their homes or boarding schools, the superintendent ordered Jewett or Baker to facilitate their transfer to another household.

The Outing Program was an economic generator for ill-funded and overcrowded boarding schools. The school received government funding based on the number of students enrolled, even if they were participating in the Outing Program off campus. Girls were required to pay their own room and board with wages they received from their employers, sometimes as low as $9 per month. The school received money from the government for students in the Outing Program, as well as a portion of the students' earnings, without having to pay for room and board on campus. The minimal wages, and the reluctance of superintendents to take them back, kept Indian girls indentured to their employers, who often left them in dangerous situations. As transferred between households and paid low wages, Indigenous girls were in a constant state of upheaval, with no chance for domestic assimilation as they were taught in school. The Sherman Institute's photographic campaign may have been a defense against negative associations with domestic servitude that threatened the livelihood of the program. Or, as publicized, it may have been an attempt to assure White women otherwise fearful of supposed Indigenous temperaments. As aligned with the government campaign for the urban relocation of Indigenous peoples in the

1950s and 60s, perhaps the photographs sought to normalize Indigenous integration with Anglo society outside of reservations, if only as servants. In any case, the predominantly White administrators' careers depended on the longevity of the school programs, which were contingent upon student interest, the unearthing of Indigenous children from land, and the societal interest in cheap wage labor.

In December of 1930, the Los Angeles Council of Social Agencies issued "Standards for Work Homes," to rectify harmful conditions for domestic laborers who were not protected by federal, state, or local laws like those working in the Outing Program.[322] Domestic servants were to receive room and board and a small cash wage ($10-$15 per month), and work hours were to be limited to allow them to attend a half day of school. Additionally listed requirements were that the mother be unemployed and stay at home, and that the home be a private family home that follows sanitary and fire safety ordinances, located in a residentially zoned district near a school. Though hoping to influence better working conditions, the standards were not protected by law. When followed, however, they would have influenced the sequestering of the domestic service industry into racially restricted LA geographies, where economics, planning and building conditions aligned with requirements for work homes. By populating the map of Los Angeles with the locations of students from several Indian boarding schools reported to be working in the Outing Program, I have generated a diagram of middle-class homes that benefited from this system of indentured servitude (Figure 25). The diagram relies on information from letters written between the students, field matrons, and superintendents. These were not simply fixed

[322] Standards for Work Homes. By Foster Home Placement Committee, Child Welfare Committee, and Executive Committee of LA Council of Social Agencies, December 1930, Vocational Education Reports 1936-41, SI, RG 75, BIA, NAR.

points in the grid. The network of homes and movement of girls between them illustrates how a system of indentured servitude was cultivated through tactics of fear and care interchangeably as the mothers and agents determined necessary. By overlaying the Outing network diagram with the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC)'s residential security maps and descriptions, we can gain an understanding of the character of these "domestic service suburbs."[323] Though they have been shown to be biased and broad sweeping in their assessment of LA neighborhoods, and the extent of their influence on lending practices has been questioned, the HOLC surveys contain useful information about demographic composition and neighborhood characteristics that are not reflected in the Census at the time. The neighborhoods where Indian girls were stationed in the Outing Program were almost all granted a security grade of "high yellow," or "C." Upon closer look, the individual districts were described as "highly restricted," "residential," and with architecture of "splendid character." The neighborhood where Bertha Baker and Pearl Laird (#2 & #8 on the diagram) were stationed, for example, was "at one time an exclusive residential district," populated by "professional and businessmen, white collar workers, and skilled artisans" earning an average income of $1,500-$3,000 and up. The racial composition was stated to be "0% Negro" and "10% Foreign Nationalities" with "none thought to be subversive." At this time, it is likely that Indian persons would have been classified as "subversive racial elements."[324] As with the neighborhood where employers Mrs. Headley and Mrs. O'Neil resided (#4 & #11 on the

[323] Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven*, 60. See also: Andrew Wiese. *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004) for a description of the suburbs that were "known for wealthy commuters often housed bustling communities of shopkeepers, mechanics, industrial workers, and the servants who made it possible to live comfortably in the palatial homes that made these places famous" (26).

[324] On racial beliefs and classifications of the HOLC, see, for example: Richard Rothstein, "Own Your Own Home," in The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of how our Government Segregated America (New York: Liveright Publishing Corp., 2017), II.

diagram), many had deed restrictions in place "for protection against racial hazards." In this neighborhood, there were "high caliber restrictions, rigidly enforced," that according to the survey, contributed to the "splendid character" and "homogeneity" of the population and construction, maintenance, and architectural designs.[325] On average, homes in the neighborhoods where students were placed in the Outing Program were owned by White businessmen and professionals with an income of about $2,000 and up. The 5000 block of Van Ness where Outing employer Mrs. Roy Shattel lived, for example, was solely populated by White families according to the 1920 U.S. Census. Heads of household were listed to have migrated from England, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Illinois, and worked as newspaper printers, foremen, estimators, railroad conductors, salesmen, lumber managers, and railroad conductors. Neighborhoods such as these, with or without deed restrictions, would have been restricted from ownership or occupation by anyone not of the "Caucasian race," except as domestic servants.[326] Though commonly absent in the census' reports on the composition of the neighborhoods' population, Indigenous and other women and girls seen as inferior to White people who were living and working as servants in the suburbs were instrumental to their maintenance.

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[325] Copies of HOLC descriptions and maps from: Robert K. Nelson, LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., "Mapping Inequality," *American Panorama*, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers. Accessed at: https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining

[326] The Supreme Court upheld the right for a property owner to deny occupation by anyone not of the "Caucasian race, except as domestic servants," in the landmark case, Los Angeles Investment Company v. Gary in 1919.

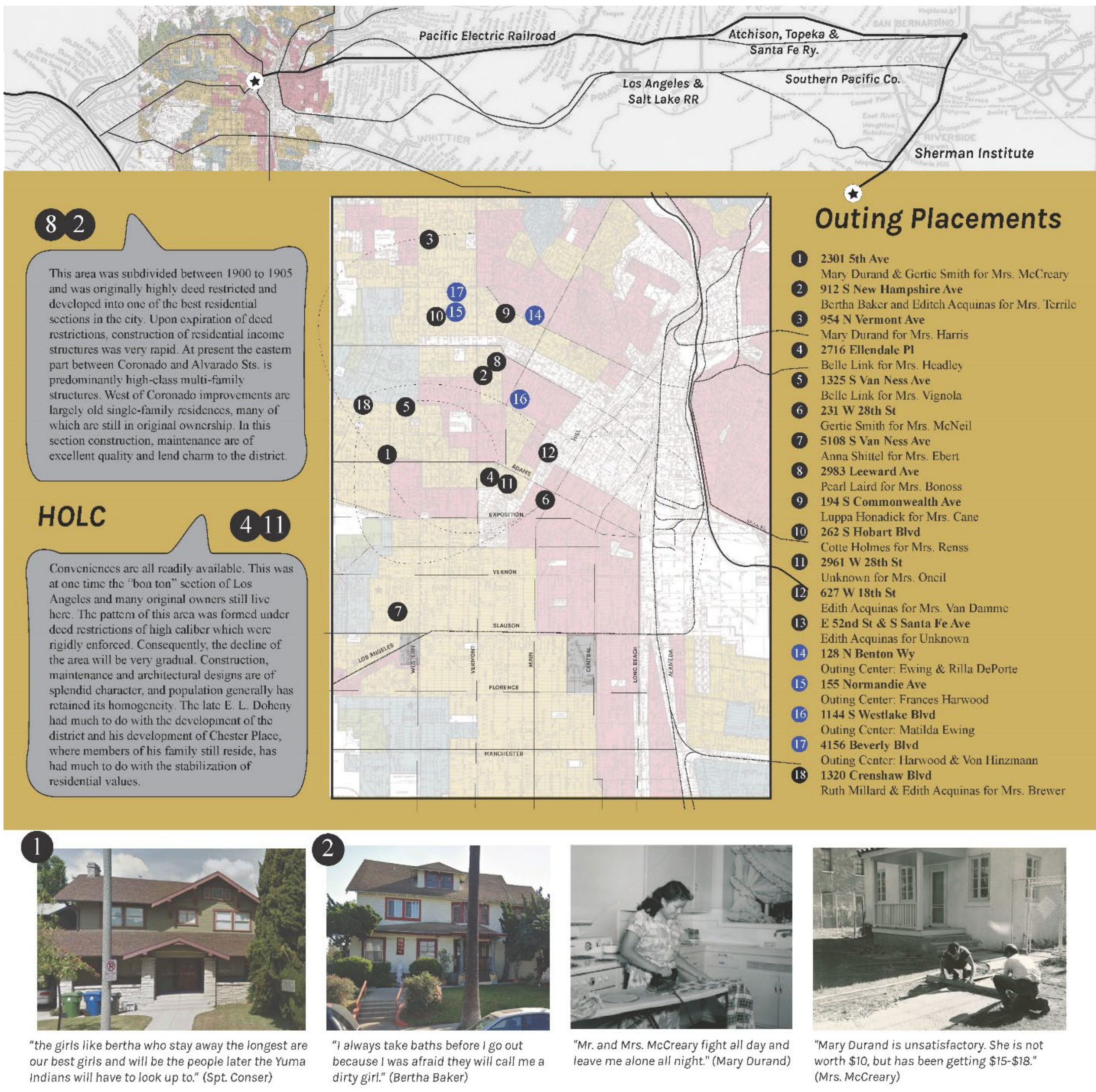

Figure 25: Mapping of locations where Indigenous students from Indian boarding schools were placed to work as domestic servants in Los Angeles, with demographic data extracted from HOLC's Residential Security Map.

The indentured servitude of Indian girls in the Outing Program would have helped White working- and middle-class families in these "yellow" neighborhoods ascend into higher economic and social circles. Home appearances were heavily scrutinized during the Progressive

Era, considered an outward representation of moral character. As White immigrants and the White working-class found work in professions and skilled trades through the expansion of Los Angeles' economy, along with the expansion of the suburbs, they would have the opportunity to purchase a home. An attractive and sanitary home was central to attaining middle-class status. Though modest in size, the White working-class homes of the suburbs could be made into middle-class homes through the labor of servants for exceptionally low prices. With freshly swept walkways, vacuumed carpets and upholstery, and clean glass windows, even the small home and its inhabitants were accepted as socially superior to their counterparts outside of the White suburbs. These home communities meant to help assimilate Indian girls into a White domestic ideal, however, would have been unattainable to them. The neighborhoods where "WPA workers, laborers, low scale clericals, factory workers, etc.," making an average income of $700-$1,500 were welcome to own or occupy property in any other capacity than as servants were described as "blighted," "in a state of dilapidation," with a "lack of proper maintenance" and construction ranging "from the shack to the low standard quality." Described as "fit for a slum clearance project," the neighborhood would have had a significant influence on a Indigenous person's ability to attain employment, secure a home, and become "self-sufficient" as an industrial laborer, despite any previous education and vocational training.

2.5 Conclusion: Between Preservation and Expropriation

In this chapter I explored materials on the domestic economy, courses of study, campus construction and maintenance, and industrial and domestic service that relied on the labor of Indigenous students and the narrative and physical landscapes of Indian boarding schools. From

the private philanthropy of so-called preservationists like Charles Lummis, to the commodification of taste in popular domestic advice literature, the domestic economy was saturated with White displays of Indian craft. But narratives of preservation were in service of those of assimilation. From the writings of Estelle Reel to the BIA's standardization, courses of study attempted to influence the absorption of Indian craft and labor into the prevailing economy. On boarding school campuses like the Sherman Institute, this translated into a focus on application. Student labor helped to keep costs low and save the government money. And by sending students out into the industrial and service industries, the schools forged connections with employers that lessened their own boarding and employment burdens. Taken alongside one another, these pieces of evidence show how narratives and constructions of the built environment supported the indentured servitude of Indigenous people in service of White possession. Opportunity was sold to Indigenous children to entice them into the boarding school system, but in practice, they were limited by their education, employment, and housing, rather than their supposed lack of self-sufficiency. In exploring the relationship of Indian boarding school education with urban development, suburban growth, and domestic building and maintenance, this chapter raised questions about the source of Indigenous precarity. And by focusing on how domestic environments designed to house White and Indigenous populations differed, it questioned the discourses of care, civilization and progress that underpinned their development and portrayal. As shown in comparing the HOLC's descriptions of neighborhoods occupied by the White middle-class to those of the foreign born and Non-white working class, these differences moved beyond the scale of the individual home to the neighborhood.

The racial construct of "Indianness," and the supposed inferiority of Indigenous peoples and the need for White progressive intervention and uplift, was made through domestic

architecture. Anglo-American women and preservationists bought and displayed Spanish and Mission Revival furnishings in their homes to present an image of superior intellect and taste, and to appear charitable in their efforts to help uplift Indian cultures and peoples from their supposedly inferior states of being. The styles recalled narratives of Spanish tutelage from their colonization, teaching of Christianity, and enslavement of Indigenous laborers in the building of the California missions. In off-reservation boarding schools modeled after missionary agendas, Indigenous students were trained in the production of goods to supply these industries and the gendered and racialized depictions they helped materialize. Students were required to apply this training, without pay to the construction and maintenance of the school and its Spanish and Mission Revival style dorms, classrooms, and employee cottages. If the boarding school was a stage for the internalization of colonial relationships, the suburbs were the field where these were externalized. Indigenous peoples who became homesteaders and farmers on allotted property were portrayed as successful examples of the boarding school's assimilationist practices. However, most graduates of the Sherman Institute who did not return to the reservation were employed as carpenters and maids across Southern California, without enough money or social status to achieve the White middle-class vision of citizenship, i.e., homeownership. While living in overcrowded dormitories and temporary housing, Indigenous students built the government's campus and nearby civic and domestic buildings for the benefit of White administrators, teachers, government employees, and tourists. When back on the reservation, Indigenous construction labor helped to either break apart tribal land as property in the capitalist market, or to prepare tribal lands to preserve an idea of Indigenous traditionalism outside of the market economy, as White demands of the labor market shifted. When working as domestic servants to the benefit of White household appearances and social ascension, Indigenous peoples were

hidden and abused as guests in the racially restricted suburbs. While living in apartments and "shacks" in blighted neighborhoods of Los Angeles, Indigenous peoples built the infrastructures that decimated mixed-use neighborhoods occupied by non-White families and supported imperial expansion based on racial distinctions. The threads between these pairings of vocational training, building labor, the construction industry, and racialized ideas of domesticity, demonstrate how the colonial agenda of the Indian boarding school was intricately tied to the suburbs.

The next chapter continues this line of inquiry by thinking through the role of the developer in building out the racially restricted suburbs where Indigenous women were employed as domestic servants. An Indigenous girl was placed in the home of Mrs. Roy Shattel at 5108 South Van Ness in the Outing Program. The Shattel home was situated along a cross section of Los Angeles that traversed the racially restricted upper-class subdivisions of Baldwin Hills at the west end, and the Industrially zoned, mixed-use neighborhoods along the LA River at the east end. The developer explored in the next chapter, the Los Angeles Investment Company (LAIC), employed construction laborers and built subdivisions for purchase at each end of this cross section, as well as the one in which the Shattel home was located. LAIC also sold bungalow catalogs, from which students at the Sherman Institute built administrator and superintendent homes as part of their vocational training. By exploring the range of developments built by LAIC from the 1900s to the 1930s, we may gain an understanding of the racial and socioeconomic sequestering of LA geographies that were supported by the racialized labor explored in the previous chapters. The work of LAIC demonstrates how the disparate housing scenarios explored in the previous chapters were interwoven into racialized, geographic entities that spanned subdivisions and neighborhoods across Los Angeles. The types of homes

and subdivisions offered by LAIC in Southeast Los Angeles to non-White laborers were materially and geographically dissimilar from those they developed for White millmen, the White middle-class (where the Shattel home was located), and the White upper-class. The following chapter considers how the three unique material and racial subdivisions built by LAIC along this cross section were connected to racialized ideas of labor and domesticity. Whereas the building labor explored in the previous chapters was often removed from the laborers' housing, in the case of LAIC, their construction workers and laborers were often their target customers for their respective subdivisions. The coordination of housing subdivisions with lumber mills and construction sites illustrates a unique form of intimate speculation that paired racialized labor with geographies and domestic forms.

3

The Industrial Suburbs Behind Los Angeles' Residential Suburbs: Speculating on the Future

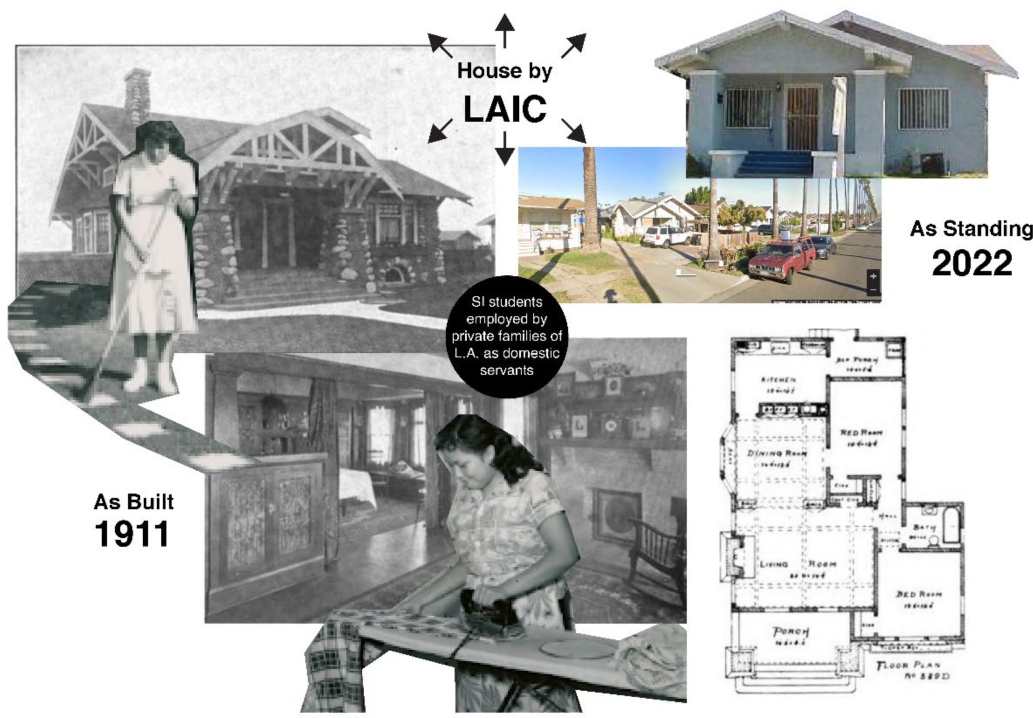

Figure 1: Illustration by Author demonstrating the entanglements between the Sherman Institute and the middle-class suburban bungalows built by the Los Angeles Investment Company west of downtown. The Shattel Home, pictured, was designed and built by LAIC, and was a site for the employment of Indigenous students from the Sherman Institute.

3.0 Introduction: Patterns of (White) Investment and (Black) Disinvestment

In the Summer of 1913, Progressive Mayor George Alexander joined leaders in infrastructure, real estate, and finance at a banquet in praise of Charles Elder, president of the Los Angeles Investment Company (LAIC), the "largest co-operative building company in America." Elder had risen "from obscurity to power" by growing his bungalow building business from a nascent idea to a corporation valued at over 15 million dollars in the span of a decade.[327] The home of Mrs. Roy Shattel at 5108 South Van Ness, where an Indigenous student was placed to perform housework under the Sherman Institute's Outing Program, was in one of LAIC's most acclaimed middle-class subdivisions, St. Vincent's College Tract (Figure 1). There, 80 bungalows on 50x150-foot lots were completed in 1908 and sold exclusively to White people, from which LAIC garnered over 200% profit. The Indigenous labor that maintained the appearance of the home, and therefore the social ascension of the Shattel family, was explored in the last chapter. In this chapter, I explore the individual home as a part of a rise in community building that coupled geography with race, aesthetics, finance, and improvements at the regional scale. At St. Vincent's, LAIC invested in a "more extensive plan," including a "better class of street work, better class of houses, more lawns, larger lots, more trees, sewers, gas, electricity, [and] heavier restrictions."[328] This description stood in contrast to LAIC's first collective subdivision, the Butler and Elder Tract, described as "the tin can tract (…) with reference to the

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[327] "A Man of Millions: How Charles Abbott Alder Rose from Obscurity to Power" *The American Globe* 8, no. 8 (June 1911): 10-11. Clary describes the banquet in: William W. Clary, "Los Angeles Investment Company" in *History of the Law Firm of O'Melveny & Myers, 1885-1965 Volume I* (Los Angeles: O'Melveny & Myers, 1966): 247.

[328] Quote from Mr. Deeble's testimony, as recorded from the 1913 trial against the leaders of LAIC: Los Angeles District Criminal Court Case 736, U.S. v. Elder et al., RG-21 Criminal Cases, 1907-1929, National Archives, Riverside (Hereafter DCC 736, NAR).

Los Angeles river bed, down near the city dumps," where LAIC sold "mainly to the colored people."[329] The racialized disparities embedded in the landscapes of Los Angeles by LAIC continue to this day in the form of the material integrity of buildings, discriminatory land use regulation, property values, and investment capability. Today, the 5,201 square foot property at 5108 South Van Ness is valued at $480,221 for the land and $725,600 for the house, which is the original, 1,636 square foot, 5-bedroom, 2-bathroom bungalow built by LAIC in 1911.[330] The property is surrounded by multiple blocks of property zoned as R-1: "One Family Zone," where any use besides a single-family dwelling is forbidden.[331] The lot at 2408 East Washington Boulevard in the Butler and Elder Tract, once home to a Black family who migrated from Georgia, including Luke Hammock, who worked as a railway porter, his wife Hannah Hammock, who worked as a servant for a private family, and their children Josephine, Luther and Roy, is vacant, and is valued at $25,672, equal to just 5% of the value of the St. Vincent property.[332] The earliest of LAIC's developments in South Los Angeles where non-White people were not restricted from occupying and where there are still homes remaining today is the Elder Place #1 Tract, located a mile east of Butler and Elder. The Elder Place subdivision has been entirely zoned as M2: "Light Industrial," where "no building, structure or land shall be used and

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[329] Ibid.

[330] Lot valuation from Zimas, APN# 5015022016, St. Vincent's College Tract, accessed at: http://zimas.lacity.org/; House valuation from Zillow 5108 S Van Ness Ave, Los Angeles, CA 90062, accessed at: https://www.zillow.com/homedetails/5108-S-Van-Ness-Ave-Los-Angeles-CA-90062/20569330_zpid/

[331] See Section 12.08: "R1" One Family Zone in the Los Angeles Planning and Zoning Code, Chapter 1: General Provisions and Zoning, Article 2: Specific Planning- Zoning, Comprehensive Zoning Plan (hereafter LAPZC) accessed at: https://codelibrary.amlegal.com/codes/los_angeles/latest/lapz/0-0-0-2052

[332] Homeowner information extracted from the 1910 Census of ED 132, 2432/33-2412/17: Department of Commerce and Labor–Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population, Los Angeles, California (April 22nd, 1910); Valuation from Zimas APN# 5168012900, Butler and Elder's Tract, accessed at: http://zimas.lacity.org/; Zoning is M3, See section 12.20: Heavy Industrial Zone, LAPCZ, accessed at: https://codelibrary.amlegal.com/codes/los_angeles/latest/lapz/0-0-0-4342

no building or structure shall be erected, structurally altered, enlarged, or maintained" that are permitted in a residential zone, including for dwelling or guest rooms (Figure 2).[333] The M2 zoning presents financial, environmental, and physical obstacles to remaining homeowners in the tract, whose modest bungalows have been sandwiched between manufacturing and industrial uses. The lot at 1733 East 22nd Street, for example, where a home initially built by LAIC in 1906 remains, is valued at just $150,985.[334] The land value of Elder Place amounts to $25 per square foot, compared to $92 per square foot for the land in St. Vincent's College Tract. The incommensurate appreciation can be attributed to the lack of financial investment made to "improvements," assessed at just $8,820 for the Elder Place property compared with $123,717 for the property at St. Vincent's. The M2 zoning explicitly restricts the homeowners from altering, enlarging, or maintaining their home, or from performing acts designed to increase the value of their property or the social capital associated with middle-class appearances in homeownership. This current restriction can be traced to historical patterns of investment and disinvestment, as tied to racialized ideas of property value. This chapter demonstrates how the racially disparate design of bungalow neighborhoods underpinned the historical transformation of LA geographies; on the one end, into historically preserved exclusively residential neighborhoods, and on the other, into mixed-use industrially zoned neighborhoods where early homeowners are continually subject to environmental, physical, and financial precarity.

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333 See Section 12.19: "M2" LIGHT INDUSTRIAL ZONE, LAPCZ, accessed at: https://codelibrary.amlegal.com/codes/los_angeles/latest/lapz/0-0-0-4236

334 Zimas, APN# 5167014041, Elder Place.

Figure 2: (top) View looking east down E Washington Boulevard in the Butler and Elder Tract. No homes remain in the tract, which has been bifurcated by the extension of E Washington; (middle) View looking east down 23rd Street in the Elder Place #1 Tract; (bottom) View looking south on S Van Ness Boulevard in the St. Vincent's College Tract, featuring homes built by LAIC from 1902-1911; Aerial and Street View Images from Google Earth

The trajectory of LAIC from their incorporation in Los Angeles in 1899, to their reorganization and subsequent development of racially restricted subdivisions after 1927, serves as a microcosm of larger transformations taking place in community development and homeownership structures during the Progressive Era. At the start of their career, LAIC developed and sold lots and homes to working-class populations without racial restriction in South LA. With installment payments from their earliest debtors, LAIC began speculating in alternative markets. In 1913, they were under contract to purchase land in the Baldwin Hills, and by 1927, after reorganization, LAIC began developing the desirable lands into View Park, an exclusive subdivision with economic and racial restrictions throughout. Despite the illusion of stability vouched for by Mayor George Alexander in 1913, LAIC's many holdings were tied to speculative futures based on inflated stocks, bank loans and the accumulation of debt. As a co-operative business including land and material purchasing, banking, stock market trading, home-building and neighborhood improvement, LAIC preceded more standard forms of fictional capital. They charged interest on home loans, while providing annual dividends based on stock valuation to stockholders who were commonly indebted to the company through those home loans. While purchasing and borrowing stock and money between subsidiary companies to purchase more land, LAIC effectively gambled with individuals' stock investments and mortgage payments. With the onset of a national depression in fall of 1913, LAIC faced bankruptcy. Charles Elder and his partners were indicted for overspeculation, placing the company and their ethics under public scrutiny. The U.S. Supreme Court's ruling (in U.S. v Elder, et. al.) made it especially clear how entrenched the company was in LA's physical, political, and ideological landscapes. LAIC was to be reorganized under new leadership and released from bankruptcy to prevent further collapse of the region's property market. While the

company would experience this trial as a setback in their trajectory toward future success, the most vulnerable of their indebted homeowners would suffer irreparable loss. By comparing the modest cottages developed at the company's inception to the Spanish Colonial Revival style estates developed after reorganization, it becomes clear that real estate speculation was not merely a financial act, but a cultural one, enmeshed with architectural forms and ethnic identities, as much as economic ones. This chapter examines this transformation in three parts: LAIC's early days developing modest homes for laborers in South Los Angeles, their moving west into the development of fully improved middle-class subdivisions, and their development of racially and economically restricted, federally subsidized communities after reorganization.

