

Use Authorization

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree at Idaho State University, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for inspection. I further state that permission to download and/or print my thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Dean of the Graduate School, Dean of my academic division, or by the University Librarian. It is understood that any copying or publication of this dissertation for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Signature_____

Date_____

“Everybody Has a Bungalow Hope”: Housing and Occupation in the US West, 1920

by

Kristine Hunt

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Historical Resources Management

In the Department of History

Idaho State University

Spring 2017

Committee Approval

To the Graduate Faculty:

The members of the committee appointed to examine the thesis of KRISTINE E. HUNT find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

Stephanie Christelow, PhD
Major Advisor

Erika Kuhlman, PhD
Committee Member

Jennifer Eastman Attebery, PhD
Graduate Faculty Representative

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have come to be without the insight and advice of Dr. Stephanie Christelow. Her unwavering standards in research and writing set a high bar, for which I am extremely grateful. Having Dr. Erika Kuhlman as a committee member assured me of equally high standards and much kind encouragement, and Dr. Jennifer Eastman Attebery has my deep thanks for providing a model of scholarship in architectural history.

Drs. Heern, Kole de Peralta, Sivitz, and Stover of the Department of History have been important role models for me. I thank Dr. Yolonda Youngs of Global Studies and Languages for her excellent GIS instruction as well as opening my eyes to cultural and historical geography as an important analytical framework. I also owe much gratitude to Dr. Robert Edsall for inspiring a love for cartography and providing crucial instruction in data visualizations that enhanced this project. Many thanks go to Ellen Ryan, MA, MLIS, Head of Special Collection and Archives, Eli M. Oboler Library, for direction in accessing local records and for her shared love for architecture. Thanks also to Dr. Kevin Marsh and Dr. Jessica Winston for their invaluable support as chairs during my time in the department.

I owe my fellow graduate students many thanks for putting up with my constant talk of houses, and for all the coffee and commiseration. In particular Jessi Donnelly was always there to read my drafts and cheer me on. Finally, immense love and gratitude go to my family, Chris, Duncan, and Rebecca, who made this entire endeavor possible by giving me the space and time to pursue this scholarly obsession.

Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Introduction	2
Literature	10
Methods	20
Chapter 1 Foundations: Britain and the Arts and Crafts Movement	24
Housing and British Social Reform	25
Economic Class and the Nineteenth-Century Home	26
The Arts and Crafts Movement	31
Arts and Crafts Houses	34
Chapter 2 The American Craftsman Aesthetic	41
House Healthful and House Beautiful	44
Vernacular Regionalism	47
The Growth of Suburbs	49
The Role of Architects	51
Craftsman Style	56
Chapter 3 Bungalows in Western US Cities, 1920	62
Terminology	63
Pasadena, California	65
Lower Arroyo Seco and South Marengo Historic Districts	71
Bungalow Heaven District	72
Summary	73

Missoula, Montana.....	74
University Area Historic District.....	77
McCormick Neighborhood	79
Lower Rattlesnake	80
Summary	82
 Pocatello, Idaho.....	 83
Westside Residential Historic District	88
Lincoln-Johnson Avenues Residential Historic District.....	89
Idaho State University Neighborhood Historic District.....	91
Summary	92
 Conclusion	 94
 Appendix 1: Fusion Table Maps.....	 101
 Appendix 2: Data and Summary Map for Pasadena, California.....	 103
 Appendix 3: Data and Summary Map for Missoula, Montana	 107
 Appendix 4: Data and Summary Map for Pocatello, Idaho	 112
 Bibliography	 116

Abstract

From 1900 to 1930 the Craftsman bungalow was one of the most popular house types across the United States. Scholarly research on bungalows is generally confined to larger metropolitan areas and the influence of elite architects. I demonstrate bungalows' appeal to working- and middle-class residents of small towns and suburbs in the Pacific and Intermountain West by visualizing the spatial distribution of the houses and the economic distribution of their residents in Pocatello, Idaho; Missoula, Montana; and Pasadena, California. Analysis of 1920 federal census data shows that these bungalow residents represented a wide spectrum of economic groups from city leaders to business owners to unskilled laborers. The cities displayed little economic segregation: neighborhoods may skew toward the professional or the laborer, but their economic demographics show few appreciable patterns when mapped. These findings demonstrate the egalitarian appeal of the bungalow in the early twentieth-century Western United States.

Introduction

Craftsman bungalows remain one of the most beloved house styles in the United States over one hundred years after they first became popular around 1900. Bungalows spread across the country from the two loci of New England and Southern California and were promoted through magazines and journals, public displays such as world's fairs, and plan books and kit home catalogs. Thus this architectural style remained entrenched in the American consciousness for thirty years. Craftsman bungalows represented an informal, healthful lifestyle in their simplified floor plans, modest size, and connection to the outdoors through their porches and many windows, in contrast to more formal nineteenth-century homes.¹



A typical Craftsman bungalow. Photo by author.

¹ Although bungalows have a variety of forms, the most common identifying features are low-pitched, gabled roofs (occasionally hipped) with wide, unenclosed eaves overhanging; roof rafters usually exposed; decorative (false) beams or braces under the gables; porches, either full- or partial-width, with a separate roof supported by tapered, square columns; columns or pedestals that frequently extend to ground level (without a break at level of porch floor); and multipane windows (Virginia McAlester and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Knopf, 1984), 452–55).

That bungalows enjoyed broad appeal is apparent in their ubiquity across the United States, yet the elite forms, particularly those of the Greene brothers of Pasadena, California, and those near large urban centers garner most of the focus of both scholarly and popular writing on this housing form, which I will explore below. What of the average homeowner, or the working-class laborer? What of the typical American small town rather than metropolitan areas? This study will provide quantitative and spatial analysis of Pacific and Intermountain West towns confirming that small-town citizens from all economic levels chose to live in bungalows, suggesting a pattern that may be extrapolated to other geographic regions. While it is well known that bungalows were popular across the economic spectrum, scholarship is lacking on the specifics of small towns and on quantitative evidence of this broad appeal.

This thesis proposes that bungalow-rich neighborhoods in the Intermountain West reflected the popularity of the bungalow across diverse economic groups through relatively unstructured urban planning and settlement patterns based on a multiplicity of small-scale builders and developers. Development of suburbs and small towns around large cities such as Los Angeles was often more homogeneous, reflecting developers' desire to promote a sense of exclusivity through larger-scale developments and promotional activity, yet these locations also displayed socioeconomic diversity.² Thus bungalows not only serve as a marker of popular taste in architecture during the early twentieth century but also suggest an American egalitarian attitude toward socioeconomic

² For an excellent discussion of the role of developers and their marketing techniques, see Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820–2000* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), chapters 5 and 6.

class, in that these houses were built in large numbers regardless of overall development patterns or economic demographic trends.

Coastal cities were often larger than those of the interior West and were developed intentionally by wealthy investors either as gateways to the Pacific or as attractive locales for Easterners tired of winter weather.³ Towns in the Rockies like Pocatello and Missoula, in contrast, grew around railroad and industrial developments such as mining and national transport hubs, with far less centralized planning. Yet in all of these areas and at all income levels, residents chose bungalows, reflecting the burgeoning American desire for single-family homes as well as the growth of suburbs,⁴ in contrast with dense urban living. Generally speaking, bungalows have been understood to be upper-middle- and middle-class housing at least in their grandest forms,⁵ but these class structures are not clearly differentiated. My research will illustrate that these class boundaries, as evidenced in housing patterns of bungalows within small and medium-sized cities in the West, are sometimes blurred by other factors.

This study is interdisciplinary and comparative in the sense that it incorporates socioeconomic and city planning aspects as well as geography and material culture analyses, all approached from a historical perspective. In addition, the use of census data

³ For example, in Los Angeles where “residents included retirees and established families” who were more concerned with “quality of life” than in employment opportunities. Carol A. O’Connor, “A Region of Cities,” in *The Oxford History of the American West*, edited by Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A O’Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 549.

⁴ For the purposes of this study, a suburb is defined as a town or small city easily accessible to a larger city, often predominantly comprising single-family homes. The term itself dates to the medieval period. See Chapter 2 for a further discussion of US suburbs.

⁵ Clay Lancaster in his *The American Bungalow: 1880–1930* (New York: Abbeville, 1985; reprint, New York: Dover, 1995) refers both to the bungalow as “conceived specifically” for people in the middle income bracket (13) yet spends most of his chapter 5 on California in talking about the highest-end bungalows of the Greene brothers and other prestigious architects.

and geolocation forms a unique quantitative approach to studies of North American bungalows. Analyzing data from three towns, I use a case-study approach to illuminate broader themes of urban development, social and economic structures, and the commercialization of architectural design.

I begin with a discussion of the foundations of the Craftsman bungalow in the nineteenth century in the ideologies and works of the British Arts and Crafts Movement.⁶ As a response to industrialization, Arts and Crafts Movement proponents worked to ameliorate division of labor and socialist class struggle, which echoes in this discussion of economic class and physical space. Parallel to this aesthetic movement was the Victorian emphasis on home and family, and the resulting effects on the domestic sphere of the home including house design.

The thesis moves next to an overview of the Arts and Crafts Movement as it manifested in the United States, and the early twentieth-century interpretations by American artists and designers. An argument will be made that in contrast to the rarely achieved British goal of social and economic justice in relation to housing and other material goods, US aesthetics did “trickle down” to the average person in terms of the accessibility of healthy, efficient, and visually pleasing housing. Mass distribution of these ideals, through periodicals, books, catalogues, world’s fairs and other exhibitions, and other avenues of popular culture, facilitated the embrace of the Craftsman aesthetic across economic strata. In addition, mass production, including of kit homes to be built by homeowners, allowed for wide dissemination of stylish homes that to a significant degree aligned with greater ideals. Such widespread avenues of distribution also

⁶ The use of “British” and “Britain” are used broadly throughout, to encompass all of the United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland. The Arts and Crafts Movement manifested primarily in England and Scotland.

facilitated marketing of the “land of sunshine” aesthetic of California as well as the “house beautiful and healthful” concept to a wide audience.⁷

The discussion will then narrow to the Western United States and its development in the context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In particular the expansion of the intercontinental railroad network and its effect on the Intermountain and Pacific West will be analyzed alongside the effects of suburbanization nationally. While two of the three cities examined in this study are not suburbs, the increasing emphasis on the suburban values of beauty, health, and home ownership did affect small town development through the period, thus illuminating the towns analyzed here.

The study will then discuss the three cities that form case studies: Pasadena, California; Pocatello, Idaho; and Missoula, Montana. An overview of each city’s development will be followed by the specific data gathered and analysis of the occupations of bungalow residents and their geographic distribution within selected neighborhoods. Pasadena will function as a control for this study, as there is already significant scholarship on its impact on the development and dissemination of the bungalow aesthetic across the United States, and as it exemplifies suburban development. The other towns in the study, Pocatello and Missoula, will then be compared in turn with Pasadena and with each other in terms of economic development, prevalence and distribution of bungalows, and economic aspects of their residents. Maps will illustrate the geographic distribution of the bungalows as well as the economic spectrum of their residents, and will provide a tool to analyze settlement patterns. The study will conclude

⁷ There was even a *Land of Sunshine* magazine (later named *Out West*) published in Los Angeles from 1894 to 1923, which extolled the prosperity, beauty, and culture of California, as well as its resorts and artistic lifestyles, from its first issue (see for example the first issue at <https://archive.org/details/outwestland01archrich>).

with an analysis of the findings and a discussion of further opportunities for scholarship in a similar vein.

Bungalows as a housing form, and Craftsman style more generally, have their roots in the British Arts and Crafts Movement. The overarching aim of this movement was to ennoble creative work while also providing the fruits of that work to those of modest incomes: to make beautiful homes and possessions affordable and available to all economic groups.⁸ It ultimately failed, but its ideas spread to the United States where, I argue, these concepts were able to come to fruition—albeit in ways the original British proponents would not have supported. American designers, architects, and entrepreneurs embraced, for the most part, the use of machines and industrialized standardization to create and distribute beautiful things as a way to make them affordable to more people.

Despite the high goals of the movement, Arts and Crafts architecture and interior design in Britain remained accessible only to the upper-middle to upper classes. Short-lived endeavors to create artisans' communities and cooperatives were never able to distribute their products to the wider public⁹—Morris & Company being on the one hand an exception in terms of its financial success, but on the other still a failure in terms of ultimately catering only to wealthier customers.¹⁰ Arts and Crafts domestic architecture

⁸ William Morris wrote of these basic principles as early as 1884 in his article “The Housing of the Poor,” discussing the need for “dwellings healthful, pleasant, and beautiful . . . [for] the men of diverse crafts who would inhabit these houses would make them not merely comfortable and pretty, but beautiful even” (*Justice* 1, no. 27 [July 19, 1884]: 4–5; <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1884/justice/15hous.htm>).

⁹ An excellent overview on English crafts guilds may be found in chapter 2 of Eileen Boris, *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986).

¹⁰ Morris famously exclaimed “I spend my life ministering to the swinish luxury of the rich” already in 1876. Quoted in E.P. Thompson, “William Morris,” originally published in *Persons and Polemics. Historical Essays* (London: Merlin Press, 1994), available at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/thompson-ep/1959/william-morris.htm>.

was overall a rural phenomenon, reflecting the longstanding link between the wealthy and the countryside in the face of ever-increasing urbanization of the lower and middle classes since the Industrial Revolution.¹¹ Housing shortages, particularly between World War I and World War II, and the desire to reduce urban crowding, led to massive suburban development of “bungalows,” but these are not the large and expensive elite houses built in the United Kingdom influenced by the British experience on the Indian subcontinent or the later, modestly sized Craftsman-style house so prevalent in the United States. British interwar bungalows were often built shoddily and identically in large numbers across the landscape, betraying the Arts and Crafts ideals of individualization and craftsmanship.¹²

In contrast, in the United States the Craftsman bungalow house type enabled the Arts and Crafts economic and stylistic aims to manifest across all geographic and economic spaces. Initially directly inspired by the work of William Morris and other Arts and Crafts promoters, artist-entrepreneurs like Gustav Stickley and, eventually, large corporations like Sears, Roebuck began selling home plans, interior design elements, and even homes in kit form, to be distributed via the rail network that extended to every part of the nation.¹³ The use of plans and kits by individuals as well as in mass production, which lowered prices and made these houses more widely accessible, betrayed Arts and

¹¹ I will discuss the enduring relationship between the British aristocracy and rural land ownership in chapter 1; see Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

¹² M.A. Simpson and T.H. Lloyd, eds., *Middle Class Housing in Britain* (Newton Abbot, UK: David & Charles, 1977), chapter 3.

¹³ See chapter 2 for more on the distribution of home plans and designs. On Sears and its house kits see Amanda Cooke and Avi Friedman. “Ahead of Their Time: The Sears Catalogue Prefabricated Homes.” *Journal of Design History* 14, no. 1 (2001): 53–70. For examples of Stickley’s designs see the reprints in Gustav Stickley, ed. *Craftsman Bungalows: 59 Homes from The Craftsman* (New York: Dover, 1988).

Crafts ideals just as their British forebears did. The crucial difference is that the American Craftsman style always retained its focus on beauty, health, and utility—and crucially, affordability. Sturdy construction was part and parcel of American bungalows, even those sold as kits. Housewares were intended to be practical as well as beautiful, and Stickley in particular emphasized that design should embody the quality of the materials rather than hiding their shoddiness with veneers and excess ornamentation.¹⁴ In this he mirrored the derision of British Arts and Crafts proponents in the late nineteenth century against cheap factory-made goods that were all veneer and no substance. Yet Stickley and his peers were not above standardizing and mass producing quality goods, something their forebears specifically rejected.¹⁵

Beyond appreciating their style, we can learn much about the social and economic history of the United States by examining bungalows through their residents: Who chose to live in bungalows? What were their occupations? Did bungalows appeal to specific groups of people or diverse consumers? Were they built by developers and land speculators, or by individual homeowners, or both? How does their distribution reflect greater trends in US history, such as the development of intercontinental and interurban railroads and suburbanization? Were they more prevalent in the growing suburbs, or did they also flourish in rural and small towns?

¹⁴ Stickley's views on ornamentation as well as machine production are encapsulated in his article "The Use and Abuse of Machinery, and Its Relation to the Arts and Crafts," *The Craftsman* 11, no. 2 (November 1906): 202–7, available at <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.hdv11n02>.

¹⁵ See William Morris, "The Revival of Handicraft," *Fortnightly Review* (November 1888), available at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1888/handcraft.htm>, and in contrast Frank Lloyd Wright, "In the Cause of Architecture," in Frederick Gutheim (ed.), *In the Cause of Architecture, Frank Lloyd Wright Essays for Architectural Record, 1908–1952* (New York: Architectural Record, 1987)

Literature

Existing case studies of bungalows in various contexts as well as works on the Craftsman bungalow in the United States and its foundations in the Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain will provide exemplars as well as contrasts to the approach taken here. Significant scholarship has investigated the roots, manifestation, and consequences of the movement, in relation to other artistic trends of the time as well as to its political and economic context. My work, while relying on these precedents established by key authors discussed below, departs from them in important ways. In particular, the literature on bungalows tends to be descriptive rather than analytical, with a few key exceptions. The research here will build on this body of work by using quantitative analytical methods.

Architecture forms a specific subfield of Arts and Crafts Movement studies, narrowed further to literature on bungalows generally and specifically the US Craftsman style. Ancillary studies of the period including those on Progressive reforms, suburbanization, the growth of the US railroad system and interurban railways, and the domestic sphere provide crucial background information for this study as well. Geographers have used architecture as a frame, or a data type, to analyze space and place, and some work from this discipline will also inform my study.

Karen Livingstone and Linda Parry's *International Arts and Crafts* is an excellent example of texts providing a descriptive overview of the Arts and Crafts Movement.¹⁶ Chapters on British architecture, the US East Coast as the vanguard of Arts and Crafts style in America, Frank Lloyd Wright and the Prairie School of architecture, and western North America are a major contextual source for this study. Published to coincide with

¹⁶ Karen Livingstone and Linda Parry, eds., *International Arts and Crafts* (London: V&A Publications, 2005).

the exhibit of the same name at the Victoria and Albert Museum, this text provides description and context rather than analysis or original conclusions, and serves as an example of the typical focus on the professional architect and designer and their commissions for the elite, in contrast to the focus on the ordinary person here.

Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan's *The Arts and Crafts Movement*¹⁷ provides similar context and discussion of architecture in Britain as well as regionalism in American architecture. This latter chapter is of special importance to this study, as it situates the bungalow, particularly its manifestation in California, in relation to regional vernacular architecture elsewhere in the United States, including the Spanish mission style of the Southwest and the Prairie Style, and the use of local materials. In addition Cumming and Kaplan argue for the syncretic and often paradoxical nature of Craftsman style and its "democratic" impulse.

What is missing from many of these overviews of the Arts and Crafts Movement and bungalows is deeper analysis, particularly of the influence of the average person, untrained in design or architecture, who as a consumer chose the bungalow house style and both inspired and responded to print advertising. Clay Lancaster's chapter "The American Bungalow" is a perfect example of this sort of oversight. An otherwise excellent discussion of the bungalow as a characteristic US vernacular housing form, the article is limited by an overreliance on well-known architects and their use of various exotic forms with little mention of the much more numerous Craftsman bungalows of the

¹⁷ Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991).

middle and working classes.¹⁸ I argue that consumer power in the United States was as much if not more of a motive force for the rise of the bungalow as was the work of any famous professional designer. Although this bottom-up approach to analysis is well established in social and cultural history, few historians have applied the approach to bungalows. Janet Ore's work on Seattle bungalows provides a rare exemplar of such an architectural history, with a focus on homeowners as the motive force for the rise of the bungalow and the shaping of entire neighborhoods.¹⁹ This work will be discussed further below.

Reaching back to the ideological predecessors and early adopters of Arts and Crafts Movement thought, Eileen Boris's *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America* provides a view of the Arts and Crafts Movement in relation to "social and economic forces of production through which creativity develops,"²⁰ and thus informs this study's socioeconomic analysis of bungalow architecture. As well as chapters on the British roots of Craftsman style and the movement's influence on education, women's work, manufacturing, and social trends, the chapter "The Social Meaning of Design: The House Beautiful and the Craftsman Home" relates bungalow architecture and interior design to the House Beautiful and Aesthetic movements, an important interpretive analysis of one aspect of the broad appeal of bungalows. Boris emphasizes that these movements all had a moral impetus, linking them back to the work of John Ruskin and William Morris that formed the ideological foundation of the Arts

¹⁸ Clay Lancaster, "The American Bungalow," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 79–106.

¹⁹ Janet Ore, *The Seattle Bungalow: People & Houses, 1900–1940* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

²⁰ Boris, *Art and Labor*, xi.

and Crafts Movement. This focus on morality brings design and ideals into direct relation with everyday life, with the consumer as well as the producer, and thus Boris's work is a crucial resource for my analysis of bungalow residents.

It is important to consider the Arts and Crafts Movement's origin in Britain, its manifestation in domestic architecture, and the issues that inspired the movement in its particular time and place. The chapter "Homes and Houses" in F.M.L. Thompson's *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830–1900* analyzes British housing in detail, particularly in relation to nineteenth-century class structures, with reference to numerous economic and social history works.²¹ Country homes on vast estates of the landed aristocracy contrasted with tenements of the urbanized working class. Straddling these were the homes of the urban upper middle class that pushed outward to the new suburbs and of the working middle class who rented rather than owned. The chapter also examines the "cult of domesticity" (also known as the "cult of true womanhood," in which the home was deemed the appropriate domain for women and femininity was defined by skill in domestic arts) and the focus on the home that middle-class culture embraced in Britain at the time and that extended into twentieth-century America. Thus Victorian British class structures and their relation to housing provide a foil for my analysis of US housing in the next century. An argument has been made for a US version of the cult of domesticity in relation to magazine articles and advertising to middle-class women²² and especially about bungalow architecture and

²¹ F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

²² Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck, eds., *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Consumer Magazines* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1995).

interior design, but such detail is beyond the scope of this work other than a discussion of related Progressive-era efforts to frame domesticity in scientific terms.

Wendy Kaplan's "*The Art That Is Life*": *The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875–1920* forms one of the foundational studies of the Arts and Crafts Movement specific to the United States, published in conjunction with an exhibit of the same name at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.²³ A lengthy section on architecture by Richard Guy Wilson discusses the British beginnings and international influences on the American forms, but more importantly includes an extensive review of the primary US architects working in Arts and Crafts and Craftsman style. In this sense, this text will provide contrast for this study of modest homes that were not designed by architects. A further section by Cheryl Robertson on the "House Beautiful," aesthetics, and reform aspects of home design during the period discusses the bungalow in relation to these topics. The utility of this text is only limited insofar as it is necessarily a birds'-eye view of architecture and bungalows, given that the exhibit had to also cover interior design, bookmaking, housewares, and all the other areas in which Arts and Crafts flourished.

The prominence of US bungalows coincided with the rise of the twentieth-century suburb, in which similar values and aspirations played out as for bungalow dwellers in urban or small town settings. Dolores Hayden's *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth: 1820–2000* analyzes the trend beginning in the early to mid-twentieth century of moving away from dense, urban housing patterns to single-family, detached houses, which certainly manifested both in the Intermountain West and the Pacific Coast

²³ Wendy Kaplan, "*The Art that is Life*": *The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875–1920* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987).

towns studied here.²⁴ Hayden's chapter on "Mail-Order and Self-Built Suburbs" discusses the effect of kit homes, and specifically bungalows, on the suburban trend. Hayden examines the related decline in the architect-designed home in favor of the "carpetect" (a derogatory term used by some trained architects to refer to local carpenters and contractors and mail-order house design sellers) as well as the significance of the growth of interurban transportation networks. The beginning of the chapter focuses on land development in Southern California, which will specifically inform this study's analysis of Pasadena's bungalow developments. Similarly, Kenneth T. Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* suggests that suburban ideals reflected larger trends in housing, including the increase in single-family detached homes, dependence on new forms of transportation such as railroads and automobiles, and the need for "Affordable Homes for the Common Man" (chapter 7), all of which relate directly to the rise of the bungalow as a housing form.²⁵ Jackson also discusses the greater economic influences that came to bear on housing, particularly in the US West.

Research on bungalows often provides a geographic, temporal, or thematic overview rather than any sort of quantitative analysis as provided by this study. Anthony King's foundational *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* devotes a chapter to North America as a whole, in the context of the bungalow's development as a global phenomenon arising in India and Britain.²⁶ King explicitly rejects the typical discussion of bungalows as an architectural style to focus rather on social and economic aspects, and the chapter on North America argues for the bungalow's importance in its

²⁴ Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, chapter 6.

²⁵ Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

²⁶ Anthony D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984).

relation to both mass suburbanization and elite vacation homes. Thus King ignores the non-suburban, small town context of bungalows that I discuss here.

Narrowing the focus to the bungalow as an American architectural form in its own right leads to Clay Lancaster's *The American Bungalow: 1880–1930*, which looks at the bungalow in the context of its Colonial Revival and Shingle style cousins as well as its Indian and British forebears, but treats it as a distinctly American form. In addition, Lancaster makes several claims about the economic and aesthetic inspirations for and effects of the US Craftsman bungalow that will be explored in a later chapter.²⁷ Similarly Gwendolyn Wright's *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* situates the bungalow firmly within American architecture and twentieth-century social reforms. Building on the foundation of the cult of domesticity (chapter 6) and life in urban tenements and apartments (chapters 7 and 8), Wright aligns bungalows with the urban reform efforts of the Progressive movement and the growing economic and social influence of the middle class consumer in her chapter 10, "The Progressive Housewife and the Bungalow."²⁸

Shorter studies along this line include Richard Mattson's "The Bungalow Spirit," providing an analysis of the bungalow across the United States in terms of perception and promotion in print culture, with an excellent overview of its specific architectural forms.²⁹ As bungalows were embraced not only for utility but also for aesthetics, and were widely promoted via mass-produced print materials, perception and promotion will be key concepts to explore here. John Mack Faragher also analyzes the promotion of the

²⁷ Lancaster, *The American Bungalow*.

²⁸ Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (New York: Pantheon, 1981).

