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NOTES

Introduction


University Press, 1987) also focuses on realtors, especially in their role as planners.


8. The concept that is most useful here is Gramsci’s idea of hegemony; see Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971). For a brief and very lucid discussion of the term hegemony, see Raymond Williams, Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 117–18.

9. Ellis Hawley develops the concept of associational progressivism in his studies of Herbert Hoover’s administrations. See citations in chap. 4, notes 120 and 121.

Chapter 1. The Ford Homes


4. The five-dollar wage was conditional on workers’ adoption of middle-class values, which was determined by the investigators of the Ford Sociological Department, who visited every eligible worker’s home to interview relatives and neighbors. Stable family life, home ownership, and a savings account were the key criteria. Allan Nevins, *Ford: The Times, the Man, the Company* (New York: Scribner’s, 1954), chaps. 20 and 21; Stephen Meyer III, *The Five-Dollar Day: Labor, Management, and Social Control in the Ford Motor Company, 1908–1921* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), chap. 6.


6. Ibid.


11. Ibid., 78.


17. Ibid., 21.
19. Ibid., 18.
20. Ibid., 23.
23. Colborn, “At Home with History,” 2D.


27. See Liebold, *Reminiscences*. Nevins and Hill suggest that no more than 2 percent profit was made by the company over twenty years, 349.


29. Liebold, in his *Reminiscences*, recalled only one case in which this clause had been used, provoked by complaints about one resident’s home wine-making activities. Although the term *undesirable* was vague, it undoubtedly was intended to cover those buyers whose activities were regarded as socially and morally suspect. Such surveillance echoes that of the Ford Sociological Department—see note 4.


31. Unless otherwise noted, the facts of this account were conveyed by personal communication from the family of Albert Wood, June 1987.


33. See, for example, *Western Architect* 34 (April 1925): plates 10–13, for photographs.


36. Liebold, “Ford Tractor Company.”


42. Ibid., 36.

43. “Fords Build Model Homes to House Workers in Dearborn,” *Detroit Journal*, 21 July 1919, 2; “Builders with Brains.”


45. Descriptions of the construction process can be found in Liebold, *Reminiscences* and “Ford Tractor Company,” and in *Reminiscences of Harry C. Vicary*.

46. Liebold, “Ford Tractor Company.”

47. Ibid.


53. Ibid., 92.


60. Ibid., 238.


64. Walter Galenson, *The United Brotherhood of Carpenters: The First Hundred Years* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 229. Ironically, in the 1920s concern about high construction costs led to an investigation of seasonal unemployment. The fact that builders’ off-season work had been replaced by mechanized production, controlled by a few large lumber companies, was forgotten by that time. Proposals for addressing the problem consisted of facilitating year-round construction by developing materials and techniques that would be impervious to weather conditions. See *Seasonal Operation in the Construction Industries: The Facts and Remedies* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1924), sponsored by Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover.


71. Galenson, *United Brotherhood of Carpenters*, 41; the quotation is from the general executive board’s minutes, March 1885.


74. Brooks, *Road to Dignity*, 92, quoting President Hutcheson.

75. Galenson, *United Brotherhood of Carpenters*, 113, citing the general executive board’s minutes, 24 February 1915.


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80. Christie, Empire in Wood, 71; Wright, Moralism and the Model Home, 94.


Chapter 2. Brightmoor


5. Ibid., 13.


14. Ibid.

15. MPC, *Suburban Development*, 25. Nor is this unique to working-class housing in Michigan; see Margaret M. Mulrooney, “A Legacy of Coal: The Coal Company Towns of Southwestern Pennsylvania,” in Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman, eds., *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 4 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 130–37. For the larger economic context, indicating that possibly 40 percent of the population lived in poverty, see Frank Stricker, “Affluence for Whom?


26. The countries of origin of the foreign-born in Brightmoor were Canada or the United Kingdom. Donald S. Hecock and Harry A. Trevelyan, Detroit Voters and Recent Elections (Detroit: Bureau of Governmental Research, School of Public Affairs and Social Work, Wayne University, 1938), maps 1 and 2. The foreign-born population of Detroit as a whole was slightly more than 25 percent in 1930. See also Citizens Research
NOTES TO PAGES 60-61

Council of Michigan, Population (1930 Census) and Other Social Data for Detroit by Census Tracts (Detroit: Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, 1937).