The work of scholars in relating transformations in home building and finance to public-private relationships and policy formation is foundational to this chapter. According to John Mack Faragher in his writings on California's housing development, it wasn't until after the Great Depression that "builders developed essential techniques of the modern home construction industry, consolidating subdivision, construction, and sales into a single operation, where specialized teams for tract construction were allocated."[335] Kimberly Hernandez demonstrates how an earlier instantiation of this type of practice occurred with LAIC prior to the Great Depression. Hernandez describes LAIC's formation as a response to regional interests in attracting laborers to support the growth of industry. Her account focuses on the relationships between LAIC's financial structures, public financial institutions and policies, and the national economy. With a lack of financial oversight prior to the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, LAIC fashioned itself as a trust company, providing dividend shares to stockholders based on company

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[335] John Mack Faragher, "Bungalow and Ranch House: The Architectural Backwash of California," *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 2: 149-73.

growth. But as Hernandez outlines, the inflated valuation of LAIC's holdings, increased arbitrarily 6% per year, made the company and its shareholders especially vulnerable to economic fluctuation.[336] According to Hernandez, companies like LAIC were operating in the shadows of big-name developers like Henry Huntington, but as this chapter demonstrates, LAIC's success was contingent upon Huntington's practices. This chapter expands upon Hernandez' work by considering LAIC's practice as connected to, rather than contrasted with, the practices of Huntington and other regional developers. By tracking LAIC's exchanges with Huntington's subsidiary companies in the development of those early subdivisions that Hernandez contrasted with the work of the Huntington Land and Improvement Company (HLIC) and extending the view beyond LAIC's reorganization in 1913 to consider their eventual commonalities with HLIC, this chapter demonstrates how private developers were in fact entangled with regional speculation. Considered alongside the context of racial formation from the early 1900s to 1930s, LAIC's trajectory proves part and parcel of the segregation of Los Angeles, as does the bungalow with which they populated both the industrial and residential suburbs.

Marc Weiss describes the aspect of planning exercised by LAIC in their cooperation with gas, electric and water companies as coordination, whereby private developers needed to negotiate with public interest, utilities, and infrastructure to ensure increase in sales values for their subdivisions.[337] The revolution in community development was completed in the 1940s

[336] Kim Hernandez, "The "Bungalow Boom": The Working-Class Housing Industry and the Development and Promotion of Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles," *Southern California Quarterly* 92, no. 4 (December 2010): 351-92; on LAIC in the "shadow" of Huntington, see page 361.

[337] Marc A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning* (Beard Books, 2002).

according to Wiess, as FHA stimulus moneys were tied to large scale community building projects like Levittown. From the 1920s, when high-end private real estate was driven by entrepreneurs and their restrictions, landscaping, and infrastructure development, to the 1930s when zoning, subdivision regulations, and land use plans were in their infancy, to the 1940s, when these efforts were written into law and financially supported by the federal government, Weiss traces a movement from private to public governance. This chapter expands on Weiss' scholarship by considering the role of architecture and design in this transformation, not as a linear progression, but as an intertwined set of value productions between private and public interest, big-name entrepreneurs, community builders, and homeowner populations, even before the 1920s.

From 1900 to 1913, mortgage finance and city planning were unregulated, which opened a window for privatized development to shape the city of Los Angeles. Developers were inflected by regional and public interests in geography and risk mitigation, as much as privatized design and finance.[338] As Laura Redford's work on the entanglement of race and class through the practices of the Los Angeles Real Estate Board (LAREB) demonstrates, individual and neighborhood scale developments were also mapped to positions of power in the city.[339] LAREB promoted exclusive residential use zoning and improvements for neighborhoods that had political interest in the city and its leadership, those where White middle and upper class populations lived. When the Chamber of Commerce (LACOC) wanted to market Los Angeles to

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[338] See Sam Bass Warner's account on Boston, in *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870–1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and The MIT Press, 1962). Warner argues that in the absence of zoning and large development, regulations needed to be redistributed. From individual agency came uniformity in behavior, a "Regulation Without Laws."

[339] Laura Redford, "The Intertwined History of Class and Race Segregation in Los Angeles," *Journal of Planning History* 16, no. 4 (November 2016): 305-322

industrial giants like Goodyear Tire, they concentrated on the geographies of South LA along freight lines to the harbor where Mexican, Black, and Asian populations lived among the foreign-born White working class. When they wanted to market to Anglo-Americans for residential settlement, they focused on subdivisions in the north and west, located on foothill sites along transportation routes at a distance from industry and commerce. As Andrea Gibbons shows, the dynamics of home valuation between the city center, where ethnically Mexican, Asian, and Black migrants and Eastern European immigrants were historically concentrated, and the periphery, where White suburban enclaves economically prospered, are intrinsic to urban planning and form.[340] Though Los Angeles's growth was patterned as an alternative to concentric development and the supposed decline that accompanied it, capital followed the growth of decentralized suburbs, where middle-class homes and the required average income to own them excluded non-White populations, as did racial restrictions and violence.[341] Ruth Wilson Gilmore describes this process as "organized abandonment," whereby jobs, protections, and opportunities move away from central regions of the city along with White working-class populations as they assimilate to an Anglo middle-class suburban ideal.[342] While Back people were charged more for dwellings in the central city that appreciated less, they were subject to the toxic environmental hazards concentrated therein.[343] And as Richard Rothstein argues, industrial

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[340] Andrea Gibbons, *City of Segregation: 100 Years of Struggle for Housing in Los Angeles* (Verso Books, 2018).

[341] Rothstein, Richard, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (NY: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017), 49.

[342] Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "Ruth Wilson Gilmore Makes the Case for Abolition" with Guest Hist Chenjerai Kumanyika, *The Intercepted Podcast* (June 10, 2020) accessed at: https://theintercept.com/2020/06/10/ruth-wilson-gilmore-makes-the-case-for-abolition/

[343] Laura Pulido, "Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90, no. 1 (March 2000): 12-40.

or toxic waste zoning was often applied to predominantly Black neighborhoods, causing an overlay between economic zoning and race at the regional level.[344] From the formation of a "dual market in banking," whereby Black persons were denied financing or charged more for less secure mortgage loans at the individual level, to the racial segregation written into the deeds of properties at the community level, the supposed risk associated with Black populations were isolated from superior geographies and forms of homeownership in Los Angeles.[345] Though racial zoning was not practiced in Los Angeles as it was in the South, racially restrictive covenants were widespread, preventing non-White persons from purchasing or occupying properties in White neighborhoods. When racially restrictive covenants were banned in 1948, racial violence and discriminatory or predatory lending were enlisted to maintain the color line.[346] Today, racial segregation in Los Angeles remains trenchant, even when accounting for differences in income.[347] The work of Critical Race scholars is furthered in this chapter by considering how profits were secured for beneficiaries of Whiteness through the exploitation of Black populations, a central device of domestic, internal, or neo-colonialism, through LAIC's design of homes, subdivisions, and community developments.

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[344] Rothstein, *The Color of Law*, 48.

[345] As early as the nineteenth century, a "dual market in banking" was formed based on the belief that Black people posed greater risks to financial institutions. Black persons were either relegated to community-based networks with limited funds or charged more for less secure loans, making it harder for them to invest in property. See: Mehrsa Baradaran, *The Color of Money: Black Banks and the Racial Wealth Gap* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017).

[346] Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019).

[347] Paul Ong, C. Pech, J. Chea, and C. Aujean Lee, "Race, Ethnicity, and Income Segregation in Los Angeles" *Working Paper 8, UCLA Center for Neighborhood Knowledge* (2016).

Urban design scholars have long been interested in the historical evolution of South Los Angeles and its historically Black population. Marne Campbell's account of Biddy Mason and Robert Owens and their investment in land, homes, and a Black community in the 1880s, for example, demonstrates the early contributions of Black leaders to the districts of South Los Angeles.[348] Beyond the upper-middle-class ascensions of Black leaders in LA, historians including Andrew Weise, Becky Nicolaides and Dolores Hayden have shed light on the importance of working and middle-class housing to the development of the American landscape.[349] Nicolaides' account of South Gate, for example, expands the definition of suburban to include the self-built, ad hoc, varied forms of housing of the White working class near commerce and industry. These spaces on the south end of town, neither rural or urban, were an important contribution to the housing market and the development of the city and its economy and population. Weise's account of African American suburbanization further counters notions of the suburbs as the realm of White "bourgeois utopias," by describing the mutual construction of Black identity in America with shifting class structures after the Civil Rights Movement.[350]Akin to the White and Latinx working-class communities described by Nicolaides and others, "in contrast to the well-groomed suburbs of the White middle class, most early Black

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[348] Marne L. Campbell, *Making Black Los Angeles: Class, Gender, and Community, 1850-1917 (*Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

[349] See, for example: Becky M. Nicolaides, My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965 (University of Chicago Press, 2002); Andrew Wiese, Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century (University of Chicago Press, 2005); Dolores Hayden, Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000 (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2009)

[350] The term "bourgeois utopias," used to describe the suburbs as the exclusive realm of elite and middle-class White people, has been challenged by scholars such as Weise. For the original usage of the term, see Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (Basic Books, 2008).

suburbs were unplanned, unregulated, and unpretentious working-class communities."[351] The polyglot nature of these landscapes was largely due to their location along the interurban railways, and the demand for working-class housing close to places of employment. In the early decades of the twentieth century, most Black men found work as railway porters, barbers, cooks, laborers, and domestic servants, even if they were self-employed.[352] In 1867, Pullman hired only Black men as porters on rail cars. Rail work was concentrated near the switching stations of South Los Angeles between downtown and the harbor to the south. After 1900, Black employment in carpentry, masonry, plastering, painting, and plumbing increased, despite being squeezed out by trade unions in the following decades. These companies depended on proximity to power, oil, water, and heavy hauling transportation that the southlands of LA offered. The "Alameda Corridor," between Alameda Avenue and the LA River, attracted Black populations along with the Central Avenue district, the "Eastside" district, the Furlong Tract at the west border of Watts, and across the river in Boyle Heights. These neighborhoods thrived as Black cultural, social, and entrepreneurial centers in the LA. landscape, with contributions from Black business, land, and home owners like Biddy Mason and Charlotta Bass, and Black architects like Paul Williams.

Underlying industrial interests in South LA were the restrictions on property made through zoning and deeds in other parts of Los Angeles. In his 1936 survey of "The Negro in Los Angeles," doctoral scholar J. Max Bond noted the freedoms afforded by the lack of housing

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[351] Wiese, *Places of Their Own*, 20.

[352] Jack D. Forbes, "The Early African Heritage of California" in *Seeking El Dorado, African Americans in California*, edited by Lawrence de Graaf, Kevin Mulroy, and Quintard Taylor, (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2001).

restrictions, but only in the undesirable areas of LA near oil wells, swamp lands, warehouses, policing, and poor sanitary conditions, stated to be "typified by a physical individuality and the characteristic attitudes, sentiments and interests of the people segregated within it."[353] After 1892, city and government led racial discrimination was outlawed, however, individuals, collectives and corporations found ways to sustain racial hierarchies in the built environment. Housing covenants were written into the deeds of properties, to prevent certain races and classes from occupying LA geographies preferable for residential use. Realtors, developers, and property owners operated under the assumption that the presence of non-White people in a neighborhood would be detrimental to property values. "Not of the Caucasian race" included Black, Latinx, Asian American, Jewish, and Italian populations in the early decades of the twentieth century. The less desirable neighborhoods of South and East LA near concentrations of railroads, industry, and the LA River, subject to flooding and pollution, were without deed restrictions. An LA City Council Ordinance was passed in 1908 that prohibited industry from occupying territories in North and West Los Angeles that were blanketed with racial deed restrictions. The ordinance created three large, residentially zoned districts where uses determined to be "nuisances," including laundries, lumber yards, and factories were forbidden, effectively relegating these uses to South and East Los Angeles, where LA's non-White populations were concentrated. The regions of South, Southeast and East LA, on the other hand, were zoned as

[353] Quote by USC Sociology Professor Emory Bogardus, provided on Op Cit. 224 of J. Max Bond, "The Negro in Los Angeles," (Ph.D. Diss, University of Southern California, 1936).

industrial, ignoring the existent interspersion of homes and businesses.[354] As located next to industry, property in South LA depreciated in residential value.

Despite the covert measures behind the segregated development of LA, race leaders and homeowners were inspired by the relative opportunities presented by Los Angeles during the years of Jim Crow segregation in the South. When Harlan Paul Douglass surveyed the region in 1925 to categorize its "suburban types," with respect to the "industrial suburbs" of South LA, he stated "Without civic coherence or community consciousness, suburbs of this sort present many of the aspects of the frontier mining camp. Scores of them exist along the edges of the Los Angeles oil fields - their sordidness redeemed only by the outdoor climate and the somewhat aesthetic tradition of the California bungalow."[355] At the turn of the century, abolitionist leaders including W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington promoted self-building and homeownership to achieve greater equality for the race. Advances in building technology, lightweight construction, and transportation, provided for the proliferation of the modest single-family bungalow across the temperate LA landscape. Upon visiting LA in 1913, NAACP leader W.E.B. Du Bois wrote that "these colored people (...) are without doubt the most beautifully housed group of colored people in the United States."[356] The LA homes of several prominent professionals and businessmen, as well as the business block owned by the "wealthiest colored resident of the city," were pictured "to show the stranger its beauty and enterprise" (Figure 3).

[354] George J. Sanchez, "Generations of Segregation: Immigrant Dreams and Segregated Lives in Metropolitan Los Angeles," *in New World Cities*, ed. John Tutino and Martin V. Melosi (University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 210–41; See especially: 220-3.

[355] Harlan Paul Douglass, *The Suburban Trend* (Century, 1925) 96.

[356] The "California Number" of the NAACP nationally recognized and distributed periodical: The Crisis (The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., 1913) 193.

The Black-owned homes and businesses featured were from the upper-middle-class “colored” section of Los Angeles along Central Avenue, where the editor stayed during their visit. A Black doctor, the Secretary of the “colored YMCA,” and a reputable Black photographer were of those whose homes were pictured. Wealthy Black families such as these comprised a small fraction of the total Black population of Los Angeles at the time. Even though LA contained relatively greater opportunities for Black people than elsewhere in the United States, these were sequestered for professionals in specific sections of the city. Du Bois acknowledged that “to be sure Los Angeles is not paradise,” continuing, “the color line there is sharply drawn.”[357]

[357] Ibid.

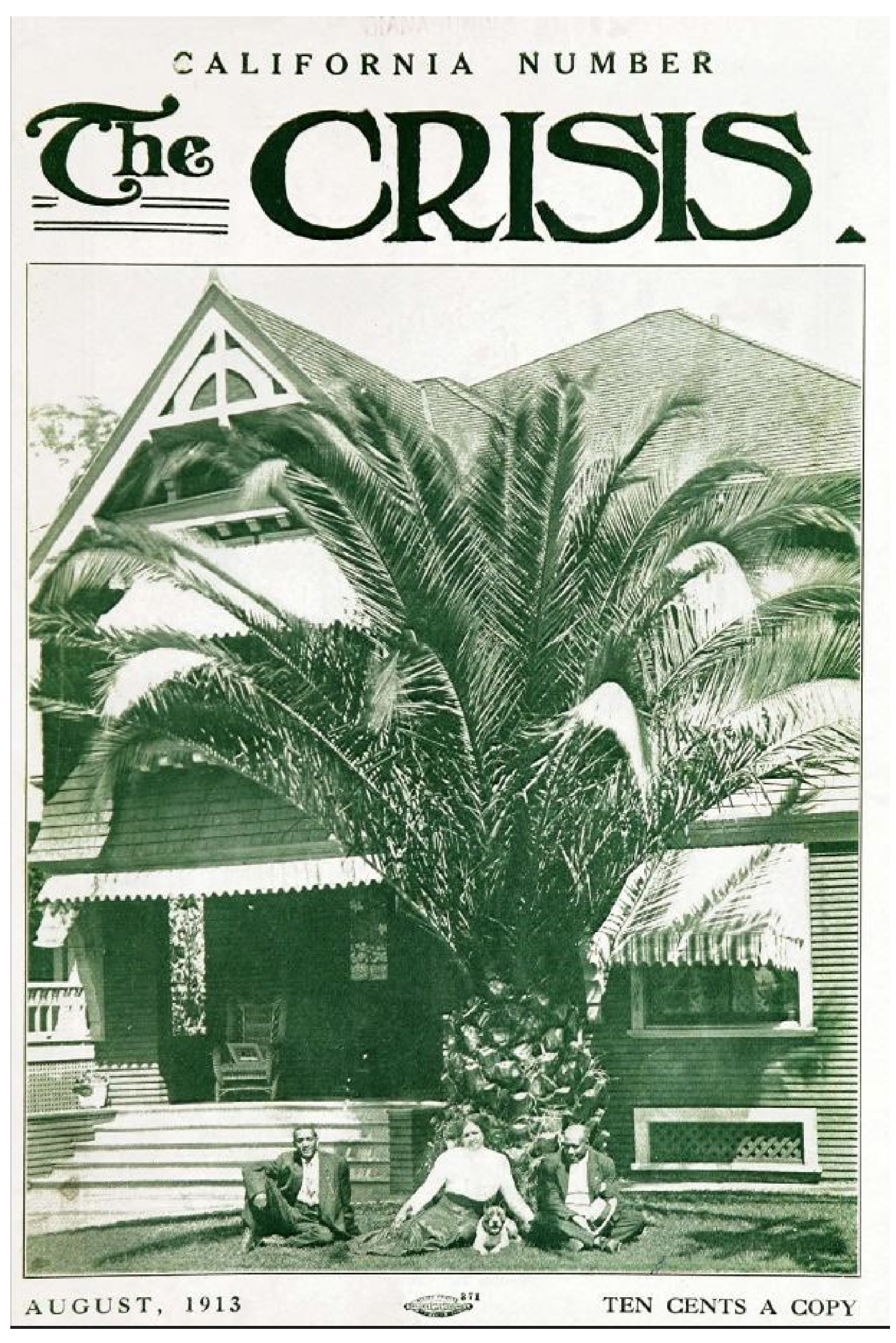

Figure 3: The 1913 "California Number" of *The Crisis*, a publication by W.E.B. Du Bois and the NAACP, featuring bungalows of Los Angeles owned by successful Black businessmen.

Though Booker T. Washington promoted an "accommodationist" approach, advocating for racially separate economic development, rather than Du Bois' belief in a "talented tenth" to lead the way to integration, he similarly described homeownership as a central tenet of race progress.[358] In a 1902 article titled "Solving the Color Line Problem," Washington's pedagogy was supported with accounts of Back people who had made a living and contributed to the development of Los Angeles, materially and culturally. The article asserted that "in the southeastern part of the city limits is a prosperous colony of colored people engaged in hog and poultry ranching. A few years ago, this property, being low and sandy, was considered worthless, and was purchased by the present colored owners for a mere trifle. The whole strip lying along the river is covered with small cottages and well-kept hog and poultry ranches."[359] The description spoke to the ingenuity of Los Angeles' Black population, in addition to the success of Black boosters.[360] The neighborhoods of Nevin, Central-Alameda and Vernon, between Slauson, East Washington Boulevard, Alameda, and Central Avenue, home to Los Angeles' Black populations into the 1940s, were once richly integrated tapestries of labor, leisure, entertainment, and family life.[361] The Black population of Los Angeles increased from 7,600 in 1910, to 15,579 in 1920, to over 39,000 in 1930. Famed writer Arna Bontemps' grandparents found their footing

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[358] Flamming describes the distinction between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois' ethos in *Bound for Freedom*.

[359] "Solving the Color Line Problem: What Some Colored Men of Los Angeles Are Doing for Themselves and Their Race," *Los Angeles Herald* XXIX, no. 152 (March 2, 1902).

[360] For an account of the differences in the promotion of Los Angeles based on the race and class they were intended for, see: William Deverell and Douglas Flamming, "Race, Rhetoric, and Regional Identity: Boosting Los Angeles 1880-1930" in *Power and Place in the North American West*, edited by Richard White and John M. Findlay (Seattle: Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest in association with University of Washington Press, 1999).

[361] Centralavecollaborative, "Race-Ethnic Majority Map, Los Angeles County, 1940 (Highlighting Central Avenue)" Cartography by Phil Ethington, 2015. Accessed at: https://scalar.usc.edu/works/historic-central-avenue-los-angeles/race-ethnic-majority-map-los-angeles-county-1940--highlighting-central-avenue

by buying several acres of farmland between Watts and Los Angeles, building a home and barn in the Furlong tract along the Pacific Electric Railway from LA to Long Beach in 1902.[362] As Wiese describes of pre-WWII Los Angeles, Black families kept domestic animals and farmed on their properties to help ameliorate the insecurity of wage labor under racial capitalism.[363] The land could be used for food when work was short or wages were cut. Bontemps' parents migrated from Louisiana where they both received vocational training. In LA, Bontemps' father found work as a brick mason, and mother as a school teacher. Having received training in trades available to Black persons in Los Angeles, the Bontemps reflected Washington's accommodationist pedagogies. Despite the freedom of the West compared with the racial tyranny of the South, Black populations were still economically and physically segregated, reflecting what Douglas Flamming describes as the paradox of Black homeownership in Los Angeles.[364] But the California real estate industry united against Black, Mexican, Chinese, and Jewish populations alike through their racist policies and practices. Even if a constant threat in the workplace, LA's ethnic and racial diversity mitigated anti-Black racism in neighborhoods. Small homes were interspersed with rail yards in South and East LA, where Black, White, Mexican, Chinese, and Japanese laborers lived while working in the surrounding industries. These neighborhoods were effectively coalitions against racial violence. Laborers pooled money and contributed sweat equity to gain homeownership, through which they shared social and

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[362] Douglas Flamming, "A Westerner in Search of 'Negro-ness': Region and Race in the Writing of Arna Bontemps," in *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West*, ed. Valerie J Matsumodo, Blake Allmendinger. 86-9

[363] Wiese, *Places of Their Own*, 20.

[364] Douglas Flamming, *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 102.

capital resources beyond those governed by White employers and landlords in positions of power.

As Greg Hise and Mike Davis' work demonstrates, the transformation of South Los Angeles into an industrial center was a carefully planned and coordinated effort between the LACOC and White entrepreneurial developers. At the time that John Leonis and James Furlong began buying and selling lands surrounding the Furlong Tract for industrial use, it was a suburban enclave of parks, single-family homes, and small farms. The Eastside Industrial and Central Manufacturing Districts displaced Mexican and Indigenous "colonias" to make way for steel, lumber, and brick construction, and later, auto and aerospace industries, that mainly hired White workers.[365] When the town of Vernon was incorporated in 1905 with a motto of "exclusively industrial," Leonis gave away free land to factories to relocate, while selling lots to Black families for $750. Dappled with bars, brothels, and 27 slaughterhouses, and serving as the boxing capital of the world, Vernon's entertainment venues hosted discussions of business ventures that would transform the city into an industrial powerhouse by the 1920s.[366] Although 40% of the Black population in Los Angeles owned their own home in 1910, these homes were almost entirely concentrated in South and East LA, where entrepreneurs speculated on industrial

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[365] See Mike Davis, "Sunshine and the Open Shop" and Greg Hise, "Industry and Imaginative Geographies" in *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s,* Ed. By Tom Sitton (Los Angeles and Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).

[366] Sportswriter James Kilty wrote "railroad tycoons, heads of the packing industries, builders and contractors and nearly all of the big businessmen of Vernon's early period met at [Jack Doyle's] restaurant's round table to discuss business ventures that were later established in Vernon. It was the spawning grounds for hundreds of enterprises that totaled millions of dollars for this great industrial center," quoted in Leslie Evans and Jennifer Charnofsky, "The Furlongs of Vernon and Van Buren Place," West Adams Heritage Association, n.d. Accessed at: https://www.westadamsheritage.org/read/401. Jack Doyle's Central Saloon was located at Santa Fe Avenue and Joy Street, before being relocated to Santa Fe and 38th Street. The boxing stadium, with a capacity of 15,000, was located at 25th and Santa Fe. Both thrived until the start of prohibition in 1919.

growth, rather than residential investments.[367] This history underlies the transformation of LAIC's Butler and Elder and Elder Place tracts, located just north and east of the Vernon boxing stadium and saloon, from residential subdivisions to manufacturing hubs.

3.1 LAIC Early Days: Modest Homes for the Working Man in South LA

George Beavers, co-founder of first Black life insurance and mortgage company, Golden State Mutual, grew up with his family in LAIC's Butler and Elder Tract in South LA.[368] Beavers and his father followed race leaders like Booker T. Washington, who inspired them to seek out better economic conditions and race relations by moving to Los Angeles from their hometown in Georgia in 1902. Beavers' father found work as a laborer for the PERC railroad expansion to Whittier, while George worked bringing water to the track layers. Beavers married and bought a home next to his parents' residence on East Washington Street near Santa Fe in 1911. Two years later, the two generations lost their homes and all their belongings in what Beavers believes to be an electrical fire. Though the exact cause was unknown, properties were built dangerously close to electrical and transportation infrastructures. Beavers would go on to establish his business on South Central Avenue, lending money to Black people for mortgages on homes in White neighborhoods, that would be considered in the Supreme Court's decision to outlaw racially

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367 Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present* (University of California Press, 2004) 16.