²⁹ Richard Mattson, "The Bungalow Spirit," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 1, no. 2 (1981): 75–92.

California bungalow across the United States, arguing that its swift rise to popularity represents not just the overall increase in home ownership rates or suburbanization of the early twentieth century. Rather, Faragher argues, bungalows as a vernacular house type symbolize the increasing cultural influence of California and the western United States.³⁰ Peirce Lewis in his article on how bungalows (along with war memorials) are an easily ignored, commonplace feature of the human landscape, yet can be linked closely to larger ideas.³¹ He points to the bungalow as an example of the house as an aesthetic or even political statement, in this case arguably an antiprogressive rather than progressive intention. This assertion conflicts with Hayden's work discussed above, and provides yet another instance of the bungalow's paradoxical nature in architectural history.

In addition to social, economic, and architecture historians, geographers provide crucial arguments on the prominence and meaning of the bungalow. Richard Fusch and Larry Ford's analysis of the urban geography over time of Columbus, Ohio, and San Diego, California, includes bungalows as a house type among many others. They lend credence to the view of the bungalow as one of many influential housing forms in the early twentieth century. However, they focus on its geographical distribution and influence along with other house types on what they call "urban morphology" rather than treat it specifically in any depth.³² Bungalows in Missoula and Pocatello, and to a much lesser degree Pasadena, exist cheek by jowl with numerous other popular architectural styles, suggesting that Fusch and Ford's emphasis on geographical distribution is

³⁰ John Mack Faragher, "Bungalow and Ranch House: The Architectural Backwash of California," *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (2001): 149–73.

³¹ Peirce Lewis, "The Monument and the Bungalow," *Geographical Review* 88, no. 4 (1998): 507–27.

³² Richard Fusch and Larry R. Ford, "Architecture and the Geography of the American City," *Geographical Review* 73, no. 3 (1983): 324–40.

useful.³³ Here I amplify the spatial aspect by looking not just at house type distribution, but economic distribution of the house occupants as well.

Many scholars focus more narrowly on specific architects or particular manifestations of the Craftsman aesthetic such as the Sears kit home, suggesting routes of inquiry but necessarily leaving out other important aspects. Geographers James Curtis and Larry Ford, for instance, discuss the bungalow courts of San Diego,³⁴ a distinctive urban multifamily housing form that catered to lower income families, while Laura Chase discusses the same in Los Angeles.³⁵ As the data sets analyzed here do not include bungalow courts—where registered as historic places, they are registered separately, not in a larger district—I will not refer to courts in detail. However, these courts reemphasize the broad appeal of bungalows as well as the influence, in Southern California at least, of real estate developers. Paul Groth’s work on blue-collar workers’ cottages and “minimal-bungalow” districts in Northern California argues that the cottages and bungalows in these urban neighborhoods reflect opposing urban forms.³⁶ The minimal-bungalow districts were built uniformly by developers and attempted to mimic middle-class housing, while the earlier workers’ cottages reflect purely utilitarian development over time without planning. Although Pocatello’s and Missoula’s working class resided in bungalows (although not the minimal form), they were not in geographically separate

³³ Overviews of California’s architectural history (and of Southern California in particular) are numerous, while little may be found for the Intermountain West. For a fine view of the diversity of architectural styles in Idaho, see Jennifer Eastman Attebery, *Building Idaho: An Architectural History* (Moscow, ID: University of Idaho Press, 1991).

³⁴ James R. Curtis and Larry Ford, “Bungalow Courts in San Diego: Monitoring a Sense of Place,” *Journal of San Diego History* 34, no. 2 (1988): n.p.

³⁵ Laura Chase, “Eden in the Orange Groves: Bungalows and Courtyard Houses of Los Angeles” *Landscape* 25, no. 3 (1981): 29–36.

³⁶ Paul Groth, “Workers’-Cottage and Minimal-Bungalow Districts in Oakland and Berkeley, California, 1870–1945,” *Urban Morphology* 8, no. 1 (2004): 13–25.

neighborhoods as in Groth's findings for Berkeley and Oakland, California. Thus Groth provides contrasting findings on working-class housing in Western US railroad towns.

In contrast to these more narrowly focused works, Janet Ore's book on Seattle bungalows³⁷ provides a model for a deeper analysis of the bungalow. While focusing on the economic conditions of a single locality, Ore's social history argues more broadly that ordinary people were molders of the urban and suburban landscape through their choice of homes. As consumer power grew in the early twentieth century alongside advances in technology that supported new demands for cleanliness and comfort, bungalows became one of the first modern house styles to fully address these trends. Ore used extensive data on residents' national origins and occupations, the architectural styles and interior features of their residences, and other demographics to support her analysis from the homeowner's perspective. Ore's work elicited many of the questions discussed in this study and provided an interpretive model.

These last works that focus locally particularly inspired this study of Craftsman bungalows in the Intermountain West, a region little studied in relation to bungalows or small-town development. Numerous works, both scholarly and popular, discuss the bungalows of major metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles (including Pasadena),³⁸ Chicago,³⁹ and Minneapolis-St. Paul.⁴⁰ Few if any works include information on small towns and are primarily narrative or qualitative; this study will add to the scholarship both in its focus on small Intermountain West towns and its quantitative analysis that

³⁷ Ore, *The Seattle Bungalow*.

³⁸ See e.g., Marcus Whiffen and Frederick Koeper, *American Architecture, Vol. 2: 1860–1976* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981), 316–17.

³⁹ See e.g., Chicago Architecture Foundation, *The Chicago Bungalow*, ed. Dominic A. Pacyga and Charles Shanabruch (Chicago: Arcadia, 2003).

⁴⁰ See e.g., Larry Millett, *AIA Guide to the Twin Cities: The Essential Source on the Architecture of Minneapolis and St. Paul* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2007).

combines spatial distributions with socioeconomic data gleaned from census records. Many other works that inspired this study will be discussed in later chapters in their particular contexts.

Methods

Data for this study came from two sources: National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) application documents,⁴¹ and the 1920 Federal Census.⁴² The NRHP documents contain narratives on the history of the towns and of specific neighborhoods as well as discussions of the architectural significance of the contributing structures. The data comprise lists of buildings within the neighborhoods' boundaries with erection date (often approximate), street address, architectural type, and other data where available (narrative description of architectural features, name of architect and/or builder, and so on). I selected all single-family houses identified as any variant of Arts and Crafts, Craftsman bungalow, or Prairie style and compiled a database of street address,

⁴¹ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places–Nomination Forms: Bungalow Heaven Historic District, <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/08000260.pdf>, Idaho State University Neighborhood Historic District. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/84001008.pdf>, Lincoln-Johnson Avenues Residential Historic District. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/06000126.pdf>, Lower Arroyo Seco Historic District. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/04000331.pdf>, Lower Rattlesnake Historic District. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/99000697.pdf>, McCormick Neighborhood Historic District. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/04000460.pdf>, Pocatello Westside Residential Historic District. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/03000102.pdf>, South Marengo Historic District. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/82002199.pdf>, University Area Historic District. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/00001523.PDF>.

⁴² United States Bureau of the Census; United States National Archives and Records Administration: Reel 117, 1920 California Federal Population Schedules, Los Angeles Co. and City (EDs 496–502, 640, and 503–535), <https://archive.org/details/14thcensusofpopu117unit>; Reel 288, 1920 Idaho Federal Population Schedules, Bannock Co. (EDs 35–48, 257, and 49–56), <https://archive.org/details/14thcensusofpopu288unit>; Reel 973, 1920 Montana Federal Population Schedules, Missoula Co. (EDs 147–170), <https://archive.org/details/14thcensusofpopu973unit>.

neighborhood name, build date, and architectural variant. To maintain consistent data, I did not include individual homes registered with the NRHP (unless included in NRHP-registered districts) or NRHP neighborhoods that do not include residential buildings such as downtown retail districts, whose buildings were all erected after 1920, and those for which architectural style data were missing. In addition, the historic districts in Pasadena far outnumber those in Pocatello and Missoula, so for a balanced comparison I selected only three neighborhoods per town that fulfilled the abovementioned criteria. Thus the data sets represent only a sample of NRHP neighborhoods in the three towns and the total number of houses built in or before 1920.⁴³

The 1920 Federal Census provided occupational data for the then residents of the majority of houses in the database. (Some addresses, although identified as developed by 1920 in the NRHP documents, could not be located in the census. This can be attributed to either poor legibility of the digital scans of the original handwritten documents, or that the census taker was unable to access that address or its occupants.) I correlated this occupant employment data to the applicable addresses in the database. Thus, any house built after 1920 was not included in this analysis. A small percentage of houses identified on NRHP documents as being built after 1920 were represented in the 1920 census, likely because the NRHP dates were approximate. These houses were included in this study. Only the occupations of heads of households were selected regardless of other residents'

⁴³ Excluded NRHP neighborhoods for Pocatello are the East Side Downtown, Old Town Residential, Pocatello, and Pocatello Warehouse historic districts. Excluded from Missoula are the East Pine Street, Fort Missoula, Laird's Lodge, Missoula County Fairgrounds, Missoula Downtown, Missoula Southside, Northside Missoula Railroad, and University of Montana historic districts. Excluded from Pasadena data are 17 registered historic districts and 29 housing courts.

employment (most often an adult child), unless the house had two heads listed as roommates.

Then the data were sorted by occupational type, into broad socioeconomic groups: executive/professional, administrative/trained, skilled labor, and labor. Two additional categories encompass those who were listed in the census with no occupation (presumably unemployed at the time, retired, or independently wealthy) or “unknown” for those whose occupations were illegible on the census scans. More detail on the occupational types and the theoretical basis for the groupings will be discussed in the data analysis chapter.

Maps were then created to depict the geographic distribution of both bungalow house types in the neighborhoods and the occupation types of their residents. I added approximate latitude and longitude information obtained from Google Map searches as well as bulk geolocation via the Google Maps API web application Unbolt It (http://www.unbolt.net/geocode_convertor.php). I imported the data sets into Google Fusion Tables, an experimental data visualization web application. Fusion Tables allows simple and clear visualizations of large data sets, including maps and charts, and makes such visualizations shareable at no cost (Appendix 1, Figure 1.1). Fusion Table maps also include a feature where the viewer can click on a map location and an “index card” will appear with additional customizable data about that location, including a Google Street View image (Appendix 1, Figure 1.2). Thus my research will be open access and useful in a variety of contexts, such as walking tours or for historic preservation.

We will now turn to the roots of the Craftsman bungalow in artistic developments in mid-nineteenth-century Britain. Political and economic reforms set the stage for

increased social and financial power among the middle class, while the deleterious effects of industrialization and laissez-faire politics inspired artists and designers to express their sociopolitical aims in architecture. These trends combined to set the stage for Arts and Crafts Movement house design, which some decades later in turn inspired American architects to develop and promote the bungalow.

Chapter 1

Foundations: Britain and the Arts and Crafts Movement

Before any discussion of twentieth-century US domestic architecture, we must examine its roots in Britain⁴⁴ in the nineteenth century, as several themes and ideologies developed there that directly influenced the rise of Craftsman style in North America. Changes in home ownership and social class structures, and artistic and architectural responses to industrialization and mass consumption in Britain through the mid- to late nineteenth century set the stage for the Arts and Crafts Movement, its effects on architecture, and US artists' and consumers' embracing of its tenets, if only in modified form. Housing reflected changing social, economic, and artistic trends through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in both Britain and the United States, but in different ways. Analyzing the British example will thus illuminate and contrast with later trends in the United States. In particular the attempts by British Arts and Crafts Movement architects, and their distinct failures, will contrast with subsequent success in the United States.

Socioeconomic class as well as housing types can be difficult to define and differentiate. In what follows here I will give working definitions of these concepts, to support the argument that British housing patterns formed a model for US housing in the early twentieth century, philosophically if not in actual practice. An overview of British housing and social reforms precedes a discussion of the Victorian home and cult of domesticity. We will then turn to an overview of the British Arts and Crafts Movement,

⁴⁴ See note 2 in the Introduction on the use of the terms "British" and "Britain."

concluding with discussion of how that movement manifested in architecture and city planning.

Housing and British Social Reform

Early nineteenth-century Britain was predominantly agricultural, punctuated by urban metropolises. Aristocrats owned both city homes and rural estates. The middle class typically lived in country towns and cities where they dominated commerce, and the poor population lived either in the rural agricultural setting or, increasingly, in industrial cities where factory work was available. In the urban setting there was some mixing of working- and middle-class residential housing, but the upper middle class's increasing class consciousness led to some geographical separation.

The middle class had grown significantly from its origins as medieval merchants, craftsmen, and artisans as industrialization and urbanization vastly increased in the mid-1800s. In wealth and, later, cultural political influence, the middle class grew to equal the aristocratic upper class. But how do we define these classes in the British context?

“Class” has both economic and social meaning. A purely Marxist definition would be based on labor, the control of capital and means of production. But added to this in nineteenth century Britain was the varying social and cultural power of the classes. Eric Hobsbawm points out that despite a strong sense of class consciousness, the classes of nineteenth-century Britain were remarkably fluid: the middle class (or “middle rank”) could through wealth accumulation, “acquired respectability,” and intermarriage move up in rank to the aristocracy, although upward mobility was rare among the laboring poor.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire: The Birth of the Industrial Revolution* (New York: The New Press, 1999), 61.

Early nineteenth-century political and economic reforms gave the middle class more influence through increased representation in government, and directly and indirectly affected housing patterns. The Reform Act (1832), Factory Act (1833), and New Poor Law (1834) improved the quality of life of the middle and working classes. Thus housing as a sign of social status through property owning was enshrined in legislation and even extended to renters and leasers of property.

Extending the voting franchise that had since the 1400s been based on ownership of land worth a minimum of 40 shillings, the 1832 Reform Act gave the right to vote to all men living in homes or tenant farming property worth at least £10 a year—owners or renters.⁴⁶ While still extraordinarily limiting, this reform empowered the expanding urban middle and working classes that did not own land while maintaining the link between housing and sociopolitical status. (The 1867 Reform Act enacted complete male suffrage, technically severing this link, but the home and property owning retained symbolic cultural meaning, discussed below.) F.M.L. Thompson points out that while this reform in a sense created the working class by excluding the very poor from the vote, the “other side of this coin is that the franchise also defined the middle class as all those who came above the £10 line regardless of differences in social position.”⁴⁷

Economic Class and the Nineteenth-Century Home

Following political and legal reforms of the early nineteenth century that acknowledged the rights of the “head of household” regardless if that head was simply renting a small

⁴⁶ UK Parliament, “The Reform Acts and Representative Democracy: The Reform Act of 1832.” <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/houseofcommons/reformacts/overview/reformact1832/>, accessed September 15, 2016.

⁴⁷ Thompson, *Rise of Respectable Society*, 16.

urban home, British society placed a growing emphasis on the home as the center of social, cultural, and family life. The growth of the single-family dwelling in the nineteenth century reflects the Victorian value on the home as the “emotional mooring of homo economicus” as John Tosh puts it,⁴⁸ a refuge from the modern self-interested emphasis on consumer and economic activity seen by John Ruskin and William Morris as corrupting society (discussed below). Such homes reflected the increasing physical distance between work and family for businessmen and industrialists, in contrast to preindustrial home- and village-centered life. Thus the expanding nineteenth-century middle class sought to separate the home from the forces of the marketplace seen as “alienating and amoral.”⁴⁹ As early as 1839 the home was seen as “like heaven on earth, if only we could be our own masters ... like a private kingdom,” demonstrating the desire for both privacy and for self-determination in relation to home life.⁵⁰

In nineteenth-century Britain, new forms of housing for the expanding working class such as densely populated tenements, terraces, and housing courts were a response to industrialization and created urbanization. In many cases factory owners built such housing for their own workers. At the same time the wealthy middle class increasingly emulated the landed aristocracy in choosing homes and estates outside the cities, even if only in suburbs rather than truly in the more distant countryside. Thus they could escape the cities that were becoming dominated by industry, seen as unhealthful and not aesthetically pleasing. The middle class had been steadily growing in size for centuries,

⁴⁸ John Tosh, “New Men? The Bourgeois Cult of Home,” in *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Society*, ed. Gordon Marsden (London: Pearson, 1998), 81.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁵⁰ Michelle Perrot, “At Home,” in *A History of Private Life*, vol. 4: *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, ed. Michelle Perrot and trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990), 343–44.

and its movement out of the urban milieu likewise had been more or less continuous. Yet in this industrial era their numbers expanded more quickly and became more concentrated in suburban spaces.

The landed aristocracy continued to display their high status through extensive estates with large country houses, as they had done for centuries. Such homes both symbolized the owner's social position and enabled it, as centers of administration, displays of power and wealth, hospitality, and the pleasures of leisure.⁵¹ The upper middle class to some degree desired the traditional high status of ownership and inheritance of land despite the leveling effect of voting franchise reforms. However, the majority of the new wealthy either bought relatively modest land parcels (2,000 to 10,00 acres) and country houses, or houses with little land at all in suburban settings, as a symbolic gentrification that allowed easy commutes into urban areas with the expanding rail network.⁵² In this way, the wealthy upper middle class embraced the social symbolism of investment in land while by no means expecting to live off tenant incomes in lieu of their urban-based professions. They chose "not to try to rival the established families in terms of acreage or compete with them as landlords, but conveniently made themselves passably gentrified."⁵³ Since the aristocratic elite self-defined through ownership of large amounts of land and country houses of significant size, the majority of the middle class was not therefore upwardly mobile. The country home was merely testimony to upper-middle-class aspirations rather than actual social equality with the aristocracy.

⁵¹ Stone and Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite?*, 295–322.

⁵² Thompson, *Respectable Society*, 158–61.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 164.

Much of the middle class lived in single-family homes during this period, often in the suburbs around urban centers from midcentury on as rail and interurban travel became easy and inexpensive. Renting had no negative social connotation compared with owning, and in fact the depreciation of property values in many cases meant that purchasing a home was less secure and less lucrative than other investments.⁵⁴ Thus it was not ownership itself that mattered socially. Instead, the essential features of a respectable middle-class home were privacy, separation of the domestic space from the outer business world, and its function as a moral space.

While the middle class occupied houses of many different sizes—from villas on ten acres forming a borderland between town and country, to large homes on an acre or less, to grand terraces and small row houses⁵⁵—what made homes respectably “middle class” was privacy and self-containment. This extended even into interior design, as houses were laid out with separate areas according to gender and age (e.g., nurseries for children, smoking rooms for men, morning rooms for women) as well as to maintain a distance from servants (e.g., servant’s stairs and quarters).⁵⁶

In contrast to such middle-class separation, working-class families, even when living in single-family dwellings, generally had a more community-focused lifestyle. Urban neighborhoods often comprised closely related groups: immigrants from rural areas caused the majority of population increases in early nineteenth-century towns, often establishing residency near friends and relatives who had migrated earlier. Respectable

⁵⁴ Ibid., 171.

⁵⁵ For essays on a variety of urban middle-class housing developments in the long nineteenth century, see Simpson and Lloyd, *Middle Class Housing in Britain*.

⁵⁶ Catherine Hall, “The Sweet Delights of Home,” in *A History of Private Life*, vol. 4: *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, ed. Michelle Perrot and trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990), 89–91.

working-class families valued the single-family home as much as the middle class, and sought to distinguish themselves from the lower working class who lived in much denser housing. For this lower class, the “importance of community life, in street or neighborhood, meant ... that the individual house or home was of lesser social meaning—sometimes perforce, because there was no space in the dwelling—than in other classes.”⁵⁷

The highest rungs of the working class emulated middle class respectability in their desire for an interior social space dedicated as a parlor, which could not be attained in tenements and other lower-class housing forms. Although the typical working-class home had little room to spare, “even the working class wanted something pleasant, something that emulated the more wealthy lifestyle, something that had an air of sanctity and unity in an otherwise crowded and dispersed daily routine.”⁵⁸ The parlor as a symbol of the cult of domesticity and the middle-class emphasis on privacy and respectability thus provided continuity between the classes, as “the link forged in the chain which ran without any sharp breaks from the meanest cottage or one-roomed hutch all the way to the grandest country mansion.”⁵⁹

The middle class became highly influential in economics and politics during the nineteenth century, as well as trend-setters in matters of culture in the aforementioned continuity between classes. The vast expansion of the British economy combined with political and economic reforms also gave rise to a “cult of self-improvement”⁶⁰ that paved the way for middle-class patronage of the arts and taste making during the

⁵⁷ Thompson, *Respectable Society*, 180.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 194.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁶⁰ Dianne S. McLeod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 20.

Victorian period. Art and architecture became a means for wealthy businessmen to assert themselves as arbiters of culture in order to lift themselves out of the social obscurity imposed by the traditional gulf between them and the aristocratic élites. In addition, the wealthy middle class increasingly embraced art and culture as a reflection (or, conversely, a driver) of social reform. Thus art, architecture, and moral reform became intertwined in many British minds during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Arts and Crafts Movement

From 1843 to just before his death in January 1900, John Ruskin wrote and lectured extensively on the social and moral influence of art and criticized the social effects of industrialized capitalism and laissez-faire politics.⁶¹ He emphasized the tie between artistic production and social ethics: “The art of any country is the exponent of its social and political virtues. The art, or general productive and formative energy, of any country, is an exact exponent of its ethical life.”⁶² Ruskin wrote impassioned criticisms of the division of labor in industry, the lack of pleasure in modern industrialized work, and the lack of individual creativity in mass-produced goods, all in the context of the production of art and architecture. Much of his writing promoted medieval architecture and design, particularly the Gothic, for its use of natural forms and the relationship between the artisan, community, and environment. Ruskin contrasted this with neo-Classical design, which he felt was contrived, overly standardized, and repressive of true human creativity.

William Morris put John Ruskin’s ideals into practice by emphasizing a return to handcraft and freedom of individual creative expression, regional or local design and

⁶¹ See the excellent biography by George P. Landow, *Ruskin* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

⁶² John Ruskin, *Lectures on Art* (New York: John Wiley and Son, 1870), 27.

materials, a move away from industrial manufacturing, and economic and political egalitarianism.⁶³ He read Ruskin's most influential works—*The Stones of Venice*, *Modern Painters*, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*—at Oxford in the 1850s, embracing Ruskin's medievalism during and just after his time at university. As a painter and designer of furniture, wallpaper, and textiles, Morris manifested Arts and Crafts ideals by “fully enunciating in *practical* terms Ruskin's moral philosophy on the nobility of craftsmanship,” although ultimately he emphasized political reform and egalitarianism far more than Ruskin ever had.⁶⁴ Morris influenced British architecture through his lecturing on his artistic and social ideals⁶⁵ and through working with colleagues like his good friend Phillip Webb, with whom he designed his Tudor Gothic-style home in Bexleyheath near London, known as Red House and today preserved by the National Trust. In 1877 Morris founded, with Webb and others, of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, another venue for Morris's views on architecture inspired by Ruskin. The society promoted the repair of ancient buildings instead of their restoration—to preserve them as records of vernacular architecture instead of what they saw as falsely applying idealized modern views of the distant past.⁶⁶

⁶³ Among the many biographies of Morris is E. P. Thompson's *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2011), notable in particular for its emphasis on Morris's Marxist socialism.

⁶⁴ Livingstone and Parry, *International Arts and Crafts*, 14–15 (my emphasis).

⁶⁵ See the William Morris Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/index.htm>, for transcriptions of Morris's lectures as well as his essays and novels.

⁶⁶ William Morris, “Manifesto of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB),” <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1877/spabman.htm>. Note that in the context of SPAB in the nineteenth century, “restoration” had negative connotations—destroying features and adding new ones meant to look “historical” but in reality applying modern sensibilities—in contrast with “preservation” or “protection.”

The Arts and Crafts Movement overlapped in time and to some degree ideals with numerous other artistic movements across Europe. Aesthetic and Art Nouveau proponents concerned themselves primarily with surface decoration and interior design, sought inspiration in the exotic rather than the local, and focused on “art for art’s sake” rather than working toward social or economic reform of any kind. The German *Jugendstil* and *Heimatkunst*, the Irish Celtic revival, and the Austrian Secessionists and Wiener Werkstätte are examples of efforts to develop national forms of culture, a goal the Arts and Crafts Movement generally shared. On the other hand all of these movements were in a real sense anti-modern in their focus on artistry and design as a response to industrialization and machine-made objects and in many cases to what they perceived as stultifying academicism in art.⁶⁷

Arts and Crafts architecture in the United Kingdom focused on the idea of the vernacular, defined as “traditional and regional buildings”⁶⁸—for example, thatched roofs; local or on-site sourced tile, stone, and lumber; and the labor and designs of local craftsmen. As such, although conforming to Ruskinian and Morrisian ideals, there is little commonality of design among the buildings identified with the Arts and Crafts movement in the United Kingdom. Rather, the movement had more of a “mutable and protean quality”: a thatch-roofed, whitewashed cottage and a stately, three-storied stone manor house might both be considered part of the movement, and thus “the term ‘Arts and Crafts’ ... cannot be rigidly or exclusively defined, nor can its notion of integrity be reduced to a single formal language.”⁶⁹ This adaptability of design principles and focus

⁶⁷ For more on the various artistic movements contemporary to and aligned with the Arts and Crafts Movement, see Kaplan, “*The Art that is Life*”, 58–59 and 78ff.

⁶⁸ Livingstone and Parry, *International Arts and Crafts*, 111.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 115.

on local vernacular allowed the Arts and Crafts Movement's idealistic principles to spread globally and find practical application throughout the English-speaking world, Europe, and Japan.

Arts and Crafts Houses

British Arts and Crafts style houses were the domain of the wealthy upper-middle class and younger aristocracy, not the larger middle- and working-class population. Davey puts it baldly: "The Arts and Crafts Movement was of and for the Victorian upper middle class. . . . It was for them that Arts and Crafts architects worked."⁷⁰ Alan Powers points out that "The Arts and Crafts house will typically be found in a grand suburb, or in countryside that offers outdoor leisure activities, rather than farmland. Clusters of them are found in the Lake District, accessible for Manchester and Liverpool businessmen."⁷¹ Indeed, the most famous Arts and Crafts homes in the United Kingdom were built for the very wealthy, for example, Blackwell, by M. H. Baillie Scott for Sir Edward Holt, a Manchester brewery owner; Broad Leys, by C.F.A. Voysey for a Yorkshire coalmines owner; Rodmarton Manor, by the Barnsley Brothers for stockbroker Claud Biddulph; and Red House, by Philip Webb for William Morris.⁷²

Most of these homes were situated in a harmonious fashion with the surrounding landscape, and often had extensive gardens and other open, green spaces created by

⁷⁰ Peter Davey, *Arts and Crafts Architecture* (London: Phaidon, 1995), 10–11.