31. Allan Nevins, Ford: The Times, the Man, the Company (New York: Scribner’s, 1954), 517.

32. Nine out of ten migrants from the South were from rural areas. Akers, Southern Whites in Detroit, 4, 6.

33. The source for biographical material on Taylor is Burton, City of Detroit, 3:206, 209, unless otherwise noted.

34. Personal communication from Burt Eddy Taylor Jr., 25 September 1985.


37. Personal communication from B. E. Taylor Jr., who had no further information on their locations, January 1986.

39. Brightmoor clipping file, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.


41. List provided to the author by B. E. Taylor Jr.

42. Personal communication from B. E. Taylor Jr., 25 September 1985.


45. The city limit lies half a block east of Telegraph Road.


49. The plat books are located in the Wayne County Real Estate Index Department, City-County Building, Detroit.


53. John B. Spiker, Real Estate Business as a Profession (Cincinnati: Stewart Kidd, 1923), 212.


57. By comparison, the original Levitt house measured less than 800
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58. MPC, Suburban Development, 25.


60. See, for example, Alberto Perez Gomez, Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983).


64. Wright, Morality and the Model Home, chaps. 1, 2.


66. Wright, Morality and the Model Home, 205, 203.


68. Wright, Morality and the Model Home, 213.


71. For insight into the flexible approach to work and professionalism needed by an architect on the Midwestern frontier in the second half of the nineteenth century, see George Ehrlich and Peggy E. Schrock, “The A.B. Cross Lumber Company, 1858–1871,” Missouri Historical Review 80
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(October 1985): 14–32. The decision not to participate in the profession was made by architects in other countries as well. Auguste Perret, for example, never took his diploma for his studies at the Académie because doing so would automatically have precluded his working as a building contractor. Peter Collins, Concrete: The Vision of a New Architecture, A Study of Auguste Perret and His Precursors (New York: Horizon Press, 1959), 160.


77. Introduction, ibid.

78. Wright, Moralism and the Model Home, chaps. 2, 9.

79. For examples of early-twentieth-century architects who were inter-


87. Lubove, “Homes and ‘A Few Well Placed Fruit Trees,’” 482.


89. Keating, Building Chicago.


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93. Glassie, “Types of Southern Mountain Cabin,” 342; Martin, Hollybush, 28–31. Papering served to keep out drafts as well as to decorate the walls.

Chapter 3. Westwood Highlands

1. The most detailed discussions of the early history of these districts can be found in Anita Day Hubbard, “Cities within the City,” San Francisco Bulletin, 12 and 13 September 1924, also in collected volumes, San Francisciana Collection, San Francisco Public Library, 1 (August–November 1924); Mel Scott, The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959); and Sally Woodbridge and John M. Woodbridge, Architecture San Francisco: The Guide (San Francisco: American Institute of Architects, San Francisco Chapter, and 101 Productions, 1982), 160–75.

2. In The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), Marc A. Weiss maintains that the real-estate industry in California developed faster and with a clearer sense of purpose than anywhere else in the nation, especially regarding the interests of large-scale developers. He focuses on the state realty association and on the Los Angeles Realty Board in chaps. 4 and 5.
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27. *Attractive Bungalows of Moderate Cost for Westwood Park* (San Francisco: Baldwin & Howell, 1917).
29. Ibid., 110.
34. *Crocker–Langley San Francisco City Directory* (San Francisco: Polk, 1910–1928); *Polk’s Crocker–Langley San Francisco City Directory* (San Francisco: Polk, 1929–1957). No obituary has been located for Nelson in the local press.
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41. This photograph album was made available to the author by James T. Hughes of San Francisco, a descendant of one of the Baldwin & Howell principals.
42. A photo of another house that illustrates this siting strategy can be found in Woodbridge and Woodbridge, *Architecture San Francisco*, 173. It was designed by Strothoff.
44. Battu, “Merchandising Serviced Homes,” 110.

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50. Ibid., 56 ff.
56. The original name of the organization founded in 1908 was the National Association of Real Estate Exchanges; the name used here was adopted in 1916. The source for factual information concerning early NAREB activities, unless otherwise noted, is Pearl Janet Davies, _Real Estate in American History_ (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1958), written on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of NAREB’s founding.
57. As late as 1921, real-estate professionals felt that an advertising campaign was necessary to familiarize the public with the word _realtor_ and what it stood for. See the remarks of NAREB President Fred E. Taylor, “Wants College Courses in Real Estate,” _National Real Estate Journal_ 22 (18 July 1921): 27, and the article on this theme, ibid.: 29–30. A Minneapolis realtor, C. N. Chadbourn, is cited as the inventor of the term by Weiss, _Rise of the Community Builders_, 170 n. 17.