368 Beavers, George. "In Quest of Full Citizenship" Oral History Interview by Ranford B. Hopkins. University of California, Los Angeles Library, Department of Special Collections.

restrictive covenants in 1948.[369] The Golden State Mutual worked against White predatory lenders by offering loan rates and securities that approximated those offered to White people by big banks. Beavers' ability to transcend the limitations placed upon his race was an exception, rather than the rule. Other homeowners of LAIC's South LA tracts were subject to the flooding of LA's swampy lowlands, the environmental pollution of nearby industry, and the dangers of the adjacent infrastructures, as well as the terms and practices of financers willing to lend to people associated with greater risk, those seen as poor or non-White.

The precarious positioning of the Butler and Elder Tract can be observed in the real estate atlas survey from 1910 (Figure 4). The Atchison and Santa Fe (ATSF) Railroad split south and east through the tract, occupying almost two-thirds of the acreage. In connection with ATSF, the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad constructed a line from Los Angeles east to the Riverside Junction from 1901 to 1904. The steam lines of ATSF and Pacific Electric joined along the southern edge of the Butler and Elder Tract, while the Pacific Electric passenger rail line ran along its western border south to Long Beach. To the northeast of the site was the largest switching station in the region, and to the southwest, the Huntington Industrial Tract of the Huntington Land and Improvement Company. With the growth of the interurban railway in Los Angeles, city officials and homeowners began lobbying for railroad companies to oil and sprinkle roadbeds to prevent dust. *Engineering Contracting* magazine recommended coating

[369] Beavers stated: "Long before the decision of the [United States] Supreme Court striking down the illegal covenant in deeds--racial covenant in deeds, which made it impossible for Negroes to get clear title--before that decision, our company was lending money on homes in white areas, and despite the fact that these deeds contained race restrictions. But we knew that the race restrictions were not valid, and that some time that they would have to be lifted. But in any event, owning the property--They couldn't keep you from owning it, they might keep you from living in it. And so by virtue of that policy, we helped to break the backs of the legal segregation, and bring about this law--United States Supreme Court decision outlawing the racial restrictions in deeds, and some of the property that we made loans on was involved in the decision." Ibid.

unpaved city streets three times per year, stating that for an estimated price of $100 per mile of double track, it would be economical for use on private roads or outside of built-up cities, "especially on sandy roads leading to pleasure resorts."[370] The Huntington-led PERC and LARC, with interest in housing developments and resorts throughout the region, purchased their own oil wells to save money on dust mitigation. In 1903, the *Electric Railway Review* told of PERC and LARC's usage of crude oil for laying dust, which at 75-80 cents per barrel, was stated to have cost less than sprinkling the roadbeds with water.[371] Surrounded by fuel manufacturing plants, lumber yards, oil pits, and forge works, homeowners of Butler and Elder would have incurred minimal costs in commuting to local employment opportunities, but maximal exposure to toxic waste. Unlike with the private drives of the leisure suburbs, roadways closer to the built-up section of the city would have presented obstacles to mechanized oiling procedures. With sporadic plumbing and above-ground electric poles, irregular setbacks and a range of building types and uses, and the concentration of people and need for frequent travel to the central business district, coating efforts would have proved difficult, if not dangerous. As a result, dust was likely to have been prevalent, along with all its negative respiratory health impacts.

LAIC likely began their subdivision operations here for two reasons: land was cheap in the lowlands just west of the LA River; and the confluence of railways at the intersection made it easily accessible for passengers and freight to reach the property. Having served since 1882 as superintendent and manager of his father's building company, the Elder Syndicate in Topeka, Kansas, LAIC President Charles Elder had experience and knowledge in property development,

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[370] "Some Costs to Electric Railway Companies of Street Cleaning and Oiling and Sprinkling Roadbed," *Engineering Contracting* 28 (December 25, 1907).

[371] "Oiling Roadbeds in California," *Electric Railway Review* 13, no. 8 (August 20, 1903): 450.

in addition to an architectural education. Elder graduated from the School of Architecture at the University of Illinois, where he would have been exposed to the German polytechnic method upon which the curriculum was founded. The teachings of U of I opposed the Beaux Arts model that favored classical training and elite apprenticeship, favoring instead rationalized construction methods and practices.[372] Elder purportedly moved to Los Angeles in 1895 looking to cure his consumption, another term for tuberculosis at the time. He worked as a draftsman in the architecture firm Smith and Elder with partner A.C. Smith, who would go on to become a popular designer of school buildings in the region.[373] In 1899 Elder incorporated the Los Angeles Investment Company with partners Deeble and Derby. LAIC absorbed the Elder Syndicate and the Smith and Elder practice shortly thereafter.[374] Efficiencies of scale, whereby a house plan could be replicated within a subdivision, followed the polytechnic ethos of Elder's education, as did the design of model housing within an architectural department of a company, rather than by a named individual.

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[372] For the distinctions between these schools of thought and how they viewed and incorporated architecture history into architectural training, see: Stanford Anderson, "Architectural History in Schools of Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (September 1999): 282-90.

[373] Architect A. C. Smith designed the first 1909 Mission Revival style Montebello High School, which was located on the Southwest corner of Whittier and Cedar. Smith was noted by the *School Board Journal* to have prepared plans for a 4-room addition to a Belvedere School building in 1906 (Vol. XXXII, no. 6 (June 1906): 24), for the erection of a $20,000 school in Downey in 1905 (XXXI, No. 4 (October 1905): 24), for a 2-story 8-room school in Dolgeville in 1906 (Vol. XXXIII, no. 5 (November 1906): 26), and for the $30,000 construction of Alhambra High School in 1905 (Vol. XXX, no. 3 (March 1905): 24).

[374] Details on Elder's upbringing and LAIC's origin story from "A Man of Millions," *The American Globe* (1911): 11-13.

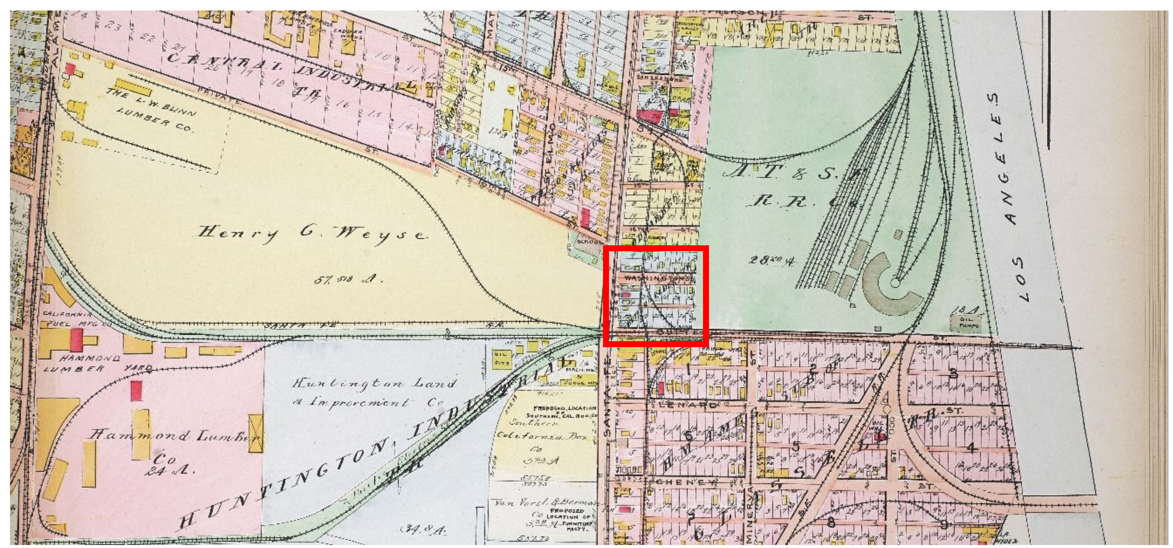

Figure 4: "Butler and Elder Tract," Baist's Real Estate Atlas of Surveys of Los Angeles, Cal. 1910, Library of Congress.

LAIC acquired the land for their Butler and Elder Tract in 1902, which they subdivided into 33, 30x100-foot lots. LAIC built a total of 17 single-story, wood frame houses in the subdivision, while the other 16 lots were sold as vacant land. Without sanitary sewage infrastructure laid in the surrounding neighborhoods, homes in the tract were not equipped with toilets, and electrical infrastructures were implemented only after purchases had been made. Based on the fire insurance survey from 1906, the homes varied greatly in size, shape, and configuration with respect to each lot (Figure 5). Side yard setback distances were irregular and ranged from as little as 4 to as great as 15 feet. Most dwellings featured a covered front porch and some form of small, free-standing accessory building in the rear yard, including those noted as tents, sheds, and out houses. A broad representation of economic standing is not surprising for this region, given it was one of few that Black, Mexican, Asian, and Eastern European migrants and immigrants were not prevented from occupying through deed restrictions and racial violence, regardless of their income. The footprint of the dwelling on lot 2432, for example, was nearly three times as large as that of the dwelling on lot 2425, both built by LAIC likely

speculating as to the economic range of prospective buyers. The vacant lots and groupings of small accessory buildings scattered throughout the tract also suggest something about the character of the development. It was common at the time for working-class and non-White families with minimal access to capital to live in a tent on financed lots while saving to build their home over time. Many used their land to raise chickens and grow food, which necessitated ad-hoc, self-built structures and practices.[375] LAIC marketed their bungalows as homes for people of "modest means." Two to four room, one to one-and-a-half story wooden structures were in accordance with the preferred style and could be constructed for $200 and sold for $500-750.[376] LAIC offered loans for the purchase of lots and homes for 10% down, and 1% monthly installments with 6% interest over a twelve-year period. LAIC catered to a specific audience for Butler and Elder, stating in their bungalow catalog "this tract is exclusively for the use of colored people and has restrictions which prohibit any white person from living therein."[377] The lots and homes built and sold exclusively to Black families in Butler and Elder were not pictured in LAIC's bungalow catalogs, despite their alignment with company ambitions. In the 1910 census, the homes along East Washington Street in the tract were owned and rented by Black and "Mulatto" (both Black and White racial identity) families, including: Robinson Dillard, who worked as a hod carrier for a building company, and mortgaged a house where he lived with his

[375] Family lived in the tent pictured near the LA River in South LA while they gathered sheet metal to build the neighboring house, c.1932, Los Angeles County Department of Health Services Collection, Huntington Digital Library; A man feeds chickens behind his South LA residence. C.1910, Shades of L.A. Photo Collection, Digital Collections of the Los Angeles Public Library. These types of lot configurations, used for both dwelling and economic production, were described by Patricia Rae Adler in "Watts: From Suburb to Black Ghetto" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1977), 280.

[376] As referenced from "Bungalow Boom," Hernandez estimated that if paid out over the full term of the loan, LAIC would make a $1,480 profit on a single sale.

[377] Los Angeles Investment Company., Bungalows and Cottages in Southern California. Presenting House and Plans as Built and Streets and Tracts as Developed by the Los Angeles Investment Company (Los Angeles, 1909).

wife Hallie, two daughters, and two sons; and Luke Hammock, who worked as a railway porter and lived with his wife Hannah, who worked as a servant for a private family, and their daughter and two sons.[378] At the time, laborers in California made 25 cents per hour on average, with some making as low as 16 cents an hour. In 1913, laborers in Los Angeles belonging to the United Laborers' Union made 25-27 cents an hour.[379] Facing racial discrimination and violence, Black workers had a harder time gaining acceptance into unions and were often relegated to self-employment and wages as low as $30 per month. By not limiting the use and location of buildings in the deeds for lots in Butler and Elder, LAIC allowed for potential homeowners to use the land as desired or needed in the moment, and to stake a claim to the future potential of the lot or a home thereon. LAIC's early subdivisions were not only for people of "modest means," then, but for "colored" populations with extremely limited options.

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[378] Enumeration District 132, Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population (Los Angeles, California, 1910).

[379] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Average and Classified Rates of Wages per Hour in Each Year, by States, 1912 and 1913" in Wages and Hours of Labor in the Lumber, Millwork, and Furniture Industries 1907 to 1913 no. 12, May 21, 1914 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1914): 95-7; "Wages and Hours of Labor of Union Carpenters in the United States and in English-Speaking Foreign Countries" in Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor XX, no. 87 (March, 1910): 585; Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of California 1913-1914 (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1914).

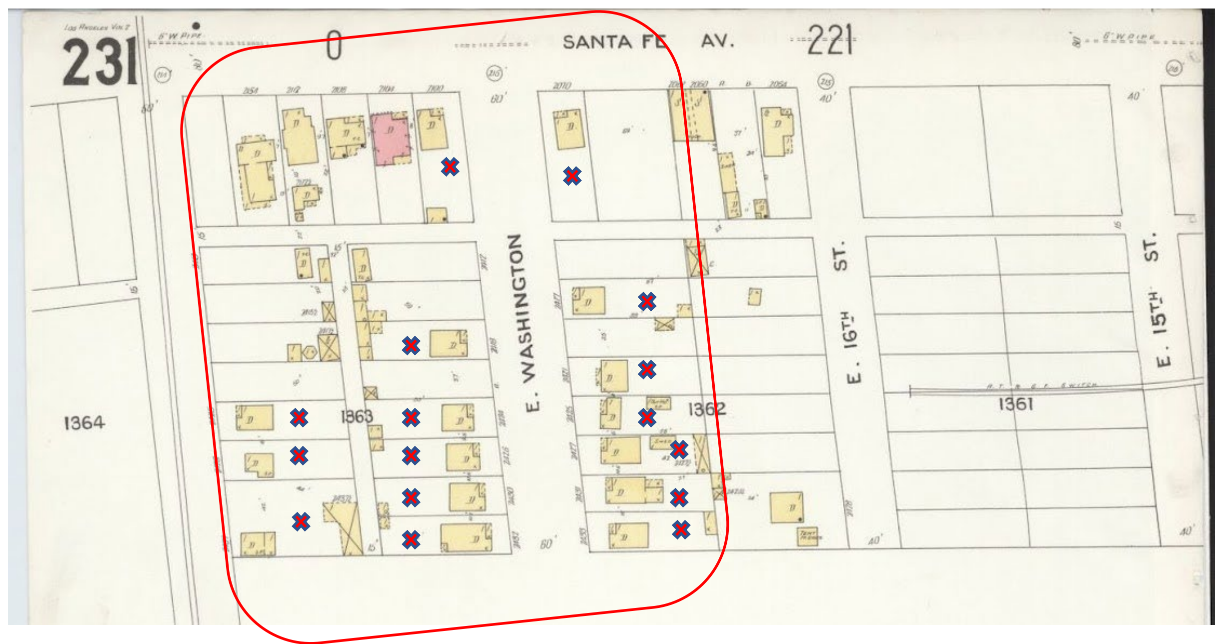

Figure 5: Butler & Elder Tract, at the intersection of Santa Fe Avenue and East Washington Street. Red "x" indicates those lots with houses presumably built by LAIC before the tract was placed on the market. Note the AT&SF Railroad spur connecting to E. 16th Street. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Los Angeles County, California, 1906, Library of Congress.

LAIC's private financing structures and modest homes and lots were carried across the first four of their South LA subdivisions built prior to 1909. Elder Place #1, east of Long Beach Avenue between 20th and 22nd streets, included 111 lots over 16 acres, upon which LAIC built 74 houses. Elder Place #2, located between 38th and 40th streets west of Long Beach Avenue, was divided into 64 lots over 10 acres, where LAIC built 15 houses. In the Deeble Tract, located along 36th street between Compton and Morgan Avenues, where 55 lots were built over 10 acres, LAIC built 54 houses. With each successive development, LAIC subdivided the land into progressively larger lots and built more homes. An increase in lot valuation between LAIC's first four subdivisions was aligned with this trajectory. As of 1910, LAIC owned two lots in the Butler and Elder tract, valued at $750 each, two lots in Elder Place #1, valued at $1,000 each,

and 23 lots in Elder Place #2, valued at $1,165 each, and all lots in the Deeble Tract had sold.[380] Elder and his colleagues were operating according to urban theories of land value that would come to be associated with the Chicago School in the following decades.[381] The tracts nearest to the historic business center of Los Angeles, where the founding of the Pueblo de Los Angeles took place, were valued the least. Unlike Chicago, though, upon which the Concentric Zone Model by Ernest Burgess and Robert Park was based, Los Angeles did not follow a clearly circular pattern of development. The L.A. River formed a vertical line, along which extended the associations made by the Chicago School with the central business district. The regions from the central business district east across the river and south to the harbor along the river were low-lying, relatively flat, and swampy, surrounded by factories that relied on the river for transportation and waste in the early days of Los Angeles' metropolitan expansion. Land was significantly cheaper and less regulated in these regions, where LAIC could penetrate the market early in their career.

Each tract's descriptors and positioning in LAIC's bungalow catalog corresponded to the size, cost and numbers of improvements made to the subdivision. The homes built speculatively by LAIC before the tract was placed on the market doubled as patterns, upon which prospective home builders could base their new home designs for vacant lots. Tracts and homes were featured in the catalog with frontal perspective photographs and plans, as an example of the quality of work one could expect from LAIC as an architect, contractor, and builder. So while

[380] "Why Los Angeles Investment Company's Shares Sell at Present Price" in *The American Globe Investors Magazine* 7, no. 9 (October 1910): 8.

[381] Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, eds. *The City* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1925). Chapter One is largely based on Park's article, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment" in *The American Journal of Sociology* XX, no. 5 (March 1915): 577–612.

LAIC's catalog served to advertise the homes already built for purchase, it also reimagined a typical pattern book by including a full-scale model of the plans being sold. LAIC sold plans to those looking to build on lots outside of LAIC's tracts, while also selling a full vision of a home to be constructed by LAIC, with modifications or combinations as desired by the purchaser, on lots left vacant in their own tracts. In this way, LAIC saturated the market, serving a wide range of prospective interests in home building.

The racial and socioeconomic identity of the target population for each of LAIC's subdivisions also demonstrated their interest in a widened market. Though LAIC acquired 20-25 lots on West Temple as another "colored settlement" alongside Butler and Elder, Elder Place #1 was the earliest of LAIC's ventures to be pictured in their bungalow catalog, which they marketed to mill workers in the area. Unlike the Butler and Elder Tract, Elder Place was located further west from the LA River, the city dump, and the tangle of railroad junctions east of Alameda Street and was not explicitly forbidden from purchase by White people. The reverse redlining practiced by LAIC in the West Temple and Butler and Elder tracts demonstrates their interest in categorizing and predicting value based on racial identity. According to Deeble, "there was a particular effort made to reach, for purposes of disposition, and as purchasers of this property, a special class of people" at Elder Place.[382] "Special" in Deeble's terms seems to have meant millworkers, who would have included predominantly European immigrants. In 1910, those families recorded to be living in Elder Place #1 included: William Cooper, a White man from Indiana who worked as a sawyer at a lumber mill and lived with his wife Charlotte and her mother; and LeRoy Obrien, a White man of Irish-English descent who worked as a tally man for

[382] Deeble testimony, DCC 736, NAR.

a lumber company and lived with his wife, two children and father, who owned the house and worked as a foreman for a plastering company. The section house at the east end of 24th Street just south of Elder Place #1 was noted to belong to the Southern Pacific Railway, of which lessees included: Senrigutas Biviana and wife Cirldo, who immigrated from Mexico in 1875, and Fostina Aaguilar, who was working as a railroad laborer and living with wife Lorretta and daughter Juanita.[383] LAIC could not have explicitly restricted the tract at Elder Place from non-White occupation, because it was located in a multi-ethnic region. In Los Angeles, Mexican and Chinese populations were often subject to similar economic, geographic, and occupational discrimination as Black populations. While relegated to service jobs such as brickmaking and domestic caretaking, multi-racial coalitions and communities formed in South and East LA just outside of the central business district. By LAIC's contributions and accounts, these neighborhoods were also dappled with subdivisions intended for working-class White populations and "second immigrants," like those occupying the third zone of the Chicago School's concentric model. Los Angeles' urban pattern was a departure from Park and Burgess' model, with neatly segregated racial categories and spatial enclaves. Instead, it paired socioeconomics with race, where regions near the central business district blurred with those of the second immigrant settlement. Smaller pockets formed within these regions, comprised of Black, Asian, Latinx, Indigenous and working-class European immigrant coalitions.

LAIC's early consolidation of materials, labor, transportation, storage and building sites distinguished the company as an enterprise that would profit from every aspect of land development. In calling themselves a "co-operative," LAIC referenced the range of interests

[383] Enumeration District 140, Department of Commerce and Labor–Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population, Los Angeles, California (April 22nd, 1910).

working together to form one company, in addition to the profit-sharing model they practiced in which stockholders earned dividends as the company valuation increased. The company valuation increased as LAIC purchased more land, and as lots and homes were purchased or financed by individuals, proving a cyclical relationship between the company and individual, indebtedness and profit, all of which was fabricated based on speculation. Its formulation of a co-operative business strategy was manifest in the site selection, arrangement, and occupation of Elder Place #1, completed in 1906 (Figure 6). The subdivision was bracketed by Long Beach Avenue and the Pacific Electric Railway on the west, Alameda Street and the Southern Pacific freight line to the east, 20th Street to the north, and 22nd Street to the south. PERC had extended the Los Angeles line to Long Beach in 1902, passing through the racially diverse South LA neighborhoods of Watts, Compton, and Florence. The spur connecting the railroad right of way (ROW) along Long Beach Avenue to PERC's maintenance yard and shops, situated between 20th Street and E Washington Boulevard to the north, intersected with the Elder Place tract. Using proceeds from their first subdivisions, LAIC began building factories, warehouses, mills, and yards in the neighboring southlands, the first of which was at Elder Place. In the northernmost 30 lots of the tract, LAIC developed a mill site valued at $50,000 to be used for the collection, storage, preparation and assembly of building materials, and the staging of home construction for the adjacent subdivision. Forty feet was charted on each side of the 80-foot PERC ROW for the widening of Long Beach Avenue, which would have served as a buffer between PERC's expanding railway and the residential tract to the east. LAIC formed the Elder Building Material Company, a holding company for the LA Lumber Company, and Elder Paint Supply and Nursery as subsidiaries to obtain wholesale pricing. To allow for the control of pricing, quality, and the complete fabrication of homes by the company, bulk lumber purchases, in 500,000-foot vessel

loads on average, were shipped to Redondo and San Pedro, and brought by rail to LAIC's yards, where millions of feet of material were kept in stock. Hardware, glass, and cement were bought by the railcar load. Marketing and offering financing to mill men would have enticed skilled sawyers and lumber tally men like Cooper and O'Brien to purchase homes from, as well as work for, LAIC.

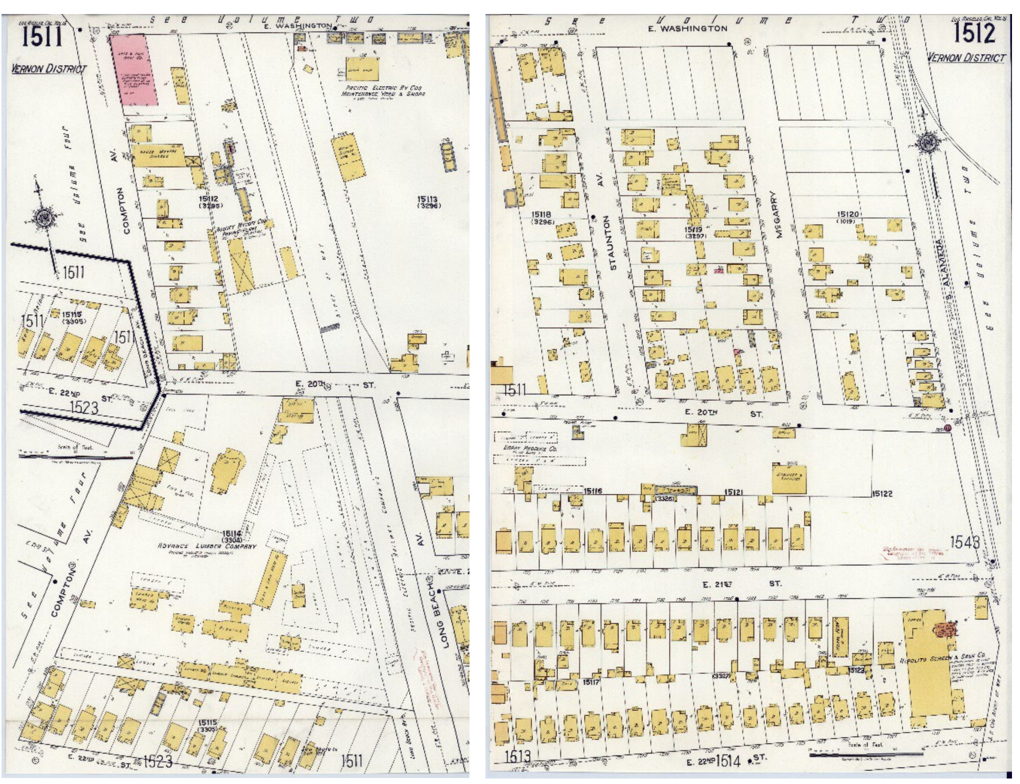

Figure 6: Elder Place Tract, between Long Beach and Alameda, 20th and 22nd. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, California, 1909, Library of Congress.

LAIC must have speculated on greater profits from the Elder Place subdivision, given their increased investment in improvements prior to sale. The land was purchased as acreage, and

according to Deeble, was the first tract the company "began to beautify."[384] Contrary to historical descriptions that Levittown or other residential developments from the 1940s were the first to sell houses with amenities, in LAIC's Elder Place tract of 1906, streets were paved, concrete sidewalks were poured, and street trees, lawns, flowers, and shrubbery were added along with 74 homes, leaving just a handful of lots open for future development. The increase in neighborhood improvement and home building prior to sale at Elder Place reflects the increase in population and demand, as well as the increase in debt or profits from earlier subdivisions that could be used upfront by LAIC. Sewers, gas, and electricity were installed prior to placing the tract on the market, and deed restrictions were implemented that regulated setback distances from lot lines and forbid the erection of fences in the front yard. In plan, the Elder Place subdivision illustrates a much greater degree of uniformity compared with that of Butler and Elder. Each of the 74 homes was of comparable size and position within the lot. Many homes contained both a front and rear porch, and while accessory buildings and rear lot configurations varied, frontages were rigidly offset equidistant from the street. Despite this replication, LAIC promoted the sale of identity and customization to their prospective homeowners by featuring the bungalows in isolation, each with individual names and characteristic trims in their catalog (Figure 7).[385] And yet, these variations were only realized at the level of the neighborhood, in comparing each bungalow to the others on the street. Identical lawns with centralized concrete walks and equally spaced street trees lent to the homogenous appearance of the subdivision. The regularized setback line facilitated surveillance, and therefore, control over the appearance and

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[384] DCC 736, NAR.