⁷¹ Alan Powers, "Architecture and Gardens," in *International Arts and Crafts*, ed. Karen Livingstone and Linda Parry (London: V&A Publications, 2005), 119.

⁷² For these and other commissioned Arts and Crafts houses in Britain, see Davey, *Arts and Crafts Architecture*.

prominent landscape designers such as Gertrude Jekyll.⁷³ Equally harmonious were the interior décor and furnishings, often designed by the architect or his colleagues, with built-in furniture and textiles, domestic items, and woodwork creating a cohesive style.⁷⁴ These owners and architects sought out local stonemasons, carpenters, and iron workers, and often took advantage of timber and other materials from their own land. Although adhering to the Arts and Crafts tenets of using natural materials and local craftsmanship, these homes were luxurious and beyond the scope of the majority of those who might have otherwise embraced the movement's ideals.

The bungalow house type became part of the British vision for Art and Crafts architecture beginning in the 1890s, but in this was limited again to the upper middle and middle classes. Anthony King assigns a symbolic meaning to the rural bungalow in Britain of “an ideal of Bohemianism and the ‘simplification of life,’” linked to the changing role of the countryside from agriculture to urbanites’ leisure playground.⁷⁵ Thus the middle class followed their wealthy upper-middle-class counterparts into the country in emulation of aristocratic life, discussed above. However, a closer reading of King reveals a contradiction: while he describes the middle class as “people of moderate means” who sought “cheapness and economy” in their housing, country bungalows were intended as weekend and holiday homes, not primary dwellings. So he is describing a socioeconomic group that on the one hand has only “moderate” incomes but on the other hand can afford two homes, with the second large enough to encompass “leisure

⁷³ Powers, “Architecture and Gardens,” 120–21, and in particular plates 7.5 and 7.10 illustrating Jekyll’s work.

⁷⁴ See the discussion of the interior and exterior of the home as a harmonious whole or Gesamtkunstwerk in the introduction to Livingstone and Parry, *International Arts and Crafts*, 10, as well as in that text plates 1.2, 3.13, 3.16, 6.8, and 7.8 for examples of British Arts and Crafts interior design.

⁷⁵ King, *The Bungalow*, 91.

functions” such as rooms devoted to billiards or smoking as well as servants’ quarters.⁷⁶ This picture of middle-class life seems at odds with its counterpart in the United States, where the bungalow provided a primary residence for those of truly “moderate” incomes who could not afford servants or vacation homes in the country. Thus we can conclude that, King’s description of the British middle-class lifestyle notwithstanding, bungalows in Britain were the province of the well-to-do and not those of limited income.

The architectural and design ideals of the Arts and Crafts Movement did inspire working-class housing developments in the United Kingdom, such as the Boundary Street and Millbank estates commissioned by the London County Council to replace cleared slums.⁷⁷ Although these efforts were sincere, and sanitation along with other health concerns were greatly improved, these public housing schemes failed to serve working-class tenants as rents were too high because of lack of government subsidies.⁷⁸ Garden cities—including Letchworth Garden City begun in 1904,⁷⁹ Brentham Garden between 1901 and 1915,⁸⁰ and Hampstead Garden from 1907 to the 1930s⁸¹—to some degree provided beautiful and high-quality housing to artisans and working people, primarily as suburbs of London.⁸² These developments included low density, green space, quiet and clean surroundings, and houses designed according to Arts and Crafts principles—as a direct response to the opposite, exemplified in the noxious, crowded atmosphere of

⁷⁶ Ibid., 96–98.

⁷⁷ Stephen Inwood, *City of Cities: The Birth of Modern London* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2005).

⁷⁸ R. Vladimir Steffel, “The Boundary Street Estate: An Example of Urban Redevelopment by the London County Council, 1889–1914,” *Town Planning Review* 47, no. 2 (April 1976): 161–73.

⁷⁹ Mervyn Miller, *Letchworth: The First Garden City* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2002).

⁸⁰ Aileen Reed, *Brentham: A History of the Pioneer Garden Suburb 1901–2001* (Brentham: Brentham Heritage Society, 2000).

⁸¹ Mervyn Miller, *Hampstead Garden Suburb: Art and Crafts Utopia?* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2006).

⁸² For an overview of the Garden City movement, see Mervyn Miller, *English Garden Cities* (Swindon, UK: Historic England, 2010).

British industrial cities.⁸³ Such communities drew on a precedent from earlier in the nineteenth century set by philanthropic, paternalistic industrialists concerned with the health and quality of life of their employees, such as New Lanark, built by David Dale and Robert Owen between 1790 and 1817 near Glasgow, and Sir Titus Salt's Saltaire Village begun in 1851 near Leeds, both for mill workers.⁸⁴

Letchworth included on-site skilled-labor employment in a printing house and corset factory, among other light industries, and Brentham Garden began as cooperative housing intended for the working class, but ownership costs and rents in these communities were too high for the majority of workers. Hampstead Garden, despite its founders' ideals, devolved rapidly into a wealthy suburb because of a lack of local industry and services. By the 1920s, however, garden cities served primarily middle-class residents employed in business and professions such as lawyers and physicians.

Nothing of the Arts and Crafts Movement in the United Kingdom provided modest housing to as many people as it would in the United States. Thus, I argue that Morris and Ruskin's aversion to mechanization contributed to the defeat of their overall goals. In this, perhaps British architects would have benefitted from the words of G. W. Wood when he proposed the establishment of the Royal Manchester Institution in 1823—"An alliance between commerce and the Liberal Arts is at once natural and salutary"⁸⁵—

⁸³ King emphasizes this contrast between city and country as an inspiration for bungalows generally, as the middle classes sought an escape from "'bad air' and the physical conditions of towns" as well as the "'strains and stresses' of industrial life" (*The Bungalow*, 93).

⁸⁴ For a discussion of industrial paternalistic worker housing, especially in the context of broader trends in working-class housing across Britain, see John Nelson Tarn, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy: An Account of Housing in Urban Areas between 1840 and 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), especially chapter 9.

⁸⁵ Janet Wolff and Caroline Arscott, "'Cultivated Capital': Patronage and Art in Nineteenth-Century Manchester and Leeds," in Gordon Marsden, ed., *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Society* (London: Pearson, 1998), 41.

rather than hewing to Morris's penchant for the individual and handcrafted to such a degree. Without wider shifts in Britain's economic structure, eschewing mass production altogether hampered the sincere desire to give the working class well-built and aesthetically pleasing housing. Sincere efforts were made: the 1905 Cheap Cottages Exhibition held at Letchworth exemplifies the failure of Arts and Crafts proponents to make their ideals practical. Despite the charm of many of the £150 cottages, the exhibition failed in that the cottages were "seen as better suited to middle-class 'week-enders' than to . . . workers."⁸⁶

In contrast, mass-produced suburban council housing transformed early twentieth-century British working-class housing: of the over 4 million homes built in the interwar period in Britain, over 30 percent was council housing, in particular the suburban semi (semidetached, which in the United States is usually called a duplex).⁸⁷ Distinct from the US bungalow form that was always a fully detached, single-family home, the British suburban semi was intended for multiple families, and in fact often were built alongside multifamily terraces.⁸⁸ In this we can detect one influence of the Letchworth-type housing model seen as positive at the time: state-sponsored housing (at least in the suburban town setting) shifted from densely built row housing to semis, with one of Letchworth's Arts and Crafts architects, Raymond Unwin, becoming Chief Housing Architect for the newly formed Ministry of Health in 1919.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Miller, *Letchworth*, 55–56.

⁸⁷ Although focusing primarily on owner-occupied semis, Peter Scott discusses municipal working-class semis in chapter 3 of *The Making of the Modern British Home. The Suburban Semi and Family Life between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 43ff.

⁸⁸ Pamela B. Lofthouse, "The Development of the English Semi-detached House: 1750–1950," MA thesis, University of York, 2012, 106ff. <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/2825/>.

⁸⁹ Miller, *Letchworth*, 75.

While many of these semis shared architectural aspects with bungalows both in their Indian origins⁹⁰ and their North American Craftsman counterparts—horizontalness (although often two stories), low-pitched roofs, ample windows for sunlight and fresh air—they were not designed overtly as such, and often incorporated Tudor or Georgian elements. Thus a strong argument can be made that these “Arts and Crafts style” houses are nothing of the sort. Peter Davey describes these architectural choices in positive terms:

The architecture of Voysey, Baillie Scott, Parker and early Luytens lives on in endless copies of hips and gables, half-timbering and harling, mullions and leaded bay windows, with here and there an inglenook. . . . builders did what the architects, for all their high ideals, failed to accomplish. They brought Arts and Crafts to the people . . . [and] offered a new life of individuality and freedom to multitudes who escaped from deprivation in the hearts of cities.⁹¹

I suggest that simply tacking on British vernacular elements to a semi does not bring Arts and Crafts to the people, much as semis may have provided a sense of individuality and freedom in a suburban setting.

Despite the partial successes of garden cities and interwar council housing, British architects within the Arts and Crafts Movement were unable to manifest their high ideals in housing for the average person on any significant scale. The successful harmonization of economic practicalities with cohesive architectural ideals made available to the working and lower-middle classes would be the province of the Arts and Crafts Movement in the United States, particularly in the form of the Craftsman bungalow. The

⁹⁰ Discussion of the origins of the Anglo-American bungalow form in India are beyond the scope of the present work. For more on these foundations, see King, *The Bungalow*, chapter 1.

⁹¹ Davey, *Arts and Crafts Architecture*, 191.

following chapter discusses how the US bungalow came to reflect that harmonization across socioeconomic boundaries.

Chapter 2

The American Craftsman Aesthetic

The successful harmonization of economic practicalities with cohesive architectural ideals that could be made available to the working and middle classes would be the province of the Arts and Crafts Movement in the United States, particularly in the form of the Craftsman bungalow. In this chapter I will demonstrate that, while directly inspired by architecture and design from Britain, American Arts and Crafts design and architecture developed along new lines, flavored by different worldviews and approaches to mechanization of production, social and economic class structures (or the lack thereof), and the regionalism of a geographically large nation. While specific architects helped promote the bungalow as an ideal house form, their work for wealthy clients in a real sense only reflected an already-existing trend rather than created the bungalow's popularity.

As I discussed in the previous chapter, historical analysis indicates that British class structures, while relatively fluid in terms of individuals' mobility, were marked by strong class consciousness regarding both wealth and cultural power. In the present discussion of the United States, I will refer to cultural geography for a definition of class, as class consciousness as such is not such a strong part of US history. I will base my discussion of class in the United States less on definitions of labor and means of production, and more on levels of education, skills, and lifestyle (or, more specifically, consumer power). Thus class will be an indicator of social status based on cultural

consumption, “expressed through taste, knowledge, and lifestyle and formed by cultural as well as economic capital.”⁹²

By the late 1880s the Arts and Crafts Movement had become firmly established in the British design world and its ideals began to influence US designers. Connections formed between British and American artists and architects (and consumers) through lecture tours, international exhibitions, and magazines and journals. Architect H.H. Richardson, one of the first to bring the Arts and Crafts aesthetic to the United States, met with artists and designers William Morris, William De Morgan, and Edward Burne-Jones in England in 1882.⁹³ A few years later New York designer Gustav Stickley traveled to Europe, meeting Arts and Crafts luminaries such as architects Charles Ashbee, C.F.A. Voysey, and William Lethaby in England and designer Rene Lalique in France.⁹⁴ Less-prominent figures of the US art and architecture world also sought out Arts and Crafts artists in Britain, as in Charles and Fred Lamb’s work with artist Walter Crane⁹⁵ and the numerous connections between British and American craftspeople.⁹⁶

But Americans made their way to Europe less often than British designers and their work traveled to the United States. In 1882, author and aesthete Oscar Wilde took a tour of the United States and Canada, lecturing in over 80 cities on the “House Beautiful,” decorative arts, and related subjects;⁹⁷ Crane traveled through the Northeast

⁹² Nancy Duncan and Stephen Legg, “Social Class,” in *A Companion to Cultural Geography*, ed. J.S. Duncan, N.C. Johnson, and R.J. Schein (Malden, MA: Blackwell), 251–64.

⁹³ James F. O’Gorman, “On Vacation with H.H. Richardson: Ten Letters from Europe, 1882,” *Archives of American Art Journal* 19, no. 1 (1979): 2–14.

⁹⁴ Mary Ann Smith, *Gustav Stickley, the Craftsman* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1992), 9ff.

⁹⁵ Walter Crane, *An Artist’s Reminiscences* (New York: Macmillan, 1907), 389.

⁹⁶ Boris, *Art and Labor*, chapter 3.

⁹⁷ Kevin H. F. O’Brien, ““The House Beautiful”: A Reconstruction of Oscar Wilde’s American Lecture,” *Victorian Studies* 17, no. 4 (1974): 395–418.

and lectured in Chicago a decade later.⁹⁸ Ashbee visited the United States numerous times after 1900, building a close friendship and working relationship with Frank Lloyd Wright.⁹⁹ By the 1890s, American magazines such as *House Beautiful* and trade publications such as *Decorator and Furnisher* featured British Arts and Crafts architects and artists including Voysey, Crane, Ashbee, and Morris. Voysey's influence on architecture continued for decades, with numerous designs published in both trade and consumer publications in the United States.¹⁰⁰ Morris remained a father of the Arts and Crafts Movement long after his death in 1896, with his written works and designs in constant reference even to this day.

Exhibitions on the local and national stage gave Americans a direct experience of Arts and Crafts work. As early as 1891, Crane exhibited book designs, drawings, watercolors, and oils at the Art Institute in Chicago and St. Louis.¹⁰¹ Large events such as the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 (also known as the Chicago World's Fair) included architectural drawings as well as interior design displays of the most prominent Arts and Crafts artists.¹⁰² Smaller and local exhibitions, such as the display in 1899 of photographs of Voysey houses at the T-Square Club in Philadelphia¹⁰³ and the "Morris"

⁹⁸ Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences*, 362 ff.

⁹⁹ Alan Crawford, "Ten Letters from Frank Lloyd Wright to Charles Robert Ashbee," *Architectural History* 13 (1970): 64–76+132.

¹⁰⁰ David Gebhard, "C.F.A. Voysey—to and from America," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 30, no. 4 (1971): 304–12. Voysey alone published in US journals and magazines *House and Garden*, *The Craftsman*, *The Building News*, *House Beautiful*, and *The Architectural Review* (Boston), as well as numerous European publications to which US architects subscribed, such as *The Studio* and *The Architectural Review* (London).

¹⁰¹ Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences*, 380–82. See also Crane's own catalog of the initial Chicago exhibition at http://www.artic.edu/sites/default/files/libraries/pubs/1892/AIC1892WCrane_comb.pdf, last accessed February 3, 2017.

¹⁰² Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences*, 389.

¹⁰³ Gebhard, "C.F.A. Voysey," 304.

room in Frederick Parson's Studios of Arts and Crafts in Boston in the early 1900s¹⁰⁴ brought British work to design and architecture professionals.

However influential, British design ideals would still have to harmonize with American artistic and social movements to be successful in the United States. The "House Beautiful" and home economics reforms of the Progressive era refocused attention in the domestic sphere on the active role of women and the practical needs of the home. As we will see, bungalows specifically addressed this growing desire for practical home design.

House Healthful and House Beautiful

The role of middle-class and elite American women had been firmly established as wives, mothers, and homemakers from as early as the Colonial and Early Republic periods. Women supported the young nation through teaching their sons at home (and their daughters, who would repeat the process across generations) and modeling moral and patriotic behavior for their sons and husbands. In addition women's duty to the nation included keeping their families healthy through keeping the home clean and home nursing.¹⁰⁵ Through the nineteenth century this domestic focus became even more entrenched, through a cultural vision of femininity and domesticity. Women's proper role became less intellectual and patriotic, and more a moral example of purity to the family and a creator of refuge for husbands who worked in corrupting political and business environments. Of course many women had to work outside the home to support their families financially, and other women did interact publicly through social activism (such

¹⁰⁴ Boris, *Art and Labor*, 22.

¹⁰⁵ For more on Republican motherhood, see Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1980).

as agitating for the abolition of slavery) and as artists and writers, but the predominating social goal modeled by elite and middle-class women was to remain in the domestic sphere.

By the late 1800s this domestic role continued, but in new ways. Women increasingly took up activities outside the home, particularly in higher education, albeit still in relation to the domestic sphere. Colleges and universities that accepted female students in ever-greater numbers offered courses in home economics, in addition to similar instruction provided in primary and secondary schools. Correspondence courses instructed women unable to attend these institutions.¹⁰⁶ These programs taught women not merely traditional domestic arts but the new *science* of homemaking.

As Gwendolyn Wright asserts, by the early twentieth century various Progressive groups within the United States took hold of the science of home economics with varying aims. Settlement houses in urban areas sought to instruct low-income and immigrant women how to maintain their homes while also giving them skills for employment as domestic servants and waitresses. Feminists sought greater efficiency of housework to allow time for activities outside the home, while conservatives wanted to preserve the woman's role as the family nurturer by her becoming a "highly skilled 'household administrator.'"¹⁰⁷ All of this was not passively received by women, however. Working-class women, although often limited as consumers by low incomes and housing scarcity, "still made revealing choices in the process of ordering their personal environments,"¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Wright, *Building the Dream*, 158–59.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 159.

¹⁰⁸ Lizabeth A. Cohen, "Embellishing a Life of Labor: An Interpretation of the Material Culture of American Working-Class Homes, 1885–1915", in Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 262.

not only in how they kept their interiors but in which houses they chose to live. Working-class families often resided in bungalows as both a sanitary and an aesthetic choice. Middle-class homemakers embraced this choice as well, as part of broad trends focusing on efficiency, sanitation, and a new aesthetics.

This new emphasis on the science of home economics promoted efficiency and sanitation in several ways. The Progressive approach to home design and maintenance emphasized simplicity as well as new ideas about health. These ideas abounded in Craftsman bungalows, where ample windows and screened porches provided the fresh air and sunshine deemed necessary to healthful living. Cluttered and dust-prone Victorian-era interiors were replaced by open, sun-filled rooms free of excess ornamentation and decorative objects. Dust was a carrier of germs, as the thinking went, so carpets, drapes, and upholstery were minimized in favor of easy-to-clean surfaces like tile and wood.¹⁰⁹ Hand-crafted decorative items—such as woven area rugs, ceramic vases, and hammered copper plates—were displayed individually rather than in the cluttered fashion of the nineteenth century. Large, open rooms featured built-in furniture, using space efficiently and promoting healthful air flow, while kitchens remained small and convenient.¹¹⁰ These ideas all conformed with the growing popularity of an informal lifestyle as well, as more and more people gained consumer power while no longer employing servants. The precedent of the House Beautiful movement, which emphasized beauty and joy in one's home, a concept “common to the decorative arts revival as a whole,” reflected the mutual

¹⁰⁹ Wright, *Building the Dream*, 162.

¹¹⁰ Mattson, “The Bungalow Spirit,” 82.

reinforcement of architecture and morality.¹¹¹ Thus art and science worked in tandem in the Craftsman aesthetic.

These Progressive era trends took hold across every part of the United States. In contrast, North America's huge distances and wide climate variations fostered a strong sense of regionalism, leading to completely different architectural forms. Yet a form "native" to one region was often built in other regions, reflecting both the triumph of the transportation network and the commodification of the vernacular. In the next section I discuss how the bungalow fulfilled both a desire for an "American" domestic architecture and a need to honor more local influences.

Vernacular Regionalism

Inspired by the Arts and Crafts Movement tenet that "every country should have an architecture that reflected its own particular history, geography and climate,"¹¹² early twentieth-century US architects were faced with not merely a single country with its own particularities, but rather many separate regions across the vast continent. Within this geographical space came the many regional variants of the Craftsman bungalow, including the Midwestern Prairie style, Colonial and Tudor influences on the East Coast, and the Spanish Mission style on the West Coast.¹¹³

Departing from British Arts and Crafts, in which local areas retained distinctive styles not seen elsewhere, American regional vernacular bungalows appeared in every area, so that one could find Mission-style houses in Kansas and Prairie-style homes in Idaho. The US railroad network facilitated this transmission; growing consumer power

¹¹¹ Boris, *Art and Labor*, 53.

¹¹² Cumming and Kaplan, *Arts and Crafts Movement*, 107.

¹¹³ Ibid..

and the corresponding growth in advertising and the promotion of architectural forms as “lifestyles” did as well. In addition to incorporating regional variations, US bungalows were often syncretic. West Coast bungalows often displayed Japanese influences, particularly through the work of Greene and Greene (discussed below). Tudor motifs were common as well as elements originating in British architects such as Voysey, Baillie Scott, Luytens, and Mackintosh.¹¹⁴ Less influential sources include the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, at which many US architects received training (or at its American academicist¹¹⁵ equivalent), and Germany, which won design awards at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase International Exposition.¹¹⁶ Thus the Arts and Crafts Movement, in the United States as in Britain, was anything but monolithic; rather, it was synthetic, individualistic, and contradictory, its practitioners often only sharing a devotion to organic forms and natural materials, harmonizing with the landscape, and the vernacular.¹¹⁷

Notwithstanding these variants, by far the most prevalent bungalow form was the California Craftsman: usually one story, with a large porch, low-pitched roof and overhanging roof, open interior, and often cohesive interior design elements. These architectural features accommodated the sunny, warm climate of Southern California, yet

¹¹⁴ Robert Judson Clark and Wendy Kaplan, “Arts and Crafts: Matters of Style,” in Wendy Kaplan, *“The Art that is Life”: The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875–1920* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987), 80–86.

¹¹⁵ Academicism, or academic art, synthesized Neoclassic and Romantic style, standardized by rigorous training at European academies of art in the nineteenth century.

¹¹⁶ On the many international influences on US architecture beginning as early as the 1860s, see Richard Guy Wilson, “American Arts and Crafts Architecture: Radical though Dedicated to the Cause Conservative,” in Wendy Kaplan, *“The Art that is Life”: The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875–1920* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987), 107–9.

¹¹⁷ For a lengthy discussion of the global influences on US Arts and Crafts and its multiplicity of design, see section I, “Reform in Aesthetics: The Search for an American Identity,” in Wendy Kaplan, *“The Art that is Life”: The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875–1920* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987).

were adapted to every US region regardless of weather conditions through the use of different building materials (brick instead of wood, for example). The bungalow was also widely popular because of its “rapid assembly, affordability and informality” and its relatively low cost to build—a “democratization of art” in a real sense.¹¹⁸

Beyond the regional, bungalows fit perfectly in the increasingly popular and accessible suburban lifestyle: the single-family home, outside urban metropolises, with an informality and affordability that appealed to the middle and working classes. The explosive growth of suburbs reflected major shifts in both housing patterns and consumer desires. These aspects of US culture created a new playing field for Arts and Crafts ideals, leading to the distinctly American Craftsman style.

The Growth of Suburbs

Beginning as early as 1850, homeowners removed themselves from US cities into suburbs, repeating a pattern that appeared in Europe back to the medieval period. Elite gated communities known as “picturesque enclaves” formed outside major metropolitan areas such as New York City and Boston.¹¹⁹ Then interurban railroads, and later the private automobile, allowed urban middle- and working-class people to remove their homes from the crowds and dirt of the central city. Developers promoted this “American dream” of the single-family home surrounded by a white picket fence, which soon dominated the US landscape.

The definition of “suburb” varies widely, although generally it describes a town or small city adjacent to a larger city, often populated by commuters and predominantly

¹¹⁸ Cumming and Kaplan, *Arts and Crafts Movement*, 123.

¹¹⁹ Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, chapter 4.

comprising single-family homes. Depending on who is defining it, a suburb can be a city planning type, a physical expression of the functional relationship between core and periphery, an assignment based on demographic patterns, or defined by patterns of behavior.¹²⁰ Robert Fishman places the suburb, at least in England, in the realm of an “anti-urban haven of domesticity where members of the middle class can enjoy quiet, greenery, and the absence of the lower classes.”¹²¹ More compellingly in the US context, a suburb can be “a landscape of the imagination where Americans situate ambitions for upward mobility and economic security, ideals about freedom and private property, and longings for social harmony and spiritual uplift.”¹²²

Kenneth Jackson considers the typical American suburb thus: “Affluent and middle-class Americans live in suburban areas that are far from their work places, in homes that they own, and in the center of yards that by urban standards elsewhere are enormous. This uniqueness thus involves population density, home-ownership, residential status, and journey-to-work.”¹²³ As I explore in the next chapters, these aspects—low density, homeownership, commuting distance, affluence—are elements in each of the cities I will consider, although Pocatello and Missoula are not strictly suburban.¹²⁴ Thus Jackson’s and Fishman’s definitions do not fully serve the analysis here. However, the concept of the suburb is useful to this discussion as it represents broad

¹²⁰ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 4–5.

¹²¹ Robert Fishman, “The Origins of the Suburban Idea in England,” *Chicago History* 13, no. 2 (1984): 26.

¹²² Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 3.

¹²³ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 6.

¹²⁴ Carlos Schwantes in his *In Mountain Shadows: A History of Idaho* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991) points out that Idaho’s settlement pattern was generally of towns developing along railroad lines or near mining camps before the surrounding countryside (111–12) but that local transportation remained difficult for long afterwards (193), which would have precluded significant suburban development (although the small populations had as much to do with that). This pattern pertains to early Montana as well.

trends in domestic life, including the move away from inner cities, new goals for city planning, the growth in home ownership among lower-income groups, and the renewed focus in the early twentieth century on the home as a site of family life and of moral and physical health.

Bungalows fit within these trends in their affordability, their ability to fit in relatively small city lots, and their informal, comfortable, and welcoming designs that provided that sought-after domestic haven. Although local developers, builders, and home owners themselves were certainly responsible for the popularity of the suburban bungalow, well-known architects and designers also had a role to play in the bungalow craze. In the next section I review the most prominent figures associated with Arts and Crafts and Craftsman bungalow architecture in the United States.