60. According to Weiss, *Rise of the Community Builders*, 13, the California licensing act was signed into law in 1917, whereas Davies provides the date as 1919. For an expanded account of the mechanisms NAREB used in its professionalizing effort, see Weiss, ibid., 19–27.


64. Davies, *Real Estate in American History*, 116.


69. Ibid., 70.


78. Ibid., 72.


80. Ibid., 42.


82. Davies, *Real Estate in American History*, 68.

83. For a contemporary account of this development, see Waldon Fawcett, “Roland Park, Baltimore County, Maryland: A Representative American Suburb,” *House and Garden* 3 (April 1903): 174–96.


88. Editorial, *Chicago Tribune*, May 1908, quoted in Davies, *Real Estate in American History*, 55. For a recent discussion of the commitment of
community builders to “the creation of complete communities with a mix of uses, planned for internal coherence and with the requisite connections to an urban region,” see Greg Hise, *Magnetic L.A.: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), quote from 4.


90. Weiss, *Rise of the Community Builders*, 55. Duncan McDuffie, as one of the principals in the San Francisco firm Mason-McDuffie, was the developer of Saint Francis Wood in the West of Twin Peaks district.

91. Ibid., 72–78.


95. B. E. Taylor, “Building a New Town,” *Proceedings of the First Annual Convention Conferences of the Homebuilders’ and Subdividers’ Division of the National Association of Real Estate Boards* (Omaha, Neb.: NAREB, 1923), 110. This was true for Nichols’s projects, too, according to William S. Worley, *J. C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City: Innovation in Planned Residential Communities* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 207.


99. Ibid., 68.


101. Baldwin & Howell were general brokers, engaging in individual
sales transactions, property management, and other activities. See Weiss, *Rise of the Community Builders*, chap. 2, for an overview of the facets of realtors’ enterprises.

**Chapter 4. The Home-Ownership Network**


26. Walker, chaps. 1, 2, and 5.


31. See, for example, John J. Murphy, Edith Elmer Wood, and Frederick J. Ackerman, *The Housing Famine: How to End It* (New York: Dutton, 1920) for a debate among three writers over such issues.

32. Dean, *Home Ownership*, 41. On the “cooperative state” in the


39. Tygiel, “Housing in Late Nineteenth-Century American Cities,” 87–88, discusses the changes in census information relating to housing.


43. Ibid., 101–2, citing a public statement by Hoover headlined “Neighborhood (Settlement) Houses Help Solve Social Problems.” The reference is undated but the statement was made in 1919 or 1920.


49. “Report on House Building Issued by Commerce Department,” *National Real Estate Journal* 24 (12 March 1923): 35; “Recommended Minimum Requirements for Small House Construction,” *National Real Estate Journal* 24 (12 March 1923): 40. The first is a press release, dated Washington, D.C., that describes the constitution of the committee and quotes Hoover’s praise of its endeavors. The second piece, in the same issue, reports on the general outlines of the recommendations. This citation illustrates the method of dissemination of such recommendations, which could be enforced only at the local level. The organizations within the national network informed their members of these recommendations, encouraging their adoption as mainstream practice. Local leadership could then design regulations to enforce such practices.

50. Weiss, *Rise of the Community Builders*, 67; also Harvey S. Perloff,


53. Ibid.


59. Ibid., 133.

60. From a 1924 letter from Hoover to President Coolidge, cited in Lloyd, *Aggressive Introvert*, 133.


68. Gries and Ford, Home Ownership, xi.

69. Ibid., 3.


72. Ibid., 21.

73. This committee was one of six correlating committees whose mandates complemented the tasks of the twenty-five fact-finding committees. The report of the correlating committee on technological development is published in John M. Gries and James Ford, Housing Objectives and Programs (Washington, D.C.: President’s Conference HBHO, 1932), 27–100.

74. See John M. Gries and James Ford, eds., Home Finance and Taxation (Washington, D.C.: President’s Conference HBHO, 1932). The other resolution passed unanimously by those at the conference supported continuing the work of the conference.