[385] Los Angeles Investment Company, *Bungalows and Cottages in Southern California: Presenting House and Plans as Built and Streets and Tracts as Developed by the Los Angeles Investment Company, Souvenir Edition of the Home Builder* (Los Angeles, 1909).

behaviors of individual homeowners as a group. LAIC further mandated that properties within their lots be designed, financed, and built by them, claiming superior quality control by way of this combination. Slight variations in roof profile, decorative woodwork and porch configuration provided an illusion of individuality within an otherwise highly regularized and regulated development.

The subdivision was a display of LAIC's coordinated efforts to railway passengers. In their 1909 bungalow catalog, it was stated that "this beautiful tract of cozy homes has attracted great attention from tourists and others who travel the Long Beach line and is considered by many persons to be one of the model working men's sections of the world."[386] 5-room bungalows and lots sold for $2,300, and were designed in the most popular Craftsman style varieties. If a prospective homeowner desired a house to be planned or built by the company based on one or more of the as-built homes featured in the bungalow catalog, they could obtain plans from LAIC. Architectural work in configuring plans was produced under the Smith and Elder name and was to be paid for by the purchaser. Elder himself took a 5% commission for sales made working as a real estate agent for the tract.[387] If customers purchased LAIC stock worth 10% of the property value, it could be used as collateral on the loan, to be paid out like rent at 7% interest over twelve years. LAIC operated as a trust company, sharing dividends with stockholders as incentive for their speculations in company growth. As of 1909, all employees of LAIC were stockholders in the company, which was valued at $3 million across 1900

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[386] Ibid.

[387] Deeble testimony, DCC 736, NAR.

shareholders. Lot and home purchasers and employees, who were also LAIC shareholders, would mutually benefit from the company's financial success.

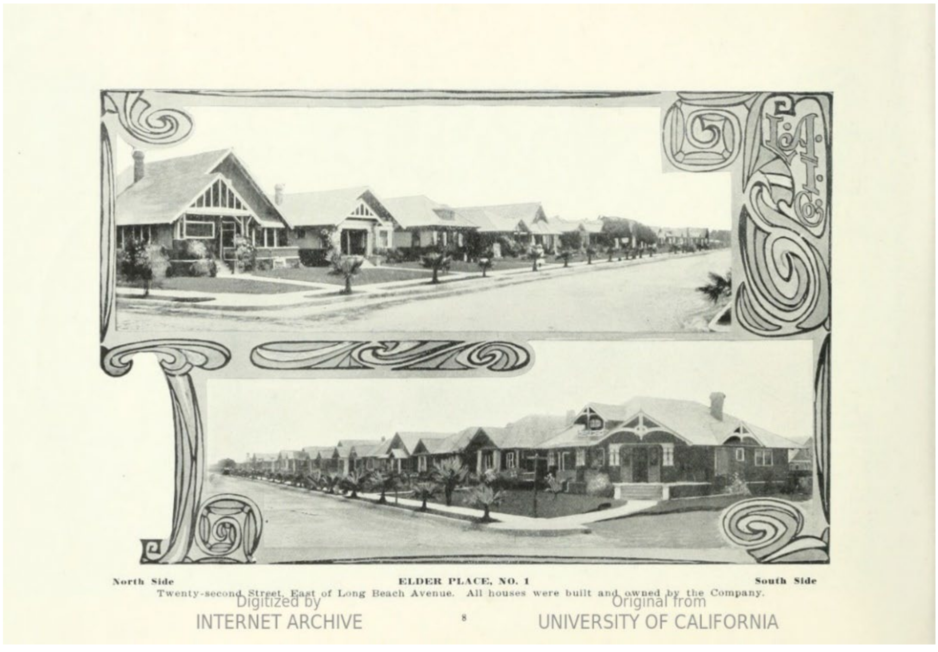

Figure 7: Photographs of the Elder Place #1 tract, as built by LAIC and featured in their bungalow catalog in 1909.

3.2 Moving West: Cooperative Building and the Expanding Middle Class

The 1909 catalog described above was a direct response to the downturn in the real estate market in 1907, after which LAIC began taking on greater debt to uphold momentum and stave off competition. Stock prices were a product of the perceived value of the company's properties, which was increased annually on LAIC's books by an arbitrary amount of 6%. Elder, Deeble, and Derby incorporated the Globe Savings Bank in October 1906 to channel funds through, whose stock was owned entirely by LAIC, as with its other subsidiaries. Thus by 1906 LAIC, which began as a small construction company in 1899, had grown to own a bank, lumber mills and yards, and building supply, paint, and nursery companies along with hundreds of acres of building materials and developed and developable land. In February 1907 the Los Angeles Financier stated that "with a paid up capital of over $130,000, and a surplus of $3,500 [the Globe Savings Bank] is being conducted on an economical basis; with a view of building up business by legitimate methods, altogether devoid of speculative risk or sensationalism."[388] LAIC stocks and bonds, estimated to produce 6% dividends per year, were sold by the Globe Savings Bank to generate funding for the company's largest speculation to date. In 1907, LAIC acquired and leveled 185 acres of land in the foothills just east of the hill property owned by the heirs to the famed "Lucky" Baldwin estate. Multiple railways had recently been electrified and completed that provided passenger and freight access to the acreage. The LARC line, begun as the Inglewood Division of the LA & Redondo railway, was rebuilt and electrified in 1905. It ran from the terminus at Spring Street in the central business district to Redondo Beach through Santa Barbara Avenue, Leimert Avenue, Crenshaw Boulevard and Florence, which wrapped

[388] "Globe Savings Bank," Los Angeles Financier 4, no. 5 (February 27, 1907): 6.

north and west of LAIC's newly acquired acreage. The LARC line intersected with the Redondo line to the southeast, where LAIC acquired additional acreage. The Grand Avenue and W 48th Street carlines had just been extended when LAIC established a new mill and lumber yard at Arlington and 48th. By 1908, the company owned and operated over 64 acres of factories, mills, and yards at Slauson and Western Avenues, "amply equipped with high grade machinery," where millions of feet of lumber were kept in stock, and 90-100 workers were regularly employed (Figure 8).[389] The rail lines were situated at least a block's distance on each side of the property, providing for efficient transportation without posing direct environmental dangers to the home sites.[390]

[389] LAIC, Bungalows and Cottages (1909), 16; By 1912, LAIC's Slauson and Western yards contained 50,000 sf of floor space across 10 buildings including mill, warehouse, cabinet shop, lumber racks, stables for 15 teams, brick and plumbing warehouse, drying sheds, and a drying kiln, plus surrounding acreage for the storage of 3 million feet of lumber. 50 men were employed on site and 240 more in construction. Los Angeles Investment Company and W. Francis Gates, *Practical Bungalows: Typical California Homes, With Plans. 9th Bungalow Book ed* (Los Angeles: The Company, 1912).

[390] "Los Angeles Investment Company, largest real estate and investment company in Western America and largest co-operative building company in the world" Tract Maps and Cadastral Maps of Southern California, August 1913, UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library.

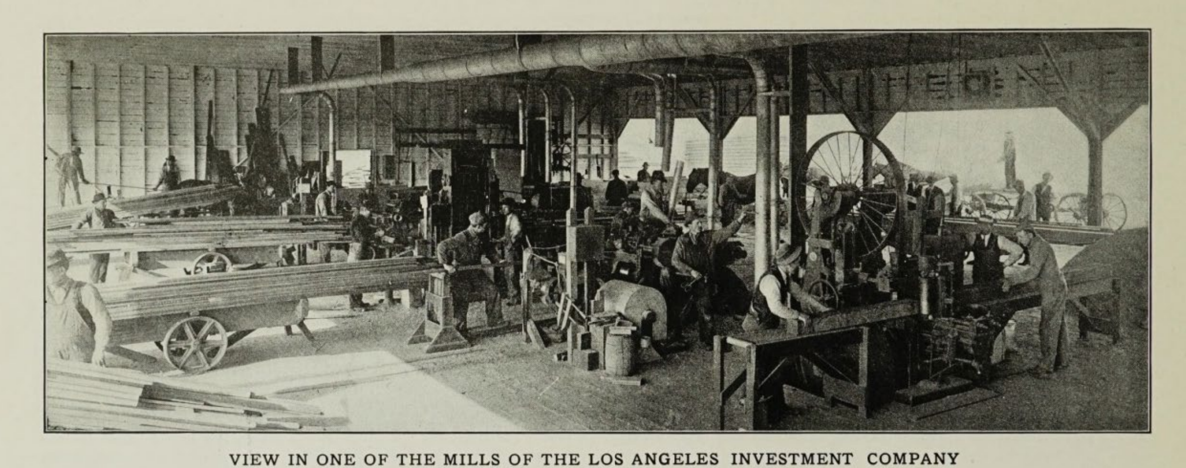

Figure 8: (above) Lumber yard, Los Angeles Investment Co., Southern California, 1929, Dick Whittington Photography Collection, USC; (below) Views of the mill at Slauson and Western, adjacent to the College Tract, Los Angeles Investment Company, *Practical Bungalows,* 1912.

Greater efficiencies were realized in the price structure and valuation of LAIC's properties in southwest LA. LAIC subdivided 80 acres of the Baldwin foothill property into 400 lots for the St. Vincent's College Tract, which they completed in 15 months and opened for sale in 1908. The land cost $1,600 per acre, for which LAIC paid half up front, by selling gold coin and mortgaging the property at high interest rates. The company invested $125 per acre for community-wide improvements and an additional $125 per lot, amounting to an estimated $800 per acre. LAIC catered to a middle-class audience with their building of stores, an assembly room, and a church building in several of the end lots within the community, in addition to laying out wide, 50x150-foot residential lots. A $10,000 endowment fund was devoted to cleaning streets and maintaining landscaping, with prizes awarded annually for the best-kept yards by individual owners. With oil-graded streets, cement curbs and sidewalks, planted parks and ornamental street trees, lawns and fences, and gas, water, electricity, and telephones throughout, the company prepared a "more extensive plan," with a "better class of street work,

better class of houses [and] heavier restrictions."[391] In total, LAIC spent an estimated $2,400 per acre on purchasing and improving land that sold for $5-6,000 per acre on average.[392] 80 houses were built by LAIC on alternating lots within the subdivision, with prices from $2,500-$10,000. As following the economic downturn of 1907, the building of shared amenities and provision of long-term community assurances like maintenance may have been devised to assure otherwise hesitant customers. The church, businesses and meeting rooms reflected support in an economic climate where even middle-class homeowners may have needed it.

Despite economic uncertainty, LAIC acquired 40 acres east of the College Tract at Vernon and 48th for the development of the Western Avenue Square Tract in 1908, which they purchased for $500 per lot and sold for no less than $1,000 per lot. Land in the Derby Park Tract, located east of Western Avenue Square and Kendall's Berry Tract, was purchased for $2,500 per acre and sold for $6,000 per acre. Elder asserted an ultimate expression of confidence in the future appreciation of land values by moving his family into a two-story Swiss Chalet style home in the southeast corner of the new acreage, in Kendall's Berry Tract.[393] A 7-room bungalow on 48th street, featuring a front porch and rear verandah with pergolas, hardwood floors, beam ceilings, a cabinet kitchen, den, and dining room with panel walls, was priced at $5,900.[394] The three large bedrooms and screened sleeping porch upstairs catered to family privacy, fresh air,

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[391] DCC 736, NAR.

[392] LAIC, Bungalows and Cottages (1909), 21.

[393] An additional 40 acres, divided into 168 lots, was added west of the College Tract for the College Tract Annex, upon which LAIC built 69 houses. LAIC subdivided an additional 40 acres into 88 lots to the east of the College Tract for the Western Avenue Square Tract, upon which they built 16 houses. The easternmost 25 acres was subdivided into 128 lots for the Derby Park Tract. Elder's home, at 1732 W 49th Street, was in Kendall's Berry Tract, immediately south of Western Avenue Square.

[394] LAIC, *Practical Bungalows* (Los Angeles, Cal, 1910), 20.

and views, while the screened porch with toilet and laundry trays abutting the kitchen downstairs encouraged the separation of service spaces and servants from those being served. Lots were only sold to those who would build immediately according to plans approved by the company, and a strict 50-foot front yard setback was enforced, further limiting purchase to those who could make such an arrangement work from the outset. Advertisements for the College Tract asserted that "no shacks are permitted or cheap temporary structures, as on tracts where lots are bought for speculation," producing an atmosphere where "vacant lots strewn with tin cans, rubbish and sign boards, so often seen in partially developed section, are entirely missing." And yet, LAIC encouraged speculation by home purchasers and homebuilders by offering a two-year option for customers of College Tract to purchase the adjacent, vacant lot. This would allow homeowners to control who lived next to them, to benefit from land value escalation in resale, or to expand their home across the lot when the economic climate was more favorable. For LAIC, the structure of the College Tract development assumed some of the burden of sale. As assuming the role of real estate agent and speculators themselves, the homeowners also assumed the risk or the reward associated with betting on the future of land values. Meanwhile, Elder stated that "our houses were built practically all in the plant and simply taken to the job and put up."[395] With PERC's newly extended 48th street line, the LARC line and the Redondo line, LAIC had direct access to building materials and workers en masse, and with their development of new mill and manufacturing sites on each end of the new acreage, they precut, manufactured and prepared all building components, from studs to windows to paint, for their quick assembly on lots in the adjacent subdivisions.

[395] DCC 736, NAR.

Early twentieth century patterns of development that paired small housing subdivisions with transportation infrastructure have been called "streetcar suburbs."[396] Dolores Hayden's historical account of the streetcar suburbs looked at the geographic and geometric structures, but not in conjunction with the financial and material structures of their making.[397] While Dana Cuff looked at Kaiser's full-spectrum homebuilding practice, LAIC was more comprehensive and expansive and were operating thirty years prior.[398] To obtain access to regional connections, wide boulevards, and modern infrastructures, and the appreciation of land values that accompanied these neighborhood scale improvements, private contractors had to negotiate with peripheral entities, an effort Weiss terms "planning as coordination."[399] Before the 1930s, municipal improvements were carried out by private contractors in LA. Contractors could assess fees and make personal demands on property owners with interest (i.e. frontage) on an improved street. According to the Improvement Act of 1911, if a property owner failed to make payments, after making a personal demand, the contractor could petition to the court to have the property sold at auction to pay for the debt.[400] The debt may otherwise be assigned or sold to a third party, or a lien may be placed on the property, contributing to a rise in the predatory finance market and foreclosure, as Mark Vestal's work on Black property conflicts in 1920s Los Angeles

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[396] Sam Bass Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).

[397] Dolores Hayden, Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000 (Vintage, 2004).

[398] Cuff, *The Provisional City*, 183.

[399] Weiss, *Rise of the Community Builders*.

[400] Ernest Stoddard Page, California Street Laws: A Discussion of the General Laws of California Relating to the Opening and Improving of Streets within Incorporated Cities and Towns, of Charter Provisions, and of the Principles Relating to Street Work by Private Contract (San Francisco, CA: Bancroft-Whitney Company, 1911), 435-36.

demonstrates.[401] The only way to contest an assessment was to file a petition with the City Council, and even then, the outcome was not guaranteed. Individual property owners would have had limited recourse to this effect, as Vestal's research shows. Incorporated railway and co-operative building companies, on the other hand, were enmeshed in the Council and Chamber of Commerce and were versed in planning as a coordinated effort. These efforts are evidenced by LAIC's negotiations as written into property deeds and City Council Ordinances. In July of 1911, LAIC surveyor C.L. Mowder deeded a portion of Rodger's Park Tract to the Pacific Electric railway for its expansion along Vermont Boulevard, and in November, LAIC granted a ROW to LARy for railroad purposes on its property for the price of $1.[402] The College and Rodgers Park tracts sat at the edge of Vermont and the West 48th streetcar line. Deeding a portion of property for street improvements, and the widening of Vermont to 120 feet would have been an inexpensive way to ensure the escalation of property values for homeowners looking easily access the tract. LAIC expressed a preference for these kinds of agreements opposed to paying assessment fees. In January of 1914, LAIC filed a protest with the Council against the assessment for the opening of Raymond Avenue from Florence to 75th Street. Having already deeded lots 54-65 and 488-501 of this tract, LAIC argued they should be given a nominal assessment rather than the proportion suggested, with the balance being spread across other properties in the assessment district. The Board of Public Works and Clerk of the Opening and Widening of Streets agreed to modify accordingly. By holding and deeding a collection of properties together, LAIC was able to offset assessment. In other instances, LAIC petitioned the

[401] Marques Augusta Vestal, Jr. "Property Conflict in the Promised Land: A History of Black Home Struggles in Los Angeles, 1920-1950" (PhD diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2020).

[402] LARy Box 22 folder 8 no 801. November 17th, 1911.

Council in support of improvements, as with Ordinance no. 31.192, for the opening, extending, and widening of Long Beach Avenue between Washington and Slauson Avenue.[403] With Deeble Tract, Elder Place #1 and Elder Place #2 flanking Long Beach Avenue on both sides, the street widening stood only to increase access and property values for these southside tracts of working-class homes in the industrial section of LA.

The extensive landscaping and improvements provided in LAIC's southwestern LA tracts required financial and material investments in infrastructure, in conjunction with planning coordination. The development of lumber yards, mills, carpenter shops, paint shop and plumbing supply, for the complete production of homes from design to construction, was "all done with a view of the improvement of the Hill and Baldwin tracts," according to Elder.[404] The first Baldwin purchase totaled 500 acres, purchased at $2,500 an acre in 1912. The second negotiation, involving additional acreage, brought the price per acre down to $2,000. LAIC paid $2 million down, and an additional $500,000 with interest for 1,250 acres in total. The Hill Tract land, 1,621 acres purchased for $2,493 per acre, was estimated by LAIC's in-house lawyers to be worth $4 million. The Baldwin and Hill purchase amounted to $6 million, which LAIC paid only 1/3rd of up front. LAIC traded stocks and borrowed from its subsidiaries to pay for acreage to support the improvement of the Baldwin and Hill tracts as necessary. The land was just outside of the city boundary and water board's jurisdiction. LAIC executives organized the Sentinel Heights Water Company (SHWC) for the leasing of reservoir land, laying and maintaining of pipelines, irrigation of landscaping, installation of sewers, and development of pumping plants

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[403] Archived Digital Vault - Council Minutes Archive, https://clkrep.lacity.org/oldcfidocs/; Wed, Jan 14th, 1914. Protest No. 2732 from LA Investment Co.; Monday, Dec 21st 1914. (Page 599) No 2999 from L.A. Investment Co.

[404] DCC 736, NAR.

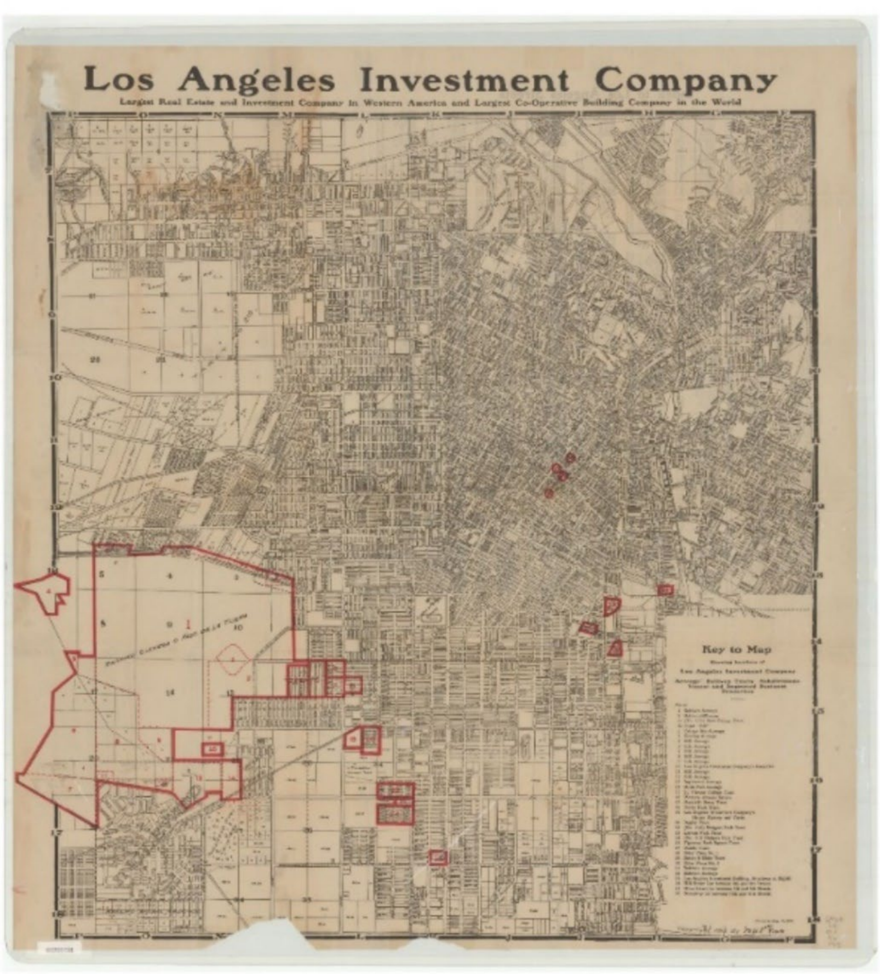
and wells throughout. SHWC's plant was established between 4th and 5th Street just north of PERC's 48th street extension, where they built a nursery, grew trees, and propagated plants for transplant to the neighboring subdivisions. A portion of the first 500 acres of the Baldwin property was laid out for water storage, gardening, and irrigation, and SHWC temporarily leased remaining lands to Chinese truck gardeners. Easements and entire lots were granted to SHWC in exchange for LAIC stock, totaling to 300,000 shares, upon which the company ditched for drainage, and built bridges and culverts to connect to the La Brea wash outlet in Inglewood to the south. LAIC gave LARC a $10,000 bonus to extend the Vernon Avenue carline through the Baldwin Tract and granted an easement to SHWC for the extension of pipelines along Vernon Avenue, from the Inglewood railroad in the east to the westerly line of land conveyed to LARC. The easement met the northerly boundary of the Rancho Cienega O Paso De La Tijera at Exposition Boulevard, where SHWC leased land for a reservoir. Several miles of cast iron pipe were extended south from the reservoir to the New College Tract, all 80 acres of which was included in the system.

The New College Tract, just west of the city boundary at Arlington Street, was the first to be prepared in LAIC's plans for the beautification of the total 6,000 acres, with 250 acres reserved for parks. Landscape architect William M. Humans was hired to perform a series of studies to determine ideal locations for main leads: along Rodeo Road to Expo Park; Palos Verde toward Redondo; Slauson to Venice; Mesa Drive to Inglewood; and along Crenshaw and West Jefferson through the property. SHWC put in sewers for all 6,000 acres, employing C.L. Mowder to perform the engineering work. At $250 per acre, around $12-18,000 was spent on the studying of topography and preparation of plans. 621 acres, estimated at 10.74% of the site, was reserved for the development of 200-300 "villa sites." Compared to flat sites, where improvement costs

were predictable, each hilltop site presented a unique topography that demanded local engineering and design efforts. From the flat sites at the westernmost edge of the city boundary along Arlington, to the hilltop lands of the Villa Tract and Baldwin and Hill acreage, LAIC's co-operative building operations required greater amounts of material, expertise, and capital (Figure 9). LAIC's speculations in the southwest of the city were racially and materially incomparable to their subdivisions in South LA, and yet, the starting capital and valuation of the company required to make down payments and assume greater debt for these new acquisitions came entirely from their first ventures.

Thus by 1912, just six years after subdividing and selling lots in its first residential tract, LAIC had shifted its business plan to become one of the first if not the first comprehensive real estate developers. In this transitional model between nineteenth century fragmented operations of realtors, builders, architects, and subdividers and the mid-twentieth century development models which provided real estate services with little manufacturing or design, we see the sociopolitical explicitly tied to the building environment. Though enmeshed in municipal and government networks, LAIC operated as a set of corporations with the freedoms to invest or disinvest in regional development at will to drive profits for their land and home building enterprise. With the rights to Baldwin Hills lands and environmental resources, LAIC could finetune their housing developments in the foothills to the south, before making the huge investment to capitalize on developing the land to the north. The New College Tract was a prototype for the fully improved, exclusively residential, homogenous, White middle-class suburban model that would come to be associated with Levittown over thirty years later. It was a far cry from the Butler and Elder subdivision of 1906 that put LAIC on the map as a small building contractor, and yet, without their footings in the "colored settlements" and "millworker's sections" of South

LA, expansion wouldn't have been possible in later years. Working-class and non-White employee, lot and homeowners' stock purchases and interest-bearing mortgage payments were collateral with which LAIC took on loans. These loans were used for the purchase of land and materials that those very same employees and homeowners turned into suburbs and homes for the exclusive benefit of White people. As LAIC had speculated by setting their economic, racial and geometric structures according to distance from the central business district, land values rose exponentially faster in the west.