The Role of Architects

Trained architects and designers, including Charles Sumner Greene and Henry Mather Greene, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Gustav Stickley, created some of the most beautiful Arts and Crafts and bungalow homes in the early twentieth century, in a range of sizes and prices from the mansion to the kit home. Through commissioned houses that were featured in widely popular magazines as paragons of the new style (the Greene Brothers and Wright) and publishing both house plans and numerous essays on the social and moral significance of the home and interior design (Stickley), such individuals became standard-bearers for the bungalow at the same time that the average consumer increasingly sought out that housing form.

Charles and Henry Greene are widely considered the preeminent Arts and Crafts architects of the United States. The brothers attended a manual training high school in St. Louis, the first of its kind, which in addition to traditional academic subjects taught drawing and woodworking.¹²⁵ The Greenes built on this early interest in design by completing the architecture program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, after which they embarked on lifetime careers as architects.¹²⁶ By the mid-1890s designs from their Pasadena, California, practice included the popular styles of the late nineteenth century, such as Dutch and colonial revival, Shingle, and Queen Anne.¹²⁷ However, after Charles witnessed British Arts and Crafts style first-hand on a trip to England in 1901, he and his brother embraced Arts and Crafts and Craftsman architecture.¹²⁸

Their houses reflect as well their love of Japanese architecture, developed through viewing exhibits such as at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904 as well as through books and journal subscriptions.¹²⁹ Their use of timber framing techniques and smaller details like lanterns and joinery methods incorporated Japanese style into many of their most famous homes, including the Irwin, Blacker, and Gamble houses.¹³⁰ In turn these houses were featured in

¹²⁵ Edward R. Bosley, "Western North America: Nature's Spirit," in *International Arts and Crafts*, ed. Karen Livingstone and Linda Parry (London: V&A Publications, 2005), 197.

¹²⁶ Edward S. Cooke Jr., "Charles Sumner Greene and Henry Mather Greene," in *"The Art that is Life": The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875–1920*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987), 401.

¹²⁷ For example, their 1898–99 Swan House included Shingle, Georgian, Colonial, and Classical elements (Greene & Greene Virtual Archives, <https://www.usc.edu/vh/greeneandgreene/258a.html>) while the 1897 Hosmer House included Dutch Colonial, Mission Revival, and Classical elements (Greene & Greene Virtual Archives, <https://www.usc.edu/vh/greeneandgreene/180.html>).

¹²⁸ Cooke, "Charles Sumner Greene and Henry Mather Greene," 401.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Lancaster, *American Bungalow*, 122–31.

mass-market publications such as *House Beautiful* magazine,¹³¹ as well as trade journals such as *Architectural Record* and *Western Architect*.¹³² Given that these houses were commissioned by extremely wealthy clients—the 1907 Blacker house had a budget of \$100,000¹³³ while the nearby Gamble house was built for the retired owner of the Proctor & Gamble company¹³⁴—the Greene’s work represents an influential yet distant model for what would later be distributed across the country to the average homeowner. Thus the Greene brothers’ work is “Arts and Crafts at its most refined and elite,”¹³⁵ their “ultimate bungalows” a lofty exemplar for the everyday single-family home that followed.

Frank Lloyd Wright is considered by many the most prolific and influential American architect of the twentieth century. While his later work had more in common with Modernism and even ranch style architecture, his earlier leading role in Prairie Style house design as well as his friendship with British Arts and Crafts proponent C.R. Ashbee places him in the American Arts and Crafts tradition. Although many of his architectural and coordinating interior designs are far more rectilinear and Modernist than those of Craftsman style, the simplicity, use of natural materials, harmonization with the natural environment (particularly the horizontality inspired by the Midwestern prairies), open interior plans, and smaller details like overhanging eaves share commonalities with the Craftsman bungalow.¹³⁶ Diverging from the British model but paralleling other American architects including Gustav Stickley, Wright not only embraced the use of

¹³¹ A. W. Alley, “A House in Japanese Style,” *House Beautiful* 25, no. 4 (May 1901): 76–77.

¹³² Cooke, “Charles Sumner Greene and Henry Mather Greene,” 402.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Lancaster, *American Bungalow*, 130.

¹³⁵ Cumming and Kaplan, *Arts and Crafts Movement*, 123.

¹³⁶ Edward S. Cooke Jr., “Frank Lloyd Wright,” in *“The Art that is Life”: The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875–1920*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987), 391–92.

machinery and mass production but also lectured on its utility, thus anticipating the later production and distribution of bungalows as kit homes and other prefabrication methods.¹³⁷

Gustav Stickley owes his fame as a proponent of the Arts and Crafts Movement in the United States in large part to his furniture and architectural designs, but most of all to coining and disseminating the term “Craftsman style.” After learning both stonemasonry and furniture making in his youth,¹³⁸ he formed the wholesale and retail Stickley Brothers Furniture Company of Binghamton, New York, with his brothers in 1884, adding a chair factory two years later. By 1889 Gustav had split from his brothers, forming the Stickley Company in Syracuse, New York, producing chairs with business partner Elgin Simonds.¹³⁹ In that year he also traveled in Europe, as mentioned above, where he observed numerous Arts and Crafts works. Stickley’s influence on American furniture design increased dramatically after he displayed several pieces at the semiannual furniture trade show in Grand Rapids, Michigan in 1900,¹⁴⁰ and Tobey Furniture Company began distributing his designs.¹⁴¹ By 1901 he had decided on the “Craftsman” name for his work, reflecting his studies of Arts and Crafts ideals via Ruskin’s and Morris’s emphasis on craftsmanship and handmade rather than mechanized production (although Stickley never eschewed machines and even served as vice-president of an

¹³⁷ Wright’s 1908 essay “In the Cause of Architecture” advocated for the use of machines as “the normal tool of our civilization” while extolling the necessity of inspiration from nature and the organic, as well as the model of Japanese art and architecture. Wright, *In the Cause of Architecture*.

¹³⁸ Gustav Stickley, *Chips from the Craftsman Workshops* (New York: The Craftsman Workshop, 1907), n.p., page 17–18 of scanned copy available at <https://ia600302.us.archive.org/31/items/chipsfromcraftsm00stic/chipsfromcraftsm00stic.pdf>.

¹³⁹ Smith, *Gustav Stickley*, 1–4.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁴¹ Livingstone and Parry, *International Arts and Crafts*, 155.

electric street railroad).¹⁴² In 1902 Stickley returned to Europe, visiting numerous manufacturers of Arts and Crafts textiles, furniture, and other interior design items and attending the Arts and Crafts Exhibition in London.¹⁴³

From his roots on the East Coast, Stickley's influence spread across the United States via his journal *The Craftsman*, published from 1901 to 1916. He began with a more pure focus on Arts and Crafts style, devoting the first two issues of the journal to the ideas of William Morris and John Ruskin.¹⁴⁴ However, Stickley had a much more pragmatic business sense than his British forebears, mass-producing his furniture and promoting his "Craftsman Homes," introduced in May 1903 (along with textiles and furnishings intended to harmonize with the architecture),¹⁴⁵ including his versions of the California style, through plans sold by his company.¹⁴⁶ Another direct link to California formed when George Wharton James, a prominent promoter of "Arroyo culture," a Southern California variant of American Craftsman style, became the associate editor of *The Craftsman* in 1909.¹⁴⁷ Ultimately Stickley's business ventures failed, as by 1916 competition from larger companies capitalizing on the Craftsman style's popularity overwhelmed his market share. However, Stickley was certainly the best known adherent

¹⁴² Boris, *Art and Labor*, 63.

¹⁴³ Livingstone and Parry, *International Arts and Crafts*, 156.

¹⁴⁴ Gustav Stickley, *The Craftsman* 1, no. 1 (October 1901), available at <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.hdv01n01>; *The Craftsman* 1, no. 2 (November 1901), available at <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.hdv01n02>. Last accessed March 1, 2017.

¹⁴⁵ Livingstone and Parry, *International Arts and Crafts*, 156–58.

¹⁴⁶ Cumming and Kaplan, *Arts and Crafts Movement*, 141.

¹⁴⁷ Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 109–11.

to Arts and Crafts principles in America, and his Craftsman style truly “left its stamp all over the American continent.”¹⁴⁸

The Greene brothers, Wright, and Stickley were instrumental in popularizing American forms of Arts and Crafts architecture in the first decade of the twentieth century, primarily through upper-class commissions and discussion of philosophical ideals. In the next section I discuss the marketing of the Craftsman bungalow to the average person through popular magazines, mail-order catalogs, and kit homes, all of which took advantage of the maturing US transportation network and the mechanization of both print culture and the building industry.

Craftsman Style

Famous architects are only one source for the popularity of Craftsman bungalows, and are the exception rather than the rule. A top-down view of the spread of Craftsman style situates these architects and their peers as instigators, creating “ultimate bungalows” that served as the inspiration for the everyday homes spreading across the country. It is true that the first houses called bungalows (resembling Anglo-Indian architectural forms more than what became the Craftsman bungalow decades later) in the United States were summer homes for the wealthy, and that the Greene brothers built several of their ultimate bungalows in advance of the overall trend. Grand homes do exemplify Arts and Crafts ideals: the use of local materials—redwood siding and shingles in California, chestnut logs in New Jersey, clay bricks made in Chicago; free expression of the craftsman in the unique designs by each architect; and customized construction for each site as well as cohesiveness with the landscape and interior design. In their forms these

¹⁴⁸ Davey, *Arts and Crafts Architecture*, 194.

grand houses shared a vocabulary with the ubiquitous Craftsman bungalow, as part of a continuum of “grand and humble” vernacular houses.¹⁴⁹

However, it is just as accurate to ascribe a bottom-up origin for US Craftsman bungalows. As John Mack Faragher points out, California Craftsman bungalows “originated with builders and homeowners,” in particular the artistic community of Arroyo Seco adjacent to Pasadena.¹⁵⁰ These houses caught the attention of travel writers, who admired the rustic and bohemian flavor of their construction and attendant lifestyle, and developers, who appreciated the lower building costs and “successful blend of economy and artistry.”¹⁵¹ While prominent architects including Wright published designs in popular magazines such as *House Beautiful* and *Ladies’ Home Journal*, the more important role of these publications in the history of the bungalow was to sell full sets of building plans to prospective homeowners. With an estimated readership of up to 20 percent of the US population (and 60 percent of all US women), the *Ladies’ Home Journal* was particularly important in promoting the latest architectural styles affordable for the average person, and Arts and Crafts houses and Craftsman bungalows were a large proportion of those styles.¹⁵²

While other magazines had a massive readership, Stickley’s *The Craftsman* had an apparently miniscule reach: a maximum circulation of 22,500 readers in 1915 compared with *House Beautiful* at 45,000 and the *Ladies’ Home Journal* at 1.6 million

¹⁴⁹ For a brief yet eloquent discussion of the difficulties in defining architectural styles and their cultural status, and for that matter whether the architect holds a place above the carpenter or mason, see Witold Rybczynski, *The Most Beautiful House in the World* (New York: Viking, 1989), 8–12.

¹⁵⁰ Faragher, “Bungalow and Ranch House,” 149–50.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹⁵² Leland M. Roth, “Getting the Houses to the People: Edward Bok, the *Ladies’ Home Journal*, and the Ideal House,” *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 4 (1991): 187–96.

subscribers.¹⁵³ Yet *The Craftsman* had paved the way, publishing its first bungalow design in 1903 (eventually publishing dozens of bungalow designs with detailed descriptions as well as plans)¹⁵⁴ and attracting the notice of designers through its focus on Arts and Crafts philosophies as well as through the ongoing popularity of his furniture designs. Stickley specifically marketed his house plans to the middle class with estimated construction costs of \$2,000 to \$6,000 , and published glowing praise for these plans from “lawyers, architects, primary school teachers, government officials, and engineers—as well as housewives.”¹⁵⁵ Thus it is clear that the average homeowner would have learned of the Craftsman bungalow in the popular press rather than through exposure to the architects of the houses of the elite.

North American Craftsman-style homes also proliferated via mail-order plans and kits in the early twentieth century.¹⁵⁶ For example, Sears sold over 70,000 kit homes between 1908 and 1940,¹⁵⁷ of which the Craftsman style formed a significant portion. These houses appealed to working- and middle-class homeowners, providing quality and modern taste within a reasonable budget.¹⁵⁸ Sears estimates their mail order homes with precut pieces saved 40 percent in carpenter time to complete construction,¹⁵⁹ a tangible benefit for those who could not afford an architect-designed, custom home. Sears and its

¹⁵³ Ibid., 187.

¹⁵⁴ Stickley, *Craftsman Bungalows: 59 Homes from The Craftsman*.

¹⁵⁵ Boris, *Art and Labor*, 75.

¹⁵⁶ Mail-order house plan books pre-date the twentieth century. For an overview of nineteenth-century mail order house plans, see James L. Garvin, “Mail-Order House Plans and American Victorian Architecture,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 16, no. 4 (1981): 309–34.

¹⁵⁷ Sears Archives, “What Is a Sears Modern Home?” <http://www.searsarchives.com/homes/>, last accessed February 2, 2017.

¹⁵⁸ For an overview of plan books, kit homes, and prefabricated homes in the early twentieth century, of which Craftsman bungalows were only one of many available styles, see Robert Schweitzer and Michael W. R. Davis. *America's Favorite Homes* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990).

¹⁵⁹ Sears Archives, “History of Sears Modern Homes.” <http://www.searsarchives.com/homes/history.htm>, last accessed February 2, 2017.

competitors (Aladdin, Gordon-Van Tine, and Pacific Ready Cut were among the most successful) took advantage of industrialized production and distribution methods such as standardized floor plans, mechanized lumber mills, millwork factories, and delivery via railroad to reduce costs. Rural homeowners in particular benefited from the Sears production model, as they could obtain not only their kit home but everything to furnish and decorate it.¹⁶⁰ These efficiencies came at the expense of a sense of individual craftsmanship or regional/vernacular style. A Sears Craftsman kit home or a house built to Sears catalog plans was identical, whether in the east or west, and regardless of the construction workers involved on-site. As Dolores Hayden points out, “Trying to enhance regional character by exploring vernacular styles of building, [trained architects] found that buyers had other ideas.”¹⁶¹ Owners could certainly customize aspects of their homes, particularly in the interior design, but overall such homes are easily recognizable in their sameness. Thus the predominant manifestation of US Craftsman architecture fails at Ruskin’s and Morris’s dictum that “architecture and its attendant arts should be judged according to the amount of freedom of expression allowed to the individual workman,”¹⁶² yet succeeded in bringing quality and aesthetics to a wider economic cross-section of society than was ever achieved in Britain.

Industrial companies built bungalows en masse as company housing: for example, the planned city of Longview, Washington, hired local builders to erect hundreds of four-room bungalows in its St. Helens Addition for lumber company workers, to rent as well

¹⁶⁰ Cooke and Friedman, “Ahead of Their Time.”

¹⁶¹ Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 117.

¹⁶² Charles Harvey and Jon Press, “William Morris: Art and Idealism,” in Gordon Marsden, ed., *Victorian Values* (London: Pearson, 1998), 205.

as own.¹⁶³ In other cases, the company town residents themselves chose bungalows over other styles, reflecting the penetration of the Craftsman aesthetic into all social and economic sectors of US society.¹⁶⁴ Entire neighborhoods of bungalows were built during the first few decades of the twentieth century in cities large and small across the United States, as reflected in the dozens of historic districts recognized by the National Register of Historic Places today.¹⁶⁵ The sheer quantity of bungalows reflects the at least partial mechanization of the architectural and building process, particularly in towns like Longview where speed and economy prevailed over design and variety, through the use of identical house plans in large numbers. Such expansion of lower-cost housing also reflects the expansion of the middle class and the increasing popularity of the suburb over urban development in the early twentieth century for both the working and middle classes, all dependent on industrialization, railroads, and automobiles in the American economy.

From this foundation of US Progressivism, vernacular architecture traditions, and the commodification and mechanization of house building, the Craftsman bungalow became an intensely popular house style in the first decades of the twentieth century. Local conditions on the level of city or town also played a role in the bungalow's popularity, in particular in the Western United States, where towns were springing up anew and class-based sensibilities often seemed missing. The next chapters examine Pasadena, Missoula, and Pocatello in turn. A brief history of each town will lead to an

¹⁶³ John M. McClelland Jr., *R.A. Long's Planned City: The Story of Longview* (Longview, WA: Longview Publishing), 89–91.

¹⁶⁴ Margaret Crawford, "The 'New' Company Town." *Perspecta* 30 (1999): 48–57.

¹⁶⁵ "Bungalow Neighborhoods," *American Bungalow* magazine, <https://www.americanbungalow.com/community/bungalow-neighborhoods/>, last accessed February 3, 2017.

analysis of housing data from 1920, revealing the commonalities and differences in development of the three Western US towns, and what bungalows tell us about their social and economic lives.

Chapter 3

Bungalows in Western US Cities, 1920

While bungalows as a housing form are well studied in terms of the United States as whole, and in certain metropolitan areas and regions such as Southern California and Chicago, little has been written about bungalows in small towns or the Intermountain West. In this chapter I will analyze a sampling of bungalows in three Western cities—Pasadena, California; Missoula, Montana; and Pocatello, Idaho—using data from 1920 to illustrate the commonalities and divergences between each town’s development and economic classes. As I will demonstrate, all three towns depended on intercontinental railroads for their existence, but to different degrees and in different ways. As well, the three towns attracted a range of citizens from laborers to elites, but again to different degrees. A significant commonality among all three towns is that socioeconomic classes lived in mixed neighborhoods rather than forming segregated areas reflecting social or income differences, and that all of these groups chose to live in Craftsman bungalows.

After a brief discussion of terminology and data categorization, I will address each city in turn, providing a brief history of each city’s development followed by an overview of the specific neighborhoods from which data was extracted, and finally a discussion of data findings for each district. Pasadena will serve as a contrast to the two Intermountain cities, both in its status as a “bungalow heaven”¹⁶⁶ and its somewhat different development pattern as a suburb rather than a freestanding town. I will examine

¹⁶⁶ Julianna Delgado and John G. Ripley, *Pasadena’s Bungalow Heaven* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012).

the occupations of bungalow residents as well as the geographic distribution of bungalows and the various occupational groups within neighborhoods and the cities as a whole. These data analyses and visualizations will illustrate the broad appeal of bungalows as well as the lack of economic segregation in early twentieth-century Western city development.

Terminology

While the analysis in this study uses specific terms for socioeconomic groups to categorize the data, such terms are necessarily fluid and subject to contention. For the purposes of this study, I assigned four nominal categories, based on a simplification of the 11-category socioeconomic class scheme developed by Robert Erikson and John Goldthorpe,¹⁶⁷ for job titles and duties found in the 1920 census:

Classification	Examples
Executive/Professional	doctor, lawyer, jewelry store owner, judge, bank president
Administrative/Trained	bookkeeper, manager, clerk, banker, teacher, secretary, auditor
Skilled Labor	salesperson, railroad dispatcher, railroad engineer, livestock dealer
Labor	carpenter, launderer, butter maker, railroad baggage man, sawyer

¹⁶⁷ See Robert Erikson and John H. Goldthorpe, *The Constant Flux. A Study of Class. Mobility in Industrial Societies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

A typical method to define class is by income levels. When this approach is used, the working class can be contrasted with a so-called middle class on the basis of differential access to economic resources, education, cultural interests, and other goods and services. The cut-off between working class and middle class here might be whether a population has discretionary income rather than simply sustenance.

Sociologists like Erikson and Goldthorpe and Anthony Giddens have provided a broader alternative structure to define class, in terms of “life chances,” the “chances an individual has for sharing in the socially created economic or cultural ‘goods’ that typically exist in any given society”¹⁶⁸ rather than as a function of status hierarchies, structures of power, or control of means of production. This is necessarily a more qualitative than quantitative structure: we are not measuring specific levels of income or access to power, or the exploitation of labor, but rather describing a constellation of factors that reflect education, skills training, and social responsibilities.

Thus there are overlaps in these simple categories. One could argue that a master carpenter in the labor category has significant skills training in contrast with a salesperson in the skilled labor category who may rely primarily on personality and social contacts for job success. Giddens’s concept of “market capacity” includes overlapping “ownership of property in the means of production” (executive/professional: business owners), “possession of educational or technical qualifications” (executive/professional: doctor, lawyer; administrative/trained: bookkeeper, teacher; skilled labor: railroad engineer), and “possession of manual labor power” (labor: sawyer, launderer).¹⁶⁹ This categorization does nevertheless demonstrate something of a gradation from manual to

¹⁶⁸ Anthony Giddens, *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies* (London: Hutchinson, 1973), 130–31.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 107.

nonmanual labor, something of an overall increase in educational attainment, and a difficult-to-measure but arguable increase in social responsibility.

Specific occupation descriptions used in this study are more clearly definable: those used in the 1920 Federal Census classification system. Census-takers recorded both a descriptive term and an occupation code for each respondent—a clerk in a grocery store, 707; or physician, 858; or railroad engineer, 644. However, the federal census simply classified occupations “according to function as well as setting,” so that, for example, the “Professional Service” category includes actors, physicians, and fortune tellers.¹⁷⁰ The census’s nine occupational categories thus do not correspond well to the multifactorial “life chances” analysis described above. Because the present study includes these aspects of social status in addition to job function/setting, I chose to use only the census job descriptions themselves, and categorized them according to the modified Erikson-Goldthorpe socioeconomic class scheme described above.

Pasadena, California

I include Pasadena, California, in this comparison of early twentieth-century Western US towns because it serves as a sort of control. Pasadena is very well studied in the literature on suburban city development, the influence of intercontinental and interurban railroads, and Craftsman architecture.¹⁷¹ Its houses represent the apotheosis of Arts and Crafts

¹⁷⁰ Minnesota Population Center, University of Minnesota. IPUMS USA, “Integrated Occupation and Industry Codes and Occupational Standing Variables in the IPUMS,” <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/chapter4/chapter4.shtml>, and “1920 Occupation Codes,” <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/volii/92occup.shtml>.

¹⁷¹ For a useful overview of Pasadena history, see Ann Scheid, *Historic Pasadena: An Illustrated History* (San Antonio, TX: Historical Publishing Network, for the Pasadena Historical Museum, 1999). For a detailed look at early Pasadena culture, the “Arroyo culture,” and links to Craftsman style, see Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, chapter 4. On the outdoor life and

architecture—particularly the Greene brothers’ works such as the Blacker and Gamble houses and the Arroyo Seco artisans’ homes, both discussed in the previous chapter. Yet Pasadena is also a paragon of bungalows in middle-class suburban development—the Bungalow Heaven neighborhood alone has over five hundred registered bungalows, reflecting a concerted effort by developers to provide affordable housing within commuting distance of the Los Angeles downtown core.

The Los Angeles basin in the mid-1800s experienced massive development and land speculation, with property inflation of 200 to 500 percent between 1865 and 1868.¹⁷² This scale of development further increased with the railroad boom of the 1880s due to the influence and activities of the so-called railroad barons of Southern California, in particular Henry Edwards Huntington who put Pasadena and its environs on the map of desirable residences.¹⁷³

Wealthy Easterners and Midwesterners at this time sought the Southern California health cure for illnesses such as asthma and tuberculosis, staying at hotels and resorts in Pasadena marketed for this purpose, such as the Sierra Madre Villa Hotel.¹⁷⁴ Many of these visitors chose to remain instead of returning to the harsh winters back east. Two of the most famous Pasadena architects of this period hailed from the Midwest: Charles Sumner Greene and Henry Mather Greene were trained and began their careers in

architecture in Pasadena, see Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), chapter 8. On Craftsman bungalows, see among others Lancaster, *American Bungalow*, chapter 5; David Gebhard and Harriette Von Breton, *Architecture in California, 1868–1968: An Exhibition* (Santa Barbara, CA: Standard Printing of Santa Barbara, 1968), 13ff; and Robert Winter, *The California Bungalow* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1980).

¹⁷² Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 121.

¹⁷³ For more on the boom-bust cycle and the influence of the railroads, see Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1973), chapter 7.

¹⁷⁴ Scheid, *Historic Pasadena*, 26.

Boston, and then ended up in Pasadena with their parents who sought the Southern California health cure, thus fitting right in to the “genteel tradition” of Pasadena life.¹⁷⁵

By the late 1880s, niceties such as tennis courts and an opera house had been built in the city to attract and support this elite population, which now included luminaries such as President Garfield’s widow and future general George S. Patton Jr.¹⁷⁶ By the turn of the century Pasadena had become a “major resort town with a well-established reputation as a center of wealth and culture,”¹⁷⁷ including amenities like the Mt. Lowe Incline Railway, featuring electric trolleys that whisked passengers 5,000 feet into the San Gabriel Mountains; the spectacular Hotel Raymond, the pinnacle of the town’s elegant hotel culture; and the Valley Hunt Club.¹⁷⁸ Only after the turn of the century would the area attract large numbers of the middle class, who formed a large part of bungalow residents.¹⁷⁹

Pasadena incorporated as a full-fledged city in 1886, with an increasing number of tourists and settlers arriving in search of the warm weather and health-giving atmosphere of Southern California, and Pasadena in particular.¹⁸⁰ While in the 1860s and 1870s Midwestern farmers and ranchers came to the San Gabriel Valley for the mild climate, fertile soil, and ample water of the expanding orange orchards, vineyards, and sheep and cattle ranching,¹⁸¹ by the 1880s the population became much more city-

¹⁷⁵ Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 101.

¹⁷⁶ Cedar Imboden Phillips and the Pasadena Museum of History, *Early Pasadena* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 17, 62; Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 99, 104–5.

¹⁷⁷ NRHP, Residential Architecture of Pasadena, section E, p. 2.

¹⁷⁸ Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 100, 103.