76. Weiss, Rise of the Community Builders, 28.


78. Hawley, The Great War and Search for a Modern Order, 100.

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88. Worley stresses that Nichols could not have seen garden–city de—
velopments on his trip since it predated these; see J. C. Nichols, 93. On Nichols’s early years, see also “Portrait of a Salesman: Jesse Clyde Nichols,” National Real Estate Journal 40 (February 1939): 19; Richard Longstreth, “J. C. Nichols, the Country Club Plaza, and Notions of Modernity,” Harvard Architecture Review 5 (1986): 123.


95. Perry studied at Stanford University, Cornell University, and Teachers College, Columbia University. He taught in the Philippines, was a high school principal in Puerto Rico, and worked for the U.S. Immigration Commission before joining the staff of the Russell Sage Foundation, where he worked until his retirement in 1937. For biographical information on Perry, see John M. Glenn, Lilian Brandt, and F. Emerson Andrews, Russell Sage Foundation, 1907–1946, 2 vols. (New York: Sage, 1947), and Patricia


98. Luther Halsey Gulick, introduction to Perry, *Wider Use of the School Plant*, viii. Gulick was the first president of the Playground Association of America, founded in 1906 and funded by the Russell Sage Foundation.


104. Samuel Howe’s “Town Planning on a Large Scale,” in *House Beautiful* 36 (October 1914): 130–36, provides a contemporary view of this project.

105. Perry, *Housing for the Machine Age*, 211.

106. Ibid.

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110. Yeomans, *City Residential Land Development*, 37–44. This was the plan submitted by Prairie School architect William Drummond.


113. Ibid., 158.

114. Ibid., 64.


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123. Warner, Streetcar Suburbs, 158.


Chapter 5. Architectural Style


2. For example, “Grouping Houses to Get Ideal Homes,” Building Age (August 1921): 58; “Beauty by Grouping Homes,” ibid. (September 1922): 25–27. Some of the interest in bungalow courts in this period stemmed from this emphasis on grouping houses; see Albert Marple, “The Modern Bungalow Court,” ibid. (March 1920): 19–22; 40, among numerous examples. For an analysis of these, see Stefanos Polyzoides et al., Courtyard Housing in Los Angeles (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).


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23. Rowe, *Making a Middle Landscape*, 105.

24. Quoted in Karal Ann Marling, “From the Quilt to the Neocolonial Photograph: The Arts of the Home in an Age of Transition,” in Jessica H.
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27. Gwendolyn Wright, Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1973–1913 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), esp. chap. 8. See also Lane, “The Period House in the Nineteen-twenties,” 169–78. Lane’s pioneering article was the first to look beyond the eclecticism of 1920s designs to note the innovative features of open plans, informality, and outdoor living areas.


33. Ibid., 267. According to Thomas J. Schlereth in “Conduits and Conduct: Home Utilities in Victorian America, 1876–1915,” the All-Electric Home at the 1893 Chicago Exposition was the first separate building to be devoted to electricity at a world’s fair; in Foy and Schlereth, American Home Life, 233. For an example of the introduction of new technologies to residential subdivisions—in this case, to J. C. Nichols’s Country Club District—see Mark H. Rose, Cities of Light and Heat: Domesticating Gas and Electricity in Urban America (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1995).

34. Ruth Schwartz Cowan, More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave (New York: Basic Books, 1983). On the rapid spread of new household technologies and equipment, see the classic studies Zanesville, Ohio, and 36 Other Ameri-
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41. See, for example, John Modell, “Dating Becomes the Way of American Youth,” in Leslie Page Moch and Gary D. Stark, eds., Essays on the Family and Historical Change (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1983), 91–126; Elaine Tyler May, “The Pressure to Provide: Class, Consumerism, and Divorce in Urban America, 1880–1920,” in Mel Al-


43. On this theme, see, for example, Richard Longstreth, “The Diffusion of the Community Shopping Center Concept during the Interwar Decades,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56 (September 1997): 268–93.


47. Gowans, *Comfortable House*, 212.


50. Ibid., 236.


52. Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 195.


54. Karen Halttunen, “From Parlor to Living Room: Domestic Space, Interior Decoration, and the Culture of Personality,” in Simon J. Bronner,

**Conclusion**

2. See chap. 4, note 107.


11. Ibid., 77, 66.