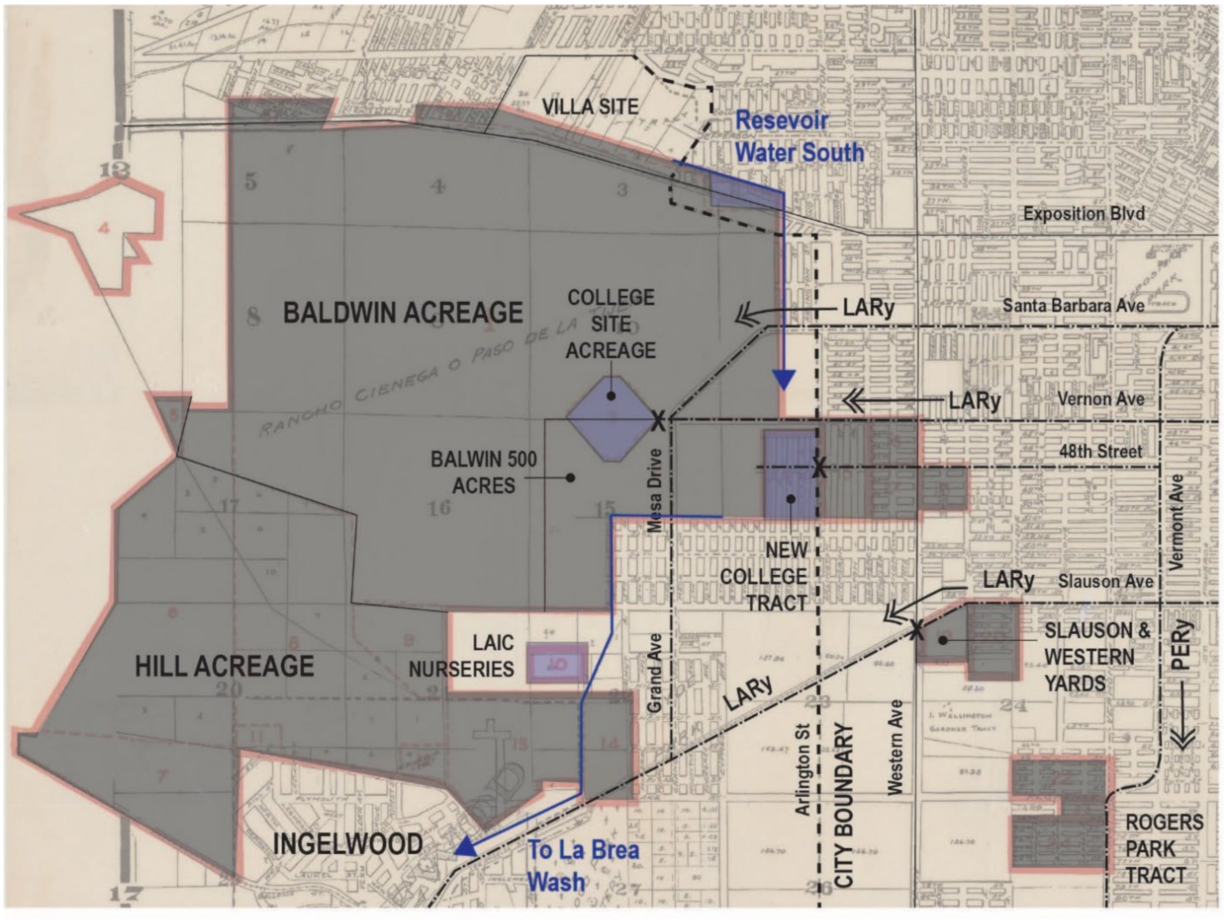


Figure 9: Southwestern portion of LAIC's holdings as of 1913, containing annotations by author depicting LAIC's mill, land, water, and rail negotiations surrounding the Baldwin and Hill Tract acreage just west of the city boundary; based on the 1913 map of LAIC properties (above) Tract Maps and Cadastral Maps of Southern California, UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library.

3.3 Overspeculation, Trial & Reorganization

LAIC had a well-established and publicly backed reputation by the time they began negotiations to purchase the Baldwin and Hill Tract acreage. According to a feature in *The American Globe* from 1911, Elder had risen "from obscurity to power" by growing his bungalow building business from a nascent idea to a corporation valued at over 15 million dollars in the

span of a decade.[405] As a favorite among investors looking for an insider's take on financial outlooks, the magazine's support spoke volumes. The influence of this praise was heightened with respect to the magazine's concurrent "American Globe Fake Building Company Campaign," that sought to expose predatory and fraudulent companies. In sharing dividends with shareholders from funds tied to the very money gained through the purchase of stocks, the value of "Fake Building Companies" was immaterial, entirely subject to speculation. *The American Globe* warned that "the Companies that pay dividend, expenses and commissions out of premiums on stock sold are sure to bust the moment stock purchasers fail to make any more payments on stock subscribed for, and when stock ceases to sell."[406] The Globe's sentiment disregarded the continual escalation in the value of land, if only held for periods longer than any temporary booms or busts in the economy could affect. Despite the risks associated with investing in a building company based on promised growth, the market exploded, due to the lack of regulation, increase in population, and moral sentiments associated with home ownership. Charles Lummis' words in support of home financing were featured in LAIC's *Homes of Los Angeles* newspaper in July of 1910. Lummis estimated that in ten years, 80% of the population would be using "California as it was meant to be used," by living on their own plot of land. "Even if it's only a fifty-foot lot," installment arrangements and extended payments made it possible for even those of modest means to build a home according to Lummis.[407] Lummis'

[405] "A Man of Millions: How Charles Abbott Alder Rose from Obscurity to Power" The American Globe (June 1911) 8 (8): 10-11.

[406] "Building Company Swindlers: Get Rich Quicksters Doing the People," *American Globe* 8, no. 1 (November 1910): 3.

[407] Charles F. Lummis, "'Use California as it was Meant to be Used': Charles F. Lummis Writes to Our Readers on the Joys of Home Owning," *Los Angeles Investment Company, Homes of Los Angeles* 13, no. 9 (July 1910): 1.

sentiments were surrounded by promotions of LAIC's building business, including a description of their 1,400-acre Hill Tract, and a comparison of their capital and surplus (estimated at $4 million) to that of the First National Bank (at $3 million). By April of 1912, LAIC's capital and surplus was valued at $9.78 million, comprised of $3.88 million in homeowner debt, $4.1 million in real estate holdings, $830k in cash, and the remainder in stocks and bonds. Over 12,000 stockholders were enrolled with LAIC for a total of $3 million, with stocks selling for $3.90 a share. LAIC additionally held stock in the Globe Savings Bank for their shareholders, guaranteed against loss by LAIC's capital and surplus. Los Angeles figureheads once again spoke in favor of LAIC's cooperative efforts. Having watched the town grow from a population of 15,000 to 400,000 Lummis asserted that the increase in property values in Los Angeles was balanced by cooperation of stockholders in real estate investment, by which a small investor could share in a larger percentage of profits. Henry Huntington was quoted for his belief that money was still to be made in the development of undervalued lands, expecting continued growth in the following years.[408] The company had amassed 3,225 acres of property, including 16,000 building lots and 2,000 houses, estimated by three of the most prominent members of LARB to be worth $3.43 million more than by LAIC's own estimation.[409]

LAIC's trajectory aligned with Progressive visions for LA's growth. In serving as U.S. Senator from 1905 to 1911, Frank Putnam Flint influenced the appropriation of Owens River for the LA Aqueduct alongside Henry Huntington.[410] The LARB similarly supported entrepreneurial

[408] See: Charles Lummis, "Editorial" and "Is Still Easy to Grow Wealthy: Says Henry E. Huntington of Los Angeles Realty Deals" in *Homes of Los Angeles* 15, no. 9 (June 1912).

[409] *Homes* 15, no. 7 (April 1912).

[410] See Starr, *Material Dreams*, 122-3.

endeavors that contributed to Los Angeles' rising property values. The Panama Canal project, reinvigorated with the construction of locks at Gatún in 1909 and completed in 1914, was accompanied by the opening of the Long Beach port in 1911 and the development of the harbor at San Pedro. The Panama Canal allowed for more direct shipping routes of building materials, taken from countries oversees and brought into the port of Los Angeles. Property values in the American West were tied to the ability to extract resources from across the Pacific, tying international speculations to regional ones. Together, these projects brought cheaper water and electricity to Los Angeles, along with privileges for improved middle- and upper-class subdivisions. George Alexander's victory over socialist candidate Job Harriman for Mayor in 1911 was instrumental to the continuation of municipal support for corporate freedom in Los Angeles. Business leaders joined in the formation of a "Committee of 100" to back Alexander's platform of unbridled speculation and anti-union policies.[411] The committee was led by lawyer and LARB member Bradner W. Lee, the executor of the Lucky Baldwin real estate holdings. Accompanying Lee were some of the region's most prominent businessmen, including J.E. Fishburn, President of the National Bank of California and Director of the LACOC, and Charles Elder.[412] In addition to Progressive political measures, LA bankers, real estate agents, and developers shared an interest in city planning measures. Their interests ranged from legislation to design, with a general preference for predictability, risk mitigation, and homogeneity. The Residence District Ordinance of 1904 and subsequent zoning laws of 1908 set the stage for comprehensive land use policies across Los Angeles. These measures were a precursor to the

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[411] Redford, Laura "The Promise and Principles of Real Estate Development in an American Metropolis: Los Angeles 1903-1923" (PhD Diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2014).

[412] "Business Men Organize to Meet Red Menace," *Los Angeles Times* (November 3, 1911): I11.

federal legislation over comprehensive zoning in 1916, and as such, are more significant than is generally recognized. In 1921, the City Planning Commission expanded the two use categories established in 1908 to five distinct municipal zones, including A for single-family homes, B for non-residential, C for industrial, D for heavy industrial, and E for unlimited. Los Angeles was the first large city to apply single-family zoning widely, causing apartment houses to concentrate near commercial and industrial hubs.[413] In keeping industrial or commercial uses (and apartment buildings) from occupying regions zoned as single-family residential, while basing the choice of which regions were determined to be residential based on their existing use, the law protected those suburbs where private developers had already written several restrictions into deeds, including racial and geometric ones.

As with the zoning laws of 1908 and 1921, the LARB expressed an interest in homogeneity with their support of the City Beautiful movement. Following Dana Bartlett's *The Better City* that called for "a city without a slum," Charles Mulford Robinson imagined an improved civic presence for Los Angeles that relied on wide boulevards, bright lights, and expanded parks.[414] Despite, or perhaps because of, a lack of subdivision regulation until the

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[413] Mark Vallianatos and Madeline Brozen, "Encouraging Diverse Missing-Middle Housing Near Transit," UCLA Policy Briefs, Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies (May 01, 2019): 2. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9p12j0db

[414] Robinson was of the most well-known City Beautiful proponents, having published several books on the topic, as well as a plan for the Municipal Art Commission in 1907 for the design of the Los Angeles Civic Center. See: Los Angeles Municipal Art Commission, "Report of the Municipal Art Commission for the City of Los Angeles, California." "Annual Report of the Secretary," May 29, 1912, LARB Minutes, 33-34. Robinson, "Improvement in City Life: Aesthetic Progress," *Atlantic Monthly* 83 (June 1899): 771-185; *The Improvement of Towns and Cities or The Practical Basis of Civic Aesthetics* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1901); *Modern Civic Art, or the City Made Beautiful* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1903); See also: Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003) & Greg Hise and Todd Gish, "City Planning," in *The Development of Los Angeles City Government*, ed. Tom Sitton. (Los Angeles, CA: City of Los Angeles Historical Society, 2007) & Merry Wickham Ovnick, "The Arts and the Craft of Persuasion: Developing a Language of Reform: Los Angeles Political and National Aesthetic Reforms, 1900-1916" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2000).

1920s, LARB's recommendations for residential planning similarly relied on City Beautiful sentiments.[415] Exhibits of model towns and sections reached by the Pacific Electric Railway in Los Angeles were showcased at the Land Show Beautiful, a national exhibition hosted by LARB in what was an important downtown LA fairgrounds called Fiesta Park in 1912. Plants and flowers from the grounds of Huntington's property were showcased alongside a pyramid of gold by LA banks under the 80,000-square foot exhibition tent.[416] The LARB boasted connections between the harbor, aqueduct, and canal to the California bungalow districts, as well as to the price of frontage in the business blocks on Spring and Broadway.[417] The Land Show's celebration of model subdivisions along with the land and home financing business foreshadowed the formation of NAREB's Home Builders and Subdividers Division of the City Planning Commission (CPC). The 1915 CPC Convention reflected shifting interests of land speculators, now advocating for a set of shared principals to govern planning. At the convention, real estate agents, bankers, and subdividers spoke in support of increased subdivision planning to protect financial investments. Rolling topography, curved streets, planned community buildings and parks, and deed restrictions governing the racial and economic fabric of the subdivision,

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[415] The City Planning Association was formed in 1915, but it wasn't until 1920 that the City Planning Commission was officiated and given jurisdiction over planning and subdivision development in LA. See Weiss, "The California Real Estate Association and Subdivision Regulations," in *Rise of the Community Builders*. For an account of how developers attempted to apply the City Beautiful concept to model industrial town planning in LA, see: Robert Phelps, "The Search for a Modern Industrial City: Urban Planning, the Open Shop, and the Founding of Torrance, California," *Pacific Historical Review* 64, no. 4 (1995): 503–35. For the translations between the City Beautiful and City Functional movements see: Mel Scott, "Science and the City Functional," *American City Planning Since 1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

[416] "Show Land and its Products," *Orchard and Farm* XXIV, no. 3 (March 1912): 7; "The Land Show Beautiful," *The Pacific Garden* V, no. 4 (March 1912): 7.

[417] Phillip D. Wilson, Secretary Los Angeles Realty Board, "Los Angeles Real Estate," *The Standard Blue Book of California 1913-14* (Los Angeles, CA: A.J. Peeler & Company, 1912).

were touted as preferred planning measures to ensure land values and profits.[418] With the merger of the Bank of Southern California in 1911, a paid-up capital of $500,000 and assets of $2 million, the GSB was classified alongside big banks.[419] LAIC's investments in the Baldwin foothills were secured not only by the GSB, but by their topography. Whereas the easternmost leveled property catered to gridiron planning, and therefore to deed restrictions intended for the middle-class, the westernmost New College Tract lent itself to an upper-class White audience in alignment with LARB's goals for city growth.

Praise for LAIC's business acumen accompanied that devoted to their bungalow subdivisions, but investor security was entirely wrapped up in the valuation of the company and their myriad entanglements. Despite an illusion of stability, the company's many holdings were tied to speculative futures based on inflated stocks. With the onset of a national depression in fall of 1913, LAIC defaulted on their stock and real estate purchases. With an investigation underway, the *American Globe* reported "we would consider it criminal to attempt to frighten stockholders to dispose of their stock at a sacrifice."[420] The "Guarantee Fund," stated by Elder to be worth $250 million, was exposed to be worth just $15,000. Elder and his partners were indicted for overspeculation and using the mail to defraud the public, placing the company and their ethics under public scrutiny. LAIC stock plummeted from $4.50 to 30 cents during the trial.

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[418] "Land Subdivision and its Effect Upon Housing, and Discussion by L. J. Ninde," Proceedings of 4th National Conference on Housing, Housing problems in America, 1915, reprinted in *National Real Estate Journal* 12 (October 15, 1915): 259-268. On connections between Ninde's recommendations and LA subdivision development see Weiss, *Rise of the Community Builders* and Fogelson, *Bourgeois Nightmares*. These planning measures were repeated in NAREB and CPC proceedings and publications in the following years, see: Taylor, A. S. "Districting Through Private Effort," Proceedings of 8th National Conference on City Planning, 1916, 177-183. Bassett, E. M. Zoning Versus Private Restrictions," National Real Estate Journal 23 (Jan. 2, 1922): 26.

[419] Featured on the cover of the Anniversary issue of The American Globe 8, no. 12 (October 1911).

[420] W.J. Schaeffe, Editor "Now, what do you Think of the Los Angeles Investment Company?" & "Los Angeles Investment Company Under Fire," The American Globe 11, no. 1 (November 1913): 6-7.

Rather than blaming the company, however, the fraud was associated entirely with the former leadership. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the company's bailout and reorganization. At the recommendation of Elder, the new directors included: J.E. Fishburn (President) and Stoddard Jess (Vice President) of the First National Bank of California; Harry Chandler, General Manager of the *Los Angeles Times*, and Henry W. O'Melveny, the real estate lawyer behind the Owens River Aqueduct. The bailout and choice of replacement directors was likely instrumental, given the undecided state of LAIC's acquisition of lands in the Baldwin Hills. As of 1913, the largest of LAIC's endeavors involved the 350-acre site west of Angeles Mesa Drive in the Baldwin Hills. The hilltop land was located close enough to downtown Los Angeles and the region's largest university, the University of Southern California (USC) to facilitate convenient commutes for professionals, while being removed enough to provide healthful living in isolation from the pollutants of the lowlands to the east. Elder had been in negotiations with Lucky Baldwin's daughters, heiresses of the estate, since 1912, and had negotiated a deal to complete the purchase the following year. After the crash and reorganization of the company, the new leaders speculated as to how they could fulfill Elder's promise and secure the lucrative lands for future development. By 1915, the directors had solidified a new deal. Based on the power and knowledge of land holdings held by the new directors, it can be argued that they were selected specifically to maintain LAIC's control over the Baldwin lands after reorganization. Given this distinction, the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling backed the disinvestment in debtors to LAIC as of the 1913 crash and bankruptcy filing, and the investment in the future development of the Baldwin Hills.

The interests of a rebranded LAIC became clear a decade later, as the new directors prepared the Baldwin property for the development of View Park, an exclusive subdivision of

Spanish and Mediterranean style villas. Former Senator Flint assumed the Presidency of LAIC in 1915. In 1921, he joined Harry Chandler of the *Los Angeles Times* and William May Garland of LARB in the formation of the Community Development Association (CDA), by which Los Angeles was selected to host the Tenth Olympic Games.[421] The CDA utilized the Baldwin property for the development of an Olympic Village. 500 2-room, wood-framed, portable cottages were erected on site to house 2,000 athletes from over 50 nations (Figure 10).[422] The village was described as the greatest Olympic development "since the athletes of ancient Greece pitched their tents on the plains of Elis."[423] The 331-acre development was conveniently located at the west extension of the Pacific Electric Railway on Vernon Avenue, and featured 5 miles of graded roads, 8 miles of water mains, and an administration building of Pueblo Revival style architecture at the grand entrance. With connections secured to transportation and modern utilities by LAIC a decade prior, the Baldwin lands were easily appropriated as an international tourist attraction. And when the portable, prefabricated homes of the Olympic Village were disassembled and relocated after the Olympics ended, the community amenities and improvements would be easily repurposed for the development off an upper-class residential neighborhood.

[421] Grace A. Somerby, "When Los Angeles Was Host to the Olympic Games of 1932," *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (1952): 125–32. Official Report, the Games of the Xth Olympiad, Los Angeles 1932, Digitally published by the LA84 Foundation, Accessed at: https://digital.la84.org/digital/collection/p17103coll8/id/8040/rec/13). See also: Barry Siegel, Dreamers and Schemers: How an Improbable Bid for the 1932 Olympics "Garland Lauds Games Village," Los Angeles Times (July 31, 1932).

[422] "An Olympic Village for 1932," Los Angeles Times 5 (April 1931): HI; "A Village of All Nations," Los Angeles Times 4 (December 1931): D13; "Town Mapped for Olympiad," Los Angeles Times 22 (March 1932): Al.

[423] "The Village of the Athletes: Never in History Were Such Courtesies Given," *Pacific Electric Magazine* 16, no. 12&13 (May-June 1932): 5-6.

May-June, 1932 5

The Village of the Athletes

Never in History Were Such Courtesies Given

Like mushrooms after a warm summer rain, a modern Babel has risen on Baldwin Hills in southwest Los Angeles.

This community, unique in the history of international gatherings, consists of 550 two-room cottages and it will become a veritable city of champions during the celebration of the Games of the Xth Olympiad from July 30 to August 14, inclusive. It has been officially designated "Olympic Village" and it is here that the 2,000 athletes from 50 nations will make their abode during the entire period of the Games.

Strange tongues, many of them spoken in remote corners of the world, will be heard on the streets of the Village during its occupancy by the Olympic athletes. French, Germans, English, Spanish, Italian, Finnish, Swedish, Danish, Japanese and white-turbaned men from far-off India will mingle on the streets of the Village, drawn together by the fraternal bonds of Olympism.

The site of the Village is directly west of Olympic Stadium, on the summit of the hills—a westerly extension of Vernon avenue. It covers a tract of 331 acres of land which is part of the historic Rancho La Cienega O'Paso de la Tijera, a portion of the once vast holdings of the famous E. J. "Lucky" Baldwin. The site was selected for its spectacular view and ideal climatic conditions.

Construction of the Village was made necessary for two reasons, namely, the distance many of the foreign teams had to travel to reach Los Angeles and the great cost of sending the teams.

When the 1932 Games were awarded to Los Angeles in 1923, several nations expressed hesitancy about sending large teams because of the heavy expense it would involve. Some of the European countries estimated it would cost them approximately $1500 per athlete.

This figure was reduced to about one-third of the original amount. As a result of the plan to quarter the athletes in a separate village, plus the agreement of the railroad and steamship companies to transport the teams at a rate substantially lower than their best tourist fares, these countries will be able to send their athletes to the Games, pay for their board and lodg-

A Street Scene in Olympic Village.

Figure 10: "The Village of the Athletes," 331-acre site in the Baldwin Hills prepared for the Tenth Olympic Games, 1932.

The site surrounding the Olympic Village was christened by LAIC as View Park in 1927. LAIC announced the opening of a new subdivision in April of that year, with homes ranging from $7,600 to $30,000.[424] Improvements throughout included trees in all parking spaces, macadam and oiled streets, concrete curbs and gutters, gas, water, electricity, and telephone, and a $25,000 community club house on a site donated by LAIC. By the time of the Olympic Games, Rueben Ingold, a charter member of LARB, had assumed presidency of LAIC. After working as a clerk for the Title Guarantee and Trust Company, Ingold became an Accountant for LAIC, working his way up the ranks. Ingold manifested the goals of LARB in the material and legal architectures of View Park. Paved roads, landscaped sidewalks, streets trees and custom streetlamps traversed the curved geometry of View Park's hills and vistas (Figure 11). Minimum home prices were set for the large lots with wide frontages, to ensure the economic composition of the neighborhood ranged from middle to upper class. In 1934, View Park became one of the first LA housing developments to receive insurance from the Federal Housing Administration, (FHA) due to its ubiquity of restrictions on homeowners. In the wake of the Great Depression and following the Progressive vision of Herbert Hoover, the FHA was formed to protect homeowners from foreclosure by offering long-term, amortized mortgages.[425] Federal appraisal was influenced by occupation, income, ethnicity, age, price range, type of construction, etc., acting to institutionalize housing segregation in the late 1930s. But LAIC's interest in racial

[424] Viewpark and View Park were both used by LAIC to describe the Baldwin Hills subdivision. I use "View Park" to align with its current spelling. "First Day Sale Brisk at Tract" Community Development, *Los Angeles Times* (April 10, 1927): E6.

[425] Kenneth Jackson, "Federal Subsidy and the Suburban Dream: How Washington Changed the American Housing Market," in *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford University Press, 1985), 190-8. Jonathan Massey, "Risk and Regulation in the Financial Architecture of American Houses," *Governing by Design: Architecture, Economy, and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 21-46.

exclusion is evidenced by their earlier practices. In the 1919 case against Alfred Gary, an African American man living in a racially restricted LAIC property, the court ruled in favor of LAIC. LAIC stipulated two conditions in the deed to the property: "one that the property shall not be sold, leased, or rented to one not of Caucasian race, and the other that it shall be not occupied by one not of that race."[426] Because the deed had been transferred to a Person of Color, the court agreed that LAIC had the right to relinquish the title.

Racial exclusion was sold along with a particular vision of homeownership and community at View Park.[427] LAIC advertisements commonly featured healthy Anglo children, along with caricatured references to Mediterranean and Spanish conquistadors (Figure 12). The Spanish Revival style experienced increasing popularity after the opening of the Panama Canal. Whereas the Mission and Pueblo Revival styles projected humility and restraint, the Spanish Revival style boasted greater attention to detail and historical reference, no matter how inaccurate. Bertram Goodhue popularized the style with his designs for the Panama California Exposition in San Diego in 1915. Goodhue's appropriations of balconies, arcades, courtyards, and wrought iron grilles from his travels to Mexico were regarded as historically motivated and sophisticated.[428] As David Gebhard's scholarship on Goodhue demonstrates, Spanish colonial houses were inspired by the provincial architecture of Spain and Mexico, employing limited materials and simple detailing across a series of spatial volumes. Acclaim for the architecture of the exposition translated into a preference for Spanish and Mediterranean styles among

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[426] Los Angeles Investment Co. v. Gary, 181 Cal. 680, 186 P. 596 (Cal. 1919).

[427] "Safeguarded by careful planning and sensible restrictions," "[the neighborhoods] afford a real haven for the homeowner who wants something more than just a house."

[428] David Gebhard, "The Spanish Colonial Revival in Southern California (1895-1930)," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26, no. 2 (May 1967): 131-147, 30.

homeowners in Southern California in the 1920s. In View Park, unrestricted views and restricted homesites were romanticized to align with promotions of Los Angeles' Spanish colonial past. Spanish style estate homes were adorned with thick wooden entry doors, turrets, Spanish arches, smooth whitewashed plaster, decorative ironwork, and clay-tile roofs, all in service of this illusion. In addition to showcasing sketches and plans of model homes in their architectural showroom, LAIC commissioned professional photos to market the first homes built in their tract. Anglo models were photographed in idle positions among the highly constructed landscapes, water features, and gazebos, as if to promise a carefree life of leisure for View Park homeowners (Figure 13).

The leisurely experience for View Park homeowners was juxtaposed starkly with scenes of labor being performed by those who were considered "not of the Caucasian race," and therefore forbidden from occupying the property in any other capacity. In photographs of the construction of homes in View Park commissioned by LAIC in 1928, White businessmen in suits were posed giving directions to foremen on the job site, with laborers digging ditches, hoisting framing, laying roofing, plastering, and painting, pictured in the background (Figure 14). In 1930, those categorized as non-White (Mexican, Black, Chinese, Japanese, American Indian, or Other, according to the census) comprised 12% of the population in LA, but 46% of the population employed in building construction labor.[429] LA's Black population accounted for 2% of the total population, but 8.2% of building construction laborers, 13.4% of painters, glaziers, and varnishers, and 5.6% of plasterers employed in LA. On the other hand, Black people

[429] In the 1930 U.S. Census, "Mulatto" was no longer used to classify those who identified as having both Black and White lineage. Those with any amount of Black ancestry were recorded as Black. Those who were both White and American Indian were classified at American Indian, unless they were considered White in the community. "Mexican" was used for the first time to classify those who were born in Mexico or whose parents were born in Mexico.

occupied just 1% of LA's builder and carpenter workforce. The increasing standardization of the building industry during the interwar period contributed to the division between management and labor, factory and jobsite. Several innovations in mass production were made after the National Real Estate Board (NAREB's) 1918 initiation of the Own Your Own Home Campaign (OYOH), a promotional effort designed to increase homeownership and reinvigorate the home construction industry following the war. Balloon framing had been the most common method of construction used in the U.S. since its development at the turn of the century. As David Monteyne argues, balloon framing was associated with frontier innovation and self-sufficiency. An individual could erect their own home by using lightweight, standard sized "studs," rather than heavy timber. Despite narratives popularized by architectural historian Siegfried Giedion, as Monteyne demonstrates, platform framing had already overtaken balloon framing as the dominant construction method during the interwar period.[430] Instead of studs running from the floor to the roof as with balloon framing, platform framing was erected by floor, providing several efficiencies. With the running of plumbing and electrical infrastructure between studs, balloon framing presented a fire risk. Platform framing created a natural block to prevent the spread of fire between floors. More importantly, platform framing negated the need for scaffolding and allowed for construction to be managed almost like an assembly line. Shorter members cost less per lineal foot and could be erected more quickly on site. Floors were used for construction staging; wall sections were assembled lying down and erected atop each floor after it was completed.