¹⁷⁹ Scheid, *Historic Pasadena*, 47.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁸¹ Delgado and Ripley, *Pasadena’s Bungalow Heaven*, 9–13.

oriented. Early development occurred around the Los Angeles and San Gabriel Railroad, whose tracks ran through the center of the growing town.¹⁸²

Railroad magnate Henry Huntington, then vice-president of the Southern Pacific Railroad, visited Southern California in 1892, staying in San Marino adjacent to Pasadena. Enamored of the area, in 1903 he bought San Marino Ranch with an eye to develop it into a “utopia of high culture.”¹⁸³ Huntington and his wife Arabella’s vast collections of fine art, historic books, and manuscripts, and their French Classical mansion and elaborate private gardens, were all incorporated as a trust in 1919 to become the world renowned Huntington Library, the culmination of this cultural dream.¹⁸⁴ Meanwhile, Huntington along with a group of investors had formed the interurban Pacific Electric Railway in 1901, which ultimately served the entire Los Angeles basin and linked Pasadena and other areas of northeast Los Angeles to the metro area.¹⁸⁵ With this interurban access added to the link to intercontinental rail set up by the Los Angeles and San Gabriel Valley Railroad Company in 1885,¹⁸⁶ Pasadena became a desirable location not only for its genteel beauty but also its modern conveniences. Huntington also became a real estate developer, forming a land company in 1901 and creating lucrative communities across the region including the Oak Knoll subdivision of Pasadena and Oneonta Park in South Pasadena.¹⁸⁷ Even more influential for Pasadena’s growth was

¹⁸² ProQuest, Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867–1970, Pasadena, June 1887, Sheet 1.

¹⁸³ Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 105–6.

¹⁸⁴ The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, “About the Huntington” <http://www.huntington.org/about/>. Last accessed March 17, 2017.

¹⁸⁵ William B. Friedrichs, *Henry E. Huntington and the Creation of Southern California* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1992), 6.

¹⁸⁶ Delgado and Ripley, *Pasadena’s Bungalow Heaven*, 21.

¹⁸⁷ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 122.

Huntington's control of water supplies through his San Gabriel Valley Water Company.¹⁸⁸

On the western periphery of Pasadena, the Arroyo Seco remained “thick with sycamores, oak, willows ... providing Pasadenans with a ready-made wilderness retreat.”¹⁸⁹ This area has retained its “wilderness” aesthetic to this day, even after significant development of homes along the edge of the arroyo, with unconventional architects and artistic residents.¹⁹⁰ Thus the Arroyo Seco came to represent both the bohemian side of the Pasadena lifestyle and the growing Craftsman aesthetic, as many Craftsman proponents and artists (including Ernest Batchelder, tile maker, and Charles Fletcher Lummis, journalist and editor) chose to build homes in this less genteel area.¹⁹¹

Eclecticism reigned in architectural tastes in the first decades of the twentieth century, particularly for single-family homes, and Pasadena was no exception. The Feyneses built a Moorish castle;¹⁹² Mission Revival homes reflected a romanticized vision of early Spanish California;¹⁹³ Arts and Crafts homes had Swiss Chalet, Tudor, Cotswold cottage, Colonial Revival, or Georgian Revival elements.¹⁹⁴ The Los Angeles region, and specifically Pasadena, followed the national trend toward regional vernacular architecture, in this case the California Craftsman along with Mediterranean and Spanish/Mission Revival styles.¹⁹⁵ The bungalow—with its open floor plan and outdoor-

¹⁸⁸ Friedrichs, *Henry E. Huntington*, 12.

¹⁸⁹ Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 99.

¹⁹⁰ The arroyo itself remains a dry riverbed and is the site of a city park, the Rose Bowl stadium, and much parkland space. NRHP, Lower Arroyo Seco Historic District, section 7, p. 1.

¹⁹¹ Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 107ff.

¹⁹² Phillips, *Early Pasadena*, 50.

¹⁹³ NRHP, Residential Architecture of Pasadena, section E, p. 13.

¹⁹⁴ NRHP, Lower Arroyo Seco Historic District, section 7.

¹⁹⁵ Barbara Rubin, “A Chronology of Architecture in Los Angeles,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 67, no. 4 (1977):525–32.

oriented porches, patios, and many windows as well as its construction with exposed rafters, interior moldings, and stained wood exteriors—reflected a vision of Southern California as a verdant paradise of trees and gardens triumphing over the semiarid native ecosystem, as by the early 1900s “the gardens of Southern California had asserted themselves as vivid icons of local identity.”¹⁹⁶ Bungalows were uniquely suited for the climate, in particular aligning with the Craftsman vision of houses harmonizing with their natural surroundings, or as Gustav Stickley put it, a wise architect “will not implant amid the semi-tropical foliage of California such architecture, for instance, as the Queen Anne or the Elizabethan.”¹⁹⁷

In contrast to the other towns in this study, Pasadena’s bungalow neighborhoods arose in large part from speculative development. Developers such as the Coast Construction Company, the City Builders Investment Company of Los Angeles, Albert Mercer, James Hamilton Gaut, Edward Daniell, and Walter Waldock each built dozens of bungalows as investment opportunities (although some of these builders also constructed homes on commission for specific buyers), alongside numerous builders responsible for a handful of homes each.¹⁹⁸

Pasadena today boasts of dozens of neighborhoods and house courts on the National Register of Historic Places, reflecting its importance as an exemplar of well-preserved early twentieth-century architecture. Three of these historic districts will give

¹⁹⁶ Starr, *Material Dreams*, 184–89.

¹⁹⁷ 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): 73. <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.hdv13n01>.

¹⁹⁸ Delgado and Ripley, *Pasadena’s Bungalow Heaven*, chapters 2 and 3.

us a quantitative picture of the popularity of the bungalow as well as the residents from throughout the economic spectrum who chose to live in these houses.

Lower Arroyo Seco and South Marengo Historic Districts

The Lower Arroyo Seco and South Marengo districts contain numerous Arts and Crafts houses designed by many of the most important architects of the region and the time, including Louis B. Easton and the Greene brothers.¹⁹⁹ The location itself, its topography, the trees and rocks themselves inspired builders who followed the Arts and Crafts principles drawing inspiration from and conforming to the natural surroundings as well as using materials found on site to construct their houses.²⁰⁰ These houses were built for upper-middle- and upper-class residents, including Arts and Crafts artists, architects, and designers, including tile maker Ernest Batchelder and painters Franz Bischoff and Elmer Wachtel.²⁰¹ This contrasts with houses in other Pasadena districts that typically reflected more modest, middle-class incomes.

The houses in these neighborhoods are remarkably well preserved and the area as whole has retained a high degree of architectural and streetscape integrity over time. These characteristics make the two districts of statewide and national importance for historic preservation, specifically as exemplars of Arts and Crafts and Craftsman bungalow architecture.²⁰²

Of the 90 contributing houses listed in the NRHP application, 87 are identified as bungalows (Craftsman, Airplane, California variants) or Arts and Crafts style built prior

¹⁹⁹ NRHP, Lower Arroyo Seco Historic District, section 7, p. 1.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 3.

²⁰¹ Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, chapter 4.

²⁰² NRHP, Lower Arroyo Seco Historic District, sections 7 and 8; South Marengo Historic District, sections 7 and 8.

to 1920. I was able to identify occupations for 63 residents in the 1920 Federal Census (Appendix 2, Table 2.1). The data show a remarkable pattern among residents of this district, one not replicated in any other district analyzed in Pasadena or the other two Western towns in this study. Of the 63 bungalow residents identified in the 1920 Federal Census, none worked in unskilled labor, while 55 percent were either in a white-collar position with some training beyond basic education or had advanced education (such as physicians or attorneys) or were a business owner. The most surprising result of the data analysis is the 35 percent who indicated no employment at the time of the census (Appendix 2, Table 2.1). While this could represent actual unemployment, given the overall economic status of residents and the custom-built homes that predominated the neighborhood, it is more likely that these residents were independently wealthy or retired. Thus the Lower Arroyo Seco and South Marengo neighborhoods reflect the high-income end of the spectrum of bungalow residents. More evidence of this is the relatively low density of the neighborhoods with large building footprints set in spacious lots.²⁰³

Bungalow Heaven District

A significant portion of residential development in 1920s Pasadena occurred in the Bungalow Heaven neighborhood. In contrast with the Arroyo Seco area in which more wealthy residents commissioned homes from well-known architects, Bungalow Heaven reflects the strong growth of the middle class in the United States in the early twentieth century. The approximately 16 blocks in the northeast area of the city were developed by

²⁰³ ProQuest, Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867–1970, Pasadena, 1910, volume 2, sheets 173, 195–96.

local builders, small-scale developers, and individuals who found pleasing plans in pattern books.²⁰⁴

Of the 686 houses listed in the NRHP application, 506 are identified as contributing bungalows (Craftsman, English Revival, Colonial Revival, Spanish Revival, Massed Plan Vernacular, Airplane) or Arts and Crafts style, and of those 403 were constructed prior to 1920. I was able to identify 228 residents in the 1920 Federal Census (Appendix 2, Table 2.1). In contrast to the more elite nature of the Lower Arroyo Seco/South Marengo neighborhoods, Bungalow Heaven residents' occupations in 1920 were almost evenly split among all the groupings. The executive/professional and administrative/trained groupings accounted for 20 percent each, skilled labor 18 percent, labor 17 percent, and no employment 25 percent (Appendix 2, Table 2.2). Proximity to Throop Polytechnic Institute (now California Institute of Technology) attracted many professors to this neighborhood as well as architects, astronomers at Mt. Wilson Observatory, and many other highly educated residents along with bank presidents, stockbrokers, and business owners. However, these more elite citizens' next-door neighbors could be anyone from a church janitor to a police officer to a bookkeeper (Appendix 2, Figure 2.3).

Summary

The map and chart in Appendix 2, Figure 2.3, demonstrate that Pasadena's overall population in 1920 was a mixture of all economic categories. However, a surprisingly high number of census respondents who lived in bungalows reported no employment on the census. This likely represents both some actual lack of employment and, to a higher

²⁰⁴ NRHP, Bungalow Heaven Historic District, section 8, 3.

degree, those with enough wealth to not need to work. This may reflect the city's origins as a resort and retirement destination, tempered by the influx of middle-class residents already begun in 1920. Neighborhoods in Pasadena demonstrate no separation between occupation types within their geographical boundaries. Bungalow Heaven has a particularly even distribution, while few Lower Arroyo Seco/South Marengo residents worked as laborers of any kind. Overall, bungalow residents in these Pasadena neighborhoods were predominantly in the administrative/trained (22%) and executive professional (21%) categories, with much smaller numbers of skilled laborers (10%) and laborers (12%). The number of not employed residents (35%) is an anomaly among the cities in this study.

While the Bungalow Heaven neighborhood was clearly platted in a regular manner, with perpendicular streets and evenly sized blocks, the Arroyo Seco and South Marengo are more freeform as they abut the natural boundary of the riverbed to the west. So too are these neighborhoods known for their less homogeneous architecture, a mixture of bungalows and earlier Arts and Crafts styles, and one-of-a-kind designs commissioned from prominent architects. Thus these neighborhoods, and their architecture, reflect differing values—and differing income levels—of many of their inhabitants.

Missoula, Montana

The roots of Missoula, Montana, reflect the greater patterns of development in early Montana: exploration, trade, and the railroad.²⁰⁵ Major Native American trails to access seasonal buffalo hunts and bitterroot harvests crossed in the Missoula Valley and were

²⁰⁵ Michael P. Malone, Richard B. Roeder, and William L. Lang, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991).

used by Euro-American explorers, including the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1806.²⁰⁶ By 1860 the area had a trading post supporting the fur trade and government survey teams, placed near the Native trail crossing as well as a military road.²⁰⁷ This settlement became Hellgate Village, named after the nearby Hellgate Canyon.²⁰⁸ Missoula proper developed about four miles west, near Rattlesnake Creek where a sawmill and flour mill could support the growing community of homesteaders and miners (thus its earliest name, Missoula Mills).²⁰⁹ Gold rushes through the 1860s brought miners to the area, many of whom became permanent residents, yet growth stagnated despite the erection of Fort Missoula in 1877.²¹⁰ Only with the coming of the railroad in the 1880s would Missoula expand and flourish, growing to a population of over 3,400 by 1890.²¹¹

After decades of unsuccessful negotiations by the government to gain control of the Bitterroots, the Salish people of the region were forcibly removed to a reservation by an executive order of President Grant in 1871 to facilitate the use of the valley as part of a rail route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean.²¹²

The Northern Pacific Railroad reached Missoula in 1883. A rail depot serving passengers and freight was built six years later, reflecting Missoula's transition to a major

²⁰⁶ Allan James Mathews, *Guide to Historic Missoula* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002), 9.

²⁰⁷ Mathews, *Guide to Historic Missoula*, 12–13.

²⁰⁸ Judge F. H. Woody, "A Sketch of the Early History of Western Montana," in *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, vol. 2 (Helena, MT: State Publishing Company, 1896), 99. Available at <https://archive.org/details/contributionstohvol2hist1896rich>, last accessed March 8, 2017.

²⁰⁹ Woody, "A Sketch of the Early History of Western Montana," 103.

²¹⁰ Mathews, *Guide to Historic Missoula*, 17–20.

²¹¹ "Census Bulletin No. 33: Population of Montana by Counties and Minor Civil Divisions" (Washington, DC: US Census Bureau, 1901), 4. <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/bulletins/demographic/33-population-mt.pdf>, last accessed March 8, 2017.

²¹² Mathews, *Guide to Historic Missoula*, 11.

transportation hub for western Montana.²¹³ The arrival of the railroad led to a building boom with the city rapidly spreading south of the Clark Fork River (previously known in this area as the Missoula River). Large commercial buildings such as the Hammond Building, Missoula Mercantile, and the First National Bank of Missoula came to dominate the downtown area, while residential developments were platted south of the Higgins Avenue and Madison Street bridges.²¹⁴

Wealthy investors dominated Missoula's early development, reflecting the financial attractions of the growing trade center. Developer and bank president Christopher Higgins, merchant and developer Frank Worden, merchant and lumber magnate Andrew Hammond, merchant Richard Eddy, railroad baron and lumber magnate Edward Bonner, copper magnates Marcus Daly and William Clark, judge Hiram Knowles, and state legislator Washington McCormick all owned and developed land in the area as well as invested in major businesses in Missoula.²¹⁵ In this way Missoula's beginnings parallel Pasadena's early development via private investment but contrasts with Pocatello's early direct development by railroad companies and smaller-scale investment.

For the following analysis I focus on three designated historic districts of Missoula: the University Area, McCormick Neighborhood, and Lower Rattlesnake.²¹⁶ These neighborhoods reflect different geographical as well as socioeconomic sectors of Missoula, and different periods in the city's development.

²¹³ Stan B. Cohen, *Images of America: Missoula* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2013), 35.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 21ff.

²¹⁵ Mathews, *Guide to Historic Missoula*, 21, 22, 29, 37,

²¹⁶ I will refer throughout to the neighborhoods by their National Register of Historic Places designations. Some neighborhoods are known colloquially by slightly different names (e.g., the "College Neighborhood" rather than the formal "Idaho State University Neighborhood Historic District").

University Area Historic District

Although the University district contains many elaborate houses on large lots and has been promoted from the beginning as a choice residential area, this neighborhood in actuality reflects a mix of wealthy and more modest residents. The largest homes generally are the oldest, dating from the 1890s and located along Gerald Avenue and 5th Street East, although several of these were demolished in the mid-twentieth century to facilitate new development, including the Hellgate School annex and an additional to Hellgate High School.²¹⁷

Many civic and business leaders invested in the property upon its development in the late 1800s, and beautification efforts in the early 1900s created a neighborhood with extensive green space and mature trees. During this time an additional street improvement district was organized by residents to finance street paving and concrete sidewalk installation along University Avenue, reflecting the concern neighborhood residents had to maintain modern and pleasing surroundings (and the ability to pay for them).²¹⁸ The earliest homes reflect the dominant architectural taste of the time, including Queen Anne and Colonial Revival styles. Numerous Tudor, Craftsman bungalow, and Prairie-style houses reflect later tastes, with various other styles including Spanish Eclectic and Modern mixed in.²¹⁹

One house located just outside the official boundary of the NRHP University area demonstrates both the appeal of the neighborhood to early Missoula residents and the equally popular Craftsman bungalow style. In 1911, the *Daily Missoulian* newspaper ran

²¹⁷ NRHP University Area District, section 7, p. 2.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

a subscription sales contest for which the grand prize was a custom-built Craftsman bungalow. The winner (the contest was open only to women over age 16) was built a house at 222 Central Avenue, on a double lot. That a bungalow would be a grand prize, that women across western Montana vied to win it, and that the newspaper chose the University area for it all attest to the prosperity and attraction of the neighborhood and the popularity of the bungalow in the early twentieth century.²²⁰

Notably, the NRHP application for the University district mentions that in this neighborhood “bungalows, in particular, vary greatly in size and appear to cross economic and social status lines more commonly than other architectural designs,”²²¹ and goes on to reference the *Daily Missoulian* newspaper, which asserted “Not residences are they, but homes. . . . These charming homes of Missoula are all intended for comfort and service rather than for show.”²²² These statements are borne out by my analysis of census data from 1920 Missoula. Of the 611 houses listed in the NRHP application, 80 are identified as contributing bungalows, Craftsman, Mission, or Prairie style. I was able to identify 57 residents of these addresses in the 1920 Federal Census, or 71 percent (Appendix 3, Table 3.1). The vast majority of University district residents were employed in the executive/professional and administrative/trained domains, including university professors, mine and ranch owners, doctors, and bank presidents along with police officers, post office clerks, and store managers. Only two laborers were identified in this sample, a blast furnace operator and a carpenter, while a handful of skilled laborers

²²⁰ “The Big Contest,” *Daily Missoulian*, March 15, 1911, p. 8.
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025316/1911-03-15/ed-1/seq-8/>, last accessed March 7, 2017.

²²¹ NRHP University Area District, section 7, p. 1.

²²² *Daily Missoulian*, December 15, 1912, Holiday Edition, “In Women’s Realm” section, p. 1.
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025316/1912-12-15/ed-1/seq-25/>, last accessed March 7, 2017.

included salesmen and a boilermaker (Appendix 3, Figure 3.1). Significantly, despite the preponderance of educated and prosperous residents, mapping shows that there was no geographic segregation between these groups within the University district, reiterating the broad appeal of the bungalow noted in the NRHP application statement mentioned above.

McCormick Neighborhood

The McCormick area developed in tandem with the commercial growth of Missoula's downtown core. Primarily residential, the neighborhood housed large numbers of downtown workers and "helped serve as a catalyst for the developing city."²²³ The area's growth dates to the 1890s, when the land south of the Clark Fork River was platted (doubling the city's footprint to 1,200 acres) and bridges soon linked the area to downtown.²²⁴ The majority of the houses in the McCormick neighborhood, however, were built between 1902 and 1912,²²⁵ with all but a few lots filled by the 1920s.²²⁶ As early as 1909, cement sidewalks were installed throughout the area,²²⁷

The neighborhood is characterized primarily by working-class to moderate middle-class houses. During the early twentieth century a majority of residents had at least one person renting either part of the main house or a smaller second building on the lot (often former stables or other outbuildings converted after the rise of automobile transportation).²²⁸ Although the McCormick neighborhood is relatively close to the

²²³ NRHP McCormick Neighborhood District, section 7, p. 1.

²²⁴ "Fair Missoula," *Helena Weekly Herald*, November 28, 1889, 6.

²²⁵ ProQuest, Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867–1970, Missoula, July 1912, sheets 23, 27–28.

²²⁶ ProQuest, Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867–1970, Missoula, 1921, sheets 43–46.

²²⁷ "Notice to Property Owners to Construct Sidewalks," *Daily Missoulian*, September 5, 1909, 6.

²²⁸ NRHP McCormick Neighborhood District, section 7, pp. 2–3.

University of Montana to its east, students have never comprised a large number of renters in the area, perhaps because the rentals were predominated by employees of the nearby commercial and light industrial zones along the railroad tracks to the west and north.²²⁹

Of the 339 houses listed in the NRHP application, 29 are identified as contributing Craftsman or Prairie style. Of those, 16 were listed as built prior to 1920, and I was able to identify 12 residents of these addresses in the 1920 Federal Census, or 75 percent (Appendix 3, Table 3.1). Of the three Missoula districts analyzed here, the McCormick district had the most evenly distributed occupational groups, with the highest categories being laborers at 33 percent and administrative/trained at 25 percent (Appendix 3, Figure 3.1). The handful of bungalow residents included an architect, two carpenters, a stenographer, and a druggist. This economic distribution along with the high numbers of rental properties underscores the strong appeal of bungalows to a middle-class base even in the earlier period of their popularity before 1915. The McCormick district, with its proximity to the commercial downtown core, served as a residential base for much of Missoula's middle class as well as providing affordable rentals for laborers.

Lower Rattlesnake

The Lower Rattlesnake Historic District lies at the confluence of Rattlesnake Creek and the Clark Fork River, northeast of the Missoula city center. As noted in the city history in the introduction to this section on Missoula, the earliest settlement in the area was a trading post at the mouth of Rattlesnake Creek. Not long after, the Missoula Mills

²²⁹ ProQuest, Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867–1970, Missoula, 1921, sheets 42–44, 72.

sawmill along the creek formed the seed for the future city of Missoula, with the creek providing the earliest consistent water supply for settlement.²³⁰

Development of the Lower Rattlesnake began in the 1880s, particularly after the platting of the Town Company and Woody additions, and the arrival of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1883 that increased the population and thus demand for housing.²³¹ By the early 1900s the neighborhood became more built up, including close to one hundred homes and a public school.²³² In 1902 the Greenough family, prominent Lower Rattlesnake residents, donated 20 acres of land to the city to become a public park, which amenity likely contributed to the addition of a number of middle-class residents to what had generally been a working-class neighborhood.²³³

Of the 188 houses listed in the NRHP application, 24 are identified as contributing bungalows, Craftsman, or Prairie style. I was able to identify 9 residents' occupations in the 1920 Federal Census (Appendix 3, Table 3.3). These occupations split between laborers with the railroad and a teamster, and skilled labor with the railroad and sales (Appendix 3, Figure 3.3). It is possible, given the approximation of dates in the NRHP application, that bungalows were built later than 1920 in this neighborhood, leading to the low number of residents identified in this data set. This also suggests that the middle-class fraction of Lower Rattlesnake residents moved to the neighborhood in later years.

²³⁰ NRHP Lower Rattlesnake Historic District, section 8, p. 1.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 3–4.

²³² ProQuest, Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867–1970, Missoula, 1902, sheets 20–22.

²³³ 1907 Polk City Directory, Missoula, quoted in NRHP Lower Rattlesnake Historic District, section 8, p. 1

Summary

In the map and chart in Appendix 3, Figure 3.4, we see Missoula's bungalow residents worked in all occupational categories, and few reported no employment (less than 5%). The majority were employed in executive/professional (34%) and administrative/trained (33%) occupations, followed by skilled labor (17%) and laborers (13%). While neighborhoods across Missoula demonstrated no separation between occupation types within their geographical boundaries in 1920, there were significant differences between neighborhoods in the overall distribution of occupational groups. The McCormick neighborhood shows a fairly even distribution of around 15% to 35% in all categories. The Lower Rattlesnake district had no executive/professionals at all, and almost 45% in the laborer and 35% in the skilled labor categories. The University district reveals the opposite, with less than 5% laborers and over 40% executive professional and 35% administrative/trained.

These strong differences between the neighborhoods suggest that while Missoula's economy remained strong and diverse, industry, commerce, and the university remained geographically separate within the city. The low proportion of respondents claiming no employment also underscores the strength and diversity of Missoula's economy. Housing clearly remained affordable through the early twentieth century for most Missoula citizens, and even significant numbers of laborers of very modest incomes could reside in single-family homes, including the popular bungalow.

Pocatello, Idaho

The physical development of a town and its early economic structure go hand in hand. In the US West, many towns developed along transportation routes. Pocatello was no exception, located near a major stop on the Oregon Trail and later intercontinental and regional rail routes. The railroad, along with the local topography, strongly influenced both Pocatello's development pattern and its economy. The following brief history of early Pocatello will serve as a backdrop for the development of its various residential neighborhoods, explain in part the geographic distribution of various house types through the early twentieth century, and situate Pocatello within the larger development patterns of the Western United States.

In the mid-1800s what was then the Idaho territory was sparsely populated. Use of the Oregon Trail to reach the Pacific region had declined, but settlement within the northern Rocky Mountain region was increasing because of expansion of logging and mining and significant numbers of Mormon settlers from the south.²³⁴ The future Pocatello area provided stagecoach station locations at Old Fort Hall and Pocatello Creek, serving the route from Salt Lake City to Butte, Montana, as a mail delivery route and passenger line.²³⁵

In the 1870s the Utah and Northern Railroad began to encroach into the Fort Hall Indian Reservation from the south, reaching the reservation by 1878²³⁶ and in 1884 its terminus at the junction with the Northern Pacific in Garrison, Montana, to serve

²³⁴ For a comprehensive overview of early Idaho, see Schwantes, *In Mountain Shadows*.

²³⁵ Arthur C. Saunders, *The History of Bannock County Idaho* (Pocatello: Tribune Company, 1915), 88.

²³⁶ Betty Hale, *The History of Bannock County: 1893–1993*, vol 1. (Logan, UT: Herff Jones, 1993), 164.

Montana mining operations.²³⁷ This railroad line threaded through the Portneuf Canyon, the only pass from either the east or the south into the Snake River Plain and points west and north.²³⁸ In 1881 the Oregon Short Line's (OSL) standard gauge railroad paralleled the Utah and Northern narrow gauge line through the canyon, linking Wyoming with Oregon through southern Idaho,²³⁹ while in that same year the Utah and Northern reached the booming mining town of Butte, Montana.²⁴⁰

Approximately 30 miles southeast of the Fort Hall site, at the mouth of the Portneuf Valley, the OSL established Pocatello Junction in 1882, through an agreement with the Shoshone-Bannock tribe to cede forty acres for the railroad right-of-way. At first marked by a single boxcar, the station soon featured a depot and a hotel, and temporary housing (in some cases mere tents) for workers along the railroad line.²⁴¹ In 1886, twenty-four houses were shipped from Omaha to Pocatello Junction as worker housing.²⁴² As the station added services such as a fuel and water station, the forty acres grew crowded, and by 1887 when the Utah and Northern began moving its railroad repair shops to Pocatello from Eagle Rock (present-day Idaho Falls, fifty miles to the north), the additional workers began encroaching illegally on reservation land. The Shoshone-Bannock ceded more land to the railroad, doubling the site, and then sold over 1,800 acres to the federal government to form what became the Pocatello townsite in 1888.²⁴³

²³⁷ Robert Wrigley, Jr., "The Early History of Pocatello, Idaho," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (1943): 328–29.

²³⁸ Hale, *History of Bannock County*, 163.

²³⁹ Robert Wrigley, Jr., "Pocatello, Idaho as a Railroad Center," *Economic Geography* 19, no. 4 (1943): 329.

²⁴⁰ Schwantes, *In Mountain Shadows*, 83.

²⁴¹ Hale, *History of Bannock County*, 164.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, xvi.

²⁴³ Wrigley, "Early History of Pocatello," 359.

The site was surveyed and platted with streets parallel and perpendicular to the railroad tracks, as in most railroad towns across the West. Thus the grid runs northeast–southwest along the OSL right of way. Home sites were finally sold in 1891.²⁴⁴ Oscar Sonnenkalb, a surveyor, civil engineer, and early resident of Idaho, commented that Pocatello was laid out by Land Office clerks rather than civil engineers, so that blocks in grids on either side of the railroad tracks formed the city with no regard to city planning and in effect created separate villages to the west and east.²⁴⁵ G. Nicholas Ifft Sr. in a 1944 article recalled his personal experience of political rivalries between candidates from the eastern and western sides of the tracks in the mayoral election of 1893, splitting the Republican vote.²⁴⁶

Pocatello's growth was constrained by the surrounding Fort Hall Reservation and the narrow Portneuf Valley, less than five miles wide at any point. On the western side of the valley, development was literally blocked by the West Bench foothills.²⁴⁷ The town remained primarily a railroad hub and had relatively little agricultural development, unlike nearby, more fertile and accessible areas. The downtown business district developed near the railroad, and locals chose the west side of the valley between the railroad and the Portneuf River for the first residential neighborhoods.²⁴⁸ Front Street along the railroad featured saloons, gambling establishments, liquor and cigar stores, and brothels—reflecting the preponderance of unmarried, relatively transient railroad men in

²⁴⁴ Hale, *History of Bannock County*, 164–65.

²⁴⁵ Paul Karl Link and E. Chilton Phoenix, *Rocks, Rails, and Trails: The Geology, Geography, & History of Eastern Idaho* (Pocatello: Idaho Museum of Natural History, 1996), 117.

²⁴⁶ George Nicholas Ifft Sr., "Looking Backward in Pocatello," *Pocatello Tribune*, December 31, 1944, 4.

²⁴⁷ Link and Phoenix, *Rocks, Rails, and Trails*, 113.

²⁴⁸ Hale, *History of Bannock County*, 165.

the population at this time, as the OSL was the only employer of significant size.²⁴⁹ Thus many permanent residents of Pocatello sought to avoid the rougher downtown area by settling farther to the west against the foothills. In addition to the physical separation of Pocatello by the railroad tracks, the west and east sides developed different “personalities” through informally enforced segregation of ethnic minorities to the northeast area adjacent to the railroad round house, later known as the Triangle District.²⁵⁰

Although the city graded its original platted streets in 1900, it was not until 1911 that the ungraveled streets of the business district were finally paved, but surrounding neighborhood streets remained unpaved by 1920.²⁵¹ Development on the east side of the railroad tracks was facilitated by the installation of a viaduct over the railroad tracks at Center Street in 1911.²⁵² By this time the west side neighborhoods were filling in while the east side of the valley was still sparsely populated with houses “widely spaced with large areas of open country,” despite the impetus for development provided by the Academy of Idaho that opened in 1902.²⁵³ While the 1900 Federal Census noted a population of just over 4,000, that number increased by 125 percent in 1910 and reached

²⁴⁹ The September 1892 Sanborn fire insurance maps of Pocatello document seven saloons along First Street and Pocatello Avenue along the railroad tracks as well as “female boarding” houses on the eastern end of First Street (sheets 1 and 2). Given that the vast majority of Pocatello residents at this time were single men, it is likely these boarding houses were in reality brothels. This is reiterated by R.B. Bistline in his article “2nd Toughest Town: Saloons, Prostitutes, and Skinned Cats” in the Centennial Edition of the *Idaho State Journal*, June 21, 1982, section 1, p. 12.

²⁵⁰ See Idaho Purce, Mary Sanders Watkins, and Kevin R. Marsh, *The Triangle: A Slice of America* (Pocatello, ID: City of Pocatello, Planning & Development Services, 2005).

²⁵¹ Hale, *History of Bannock County*, xxi, 170, 173.

²⁵² H. Leigh Gittins, *Pocatello Portrait: The Early Years, 1878 to 1929* (Moscow: University Press of Idaho, 1983), 109.

²⁵³ Robert L. Wrigley Jr., *The Occupational Structure of Pocatello, Idaho* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1942), 94.

15,000 residents by 1920,²⁵⁴ the town growing substantially as the areas of North Pocatello, West Pocatello, East Pocatello, Fairview, and Pocatello Heights were annexed.²⁵⁵ As the Academy developed into the Idaho Technical Institute in 1915 and the University of Idaho, Southern Branch in 1927, the eastern Pocatello neighborhoods filled in, with numerous Craftsman bungalows alongside other popular styles such as Colonial Revival and Tudor Revival.

By 1915 problems with municipal water supplies—water rights had been controlled by a single private owner²⁵⁶—and street paving were largely resolved, and the “ample supply of water, of electric power, [and] street car service” facilitated population growth.²⁵⁷ By 1923 railroad activity had greatly increased, making Pocatello a major regional hub for railroad repair and passenger and freight service.²⁵⁸ The city boasted a more ethnically diverse population than most other Idaho cities, even as its economy depended almost entirely on the railroad until much later in the twentieth century.²⁵⁹

This study focuses on three neighborhoods of Pocatello, designated as historic districts on the National Register of Historic Places: the Westside Residential District, the Lincoln Johnson Avenues Area Residential District, and the Idaho State University Neighborhood District. These neighborhoods serve as a snapshot of the development of Pocatello, in particular its domestic architecture of the first three decades of the twentieth century. I will contextualize each neighborhood within the early history of Pocatello as

²⁵⁴ “Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Bulletin, Population: Idaho,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1921), 2

²⁵⁵ Hale, *History of Bannock County*, xxv.

²⁵⁶ A significant portion of Gittins’s *Pocatello Portrait* discusses water rights throughout the earliest decades of Pocatello history, including chapters 7–20.

²⁵⁷ Saunders, *History of Bannock County Idaho*, 131.

²⁵⁸ Wrigley, “Pocatello, Idaho as a Railroad Center,” 334.

²⁵⁹ Schwantes, *In Mountain Shadows*, 113.

well as with greater trends in the western United States, and compare these neighborhoods to each other to illustrate major findings of the research.

Westside Residential Historic District

The Westside district is one of the oldest in Pocatello, part of the original platted townsite of 1889. Its development as a residential neighborhood reflects citizens' desire to live at some remove to the northwest of the railroad hub and downtown core. Like many areas of Pocatello, its "eclectic blend of architectural styles and types of housing [reflect] a wide variation in the social and economic backgrounds of its population."²⁶⁰ As in many of the older areas of the city, generally unplanned, decentralized development led to this mixture of styles and house sizes, as no one architect or builder was responsible for a large number of houses. However, a few blocks in this neighborhood suggest some cohesion in development, probably by a single developer or builder, including three bungalows on West Custer Street and six bungalows on North Hayes Street.²⁶¹ Although the residences in the Westside neighborhood were built anywhere from the late 1890s through the early 1950s, the majority were erected in the early decades of the twentieth century, and thus bungalows as a popular house type of the time are well represented.

The houses along Garfield Avenue are the most elaborate and were built by prominent residents, including the historic Queen Anne/Chateausque Standrod Mansion and several Prairie School–influenced houses built by important Pocatello architect Frank Paradise for upper-middle-class business owners. Although the majority of bungalows in the neighborhood are more modest in size and detail, a two-story Craftsman on North

²⁶⁰ NRHP Westside District, section 7, p. 1.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 2.

Garfield fits in with the other imposing homes nearby. These larger homes are the exception, however, with the vast majority serving as “homes to large numbers of railroad workers, clerks, merchants, and middle-class professionals.”²⁶² Seven multifamily structures built in the 1920s and later reflect the national post–World War I housing deficit and the local increase in population and economic development at that time.

Of the 187 houses listed in the NRHP application, 43 are identified as contributing bungalows, or Craftsman or Prairie-style buildings. Of these, 12 had identifiable occupations in the 1920 census (Appendix 4, Table 4.1). The data analysis of this fraction suggests that the majority of Westside residents in 1920 were skilled workers and laborers, with railroad and lumber company workers, salesmen, sawyers and painters, and druggists predominating (Appendix 4, Figure 4.1). One executive/professional, an attorney, and one person with a white-collar position, a lumber company manager, represented the more educated and higher prestige economic sectors in this data sample. Despite the presence of some grand residents, the overall character of this neighborhood is one of working- and lower-middle-class homes modest in size reflecting the desire for single-family homes that pervaded all economic groups at this time.

Lincoln-Johnson Avenues Residential Historic District

The Lincoln-Johnson district, named after its most prominent north-south avenues, is contained within the original Pocatello townsite and the Olive Addition, bounded by the West Bench to the west and the Portneuf River on the east.²⁶³ Although the townsite was

²⁶² Ibid., 4.

²⁶³ NRHP Lincoln-Johnson district, section 7, p. 1.

platted for development as early as 1889 and the Olive Addition in 1902 (annexed by Pocatello in 1903),²⁶⁴ significant building in the neighborhood did not occur until after World War I—likely due to building restrictions during the war and the postwar housing shortage.²⁶⁵ Sanborn fire insurance maps in 1900 do not include this area, and those of 1907 show only a few buildings near Center Street in the neighborhood.²⁶⁶ Multiple-family houses, including fifteen with bungalow characteristics as well as the Riverside Hotel boarding house, were constructed between 1915 and 1920 to address the city’s housing needs. Thus unlike the Westside district’s variety of house styles in which bungalows comprise only 23 percent, bungalows form the majority of dwellings built during this time in the Lincoln-Johnson neighborhood, as they were both a highly popular style and affordable for all economic groups.²⁶⁷

Many Lincoln-Johnson residents worked for the OSL, yet the neighborhood also featured employees of Pocatello General Hospital, constructed in the neighborhood in 1907 until its demolition in 1956. Other nonresidential properties included the 1899 hydroelectric powerhouse along the Portneuf River, the 1926 County Veterans Memorial Building, and a variety of small businesses and light industries.

Of the 291 houses listed in the NRHP application, 123 are identified as contributing bungalows, Craftsman, or Prairie style. Occupations for 65 of these residents were listed in the 1920 Federal Census (Appendix 4, Table 4.2). Of those, the majority held jobs in skilled labor and administrative/trained positions, primarily railroad workers but also numerous salesmen and white collar positions such as accountants, teachers, and

²⁶⁴ Gittins, *Pocatello Portrait*, 75.

²⁶⁵ “City Loses Population Because of House Shortage,” *Pocatello Tribune*, May 31, 1919, p. 2.

²⁶⁶ ProQuest, Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867–1970, Pocatello, April 1900, Index Sheet 1; September 1907, Sheet 6.

²⁶⁷ NRHP Lincoln-Johnson district, section 7, p. 6.

bank tellers (Appendix 4, Figure 4.2). Thus this neighborhood served a more middle-class group of citizens than the Westside's emphasis on the working class, yet both districts abounded with bungalows.

Idaho State University Neighborhood Historic District

The latest of the three areas considered here to fully develop (for the most part filled in between 1906 and 1948),²⁶⁸ the University district abuts the current Idaho State University campus as well as the major east–west thoroughfares of Clark and Center streets on the district's northern edge. The university began as the Academy of Idaho in 1901, placed in what was entirely empty land on the eastern side of the valley far from the developed areas near the railroad tracks and central business and residential core. Significant housing was not built in the Academy area until the second decade of the 1900s, after the Center Street viaduct and Halliday subway crossing the railroad tracks created easy access between the western and eastern sides of town.²⁶⁹ By 1915 as the Academy expanded to become the Idaho Technical Institute, the area to the north and northwest of the Institute was rapidly filling in,²⁷⁰ followed by the area immediately east of campus by the early 1920s.²⁷¹

Within this architecturally eclectic neighborhood, the Colonial Revival style dominates, with significant numbers of Queen Anne, Craftsman bungalow, English Cottage, and Tudor Revival houses and smaller numbers of Mission Revival, Prairie,

²⁶⁸ NRHP University District, Continuation sheet, Item number 7, page 2.

²⁶⁹ Gittins, *Pocatello Portrait*, 109.

²⁷⁰ ProQuest, Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867–1970, Pocatello, July 1915, Sheet 26.

²⁷¹ ProQuest, Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867–1970, Pocatello, May 1921, sheets 33–34.

Pueblo Revival, and Moderne buildings.²⁷² Of major significance to historical study, this district is “the city’s least altered residential area from the first half of [the twentieth] century.”²⁷³

In contrast to the earlier-developed and more working-class districts on the west side of the city, the University district features “substantial and stylish . . . larger and more elaborate houses” built by prosperous town leaders.²⁷⁴ However, more modest houses, including Craftsman bungalows, were also built by middle-class residents during this period. Of the 295 houses listed in the NRHP application, 54 are contributing bungalows or Prairie-style buildings. Of those, I was able to identify a resident on the 1920 Federal Census for 38 addresses (Appendix 4, Table 4.3). Unlike the other two Pocatello neighborhoods studied here, the University neighborhood residents were predominantly employed as professionals or business owners and in administrative/trained positions (Appendix 4, Figure 4.3). Prominent Pocatello citizens living in bungalows or Prairie-style houses in the University neighborhood in 1920 included mayor William Whitaker, a bank president, and a district court judge, while their neighbors included instructors at the Idaho Technical Institute, store managers, and business owners.

Summary

The map and chart in Appendix 4, Figure 4.4, reveal the city’s heterogeneous socioeconomic and geographic character in 1920. The city economy focused both on its railroad hub and the Idaho Technical Institute, with a citywide construction and

²⁷² NRHP University District, section 7.

²⁷³ NRHP University District, section 8.

²⁷⁴ NRHP University District, section 8, continuation p. 1.

population boom at that time. There is little evident separation between occupation types within neighborhoods, although the University district population data skews toward the executive/professional category while the Westside and Lincoln-Johnson neighborhoods skew more toward labor and skilled labor. In this Pocatello resembles Missoula, in that it is generally mixed but with some differences between neighborhoods, particularly in geographical proximity to higher education institutions and railroad and industrial employment centers. Overall, bungalow residents in Pocatello at this time were predominantly skilled laborers (36%) followed closely by white collar positions (30%) and business owners and professionals with advanced education (21%). However, that laborers (10%) also lived in bungalows attests to their affordability and wide popularity across all income levels.

The occupational picture of the neighborhoods to the west reflects their proximity to the railroad yard and the downtown business core, while what became the University neighborhood served both the Idaho Technical Institute and nearby municipal and county offices. However, occupation details from the census data reveal prominent business owners living next door to railroad engineers, and university professors next to store clerks, regardless of neighborhood (Appendix 4, Figure 4.4). Even in neighborhoods with higher overall numbers on one end of the occupation spectrum (as in the high number of business owners and highly educated residents in the University district or the predominance of labor and skilled labor in the Westside district), there is virtually no geographic separation between these residents and their neighbors working in very different positions.

Conclusion

Craftsman bungalows' appeal crossed geographical and economic boundaries in the early twentieth-century United States. No longer publicized as widely in magazines, catalogs, and exhibits today—although magazines such as *American Bungalow* and *Cottages & Bungalows* show that an audience for them still exists—bungalows' high construction quality and sheer numbers allow these houses to remain dominant in the built landscape of many towns and neighborhoods across the country. In addition, the elite “ultimate bungalows” of architects like the Greene brothers in California or Frank Lloyd Wright in the Midwest remain as exemplars of Arts and Crafts design, continuing to inspire new domestic architecture, and new books and other publications, to this day.

Despite lower levels of public awareness of bungalows today, aficionados still enjoy the many mass-market books published to celebrate bungalow style as well as to assist renovators of these historic houses.²⁷⁵ As we have seen, books and articles on bungalows today are qualitative, looking at architecture and design rather than using quantitative data of any kind. They expound on the beauties of Craftsman style and their links to the Arts and Crafts Movement as well as allied forms of interior design. This applies even to scholarly work on Craftsman style as referenced throughout this study, which tends to focus on prominent architects, or on bungalows as part of broader social and historical trends such as consumerism, suburbanization, or Progressivism. In addition, most attention (both public and scholarly) focuses on the primary geographical

²⁷⁵ For example: M. Caren Connolly and Louis Wasserman, *Updating Classic America: Bungalows. Design Ideas for Renovating, Remodeling, and Building New* (Newtown, CT: Taunton, 2006); Robert Winter and Alexander Vertikoff, *American Bungalow Style* (New York: Archetype Press/Simon & Schuster, 2006); or Treena Crochet, *Bungalow Style: Creating Class Interiors in Your Arts and Crafts Home* (Newtown, CT: Taunton Press, 2005).

centers of bungalow design: Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Chicago and their surrounding areas, with some attention to East Coast origins. Thus we hear little of bungalows in small towns, or of large regions of the United States such as the South or the Intermountain West.

This study has bridged part of that gap in the scholarship by looking at bungalows in the Rocky Mountain towns of Missoula, Montana, and Pocatello, Idaho, in comparison with the well-studied Pasadena, California, and by using a quantitative analytical methods and data visualizations. The overall popularity of bungalows in the early twentieth-century United States is well established in the scholarly literature, as is their affordability that made them accessible to diverse economic groups, evidenced in both their marketing to lower income groups and the wide range of available house sizes and amenities. What has been less clearly understood is how the specifically egalitarian nature of the Craftsman bungalow fit into urban development patterns in the early 1900s. The focus on prominent architects as well as major metropolitan areas in most major general works on bungalows and/or the Arts and Crafts Movement limits the scope of understanding the bungalow phenomenon. Here I take a bottom-up approach typical in social and cultural history, wedded to geographical analysis, to illuminate the motives and power of the everyday homeowner. In this I follow Janet Ore's excellent analysis of Seattle, Washington, bungalow homeowners.²⁷⁶

Pocatello, Missoula, and Pasadena all developed in relation to railroad networks. In the case of Pasadena, both intercontinental and interurban railroads helped dictate the city's placement in the metropolitan Los Angeles area. Interurban rail networks allowed far-flung suburbs like Pasadena to connect to the city core, while intercontinental lines

²⁷⁶ Ore, *The Seattle Bungalow*.

made migration across the continent easy and affordable. In the two Rocky Mountain towns, localized rail was not a factor, but rather these towns were hubs for long-distance freight networks that served not only the western United States but the entire nation. In all three towns, residential neighborhoods were for the most part built at some distance to the rail lines that they depended on.

A further commonality I have demonstrated through the data analysis and visualizations presented here is that while all three towns had somewhat more prestigious and higher-income neighborhoods and somewhat lesser ones, in none of these neighborhoods was geographic separation of economic groups evident. More wealthy bungalow residents lived next door to less wealthy ones; more highly educated and trained residents shared blocks with laborers. While today we often view Craftsman bungalows as solidly middle-class housing, in the early 1900s during their heyday, bungalows were sought after by all parts of the economic spectrum. In addition, while Craftsman style's predecessor, the Arts and Crafts Movement, appealed to mainly upper-middle-class Britons, US bungalows reflect the relatively loose class structure in the United States. This broad appeal also for the most part fulfills one of the primary goals of the Arts and Crafts Movement, that all people should have beauty as well as utility in their homes (although at the same time contradicting the Arts and Crafts emphasis on hand-craftsmanship, in that bungalows were sometimes mass produced).

This study answers the questions put forth in the introduction. Who chose to live in bungalows and what were their occupations? We find that in 1920, bungalow occupants came from almost every part of the socioeconomic spectrum. Did bungalows appeal to specific groups of people or diverse consumers? At least in socioeconomic

terms, bungalow residents were quite diverse. Were these houses built by developers and land speculators, or by individual homeowners, or both? Aside from some geographic variation reflecting different paths of overall city development, all three cities studied here included small- or medium-scale development as well as individual builders. How does the geographical distribution of bungalows reflect greater trends in US history, such as the development of intercontinental and interurban railroads and suburbanization? We have seen that the cities studied here all depended on intercontinental rail for their very existence, and Pasadena also arose in relation to the interurban network of Los Angeles. Were they more prevalent in the growing suburbs, or did they also flourish in rural and small towns? It is clear that bungalows dominated the residential landscape of 1920 in both suburban and small town settings.

As this study has shown, almost every economic group in the United States chose Craftsman bungalow houses. The data analyzed here from historic neighborhood registries and censuses show that everyone from physicians and college professors to sales clerks and bookkeepers to carpenters and mechanics lived in bungalows in the early 1900s. The diversity, and the almost complete geographical mixing of economic groups, reflects the character of US society at the time in its lack of rigid class structures. While Dolores Hayden asserts that suburbia is not a “classless place,”²⁷⁷ the analysis here suggests that small towns that included suburban-style development patterns were in large part classless, at least in the geographic distribution of housing and in residents’ socioeconomic profiles. This distribution also reflects the growing consumer power during the period, and the high levels of single-family home ownership, even among laborers who, in urban settings, had before this typically rented multifamily housing in

²⁷⁷ Hayden, *Building Suburbia*, 5.

densely developed neighborhoods.²⁷⁸ While Pasadena was a suburb of Los Angeles, Pocatello and Missoula displayed suburban development patterns—the predominance of single-family houses, regular lot sizes, less density in favor of open space, placement of houses at a distance from the street—while not explicitly suburbs of a larger city. The ubiquity of bungalows within this suburban-style landscape reveals that this housing form was intrinsically connected to this greater trend in the early twentieth-century United States.

The Craftsman bungalow also followed efforts by Progressive reformers to provide not only aesthetically pleasing but also sanitary and efficient housing to working people,²⁷⁹ who increasingly were able to leave tenement-style dwellings. The emphasis on simplicity, ease of cleaning and maintenance, ample access to fresh air and sunshine through porches and numerous windows, and simple floor plans with built-in furniture all aligned with the reforms begun in urban settings, often in the context of educating immigrant women. The science of household economy and sanitary standards grew to appeal to middle-class women as well,²⁸⁰ who took up the banner of home economics and were, as a result, often the targets of bungalow marketers and developers. As more families of modest incomes could afford single-family homes in this period, bungalows filled the need for houses that reflected these trends of efficiency, healthfulness, and consumer power. Thus this study contributes to scholarship not only on bungalows themselves, but contextualizes them within the scholarship on larger social and economic trends of the early twentieth century.

²⁷⁸ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 116ff.

²⁷⁹ Wright, *Building the Dream*, chapter 7.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, chapter 9.

Where does this analysis of Craftsman bungalows take us now? Numerous unanswered questions remain: Does the pattern of mixed economic residential neighborhoods found in these Intermountain West towns also pertain in other regions of the United States? Would this pattern still be evident in data from 1910, or 1930? What of questions of race and ethnicity—were bungalows appreciated by all groups, or did they appeal to only some racial identities? Did bungalows built in urban areas conform to the same patterns as those in the small towns analyzed here? Did other housing types popular during overlapping periods with bungalows—such as Tudor Revival, Colonial Revival, and Moderne—also appeal to such a wide economic spectrum, or were they more limited? If other towns and cities did have economically segregated neighborhoods, did architectural types reflect those divisions? Are today's bungalow residents as economically diverse, and if not, what forces came into play to change that?

Attempting to answer these questions may shed more light on the appeal of Craftsman bungalows in the early 1900s continuing to the present day. Beyond their affordability and efficiency, these houses were refuges of beauty and order for large numbers of everyday Americans, and today continue to be restored and preserved as important domestic features of the historic architectural landscape. In their heyday bungalows represented opportunity, a better and more healthful life, a domestic ideal. Given bungalows' broad appeal across economic groups and geographic space, an advertisement from 1911 was only slightly exaggerating when it stated, "Some people have no bungalow, but everybody has a bungalow hope."

"PUT A STOP TO DEPRECIATION—BUILD WITH CYPRESS AT FIRST!"



CYPRESS



THE WOOD THAT LASTS
SHALL BE FIRST—with *wise*

BUNGALOW FOLKS

Some people have no bungalow, but everybody has a Bungalow hope. The WOOD you use determines your *investment* value. Use CYPRESS, of course. The plans you build from decide its *Artistic* value. Vol. 18 of the CYPRESS Pocket Library (FREE to you) contains Complete Specifications and Working Plans (worth \$10 to \$25 and *efficient* to build from) for a beautiful CYPRESS Bungalow costing about \$3000. Write Today.



(Plan by Henry L. Wilcox, Architect, Chicago)

Why not FIND OUT what CYPRESS can do for YOU, NOW?

"He who uses Cypress builds but once."

WRITE US—ASK YOUR OWN QUESTIONS—about big needs, or little ones. You can rely on detailed and reliable counsel if you address our "ALL-ROUND HELPS DEPT."



SOUTHERN CYPRESS MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION

1210 HIBERNIA BANK BUILDING, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

We are producing CYPRESS—and talking it—but not retailing it. BUY IT NEAR HOME. Probably your lumber man sells CYPRESS; if not, WRITE US, and we will tell you a nearby dealer who DOES.