[430] Monteyne argues that this mischaracterization was instrumental to the sustained image of frontier individualism in the home construction industry. By highlighting balloon framing, Giedion and others helped to elide the negative connotations associated with mass production and consumption. David Monteyne, "Framing the American Dream," *Journal of Architecture Education* 58, no. 1 (September 2004): 24-33.

A series of initiatives promoting the standardization of building components and construction accompanied the OYOH campaign in the 1920s. The Architects' Small House Service Bureau (ASHSB), an organization that advertised construction standards through mail order catalogs, was endorsed by Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover in 1923. As Secretary of Commerce from 1921-1928, and President from 1928-1932, Hoover's legacy was in supervising the standardization of building products and manufacturing for the home building industry. As Monteyne asserts, it was these efforts that elided the natural resources and labor that went into home construction. LAIC's architectural, building, real estate, rental, loan, engineering, escrow, publishing, and banking departments took place in the office in downtown Los Angeles, while the shipping, drying and milling of lumber took place off-site, in LAIC's yards to the southeast. Building materials arrived on site by the truckload ready for assembly. By relocating the raw material acquisition, engineering and component production of home building to the office and factory, LAIC embraced the efficiencies of mass production, while separating the industrial means from the suburban ends. Through their advertisement of home building standards and financing as offered by companies like LAIC, OYOH promoted suburban tranquility for the White, working-class, single-family.[431] Meanwhile, non-white laborers employed by LAIC were fashioned as machines, performing repetitive, single tasks along the sequence of construction made possible by platform framing. Homogeneity across a subdivision was not just an aesthetic choice endorsed by NAREB and FHA then, but an economic one. Prefabricated, clay roof tiles, wrought iron accessories, and pre-mixed plaster, as with standard sized and spaced studs, supported the division of labor and quick erection of estate homes.

[431] For more on the OYOH campaign and its development under NAREB and the Department of Labor, see Paul C. Luken and Suzanne Vaughan, "'...Be a Genuine Homemaker in Your Own Home': Gender and Familial Relations in State Housing Practices, 1917-1922," *Social Forces* 83, no. 4 (2005): 1603–25.

Variations in the composition of formal elements presented an appearance of customization and individuality, but the ubiquity of materials and construction procedures promoted replication.

At the end of the Olympics, the prefabricated, portable cottages were disassembled and relocated, leaving in their wake the site improvements made by LAIC, as associated with residential neighborhoods through the planning department and home building industry's adoption of City Beautiful ideologies. Sales in View Park increased exponentially in the years following the Olympics, likely due to the hype surrounding the neighborhood and its image, in addition to the increased standardization of the home construction industry and the financing made available by the FHA to LAIC and prospective White homeowners.[432] The first National Public Housing Conference was held following the 1932 election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the presidency. Under the National Housing Act, Works Progress Administration, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the FHA, the federal government worked to define property appraisal as an "actuarial science," to increase home purchasing following the Great Depression, and to decrease risk to lenders.[433] The FHA explicitly supported segregation, denying federal mortgage insurance to Black and Brown persons, and to White developers for properties without racial deed restrictions in place. FHA's Underwriting Manual was developed "to establish standards of quality with respect to neighborhoods, construction, architecture, and factors contributing to more satisfactory housing in order to encourage improvement in housing standards and

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[432] "Sales Rise Evident in Two Tracts," *Los Angeles Times* (April 30, 1933): 22; "April Ends with Gain in Homes Sales," Los Angeles Times (May 7, 1933): 19; "Plans for Many New Dwellings," *Los Angeles Times* (March 3, 1935): D2

[433] Discourses of "actuarial science" were critical to modern developments in weather prediction and life insurance. See, for example, "The Assumption of Risk" and "The Actuarial Science of Freedom" in Jonathan Levy, *Freaks of Fortune: The Emerging World of Capitalism and Risk in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 7-20, 60-103.

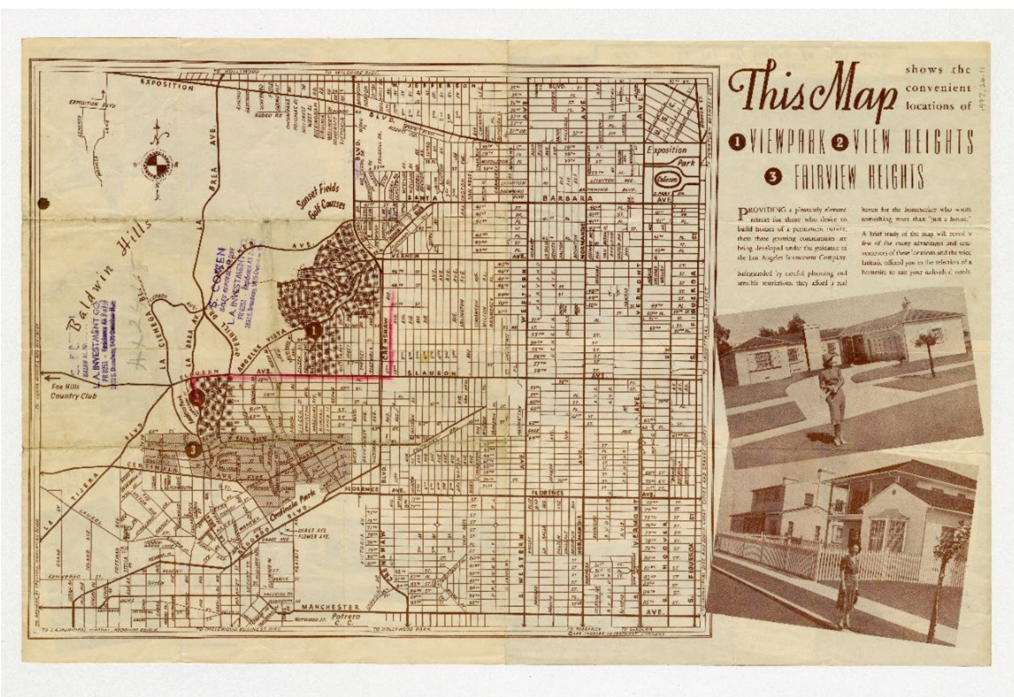
conditions." In the manual's "General Rating Instructions" for property assessment, "protection from adverse influences" was to be weighted the second most heavily. The manual instructed appraisers to value this aspect based on the presence of restrictive zoning and deeds and to prevent the mixing of "incompatible racial or social groups."[434] An FHA examiner may determine a location unsuitable for long-term, amortized mortgages due to the property description, photographs of the street view, or the material used for street surfacing, as well as the quality of materials and workmanship of masonry foundations, wall materials and finishes, plaster, mill, cabinet and stair work, among other components that were increasingly governed by federally recognized production, testing and reporting methods.[435] LAIC's Baldwin Hill subdivisions were models of the type of neighborhoods FHA rated highly, with their racial restrictions, residential zoning and aesthetic homogeneity. LAIC's "honeymoon" demonstration home, built at 4833 Keniston Avenue in View Park, was advertised in conjunction with the 1936 National Home Show, the official show of the FHA. The 7-room home with arranged cupboards, built-in furniture, an inlaid linoleum kitchen, and revolving ant-proof cooler was said to be perfect for the "new bride."[436] The FHA's sponsorship of View Park was intimately tied to the imagined occupant, as well as the material composition of the neighborhood. In January of that year, Ingold was in negotiations for the construction of a 1,500-foot boulevard along Stocker at Crenshaw just north of View Park. The Baldwin Estate and Chamber of Commerce had deeded 30 acres west of Crenshaw to the city for the development of a playground. With access to a

[434] Federal Housing Administration, *Underwriting Manual: Underwriting and Valuation Procedure Under Title II of the National Housing Act.* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1938), 101.

[435] Building material companies grew increasingly dependent on federal sponsorship. The National Lumber Manufacturers Association (NLMA) published trade advertisements, and with the new testing methods developed by the Forest Products Laboratory (FPL) in 1932, lumber was increasingly standardized.

[436] "Honeymoon Home to be Shown at View Park" *Daily News* 13, no. 203 (April 25, 1936): 9

wide boulevard and large playground, FHA expected if not planned property values to skyrocket in View Park, minimizing any risks associated with mortgage lending in the neighborhood. The FHA rating was a self-fulfilling prophecy; View Park contained material investments that ensured the maintenance of residential character and escalation of property values. By rating the neighborhood highly, banks were encouraged to lend homeowners money for mortgage payments, renovations, or improvements. If homeowners in View Park added square footage, refinished, or improved their properties, land values would rise accordingly. It was the FHA's financial support that allowed LAIC to provide highly valued improvements to the property, and it was their financial support to homeowners that placed its futurity (and profits) in White, wealthy homeowners' hands.



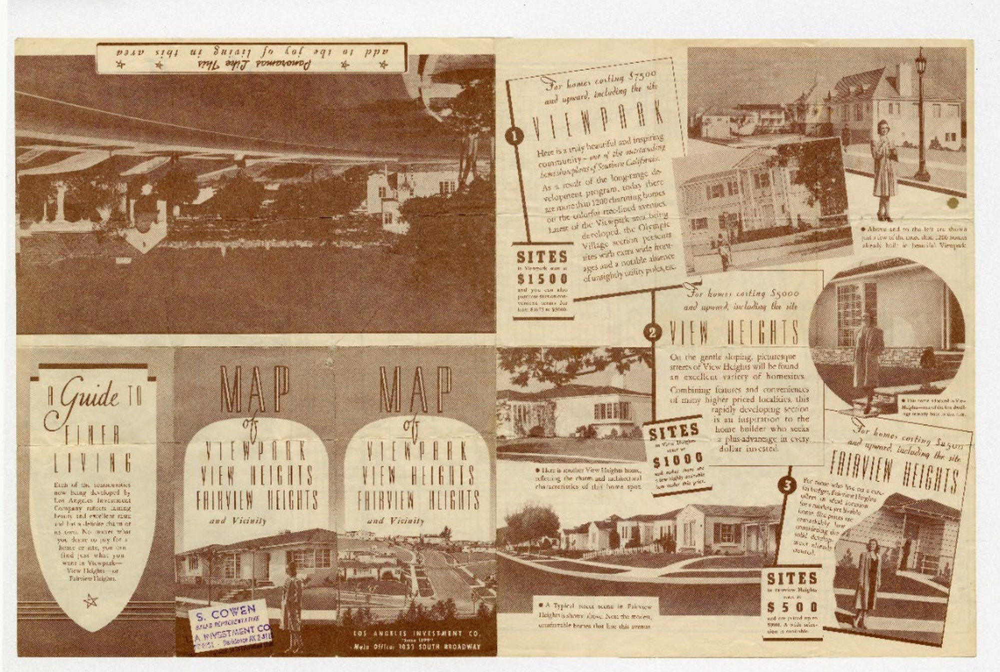


Figure 11: Los Angeles Investment Company, "Map of View Park, View Heights, Fairview Heights," 1936, Department of Archives & Special Collections, William H. Hannon Library, Loyola Marymount University.

Figure 12: Advertisement for "The Barcelona," a home designed by LAIC in View Park "with a view that rivals the Mediterranean" *The Los Angeles Times* (September 30, 1928): E3.

Figure 13: A model posing outside of a "Peyolas" model home by the Los Angeles Investment Company on Aureola Blvd in View Park, 1928. "Dick" Whittington Photography Collection, 1924-1987, USC Digital Library.

Figure 14: Photographs of construction in View Park, Los Angeles, commissioned by LAIC, ca. 1928. Dick" Whittington Photography Collection, 1924-1987, Bag no. 1, Box no. 6, USC.

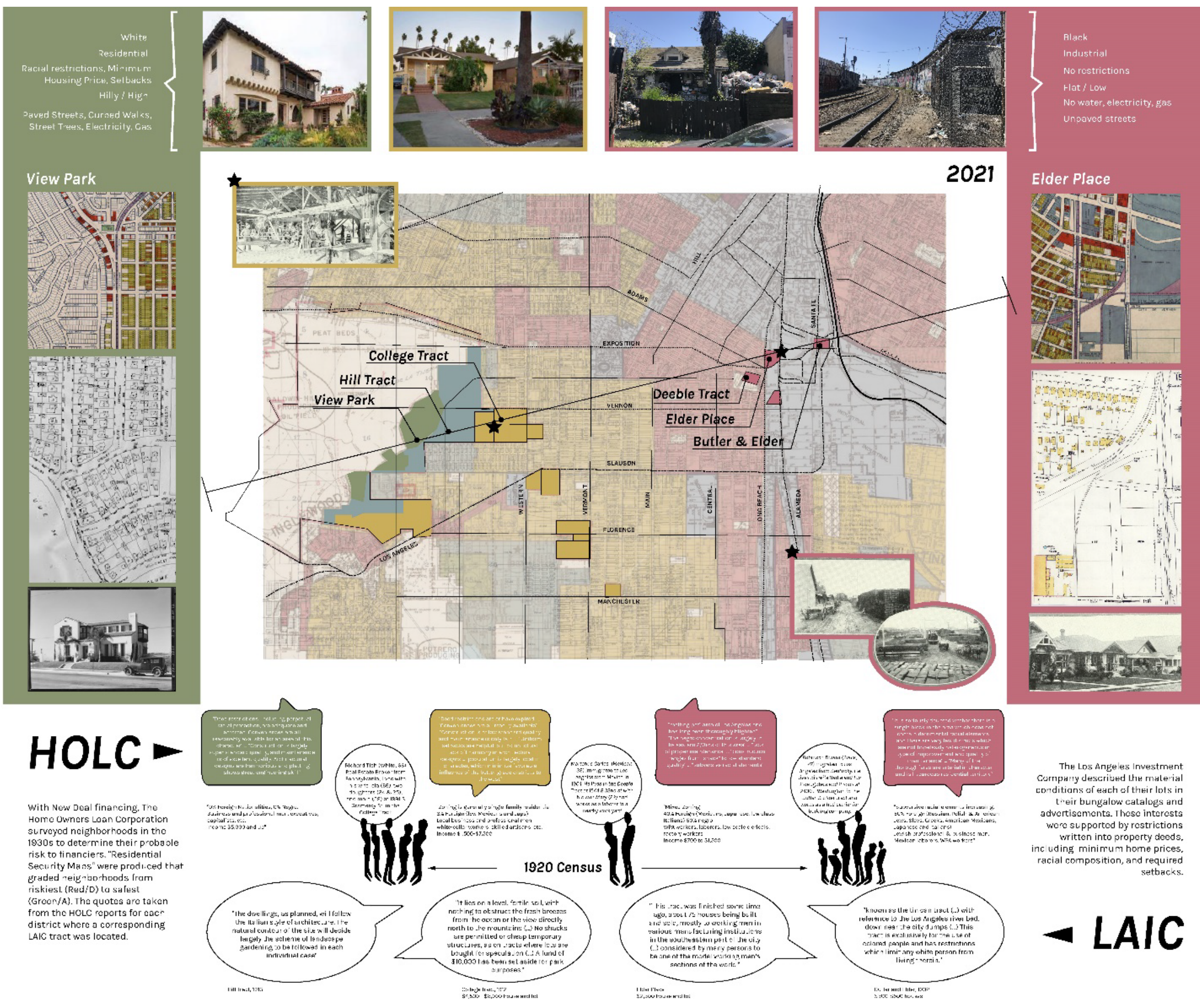


Figure 15: Map by author illustrating a cross section of LAIC's subdivisions, from the 1904 Butler and Elder Tract at the east end, to the 1928 View Park Tract at the west end. In 1936, HOLC rated Elder Place #1 as a "low red" grade, "fit for a slum clearance project." View Park was given a "high green" grade due to its racial and architectural homogeneity. Today, homes in Elder Place #1 are sandwiched between industrial uses, while the homes in the Baldwin Hills lands are listed on the National Historic Register.

3.4 Conclusion: Designed Obsolescence, Designed Preservation

The material and racial distinctions between LAIC's subdivisions before and after the reorganization of 1913 influenced assessments of "residential security" across LA in 1936 (Figure 15). As located in a region that had since been zoned as industrial, LAIC's first tract at

Butler and Elder, built in 1906 and marketed to "colored" folks, was not included in the residential security surveys performed by HOLC. The earliest of LAIC's tracts to be featured in their bungalow catalog, Elder Place #1, was the only of LAIC's South LA tracts to be included in HOLC's survey, due to its containment within a district that was recognized as mixed-use. Built in South LA in 1907 and marketed to mill workers of all racial and ethnic groups, the design of Elder Place #1 itself became the basis for its description by HOLC as "thoroughly blighted," "lacking proper maintenance," with improvements "in a state of dilapidation" and construction types ranging from "shack to low standard quality." Occupants were predominantly of Mexican, Japanese, Italian and Black ethnicity or racial identity, and were employed as WPA workers, laborers, low scale clericals and factory workers with an income of $700-$1,500.[437] LAIC's gridiron properties in the southwest, on the other hand, were in a district stated to have "low standard quality" construction, with "only fair" maintenance, with a population of local business and professional men, white-collar workers, and skilled artisans with an income of $1,500-$7,500. The district was said to be declining due to an "influx of subversive racial groups" near Western Avenue between Santa Barbara and Exposition.[438] In the neighborhood of LAIC's New College Place Tract, construction and maintenance was said to be of "good standard quality." With architectural uniformity, and "protection from racial hazards" via racially restrictive covenants, the neighborhood attracted white collar workers, and skilled labor and tradesmen with incomes of $1,500-$2,400 and up.[439] In View Park, the topography was stated to have increased

[437] https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=11/34.009/-118.343&city=los-angeles-ca&area=D52

[438] Robert K. Nelson, LaDale Winling, Richard Marciano, Nathan Connolly, et al., "Mapping Inequality," American Panorama, ed. Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers, accessed at: https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=11/34.016/-118.389&city=los-angeles-ca&area=C99

[439] Ibid. #loc=14/33.995/-118.347&city=los-angeles-ca&area=B80

the cost of construction and demonstrated great engineering skill, attracting a homogenous population of business and professional men, executives and capitalists with incomes from $2,400-$5,000 and up. Having been put on the market by LAIC 20 years earlier, complete with ornamental trees, landscaped parking strips, electrolier lighting, well-platted streets and uniform architectural character, View Park was stated to have been regarded highly by mortgage institutions.[440] From a "low red" grade at Elder Place, a "medial yellow" grade at the eastern College Tract, a "low blue" grade at the New College Tract, and a "high green" grade at View Park, LAIC's subdivisions traced the financial ascension experienced by their White homeowners. With the expiration of deed restrictions and a lack of sustained investments made by LAIC in their eastern College Place, Derby and Western Avenue Square tracts, the neighborhood became available to non-White (and as HOLC noted, an influx of Mexican and Japanese) populations. Living in the fully improved and racially restricted neighborhood of the New College Tract to the west, however, provided skilled labor and tradesmen with incomes as low as $1,500 with ample opportunities to secure long-term amortized mortgages from lending institutions. Compared with the predominantly Mexican and Black population of South LA, who were also making up to $1,500 income, the working-class White homeowners of College Place would have had greater opportunities to obtain a mortgage or move to a neighborhood with a higher perceived value and lower perceived risk associated with its racial and material composition.

LAIC's home building business, expansive in its geographic reach across LA as well as its socioeconomic market, is a significant marker of the evolution of homebuilding, regional

[440] Ibid. Area A48 and A47.

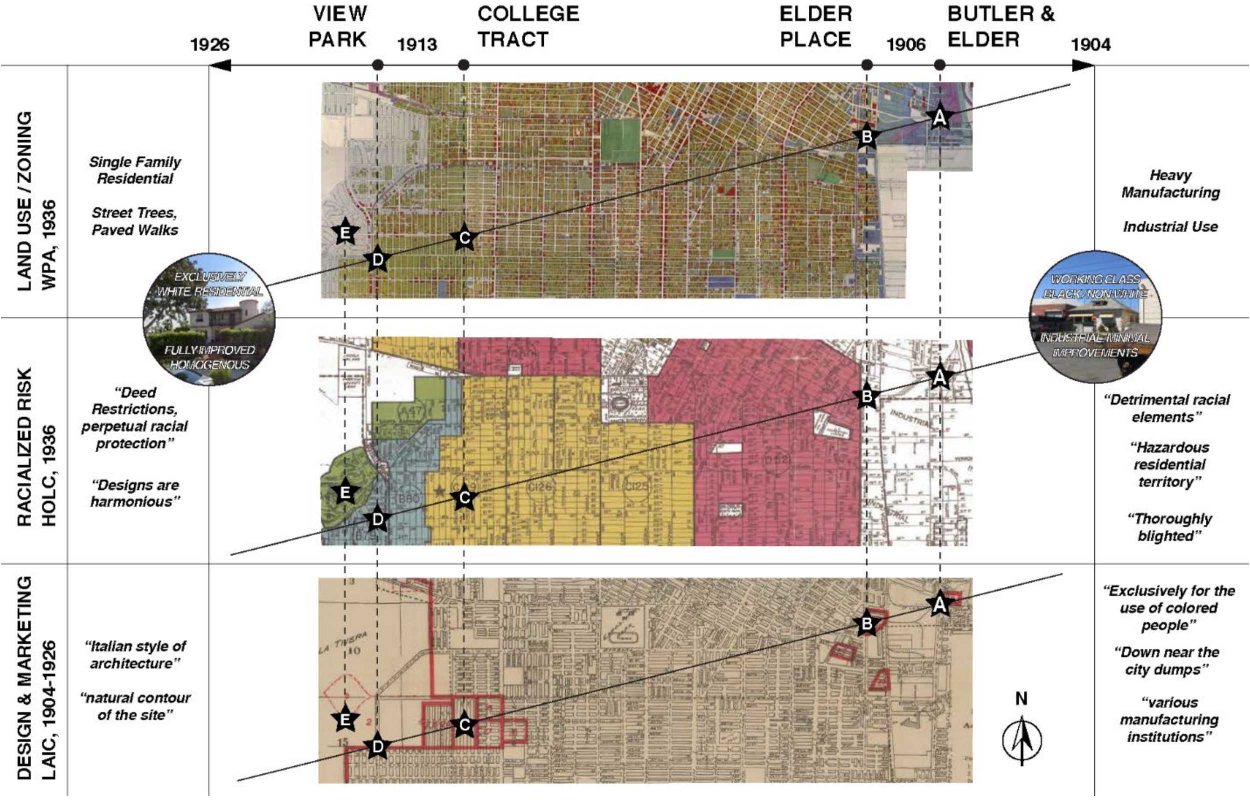
development, and racial discrimination in the Progressive Era. It demonstrates the collusion between real estate agents, planners, architects, politicians, and entrepreneurial developers in the correlation of race and ethnicity with space and form. Though bungalow terminology was applied to the homes of Butler and Elder as with those of College Place to entice homeowners into lending schemes based on associations with simple living and ascension into the middle-class, as situated near industry and racial diversity, the bungalows of South LA had no hope of being recognized as such. In associating target demographics with geography, zoning, access to modern infrastructure, the geometry of the lot, composition of the neighborhood, level of restriction, and number of improvements, LAIC effectively created the categories that would be colored by the HOLC in the New Deal Era. These colors, though representative of risk categories as communicated to lending institutions in the 1930s, were written into the very fabric of the making of LA's suburbs, whether "industrial" or "residential" in nature. So while segregation has been tied to the racist lending policies of the New Deal Era, the homebuilding profile of LAIC proves earlier materializations of speculations between race, property value, and risk. Taking on greater debt to make greater investments, as done by LAIC in their development of the Baldwin Hills region post-reorganization, would have constituted a greater risk, without the knowledge that racial restrictions and City Beautiful planning were backed by municipal and federal institutions.