House and Garden magazine, February 1911, p. 130

Appendix 1: Fusion Table Maps

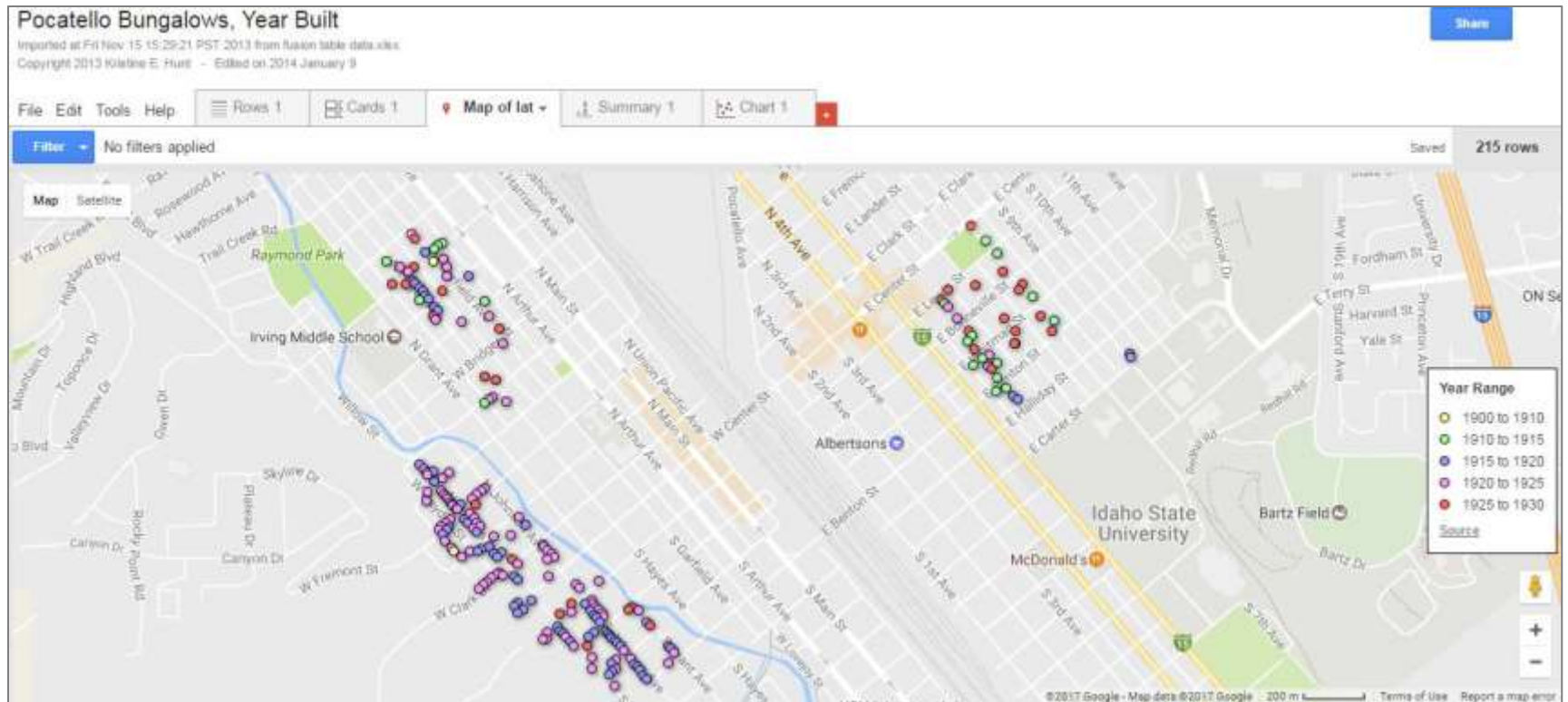


Figure 1.1 General map example

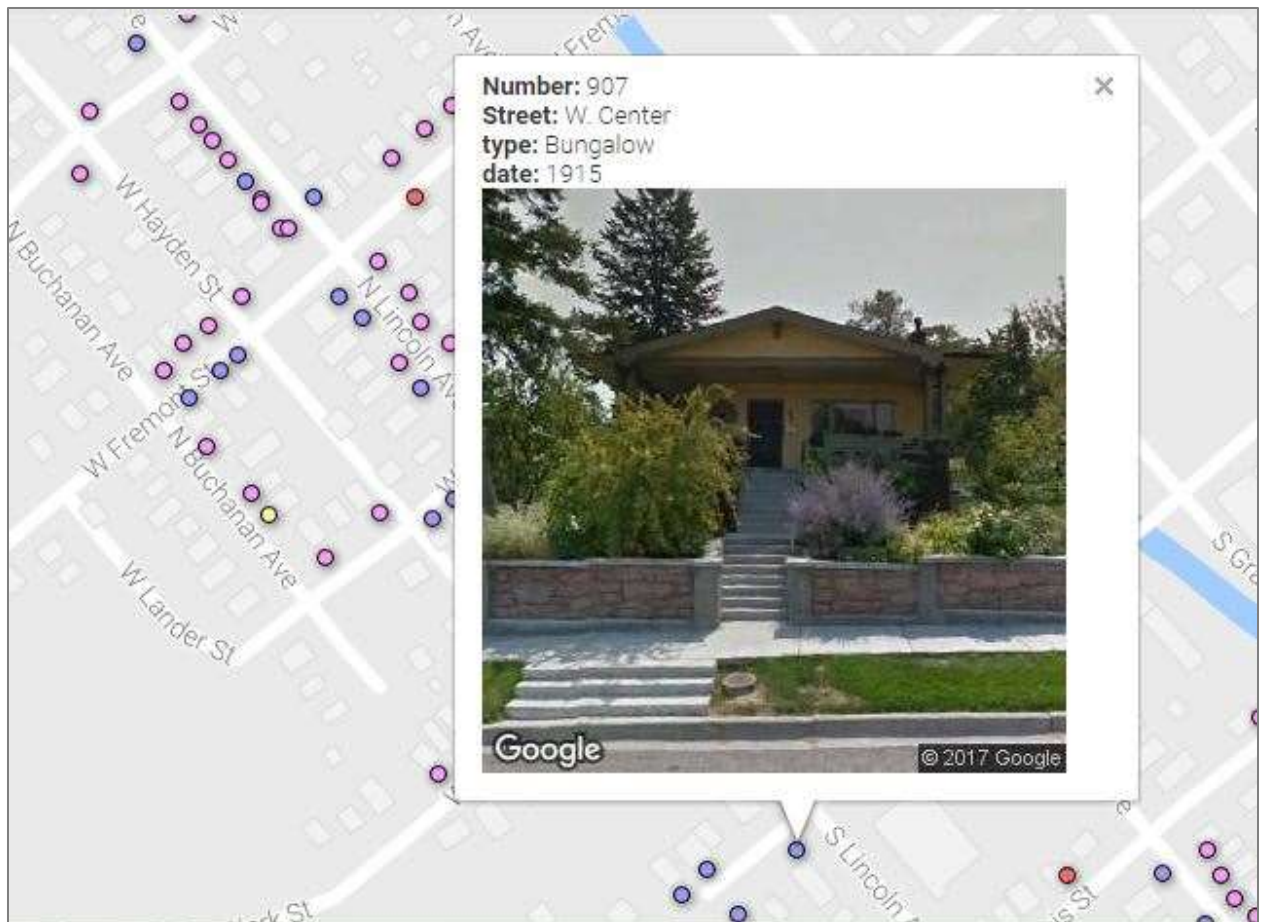


Figure 1.2 Map view with index card pop-up option

Appendix 2: Data and Summary Map for Pasadena, California

Arroyo Seco and South Marengo Historic Districts Data

Table 2.1 Occupation group data, Arroyo Seco and South Marengo neighborhood bungalow residents, 1920

Occupation type	Raw number	% of total	% of known
unknown	4	6%	
executive/professional	9	13%	14%
administrative/trained	26	39%	41%
skilled labor	6	9%	10%
labor	0	0%	0%
no employment	22	33%	35%

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. Totals therefore may exceed 100%.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1920 California Federal Population Schedules, Los Angeles Co. and City (EDs 496–502, 640, and 503–535); U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places–Nomination Form, Lower Arroyo Seco Residential Historic District; U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places–Nomination Form, South Marengo Historic District.

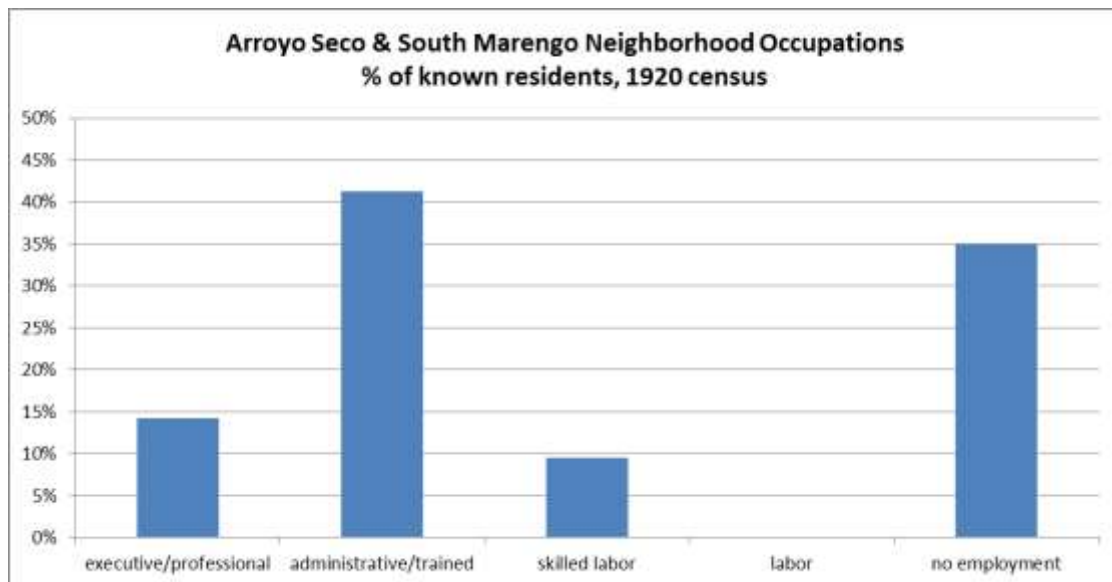


Figure 2.1 Occupation type distribution, Lower Arroyo Seco and South Marengo neighborhood identified residents, 1920

Bungalow Heaven Historic District Data

Table 2.1 Occupation group data, Bungalow Heaven neighborhood bungalow residents, 1920

Occupation group	Raw number	% of total	% of known
unknown	0	0%	
executive/professional	45	20%	20%
administrative/trained	45	20%	20%
skilled labor	41	18%	18%
labor	39	17%	17%
no employment	58	25%	25%

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. Totals therefore may exceed 100%.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1920 California Federal Population Schedules, Los Angeles Co. and City (EDs 496–502, 640, and 503–535); U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places–Nomination Form, Bungalow Heaven Residential Historic District.

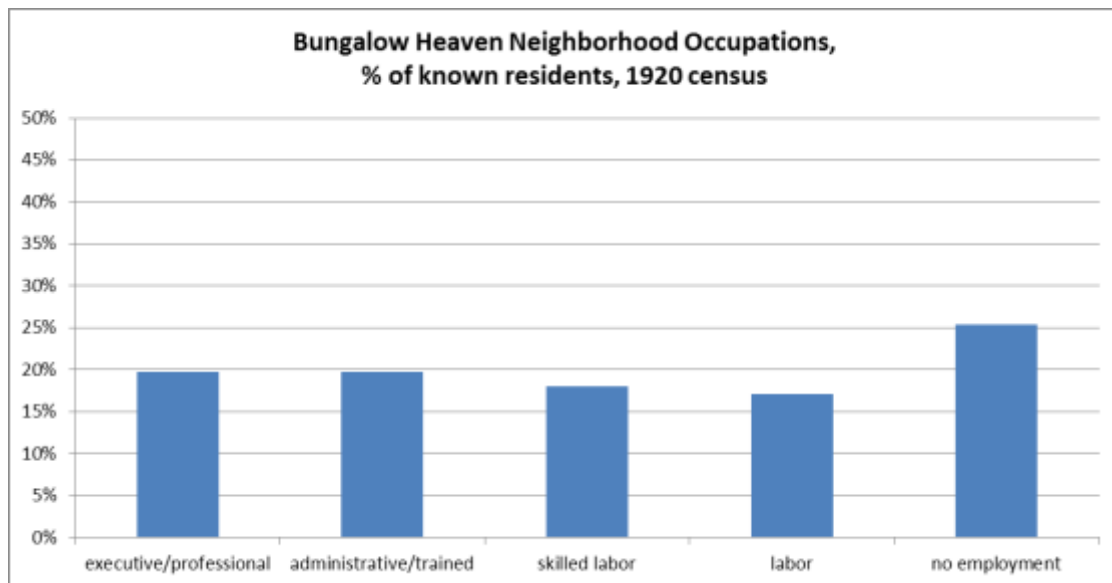


Figure 2.2 Occupation type distribution, Bungalow Heaven neighborhood identified residents, 1920

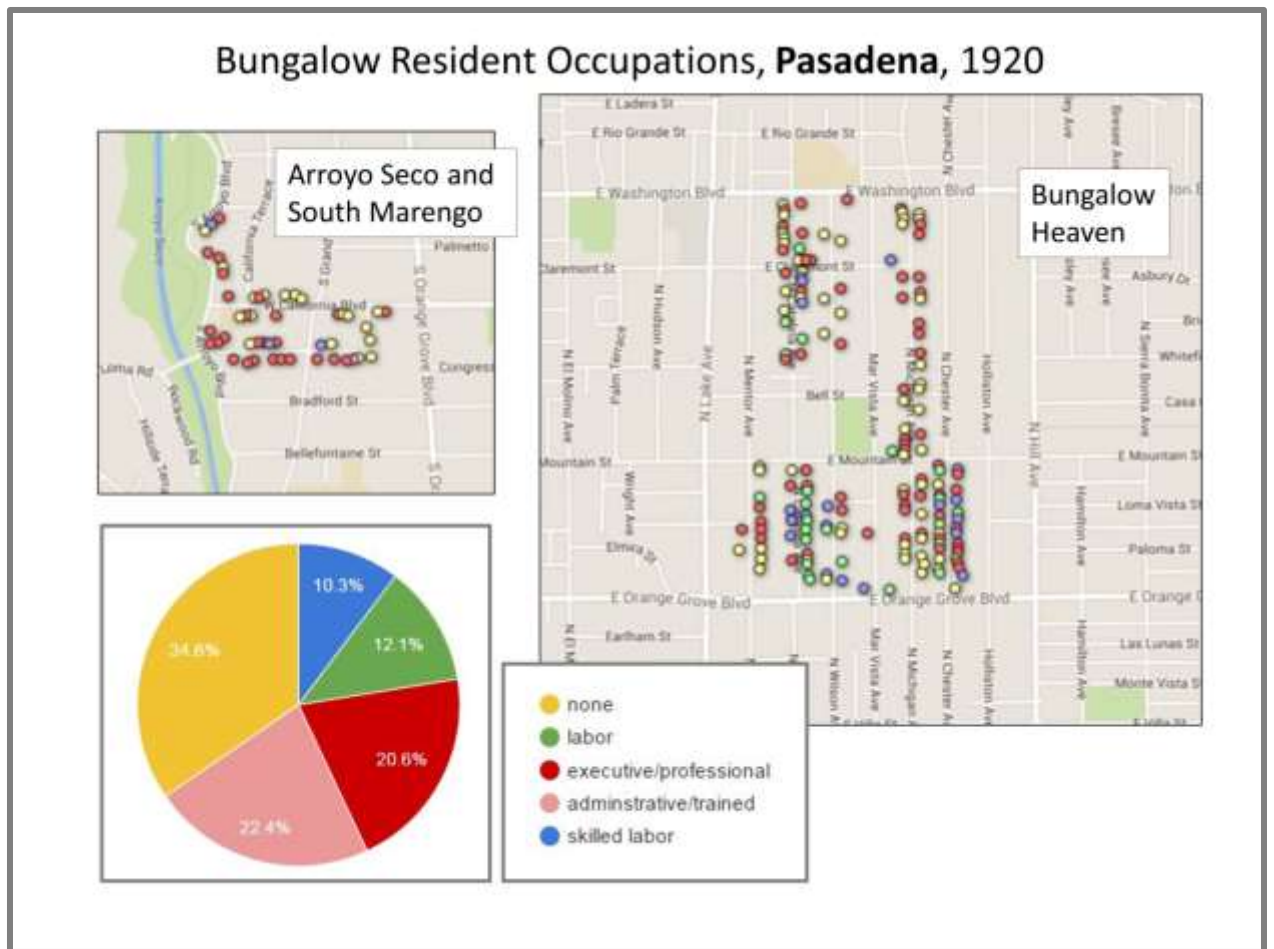


Figure 2.3: Map and summary of bungalow resident occupation distribution, Pasadena, 1920

Note: Mapped points reflect the occupational category stated in the 1920 census by the resident of the bungalow at that location. The chart was generated from that same data, summarized.

Appendix 3: Data and Summary Map for Missoula, Montana

University Area Historic District Data

Table 3.1: Occupation group data, University neighborhood, 1920

Occupation type	Raw number	% of total	% of known
unknown	23	29%	
executive/professional	24	30%	42%
administrative/trained	21	26%	37%
skilled labor	10	13%	18%
labor	2	3%	4%
no employment	0	0%	0%

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number.
Totals therefore may exceed 100%.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1920 Montana Federal Population Schedules, Missoula Co. (EDs 147–170); U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places–Nomination Form, University Area Historic District.

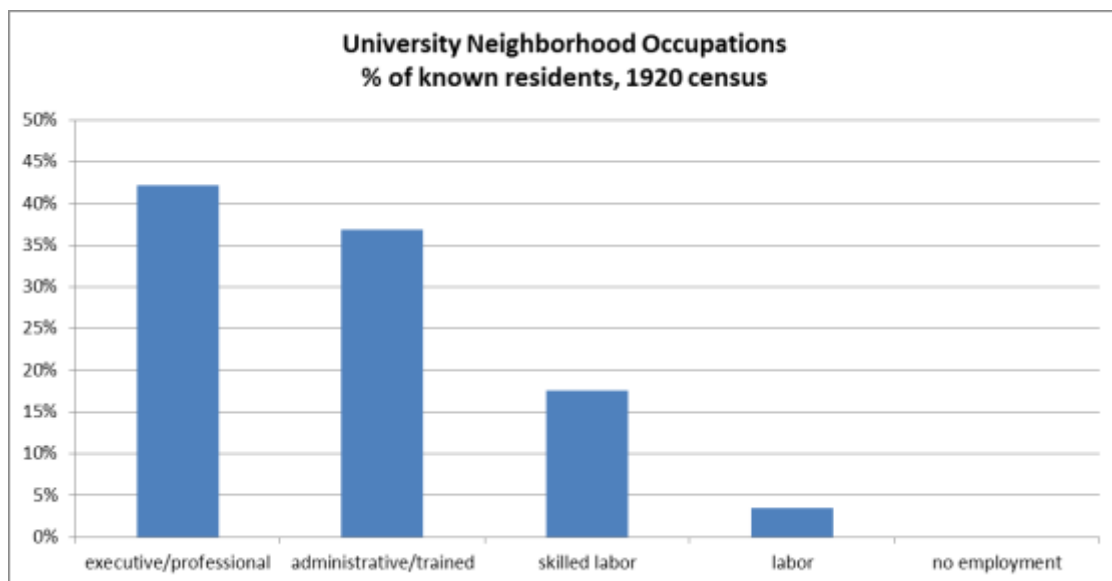


Figure 3.1 Occupation type distribution, University neighborhood identified residents, 1920

McCormick Neighborhood Historic District Data

Table 3.2: Occupation group data, McCormick neighborhood, 1920

Occupation type	Raw number	% of total	% of known
unknown	4	25%	
executive/professional	2	13%	17%
administrative/trained	3	19%	25%
skilled labor	2	13%	17%
labor	4	25%	33%
no employment	1	6%	8%

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. Totals therefore may exceed 100%.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1920 Montana Federal Population Schedules, Missoula Co. (EDs 147–170); U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places–Nomination Form, McCormick Neighborhood Historic District.

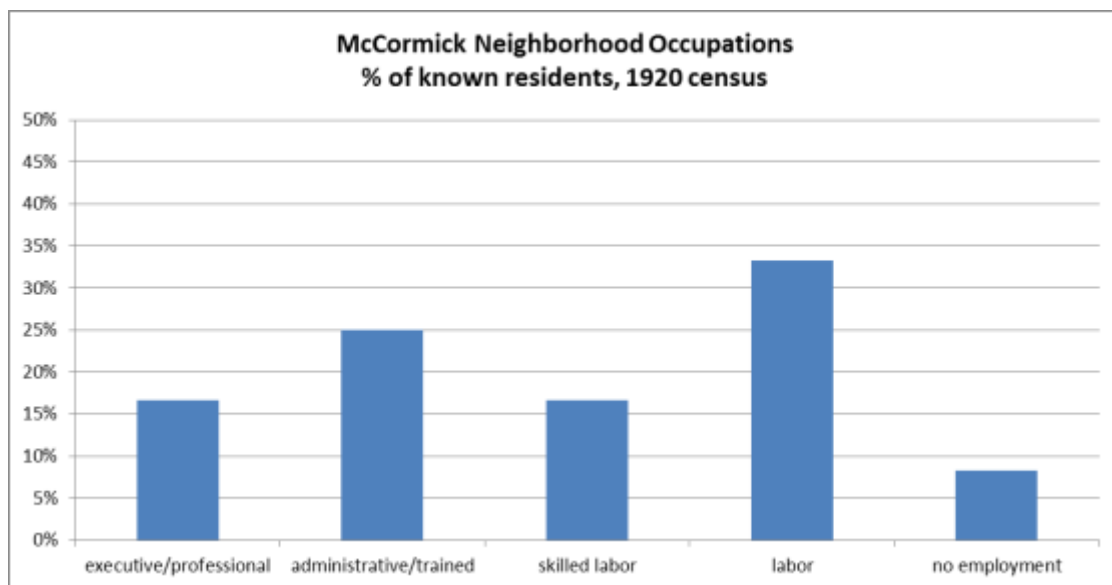


Figure 3.2 Occupation type distribution, McCormick neighborhood identified residents, 1920

Lower Rattlesnake Historic District Data

Table 3.3: Occupation group data, Lower Rattlesnake neighborhood, 1920

Occupation type	Raw number	% of total	% of known
unknown	8	47%	
executive/professional	0	0%	0%
administrative/trained	1	6%	11%
skilled labor	3	18%	33%
labor	4	24%	44%
no employment	1	6%	11%

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. Totals therefore may exceed 100%.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1920 Montana Federal Population Schedules, Missoula Co. (EDs 147–170); U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places–Nomination Form, Lower Rattlesnake Historic District.

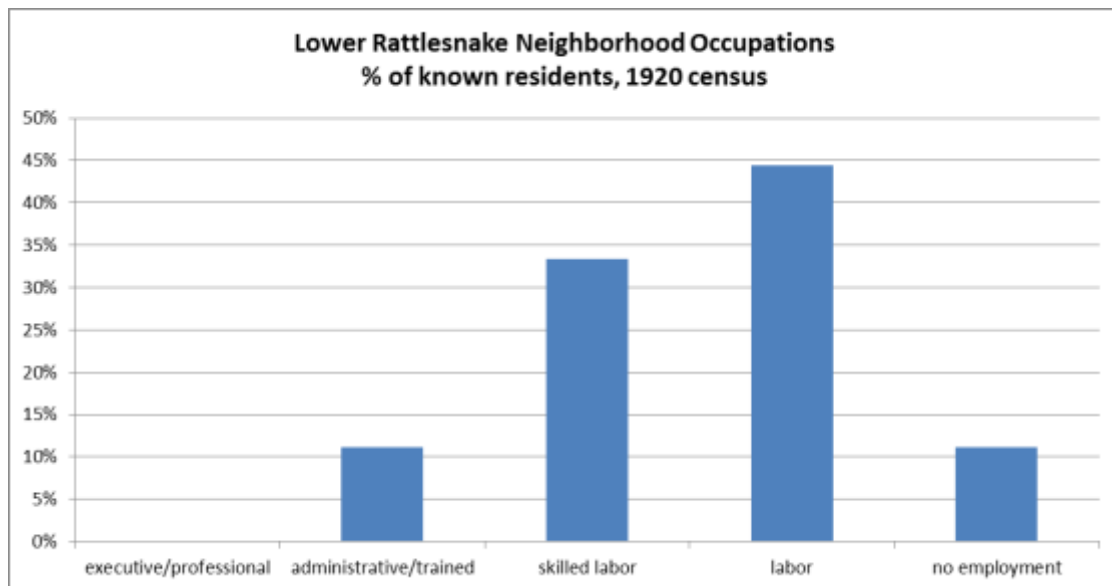


Figure 3.3: Occupation type distribution, Lower Rattlesnake neighborhood identified residents, 1920

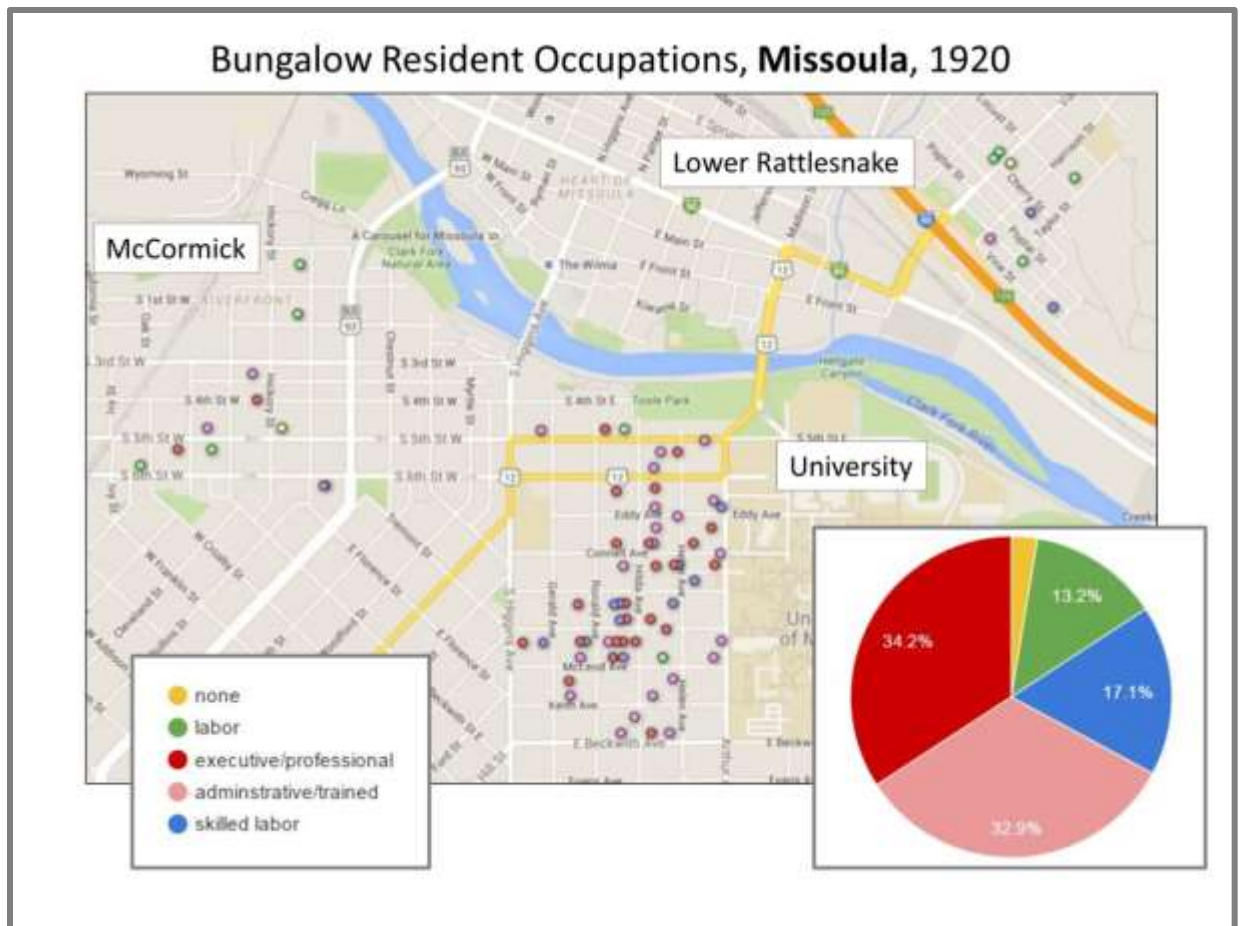


Figure 3.4: Map and summary of bungalow resident occupation distribution, Missoula,

1920

Note: Mapped points reflect the occupational category stated in the 1920 census by the resident of the bungalow at that location. The chart was generated from that same data, summarized.