The early twentieth century bungalow tract developments of LAIC are seminal to larger housing segregation formed after WWII. Prior to federal involvement, development was driven by individuals hoping to profit on their speculative investments. Public critique of this type of piecemeal planning arose around 1910. Mostly concerned with a lack of regularity, however, it wasn't until 1915 in which the City Planning Association was formed, who would create the

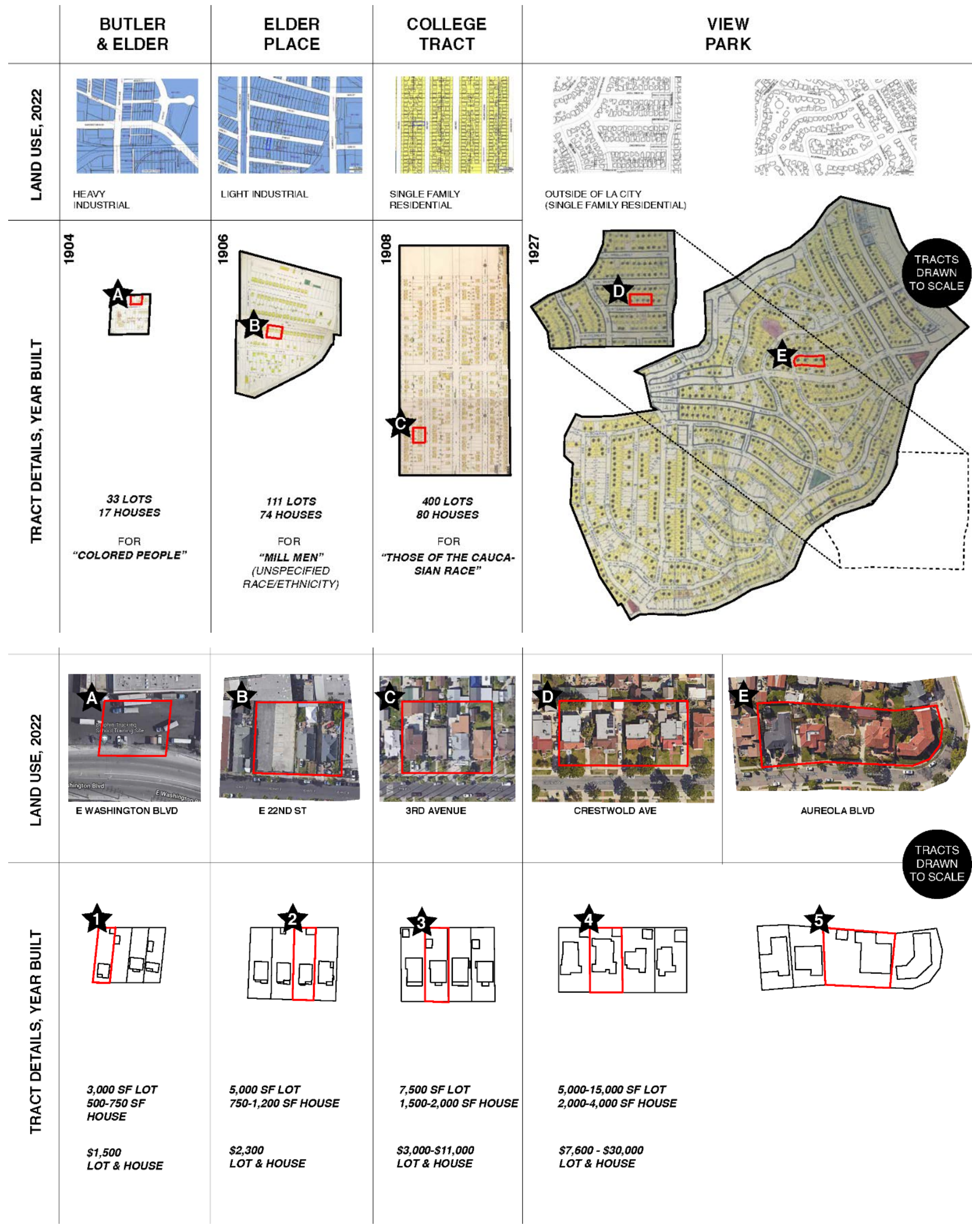
Planning Commission five years later as a response. By 1920 suburbanization became a demographic phenomenon. Federal regulation wasn't enacted until the 1930s, and even then, concerns regarding segregation were not dealt with in the redistribution of housing. The legacies of LAIC's co-operative building efforts before the crash of 1913, then, can be seen in the evolution of community planning and regional segregation into the postwar era. Patterns of White flight echoed the projections of the Chicago School demonstrated by the concentric zone model. As George Beavers remembers of the shifting racial landscape of LA "we really have segregation, but it's not imposed by the law. It's imposed by the pattern of living. The whites moving out when the blacks move in. I remember at first, there was a time when there were no Negroes west of Central Avenue. Well, they moved over to San Pedro. They moved the line over to San Pedro [Street], then to Figueroa [Street], then to Vermont [Avenue]. Now, let's see, then they got – then they got to Crenshaw [Boulevard]."[441] It wouldn't be until the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in the 1948 case of Shelley v. Kraemer that racial deed restrictions would be revoked, and even then, Black families were met with extreme racial violence as they moved into neighborhoods previously reserved for White people. In 1969, Andre Vaughn, the African American owner of the First Security Investment Company, began selling properties to Black families in View Park. The weekend after Dr. Piper moved into his new home at 4915 South Verdun, White neighbors burnt a cross on his lawn. Though affluent Black families were able to enjoy the benefits of fully improved subdivisions like View Park after the 1960s, their experiences have been marred by the legacies of racialized housing development. According to the U.S. Census data, White neighborhoods appreciated $200,000 more on average from 1980 to

[441] George Beavers, "In Quest of Full Citizenship."

2015 compared with non-White neighborhoods.[442] LAIC's evolving business operations represent sign posts in residential land segregation. Though its first few tracts were marketed to working-class persons, either of Black or non-White identity or without explicit racial restrictions, the land was left without residential improvements, making it susceptible to change of use, and therefore, a lack of available funds for improvement and maintenance and stagnant property values.



442 Junia Howell and Elizabeth Korver-Glenn, "The Increasing Effect of Neighborhood Racial Composition on Housing Values, 1980–2015," *Social Problems* 33 (September 04, 2020); From 1960 to 1970, the Black population of View Park increased from 4.2 percent to 62.6 percent, while median property values increased by only 29.6 percent. Compared with the City of Los Angeles, whose Black population stayed relatively stable from 13.5 percent to 17.9 percent between 1960 and 1970, median property values in View Park increased by 24.7% less than the city average (54.3%). Data tabulated from the 1960 and 1970 US Census of Population and Housing by Municipal Area.



BUTLER & ELDER
ELDER PLACE
COLLEGE TRACT
VIEW PARK
LAND USE, 2022
HEAVY INDUSTRIAL
LIGHT INDUSTRIAL
SINGLE FAMILY RESIDENTIAL
OUTSIDE OF LA CITY (SINGLE FAMILY RESIDENTIAL)
TRACT DETAILS, YEAR BUILT
1904
1906
1908
1927
TRACTS DRAWN TO SCALE
33 LOTS
17 HOUSES
FOR
"COLORED PEOPLE"
111 LOTS
74 HOUSES
FOR
"MILL MEN"
(UNSPECIFIED RACE/ETHNICITY)
400 LOTS
80 HOUSES
FOR
"THOSE OF THE CAUCASIAN RACE"
LAND USE, 2022
E WASHINGTON BLVD
E 22ND ST
3RD AVENUE
CRESTWOLD AVE
AUREOLA BLVD
TRACT DETAILS, YEAR BUILT
TRACTS DRAWN TO SCALE
3,000 SF LOT
500-750 SF HOUSE
$1,500
LOT & HOUSE
5,000 SF LOT
750-1,200 SF HOUSE
$2,300
LOT & HOUSE
7,500 SF LOT
1,500-2,000 SF HOUSE
$3,000-$11,000
LOT & HOUSE
5,000-15,000 SF LOT
2,000-4,000 SF HOUSE
$7,600 - $30,000
LOT & HOUSE

Figure 16: Illustrations by Author, demonstrating the designed geographic, material, financial and demographic differences between tracts developed by LAIC, from Butler & Elder to View Park. Zoning and racist financing policies of the 1940s, made visible in the HOLC and WPA maps of this era, were both a response to housing designs from previous decades, and a catalyst for the future of land use, property values, and intergenerational wealth.

The shift from LAIC's earliest tracts to View Park is significant, with homes and lots of the latter occupying more than three times the square footage of the former (Figure 16). The designed differences from their beginnings continue to play out in the successes and freedoms experienced by their homeowners. C&M Metals, Inc. began as a salvage company for military surplus equipment used in WWII, moving into its location at East 24th and Long Beach Avenue at the corner of the Elder Place tract in the 1960s, and opening recycling opportunities to the public shortly thereafter. The zoning of the Elder Place neighborhood as M2-2-CPIO (Light Industrial), forbids "the storage, display, processing or sales of second-hand boxes, crates, barrels, drums, furniture, or household appliances," "of impounded, abandoned, partially

dismantled, obsolete or wrecked automobiles," or "the open storage of materials and equipment."[443] Many of the homeowners that remain in the tract, sandwiched between recycling facility and support buildings, have taken to collecting old household appliances and goods to recycle for extra income. The Industrial zoning and its accordant limitations make the homeowners of Elder Place, who are innovating in adaptation to the evolution of the site, susceptible to policing, fines, and further isolation from their community. The residential properties and homeowners of Elder Place are clearly less valued when considering the national acclaim given to homes in the View Park neighborhood designed by the very same company. Today the Spanish Colonial Revival estate at 3660 Aureola Boulevard, built by LAIC in 1928 in one of their earliest View Park subdivisions, is listed as a National Landmark due to the "integrity" it has maintained for over fifty years (Figure 17). The 3,117-sf house features Spanish Colonial Revival forms and elements including a gazebo and turret, that have been preserved within narrow margins of their initial condition. The exterior smooth stucco and clay tile roof are original, in addition to the interior iron light fixtures, brass hardware and hand carved wooden doors.[444] At its inception the house was of a superior quality, but it owes its preservation in part to the sequestering of resources for the economic and social advancement of White people. The aesthetics of View Park, as well as its distinctly residential character, further sold a narrative of White cultural superiority. Spanish Revival estates aligned with romanticized visions of California's colonial past, obscuring the violent histories from which they were extracted.

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[443] SEC. 12.19. "M2" LIGHT INDUSTRIAL ZONE of the Los Angeles Municipal Code, Chapter 1 General Provisions and Zoning, accessed at: https://codelibrary.amlegal.com/codes/los_angeles/latest/lapz/0-0-0-4236

[444] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. 2016. View Park Historic District No. 1024-0018, July 12. https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/16000434.pdf; Davis, S. and Novell, M. ASM Affiliates, Inc. 2016. "Los Angeles County Landmark Evaluation Report: The Doumakes House." Los Angeles County Department of Regional Planning, Historic Preservation, February. http://file.lacounty.gov/SDSInter/bos/supdocs/102671.pdf

Meanwhile, a neo-colonial pattern of development was staged. Property and possession were associated with Whiteness, and depravity and decline, as captured by HOLC's descriptions of South LA where LAIC's earliest tracts and LA's non-White populations made home, were associated with persons who did not fit the White racial construct.

The presences of View Park should be seen as corollary to those designed absences that were instrumental to their realization. Little information is contained in the archives regarding the character and contributions of working-class individuals, families, and tracts of early Los Angeles. What little has been historicized on these aspects of LA homeownership is an indicator of the construction of difference practiced by many, reflecting negative associations made between race and living conditions. The inexpensive lands of South LA were an easy sell to prospective homeowners with no other option, providing speculators like LAIC with profits despite minimal investment. The positioning of early tracts along transportation infrastructure, near switching stations that stretched north from the harbor, was strategic. LAIC could collect materials and set up mills with direct access to freight, find employees who would work for and become indebted to the company to live in the adjacent tract, all while building up middle-class subdivisions further separated from the industrial zone to the west. From their first developments in South LA, LAIC managed to sequester profits for White homeowners by leveraging the societal limitations inflicted upon Black populations. Though LAIC appeared to offer homeownership to individuals previously excluded from the housing market, homes in the Butler and Elder tract were not developed with the improvements or the securities necessary to ensure economic prosperity.

While other forms of predatory lending to Black households have been well documented, LAIC carved a new path into this same territory, with their subsidiary Globe Savings Bank as

entangled with their land and homebuilding business. The installment plans offered by LAIC to Black families were backed by inflated company stocks, making debtors especially vulnerable to market fluctuations. When municipal leaders desired industrial growth, South LA was an easy target. Cheaply built cottages and self-built structures lacking homogeneity were touted as financially unsound investments. The gridirons of LAIC's early tracts, proximal to transportation and oil, were easily cleared and coupled to provide for industrial giants to move in (Figure 18). Curved streets with residential improvements prevented this kind of transformation from occurring in tracts like View Park, as did the residential zoning granted to LA's northern and western geographies. While the homes of View Park have been placed on historic preservation lists, those of South LA have been demolished and replaced by industrial and commercial uses. As Dianne Harris demonstrates with her analysis of the homogenous White community of Levittown, "racial privilege and exclusion become visually naturalized in verdant spaces that appear wholesome and even precious, the seeming ineffability of boundaries linked to that of an apparently organic spatial structure."[445] Despite its "precious" appearance, View Park, like Levittown, was anything but organic or racially neutral. The Spanish-style estates and curving, landscaped vistas were politically motivated and inscribed with racial meanings that continue to be projected in the historically preserved suburban district. LAIC's speculations on both ends of the economic and racial spectrum illustrate a designed obsoletion rather than a natural progression in the development of LA's regional disparities. Although homeownership held the possibility to provide independence, upward mobility, and societal integration, rarely were these promises actualized for Indigenous, Black, and Mexican workers in Los Angeles.

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[445] Dianne Harris, "Seeing the Invisible: Reexamining Race and Vernacular Architecture," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 13, no. 2 (2006): 99.

3660 Aureola Boulevard

IMMEDIATELY IDENTIFIABLE TO NEIGHBORS as "the house with the gazebo," this grand home is one of the oldest in View Park. Built in 1928, it still spans its original double lot: one lot houses the home and backyard, and the other contains a wood-and-stucco gazebo built with the house, along with garages and open space.

Like the Doumakes house on Angeles Vista Boulevard (built in the same year), this Spanish Colonial Revival-style house has a turret, balconies, arched windows, and a tile roof. Yet this home features its own distinct interior arrangement and architectural decoration, with large, stenciled wooden beams in both the living room and a small, chapel-like study. Both rooms also have fireplaces, wall niches, and doors to the outside.

When the current owners purchased the house in 1998, it was in very poor condition, with light fixtures removed and no running water. Luckily, many of its original architectural features remained intact, including hardwood floors and casement windows. A fanciful multi-colored bathroom features a spectacular original tile mural of a Spanish Galleon under full sail. Restoring the home took nine months, as the owners worked to reverse the neglect and replace lost fixtures with other Spanish-style fixtures from the 1920s.

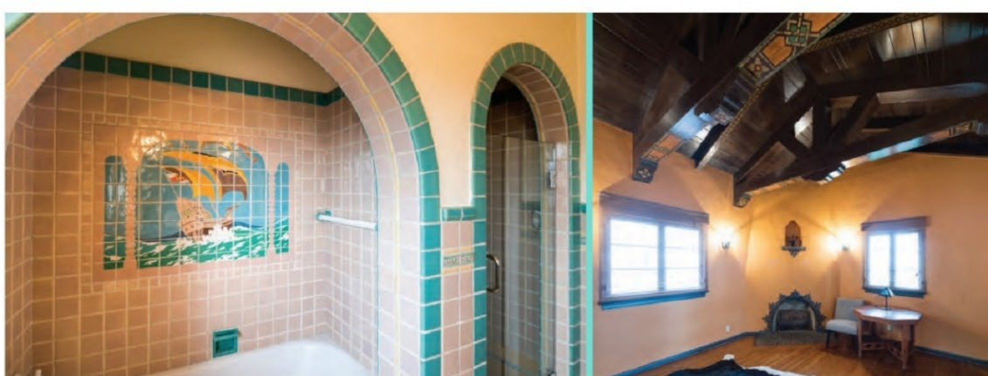

Figure 17: House designed and built by LAIC in View Park in 1928, 3660 Aureola Boulevard. Los Angeles Conservancy, "The Homes of View Park."

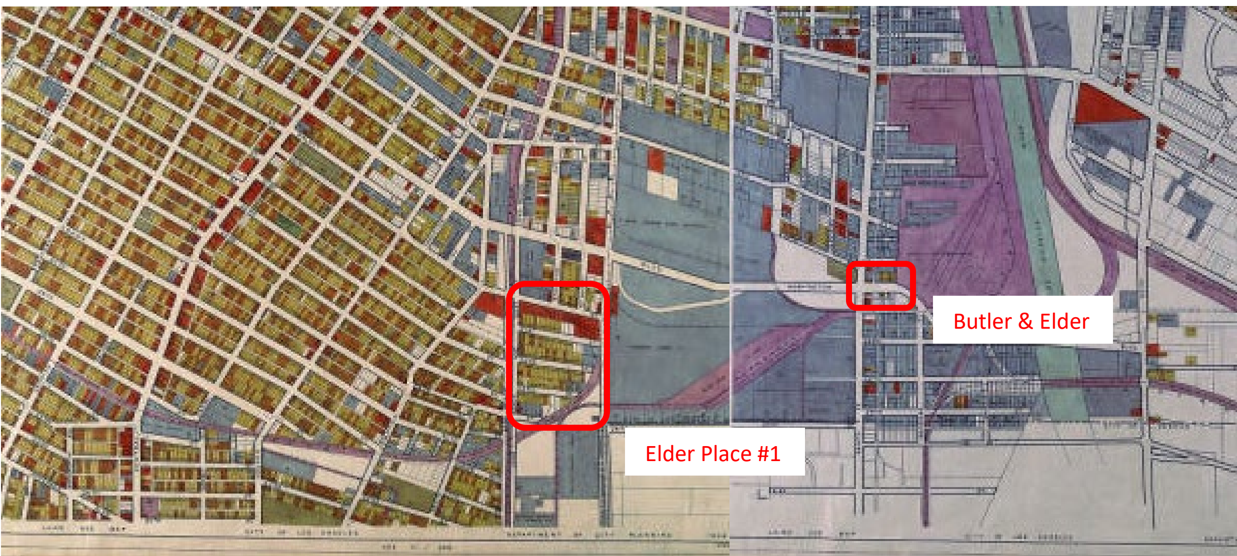

Figure 18: (above) Bungalow designed and built by LAIC in 1907 in the Elder Place #1 Tract, photograph by author, 2020. The homeowner has adapted to the encroachment of industry by collecting paint cans on their property for recycling, but this activity is against the zoning code, making them subject to policing and fines.

(below) WPA Land Use Survey Map for the City of Los Angeles, 1936, shows the influx of industry (shaded blue), stretching west from the LA River across Butler and Elder and into the Elder Place tract. The tracts' positioning along the railway near the switching station is a clear influence on the changing use. Book 8, Downtown Los Angeles and Hyde Park to Watts District, Sheet 5 & 6

Conclusion: Precarious Pasts, Reparative Futures?

This dissertation demonstrates how the settlement of racialized and gendered laborers underpinned the expansion and segregation of the LA metropolis. The three sites presented are at once historically unique in their racial, material, geographic, and cultural composition, and yet are representative of a much larger racial project, in their shared construction of binary relationships between a racial and spatial interior and exterior. In the first case, Henry Huntington's Pacific Electric Railway Company (PERC) built labor camps for their predominantly Mexican rail laborers, who built and maintained the infrastructures necessary to support PERC's Ye Alpine Tavern Resort and the Huntington Land and Improvement Company (HLIC)'s racially restricted, residential suburbs throughout Los Angeles. Huntington's land development companies established housing categories that linked socioeconomics, racial or ethnic identity, architectural form, and future longevity. Prefabricated housing using sectional construction systems were easier to move as work progressed along expanding lines of infrastructure, but as temporary, overcrowded, and flimsily built, it became subject to clearance, making its forms and inhabitants portable by design. In the second case, at the end of Huntington's rail line to Riverside where it met with Frank Miller's Spanish and Mission Revival style tourist attractions, was a government run Indian boarding school, where Indigenous children were taught to become laborers like those living in PERC's camps. While housed in overcrowded dormitories or employee provisions, Indigenous students provided cheap labor for building and maintaining the school as well as the suburban homes and industrial factories of their employers in the city. Indigenous student and alumni placement in low wage domestic servitude and construction was crucial to the racialized division of labor, the expansion of the middle class, and the government's taking of Indigenous lands for privatized single-family

housing and environmental extraction. In the third case, LAIC started a home building empire by developing small, inexpensive bungalow homes for Black persons in South LA, where land was cheap and the rail lines that led to HLIC and other housing developers' residential suburbs converged. LAIC's earliest tracts in South LA were susceptible to conversion or foreclosure, with minimal residential improvements and restrictions, adjacent industry, overspeculation and the subsequent bankruptcy of the company. From these earliest tracts to the foothill subdivisions near Baldwin Hills developed by LAIC after reorganization, a dual housing market was formed. On one end of LAIC's practice were racially and ethnically diverse, working-class, mixed-use neighborhoods near commerce, industry, and an influx of freight from the harbor, and on the other, exclusively White, fully improved, residentially zoned regions in the foothills, accessible by passenger train but separated from the pollution of industry near the central business district. Most important for this research has been an all too commonly neglected component of studies on American racial formation and segregation: architecture. The interdisciplinary approach to this dissertation grapples with an expanded definition of architecture that considers the entanglements of buildings or material culture, land or its conversion to property, and planning or policy at a regional scale. Considered together, the cases demonstrate how these disciplines and professions were entangled through regional development and home design, building, and financing.

There are two interwoven themes that are investigated throughout the dissertation and its three cases, one the racialized narrative of the residential landscape, and the other the participation in that narrative of the construction industry writ large including architects, builders, land developers, investors, and policymakers. In Los Angeles, these two interwoven strands appear at a surprisingly early historical period. Prior to the New Deal Era and the

creation of the Federal Housing Administration, and without municipal regulation, private developers combined the planning, building, and financing of housing with regional speculations in water, power, transportation and building industries. To accomplish the construction of such imperial projects, HLIC, the BIA, and LAIC also trained, employed, and built housing for laborers facing political, social, and material discrimination. The pairing of developments for a racialized labor force and a White leisure class, with their disparate forms of housing, geographies, and investments, was an early prototype for federally regulated segregation in the following decades. The labor camps of PERC and their predominantly Mexican inhabitants were constructed as exterior to permanent, single-family living, through the usage of portable dwelling types and racialized representations of temporality. The Indigenous students, extricated from their tribal lands, taught vocational trades at Indian boarding schools, and placed in subservient roles in domestic construction and service, were constructed as exterior to a modern suburban vision where skill, taste and home management belonged to the White woman. The bungalows of the industrial suburbs and their working-class Black and Brown inhabitants were constructed as exterior to the improved financing, neighborhood planning, and geographies reserved for the racially restricted, residential suburbs. Despite the material and racial differences that characterize these sites, each was predicated on the fabrication of a White architectural identity in opposition to a racialized, and distinctively less permanent, architectural identity.

I introduced the dissertation with a discussion of the colonial power dynamics that underpinned the making of race and space through the domestic sphere. As scholars of domestic or internal colonialism argue, though released from enslavement through the American Revolution and the Emancipation proclamation, Indigenous and Black people were no less colonized, as funneled into ghettos and reservations. This dissertation demonstrates the

expansion of a domestic colonialism through the segregation of the domestic sphere. Indigenous, Black, Latinx, and Asian populations were funneled into low-lying, swampy lands of LA near industrial pollution and danger. Superior geographies, investments in neighborhood improvement, modern infrastructure, and protection from adverse influences, including what were considered both industry and the presence of non-White populations, were reserved for the exclusive use of White people. Outside of the ghetto and the reservation, per se, new forms of colonial domination were envisioned through the disparate design, development, and legislation of housing typologies. The "slums" were designed as such and then later cleared for uses that would bring more profit for their White developers and beneficiaries, while the "bedroom communities," embedded with safety nets like racially restrictive covenants, curving streets, street trees, large lots, and residential zoning, were designed to secure property values for the White people living therein.

It is worth returning to the broad discourse around the construction of racial difference, to see how residential construction and settlement parallel these larger patterns. Discourse and spatial and material practices were central to the colonizers' cementation of global and domestic hierarchies in the built environment. The distinction between metropole and colony is itself part of European Enlightenment discourses of progress.[446] Formulations of Whiteness and Blackness, Civilized and Indigenous, and the accordant slave labor and Indigenous exploitation or erasure, were co-constituted with colonial space. European conceptions of urban order, as well as invented traditions of indigeneity and the appropriate tropical colonial architecture, were endemic to international constructions of modernity. White, Western, European styles and forms

[446] See, for example, Aimé Césaire, Robin D. G. Kelley, and Joan Pinkham, Discourse on Colonialism (NYU Press, 2000).

were constructed by empires as invariably progressive, civilized, and metropolitan, rendering alternatives as backward, savage, and in need of savior, or if as heritage, worthy of preservation and commodification. In recent years, scholars and historians have increasingly worked to bring these issues of race and colonialism to the forefront of studies on the built environment.[447] The purportedly neutral race, space, behavior, aesthetic, and ideology is reflective of the White middle- or upper-class identity, while the Other, the Black, or the Indigenous identity stands in contradistinction to this assumed baseline. But the White identity and practiced superiority is also made, particularly by the making of the alternative. "Colonized populations continue to be racialized in specific ways that mark out and reproduce the unequal relationships into which Europeans have co-opted these populations."[448] They have been remade, with the help of architecture, from historic colonial to contemporary domestic settings.

During the Progressive Era a significant transformation of the domestic landscape took place that would inform segregation within American cities for decades to come. While post-war vernacular has been examined for its imbrication with racist policies and practices, less has been said about the role of architecture in the early formation of race in America. Similarly, much has been recounted about the role of redlining, but less is known about the land subdivision and housing construction that was eventually the subject of federally discriminatory lending. Migration and immigration processes in the first two decades of the 20th century, however, significantly shaped discourses and practices of housing inequality. Due in part to the Industrial Revolution and an increase in transportation infrastructure and labor opportunities, European

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[447] Dianne Harris, "Seeing the Invisible: Reexamining Race and Vernacular Architecture," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 13, no. 2 (2006): 96–105.

[448] Patrick Wolfe, *Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race* (New York: Verso, 2016), 2.

immigrants and Black migrants moved to the nation's most industrialized cities. Landlords exploited the color line, deciding where Black persons could and could not live, charging higher prices for substandard arrangements. Outward migration within eastern U.S. cities was paired with increasing westward migration, amounting to a population influx in Los Angeles at the turn of the century. Genocide, eradication, and exploitation of Indigenous peoples was at the crux of the European conquest of the West. Despite the absence of Jim Crow laws, new forms of colonial power relations were inscribed in the built environment as populations migrated to Los Angeles in search of greater opportunity. Los Angeles' political trajectory, temperate climate and abundant landscape set the stage for a unique racial and urban condition to form. By the late nineteenth century, LA's population consisted mostly of ethnic Mexican residents (only in 1850 did Los Angeles officially become part of the U.S.), along with American-born, Western Europeans. Robert Fogelson describes the origins of LA's racial fragmentation in that "unlike the typical American Metropolis, Los Angeles did not have at any time in its modern history a vast group of European immigrants."[449] This may have been a selling point for midwestern and eastern migrants looking to escape overcrowded cities, recently saturated with European immigrants. Los Angeles' rural lands were surveyed, notably in 1849 by E.O.C. Ord, and subdivided and sold by common council in auction from 1880-1890. Ideologies of the suburban as an alternative to the urban legitimized the increase in private property and homeownership across American cities at the turn of the century.

The suburban American dream, and its corollary, the bungalow, emerged from perceptions of city dwelling along with the economic, political, and social frameworks which

[449] Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis*, 79.

provided for a materialization of these perceptions. The bungalow was a rejection of industrial aesthetics, incorporating a simple, natural aesthetic and siting. Gustav Stickley's magazine, *The Craftsman*, spoke to ideologies made popular by William Morris and embodied by the Arts and Crafts Movement, of which the Craftsman style bungalow came to be associated. Leisure and the nuclear family became enmeshed with ideas of the suburban home, a defense against the renting class. Rhetoric used to attract western migration recalled that which surrounded the bungalow in its Indian and African colonial settings. While Carey McWilliams spoke to its provisions of comfort against extreme foreign climates, saying "here is a climate of the tropics without its perils," Black booster E.H. Rydall spoke of Los Angeles' "distinctly African" climate.[450] Los Angeles boosters touted racialized opportunities for homeownership and employment on both ends of the social and economic spectrums. The preservation of California Missions and construction of Southwest Museums and homes in Spanish Colonial and Mission Revival styles played on the "Anglo nostalgia" associated with the region's Spanish colonial past.[451] But the construction of such demanded labor. Black, Mexican and White boosters alike promoted opportunities for "racial uplift" through labor and homeownership opportunities in Los Angeles, "where the price is within reach of all."[452] Racial discourses, including most notably Eugenics, were used to justify the building of racial hierarchies, in alignment with the supposedly natural inclinations of racialized groups.[453] Promoters cultivated a racial paradox that would influence

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[450] Flamming, *Bound for Freedom*, 56.

[451] Phoebe Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (University of California Press, 2006) 11.

[452] J.L. Edmonds, founder and editor of *The Liberator* quoted in Sides, *L.A. City Limits*.

[453] Eileen Boris, "Reconstructing the 'Family'" in *Gender, Class, Race and Reform in the Progressive Era* (Lexington: University of Kentucky press, 1991).

narrative as much as construction across the LA geography, by utilizing romanticized racial iconography to support White profit, and relegating non-White people to unskilled labor and the landscapes associated with it.

Despite the housing limitations experienced by racialized populations, ethnic Mexican and Black homeownership rates were significantly higher in Los Angeles than in other U.S. cities throughout the 1910s and 20s, most of which occurred within the ethnically diverse neighborhoods of Boyle Heights, East Los Angeles, South Central and Watts.[454] Studies have shown that understandings of LA's "Black Gold Suburbs" and "Mexican Barrios" as homogeneous ethnic enclaves may have been more of a cultural myth than a historical reality; in the first few decades of the twentieth century, a large number of ethnic Mexicans and Italians lived in the historically Black neighborhood along Central Avenue, and ethnic Mexicans and Asians lived alongside Black migrants and Russian, Polish, Jewish and Italian immigrants in the parts of East and South Los Angeles where homes were valued below $3,000.[455] These neighborhoods were quickly evolving, as were racial definitions, but one thing remained constant: homeownership and the stability it afforded was a shared aspiration across racial lines. The expansion of privatized working-class housing in the early twentieth century, as represented by the latter case of the dissertation, has been associated with a rise in home-building production, standardization, financing and the middle-class. If associated with race, it has been seen as a way for races and classes previously excluded from the housing market to gain relative social and economic stability, upward mobility and social acceptance, especially in the relatively

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[454] See, for example: Sides, *L.A. City Limits*; Romo, *History of a Barrio.*

[455] Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race.*

progressive city of Los Angeles.[456] Paternalistic worker housing projects on the other hand, as exemplified by the former two cases of this dissertation, have been distinctly associated with furthering racial inequality.[457] Aims at "Americanization" were made explicit in the municipal and federal reform initiatives practiced at Indian boarding schools and Mexican labor camps, for example. Ways of life associated with racialized Indigenous and Mexican populations were seen as a threat to the health, morals, and values of the Anglo-American race. But while the designs of paternalistic housing projects have been exposed as strategic ploys to rid the nation of its supposedly foreign problems, this critical stance has not been commonly taken with respect to privately developed, single-family housing.

In each of the historic patterns of suburban development defined by Dolores Hayden in *Building Suburbia,* there were contingent, though unacknowledged, patterns of worker housing.[458] A blind spot in the literature, the housing that constructed suburbia was built by populations who did not live there. By utilizing a series of cases, the dissertation argues that the housing of Black and Brown laborers was also a market, distinct from the multi-family, tenement and public housing markets commonly associated with these populations and enmeshed with the middle- and upper-class markets identified by Hayden. As inextricable as it was from the dominant housing market, the domestic market designed for and made available to the working-class was quite distinct in form. Black, Mexican, Asian, Indigenous peoples and Eastern

[456] Becky Nicolaides, "'Where the Working Man is Welcomed': Working-class Suburbs in Los Angeles, 1900-1940" *Pacific Historical Review* 68, no. 4 (November 1999) 517-559.

[457] The most famous of such cases is Pullman, Indiana. See Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso Books, 1995).

[458] Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 2003).

European immigrants were relegated to low-paying jobs in manual labor and domestic service in the early twentieth century, and therefore comprised the majority of the working-class. Securitized banks commonly denied loans to these populations, leaving them with few options for financial accumulation.[459] As with money, geography was also racialized through the usage of racially restrictive covenants, which grew into popularity with developers and subdividers in the 1890s and were continually upheld until 1948. In South and East LA, working-class immigrants and Black and Brown laborers often financed lots, set up temporary camps, and built their own homes over time using scrap materials from nearby industries. Occasionally, as exemplified by LAIC, developers built and financed cheap bungalows in their working-class subdivisions. These housing types were called slums and were associated with moral depravity and squalor by sociologists and surveyors as early as the first decade of the twentieth century. And it was these connotations that would be used to justify clearance and renewal projects under Roosevelt's New Deal in the 1930s. This dissertation expands upon this field of architectural scholarship, by considering how this market was formulated by developers and individuals speculating on their own dreams of homeownership during the Progressive Era.

Though seemingly mundane or apolitical, the bungalow is an embodiment of material and commercial markets as well as of the social and intimate imaginaries and lived experiences of its producers, consumers, and inhabitants. It has its own racialized political economy, which underwrites the larger political economy captured in the "American Dream." Contrary to what popular magazines and newspapers presented at the time, a self-built two-room tarpaper dwelling was as much a home as a developer-built bungalow in the racially restricted and residentially

[459] Mehrsa Baradaran, *The Color of Money: Black Banks and the Racial Wealth Gap* (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 2017).

zoned LA suburbs. Its inhabitants raised families, exhibited care for their surroundings, displayed cultural and material expressions, and worked to make a living. In this way, the barracks of Mexican labor camps, dorms of Indigenous servants, or "shacks" of Black families in South LA, were not simply "slums" as captured by social surveys, health inspectors and those with interest in the future development of these lands, but the "homeplaces" described by bell hooks, where people constructed their identity and self-expression. The products of these exchanges hold the power to tell us more about the culture, communities, neighborhoods, and people on either side of that exchange.

On the surface, the single-family bungalow demonstrated a commitment to values, including personhood and freedom, that were previously denied to Black and Brown persons in America. Los Angeles served as a "third space," where racialized laborers speculated on social and economic ascension through property and home ownership. According to Homi Bhabha, it is in third spaces that notions of racial or cultural origins or purity prove untenable.[460] Border zones provide the potential for conflict and transformation, or an "ongoing negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation."[461] The detached single-family home was used by working-class immigrants and Black and Brown laborers to resist extrication from cultural and material associations with selfhood and humanness, but the same object, particularly in the form of the Craftsman bungalow and Spanish Colonial Revival house, was used by the Anglo population to perpetuate White Supremacy and denounce alternative forms of domesticity. Risky financing schemes, dangerous infrastructures,

[460] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2012).

[461] Ibid, 2.

and industrial zoning threatened to unravel the possibilities for social ascension in an industry founded upon White Supremacy. Here, Homi Bhabha's theory of cultural liminality is at work. Black, Indigenous and Mexican populations were no longer slaves or property themselves, but they were not given the opportunity to acquire the benefits of property ownership afforded to White people. In other words, their homes can be said to have been situated between "no longer" and "not yet."[462]

Land ownership and private property became internal colonial tools for the subordination of Black, Latinx and Asian-American populations in the Progressive Era. Forms of renting, self-building, squatting, or communal land ownership did not allow for the policing that private property did. Though relegated to low wages and racial violence, the expansion of the private mortgage financing industry made property and homeownership an option for Black and Brown people and immigrant laborers. Homeowners were fixed in space and could be taxed and evicted according to property laws, thus settling the labor question. Beholden to interest-backed mortgage payments, laborers were unlikely to leave their jobs. When the government wished to redevelop the land, laborers' homes were racially targeted as poorly kept and depreciating in value. But as ghettoized in regions where mortgage financing was limited, and neighborhood improvements were sparse, racialized laborers were explicitly prevented from accessing lands associated with capital gains. As integrated into Anglo-ideals of homeownership, they were subjected to debt, and to furthering the divide between White wealth and racialized labor. While ethnically Mexican, Black, and Indigenous individuals and families achieved homeownership in Los Angeles in greater proportions, their homes were not materially, financially, or

[462] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2012); Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*

environmentally protected as were those of their White counterparts. Many of the homes owned by Black and Brown working-class people which were instrumental to the early development of Los Angeles, have been erased from the physical landscape, as much as from the historical archives.

Returning to the second theme interwoven throughout this book, the architecture of suburbia, often imagined to be without architecture, has played a defining role regarding race both in the houses of suburbia and those of the laborers who built suburbia. As Irene Cheng, Charles Davis and Mabel Wilson note in *Race and Modern Architecture*, the forms embodying European formulations of reason and progress are necessarily entangled with, even dependent upon, racial narratives.[463] To understand segregation, we must first understand how race has been constructed and continually reimagined and redefined through architecture. Housing segregation has most recently been understood in relation to the concerns of profit and value in the real estate, finance, labor and material industries.[464] While Robert Fogelson's *Fragmented Metropolis* and Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier* each address the geographic and spatial processes of segregation in Los Angeles and across the United States, they might be construed as histories beholden to laws, zoning regulations, restrictive covenants, and federal mortgage insurance and financing programs. At the turn of the century, in the absence of municipal and governmental regulation, however, individuals and collectives speculated upon the values of sustained segregation, structurally influencing the attitudes, behaviors and practices of the American

[463] Irene Cheng, Charles L. Davis, and Mabel O. Wilson, *Race and Modern Architecture: A Critical History from the Enlightenment to the Present* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020).

[464] See, for example, Reinhold Martin, Jacob Moore and Susanne Schindler, *The Art of Inequality: Architecture, Housing and Real Estate* (New York: The Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, 2015).

populace. Seemingly diverse American cities grew to become transnational metropolises because of the public and private alliances forged in housing markets. There are several proven effects of *de jure* segregation on the contemporary economic standing of Black and Brown persons in America. But by the time explicitly racist policies were outlawed and Black incomes began to recover in the 1960s, suburbanization was mostly complete. As Richard Rothstein demonstrates in *The Color of Law*, low-income African Americans are more likely to be stuck for multiple generations in poor neighborhoods, with less opportunity for the transfer of smaller amounts of intergeneration wealth, with home equity being the main source of American wealth, or the ascension to higher paying jobs and income brackets.[465] White working-class families and veterans who purchased homes in Levittown with subsidized loans by the FHA have gained more than $200,000 in wealth over three generations, while African American families who purchased homes in the almost all-black suburb of Lakeview, of those including Vince Mereday who helped build Levittown, have gained at most $45,000 in equity appreciation during this time.[466] If a neo-colonial operation has been staged in the development of America's suburban landscapes, then an interest in decolonization should engage with Derek Gregory's call for "a critical politico-intellectual formation that is centrally concerned with the impact of colonialism and its contestation on the cultures of both colonizing and colonized peoples of the past," in order to inform an understanding of "the reproduction and transformation of colonial relations, representations, and practices in the present."[467]

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[465] Richard Rothstein "Looking Forward, Looking Back," *The Color of Law*, 177-193.

[466] Ibid, 182.

[467] Quoted on page 111 of Anthony D. King, *Writing the Global City: Globalization, Postcolonialism and the Urban* (Routledge, 2016).

It was not only the legacies of *de jure* segregation that contributed to the disparate appreciation between the homes of Levittown and Lakeview. Levittown was specifically planned to prevent economic decline, in its material, as much as its racial composition and legislation. Government sponsorship, especially after the New Deal and in the development of post-war housing, has been exposed for creating substantial barriers to integration.[468] With the usage of HOLC's residential security maps throughout the dissertation, I have tried to show the "intimate specters" that underlie some of the most broad-sweeping and important analyses of government intervention during the New Deal Era. The construction of racial difference, through discourse and spatial and material practices, was central to the colonizers' cementation of global and domestic hierarchies in the built environment. "Colonized populations continue to be racialized in specific ways that mark out and reproduce the unequal relationships into which Europeans have co-opted these populations."[469] Behind the colored and lettered nomenclature of risk developed by government agencies like the Home Owners Loan Corporation and advertised to lenders, though, were the stories of individuals working to build LA's suburban metropolis, while speculating on their own suburban dreams. The limitations of this research are evidenced by the lack of available history on these alternatives to oppressive, White Supremacist forms and narratives of domesticity. Certainly, there is more research to be done here, not only in uplifting

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[468] On the intellectual history of the formation of the survey and associations between race and risk, see: Melissa Rovner, "The "Social Science" of Segregation: Between the "Charitable" Surveys of the Progressive Era and the "Appraisal" Surveys of the New Deal Era," *Journal of Planning History* 20, no. 4 (April 2021): 326-337. DOI:10.1177/15385132211003481; Kenneth T. Jackson, "Federal Subsidy and the Suburban Dream: The First Quarter-Century of Government Intervention in the Housing Market," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* 50 (1980): 421–51.

[469] Wolfe, *Traces of History,* 2.

voices commonly silenced in the archives, discipline, and profession of architecture, but also in the telling of these stories from those who experienced and contributed to them.

Despite the dissertation's commitment to understanding the contingencies of race-making and space-making in American cities, these translations were anything but "smooth," uncontested, or without differentiation.[470] Consider, for example, the transformation of the neighborhood of the Elder Place Tract after the Civil Rights Era. Following the Watts Rebellion, the closing of factories, loss of manufacturers and union jobs, and the rise in gang violence from the 1960s to the 1970s, many of South and Southeast LA's Black families moved away, creating vacancies for newly arriving immigrants from Mexico and Central America from the 1970s to the 1980s. As of 2020, the population of the Central-Alameda corridor where Elder Place was located, 84.6% of whom are Latinx, is among the highest densities in LA. The Industrial zoning prevents the neighborhood's predominantly Latinx residents from using their property as economically advantageous in conjunction with the metal recycling facility that moved in down the street. While the residents of the neighborhood have been continually disadvantaged by racist policies, those that tied Black residents to risky financing schemes and geographies prior to the 1950s are not the same as those that seek to control the way Latinx residents use their property today.

[470] On the issues of translatability in language, see Gayatri Spivak, "The Politics of Translation," in *The Translation Studies Reader*, 4th Edition (Routledge Press, 2021), and on the global circulation of culture in visual fields, see Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation*. I seek not to communicate neocolonial representations, as Spivak warns, but rather, to take a critical stance against untranslatability that "may draw sharp and fixed borders around place," according to Akcan (17). Operating between these theories, I reject any assumption of "smooth" translation, as Akcan terms it, or the uncontested or unaltered transplantation of a particular formation by one culture on another foreign culture or geography. I apply these theories to the domestic, national and local contexts of this dissertation to consider how these sites were also stages of cultural negotiation and contestation, as manifested in their domestic architectures and experiences.

Despite the Civil Rights Movement and the passing of the 1968 Fair Housing Act, housing discrimination is a trenchant reality of the American landscape.[471] A brief return to the cases explored in this book, from the turn of the century to their present circumstances, proves the point. Today, the designed precarities of the past contribute to sustained precarity for Latinx, Black and Indigenous populations of Southern California. During the decade of View Park's greatest demographic shift (1960 to 1970), as wealthy Black families moved in and White families moved out, median property values increased by only 30% compared with the city average of 54%. According to the U.S. Census data, White neighborhoods appreciated $200,000 more on average from 1980 to 2015 compared with Non-white neighborhoods. As White people are priced out of appreciated neighborhoods, demand grows in those like View Park that have not experienced commensurate spikes in property values. In fact, from 2010 to 2020, the Black population of View Park dropped from 85% to 78%, suggesting that residents' fears of gentrification are not unfounded. The "Reuben Ingold Park" is named for the racist real estate developer behind the Los Angeles Realty Board, LAIC, and the racially restricted subdivision where it is located. Despite the successful transformation of View Park into the "Black Beverly Hills," its racist past lingers in the fine print.[472]

These historically forged, systemic inequalities continue to affect Los Angeles' Latino/a/x populations and communities. According to the Public Policy Institute of California,

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[471] Keeyanga-Yamattha Taylor, *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019); Andrea Gibbons, City of Segregation: 100 Years of Struggle for Housing in Los Angeles (London and New York: Verso, 2018).

[472] Melissa Rovner, "L.A.'s 'Black Beverly Hills' Still Threatened by Racist Past," KCET Lost LA, October 26, 2021. https://www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/view-park-black-beverly-hills. For more on the demographic shifts to occur in View Park, and the incommensurate rise in property values, see also: Melissa Rovner, "(Dis)possession: The Historic Development of View Park and Los Angeles' Ongoing Housing Crisis," *Critical Planning Journal* 25 (2022): 45-64.

more than half of Los Angeles' Hispanic population is employed in low earning occupations.[473] Low paying jobs which are "essential" to the maintenance of our economy typically require the most interaction with the public. While living in households and working in occupations where social distancing is difficult, Latina/o/x people have been rendered most vulnerable to COVID-19. 46.4% of LA County's ethnically Latino/Hispanic population contracted COVID-19 as of April 2020, compared with just 23.7% of the White population according to the Public Health Department. Given the congruences between these contemporary and historical pairings of health, housing, and employment, there remains much to learn from the history of the labor camps behind Mt. Lowe.[474]

The Paiute Indians of Owens Valley face continued threats to their ancestral lands, resulting from over a century of public extractive operations in the region. Following the settler colonization of lands during the gold rush, the Paiute were forcibly removed by the military. By the turn of the century, many had returned and found work in agricultural labor, while Indigenous children were sent to Indian boarding schools. In 1913, the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power obtained a bond for the construction of an Aqueduct from Owens Valley to support the burgeoning suburbanization of Los Angeles. By 1932, the city of LA owned 85% of property in the Owens Valley, having withdrawn 67,000 acres from the Paiute trust.[475] The

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[473] With almost 25 percent employed in service occupations, and the highest rate of severe overcrowding in the county, Latino/a/x populations are more susceptible to poverty and disease.

[474] Melissa Rovner, "They Built This City: How Labor Exploitation Built L.A.'s Attractions," KCET Lost LA, August 31, 2021. https://www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/they-built-this-city-how-labor-exploitation-built-l-a-s-attractions

[475] Map of Owens Valley lands near Bishop and Big Pine, 1924, Charles H. Lee papers and photographs, UC Riverside Library, Water Resources Collections and Archives; Aqueduct construction camp near Big Pine, ca. 1912, DWP Photo Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.

Paiute face continued precarity today, with the groundwater under reserved lands declining due to decades of poor water management by the city of LA.[476]

Enlightenment depictions of domesticity, architectural knowledge production, and the racialization of building labor are formative of the precarious position of Indigenous peoples like the Owens Valley Paiute, Latinx populations like the homeowners of the Elder Place subdivision, and Black populations like those living in View Park. This dissertation has investigated how narrow definitions of property and domesticity supported the neo-colonization of Indigenous lands and non-White peoples during the Progressive Era. From the theft and privatization of Indigenous lands to the development and sale of the single-family home, we can see how race, gender and space were made through the domestic sphere. By rendering Indigenous peoples as a thing of the past, settler colonists could appropriate their lands and cultures into an imaginary Anglo-future. By enslaving Black people and developing spatial hierarchies to separate their labor and presence in the American landscape, land and property were further divided along racial lines. And finally, by domesticating and privatizing women's labor in the home, the superiority of masculinity was instilled in the modern economic sphere. From the Progressive Era homes designed to assimilate and indenture women, immigrants and emancipated Black migrants to an Anglo middle-class ideal that required their labor, it becomes clear that domestic progress resulted in the inscription and internalization of racialized and gendered hierarchies. And from pastoral and rustic representations of American landscapes, and Craftsman, Colonial or Mission Revival Style homes, it becomes clear that masculinity was

[476] Owens Valley Indian Water Commission, "A History of Water Rights and Land Struggles," Accessed March 09, 2022 at: http://www.oviwc.org/water-crusade/; Indigenous Heritage Commission Memo January 19, 2018, "Owens Lake, request for investigation and public hearing under public resources code - leadership of Big Pine Paiute Tribe of the Owens Valley and Lone Pine Paiute-Shoshone Reservation - prevent future damage to sacred sites in Owens lake."

entangled with Indigenous expropriation, appropriation, and frontier ideologies. White feminist reformers attempted to redefine gender roles by imagining domestic environments alternative to a patriarchal single-family ideal, but in so doing, further contributed to racist policies. Jane Adams' settlement houses, Charlotte Perkins Gilman's home economics manuals, and communities based on Ebenezer Howard's Garden City model were cited as prime examples of feminist efforts to utilize support networks, efficient layouts and communal care to liberate the woman from domestic servitude and gender oppression.[477] While architectural historians such as Dolores Hayden and Gwendolyn Wright demonstrated how these efforts were beholden to Victorian ideas of morality and were blind to issues of race, they neglected to see the "material feminists" as contributors to White Supremacy.[478] Forty years later, Black Feminists and Critical Race scholars are reexamining domesticity for its intersectionality and imbrications with systemic racism.[479] The discipline of architecture, and therefore the built environment, are deeply enmeshed in Enlightenment legacies and discourses of progress. In the interest of decolonization, then, it is crucial to examine the production of architectural knowledge that underpinned the transformation of non-White populations into domestic laborers and Indigenous lands into private property. By engaging with Indigenous epistemologies, we may decolonize discourses of progress, and denaturalize the very systems that have led to this position. And by recognizing the embedded politics, narratives, and economies in even the most everyday

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[477] Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, Ma: MIT Press, 1981).

[478] Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913* (University of Chicago Press, 1980).

[479] See, for example: Elizabeth Alexander, *The Black Interior: Essays* (Minneapolis, Mn: Graywolf Press, 2004).

architectures, we may work to expose architecture's role in forging gendered and racial inequalities, and to contribute to its reimagining as a venue for spatial justice.

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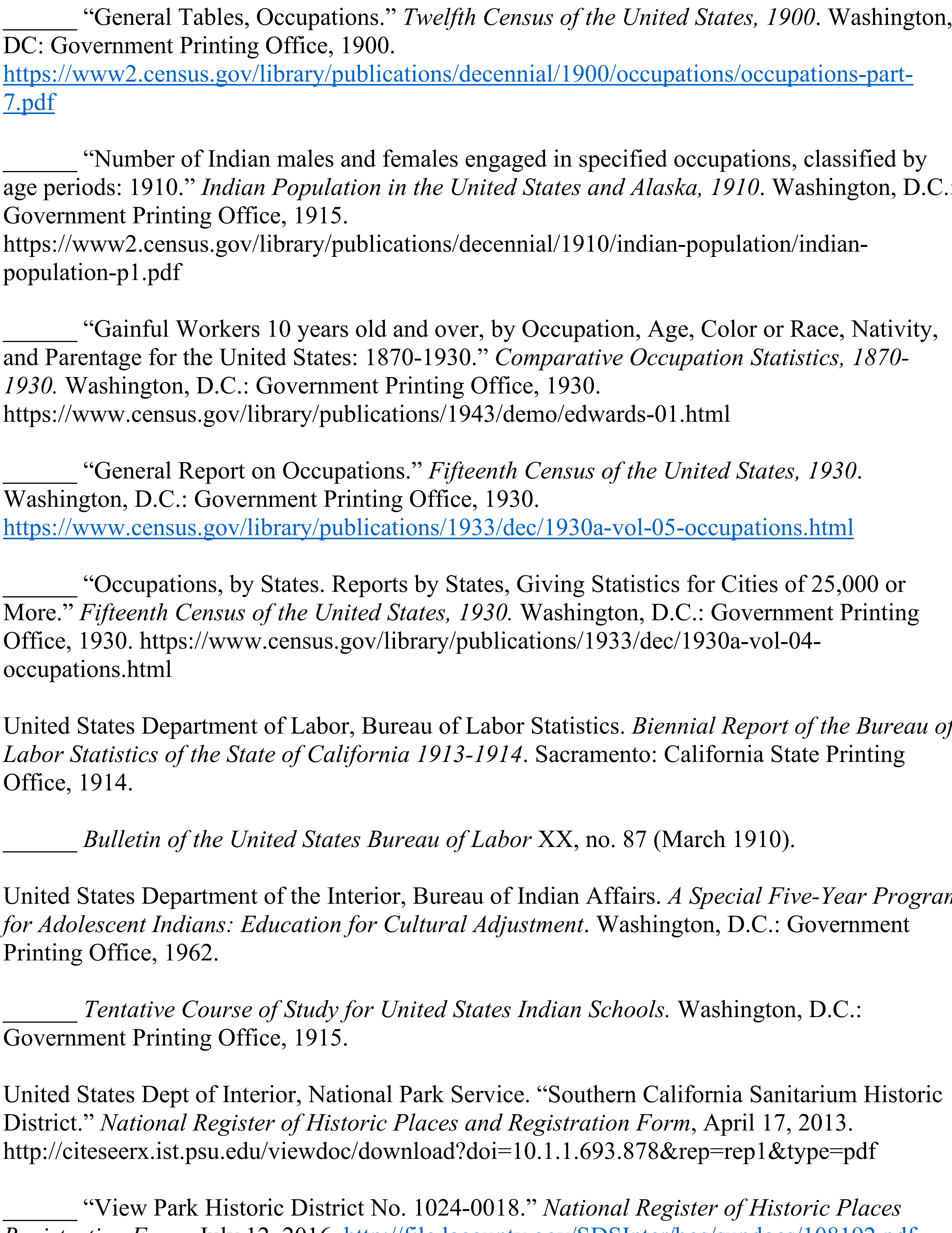

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