Appendix 4: Data and Summary Map for Pocatello, Idaho

Westside Residential Historic District Data

Table 4.1 Occupation group data, Westside neighborhood bungalow residents, 1920

Occupation type	Raw number	% of total	% of known
unknown	16	57%	
executive/professional	1	4%	8%
administrative/trained	1	4%	8%
skilled labor	5	18%	42%
labor	3	11%	25%
no employment given	2	7%	17%

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. Totals therefore may exceed 100%.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1920 Idaho Federal Population Schedules, Bannock Co. (EDs 35–48, 257, and 49–56); U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places–Nomination Form, Pocatello Westside Residential Historic District.

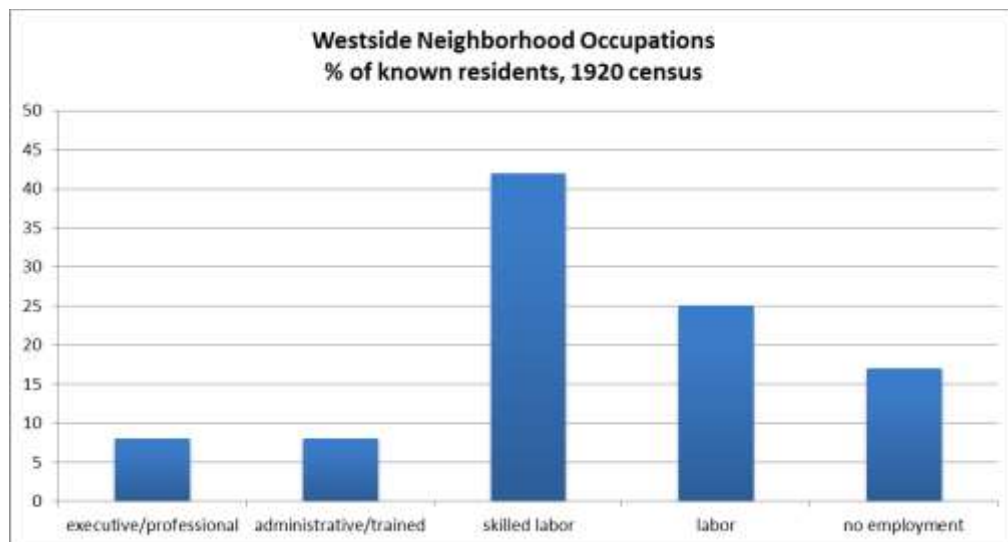


Figure 4.1 Occupation type distribution, Westside neighborhood identified residents, 1920

Lincoln-Johnson Avenues Residential Historic District Data

Table 4.2 Occupation group data, Lincoln-Johnson neighborhood bungalow residents, 1920

Occupation Type	Raw number	% of total	% of known
unknown	58	47%	
executive/professional	10	8%	15%
administrative/trained	19	15%	29%
skilled labor	28	23%	43%
labor	8	7%	12%
no employment given	0	0%	0%

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. Totals therefore may exceed 100%.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1920 Idaho Federal Population Schedules, Bannock Co. (EDs 35–48, 257, and 49–56); U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places–Nomination Form, Lincoln-Johnson Avenues Residential Historic District.

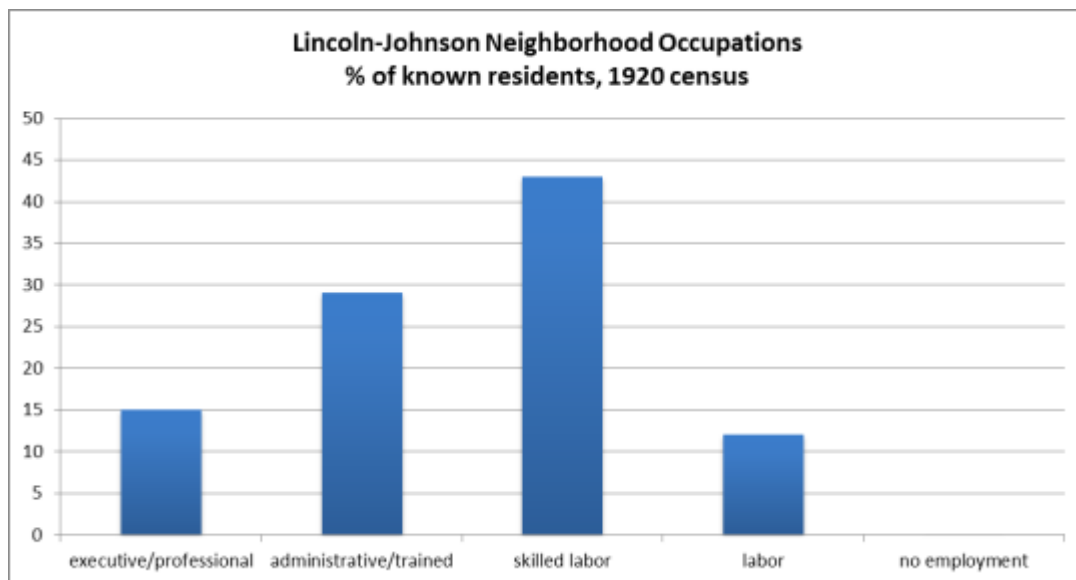


Figure 4.2: Occupation type distribution, Lincoln-Johnson neighborhood identified residents, 1920

Idaho State University Neighborhood Historic District Data

Table 4.3 Occupation group data, Idaho State University neighborhood bungalow residents, 1920

Occupation Type	Raw number	% of total	% of known
unknown	16	30%	
executive/professional	12	22%	32%
administrative/trained	13	24%	34%
skilled labor	7	13%	18%
labor	3	6%	8%
no employment given	3	6%	8%

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. Totals therefore may exceed 100%.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1920 Idaho Federal Population Schedules, Bannock Co. (EDs 35–48, 257, and 49–56); U.S. National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places–Nomination Form, Idaho State University Neighborhood Historic District.

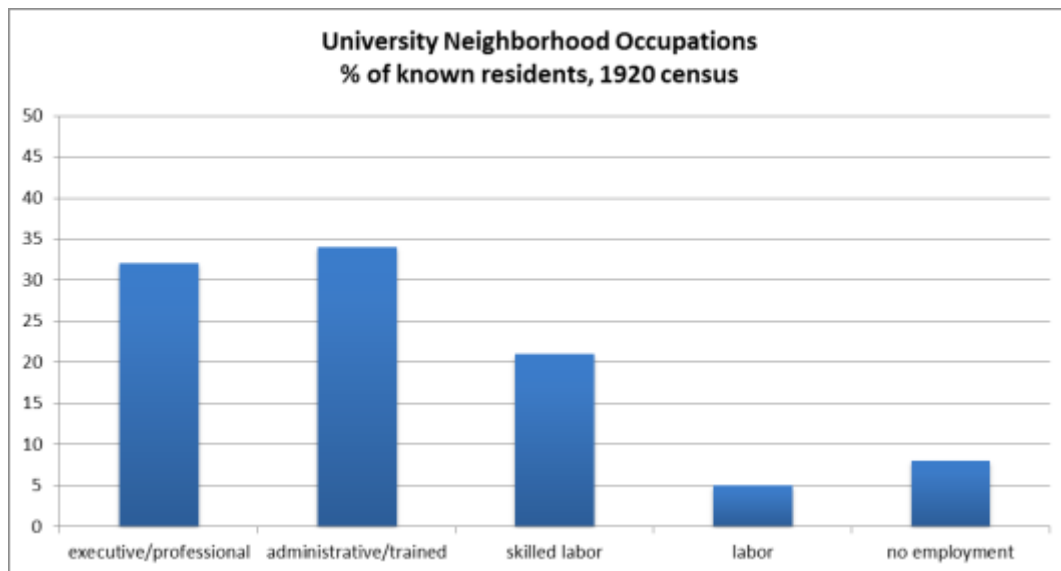


Figure 4.3: Occupation type distribution, Idaho State University neighborhood identified residents, 1920

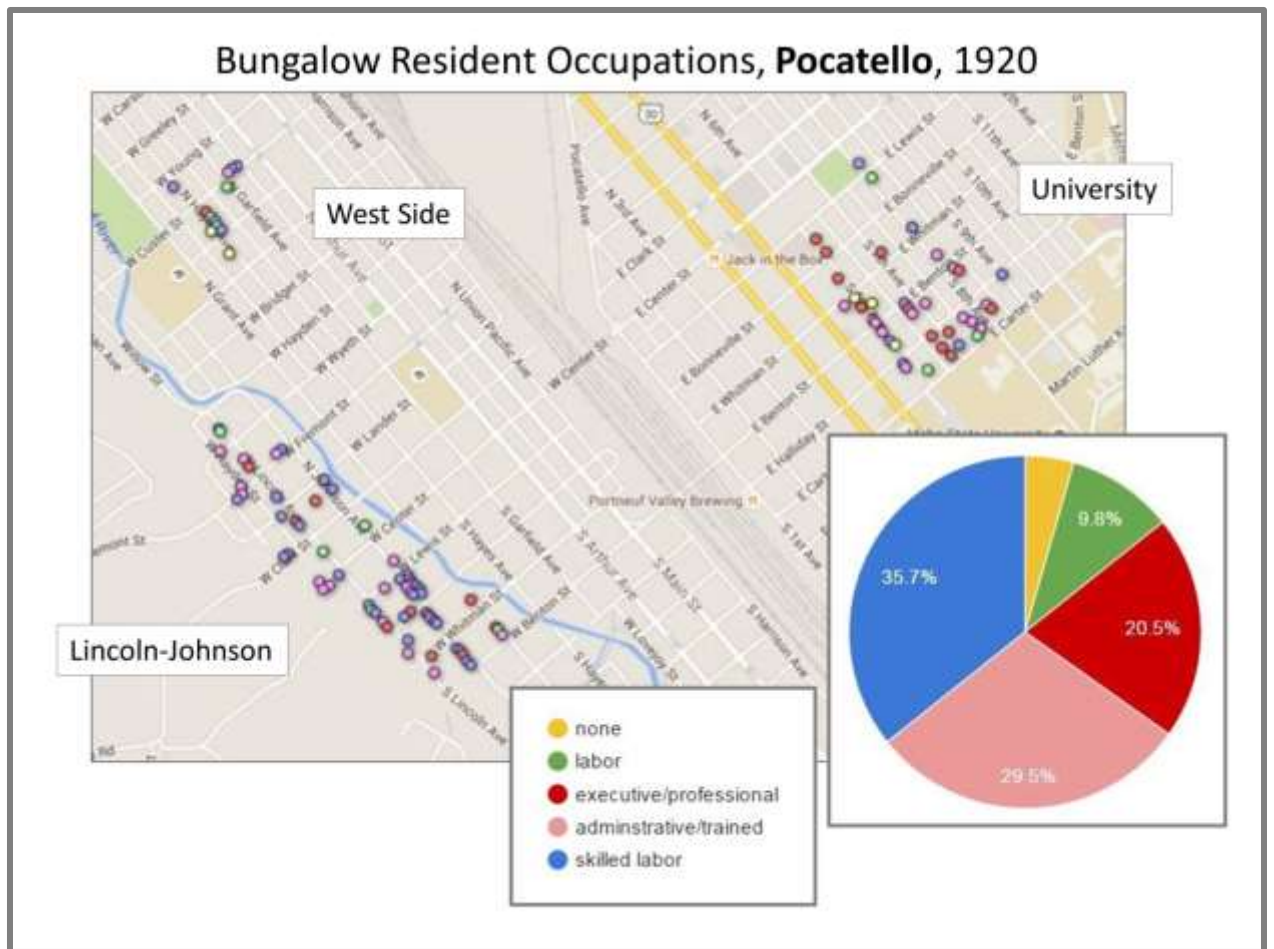


Figure 4.4: Map and summary of bungalow resident occupation distribution, Pocatello, 1920

Note: Mapped points reflect the occupational category stated in the 1920 census by the resident of the bungalow at that location. The chart was generated from that same data, summarized.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Alley, A. W. "A House in Japanese Style," *House Beautiful* 25, no. 4 (May 1901): 76–77.

"Census Bulletin No. 33: Population of Montana by Counties and Minor Civil Divisions." Washington, DC: US Census Bureau, 1901.

"City Loses Population Because of House Shortage." *Pocatello Tribune*, May 31, 1919, p. 2.

Crane, Walter. *An Artist's Reminiscences*. New York: Macmillan, 1907.

Daily Missoulian, Missoula, Montana. Archived at Library of Congress, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov>.

"Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Bulletin, Population: Idaho." Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1921.

Helena Weekly Herald, Missoula, Montana. Archived at Library of Congress, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov>.

Land of Sunshine magazine. 1894–1923.

Minnesota Population Center, University of Minnesota. IPUMS USA. "Integrated Occupation and Industry Codes and Occupational Standing Variables in the IPUMS." <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/chapter4/chapter4.shtml>. Last accessed March 10, 2017.

Minnesota Population Center, University of Minnesota. IPUMS USA. "1920 Occupation Codes." <https://usa.ipums.org/usa/volii/92occup.shtml>. Last accessed March 10, 2017.

Morris, William. "The Housing of the Poor." *Justice* 1, no. 27 (July 19, 1884): 4–5. The William Morris Internet Archive: Works. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1884/justice/15hous.htm>. Last accessed March 28, 2017.

Morris, William. "Manifesto of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB)." <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1877/spabman.htm>. Last accessed March 28, 2017.

Morris, William. "The Revival of Handicraft," *Fortnightly Review* (November 1888). The William Morris Internet Archive: Works. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1888/handcrft.htm>. Last accessed March 28, 2017.

ProQuest. Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867–1970.

<http://sanborn.umi.com.libpublic3.library.isu.edu/>.

Ruskin, John. *Lectures on Art*. New York: John Wiley and Son, 1870.

Stickley, Gustav. “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): 68–80. Available at <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.hdv13n01>. Last accessed March 28, 2017.

Stickley, Gustav. *Chips from the Craftsman Workshops*. New York: The Craftsman Workshop, 1907. Available at <https://ia600302.us.archive.org/31/items/chipsfromcraftsm00stic/chipsfromcraftsm00stic.pdf>. Last accessed March 7, 2017.

Stickley, Gustav, ed. *The Craftsman* 1, no. 1 (October 1901), and no. 2 (November 1901). Available at <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.hdv01n01> and <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.hdv01n02>. Last accessed March 1, 2017.

Stickley, Gustav, ed. *Craftsman Bungalows: 59 Homes from The Craftsman*. New York: Dover, 1988. Reprint of 36 articles from the periodical *The Craftsman*, originally published from Dec. 1903 to Aug. 1916, with a new introduction by Alan Weissman.

Stickley, Gustav. “The Use and Abuse of Machinery, and Its Relation to the Arts and Crafts,” *The Craftsman* 11, no. 2 (November 1906): 202–7. Available at <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts.hdv11n02>. Last accessed March 28, 2017.

UK Parliament. “The Reform Acts and Representative Democracy: The Reform Act of 1832.” <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/houseofcommons/reformacts/overview/reformact1832/>. Last accessed September 15, 2016.

United States Bureau of the Census; United States National Archives and Records Administration. 1920. Reel 117, 1920 California Federal Population Schedules, Los Angeles Co. and City (EDs 496–502, 640, and 503–535). Washington, DC : National Archives and Records Administration. <https://archive.org/details/14thcensusofpopu117unit>.

United States Bureau of the Census; United States National Archives and Records Administration. 1920. Reel 288, 1920 Idaho Federal Population Schedules, Bannock Co. (EDs 35–48, 257, and 49–56), Benewah Co. (EDs 7–13 and 213–214), and Bingham Co. (EDs 69, 267, 70–79, 259, and 80–84). Washington, DC : National

Archives and Records Administration.
<https://archive.org/details/14thcensusofpopu288unit>.

United States Bureau of the Census; United States National Archives and Records Administration. 1920. Reel 973, 1920 Montana Federal Population Schedules, Meagher Co. (EDs 58–63), Mineral Co. (EDs 143–146), Musselshell Co. (EDs 64–77), Pondera Co. (EDs 163–166, 233–234, and 167–171), and Missoula Co. (EDs 147–170). Washington, DC : National Archives and Records Administration.
<https://archive.org/details/14thcensusofpopu973unit>.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. National Register of Historic Places—Multiple Property Documentation Form. The Residential Architecture of Pasadena, CA, 1895–1918: The Influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement. <http://focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/64500742.pdf>.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. National Register of Historic Places—Nomination Form. Bungalow Heaven Historic District.
<http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/08000260.pdf>.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. National Register of Historic Places—Nomination Form. Idaho State University Neighborhood Historic District. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/84001008.PDF>.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. National Register of Historic Places—Nomination Form. Lincoln-Johnson Avenues Residential Historic District. <http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/06000126.PDF>.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. National Register of Historic Places—Nomination Form. Lower Arroyo Seco Historic District.
<http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/04000331.PDF>.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. National Register of Historic Places—Nomination Form. Lower Rattlesnake Historic District.
<http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/99000697.PDF>.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. National Register of Historic Places—Nomination Form. McCormick Neighborhood Historic District.
<http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/04000460.PDF>.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. National Register of Historic Places—Nomination Form. Pocatello Westside Residential Historic District.
<http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/03000102.PDF>.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. National Register of Historic Places—Nomination Form. South Marengo Historic District.
<http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/82002199.PDF>.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. National Register of Historic Places–Nomination Form. University Area Historic District.
<http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/nrhp/text/00001523.PDF>.

Woody, Judge F.H. “A Sketch of the Early History of Western Montana.” In *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, vol. 2. Helena, MT: State Publishing Company, 1896. Available at
<https://archive.org/details/contributionstohvol2hist1896rich>. Last accessed March 8, 2017.

Wright, Frank Lloyd; Frederick Gutheim (ed.), *In the Cause of Architecture, Frank Lloyd Wright Essays for Architectural Record, 1908–1952*. New York: Architectural Record, 1987.

Secondary Sources

Attebery, Jennifer Eastman. *Building Idaho: An Architectural History*. Moscow, ID: University of Idaho Press, 1991.

Bistline, R. B. “2nd Toughest Town: Saloons, Prostitutes, and Skinned Cats.” *Idaho State Journal*, Centennial Edition, June 21, 1982, section 1, p. 12.

Boris, Eileen. *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.

“Bungalow Neighborhoods.” *American Bungalow*.
<https://www.americanbungalow.com/community/bungalow-neighborhoods/>. Last accessed February 3, 2017.

Chase, Laura. “Eden in the Orange Groves: Bungalows and Courtyard Houses of Los Angeles.” *Landscape* 25, no. 3 (1981): 29–36.

Chicago Architecture Foundation. *The Chicago Bungalow*, ed. Dominic A. Pacyga and Charles Shanabruch. Chicago: Arcadia, 2003.

Cohen, Elizabeth A. “Embellishing a Life of Labor: An Interpretation of the Material Culture of American Working-Class Homes, 1885–1915.” In *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 261–80. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Cohen, Stan B. *Images of America: Missoula*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2013.

Connolly, M. Caren, and Louis Wasserman. *Updating Classic America: Bungalows. Design Ideas for Renovating, Remodeling, and Building New*. Newtown, CT: Taunton, 2006.

- Cooke, Amanda, and Avi Friedman. "Ahead of Their Time: The Sears Catalogue Prefabricated Homes." *Journal of Design History* 14, no. 1 (2001): 53–70.
- Cooke, Edward S. Jr. "Charles Sumner Greene and Henry Mather Greene." In *"The Art that is Life": The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875–1920*, ed. Wendy Kaplan, 401–6. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987.
- Cooke, Edward S. Jr. "Frank Lloyd Wright." In *"The Art that is Life": The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875–1920*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987), 391–92.
- Crawford, Alan. "Ten Letters from Frank Lloyd Wright to Charles Robert Ashbee." *Architectural History* 13 (1970): 64–76+132.
- Crawford, Margaret. "The 'New' Company Town." *Perspecta* 30 (1999): 48–57.
- Crochet, Treena. *Bungalow Style: Creating Class Interiors in Your Arts and Crafts Home*. Newtown, CT: Taunton Press, 2005.
- Cumming, Elizabeth, and Wendy Kaplan. *The Arts and Crafts Movement*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1991.
- Curtis, James R., and Larry Ford. "Bungalow Courts in San Diego: Monitoring a Sense of Place." *Journal of San Diego History* 34, no. 2 (1988).
<http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/88spring/bungalow.htm>.
- Davey, Peter. *Arts and Crafts Architecture*. London: Phaidon, 1995.
- Delgado, Julianna, and John G. Ripley. *Pasadena's Bungalow Heaven*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012.
- Duncan, Nancy, and Stephen Legg. "Social Class." In *A Companion to Cultural Geography*, ed. J.S. Duncan, N.C. Johnson, and R.J. Schein, 251–64. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Endres, Kathleen L., and Therese L. Lueck, eds. *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Consumer Magazines*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1995.
- Erikson, Robert, and John H. Goldthorpe. *The Constant Flux. A Study of Class. Mobility in Industrial Societies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Faragher, John Mack. "Bungalow and Ranch House: The Architectural Backwash of California." *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (2001): 149–73.
- Fishman, Robert. "The Origins of the Suburban Idea in England." *Chicago History* 13, no. 2 (1984): 26–35.
- Friedricks, William B. *Henry E. Huntington and the Creation of Southern California*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1992.

- Fusch, Richard, and Larry R. Ford. "Architecture and the Geography of the American City." *Geographical Review* 73, no. 3 (1983): 324–40.
- Garvin, James L. "Mail-Order House Plans and American Victorian Architecture." *Winterthur Portfolio* 16, no. 4 (1981): 309–34.
- Gebhard, David. "C.F.A. Voysey—to and from America." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 30, no. 4 (1971): 304–12.
- Gebhard, David, and Harriette Von Breton. *Architecture in California, 1868–1968; An Exhibition*. Santa Barbara, CA: Standard Printing of Santa Barbara, 1968.
- Giddens, Anthony. *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*. London: Hutchinson, 1973.
- Gittins, H. Leigh. *Pocatello Portrait: The Early Years, 1878 to 1928*. Moscow: University Press of Idaho, 1983.
- Gombach, Julia. "Pasadena California: Arts and Crafts Architecture, 1895–1918." n.d. http://livingplaces.com/pasadena_arts_and_crafts_architecture.html.
- Groth, Paul. "Workers' -Cottage and Minimal-Bungalow Districts in Oakland and Berkeley, California, 1870–1945." *Urban Morphology* 8, no. 1 (2004): 13–25.
- Hale, Betty. *The History of Bannock County: 1893–1993*, Volume I. Logan, UT: Herff Jones, 1993.
- Hall, Catherine. "The Sweet Delights of Home." In *A History of Private Life*, vol. 4: *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, ed. Michelle Perrot and trans. Arthur Goldhammer, 47–94. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Harvey, Charles, and Jon Press. "William Morris: Art and Idealism." In *Victorian Values*, ed. Gordon Marsden, 201–14. London: Pearson, 1998.
- Hayden, Dolores. *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820–2000*. New York: Vintage Books, 2003.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. *Industry and Empire: The Birth of the Industrial Revolution*. New York: The New Press, 1999.
- Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens. "About the Huntington." <http://www.huntington.org/about/>. Last accessed March 17, 2017.
- Ifft, George Nicholas Sr. "Looking Backward in Pocatello." *Pocatello Tribune*, December 31, 1944, 4.
- Inwood, Stephen. *City of Cities: The Birth of Modern London*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2005.

- Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Kaplan, Wendy. *"The Art that is Life": The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875–1920*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1987.
- Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1980.
- King, Anthony D. *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.
- Lancaster, Clay. "The American Bungalow." In *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, edited by Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 79–106. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986.
- Lancaster, Clay. *The American Bungalow: 1880–1930*. New York: Abbeville, 1985. (Reprint, New York: Dover, 1995).
- Landow, George P. *Ruskin*. New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Lewis, Peirce. "The Monument and the Bungalow." *Geographical Review* 88, no. 4 (1998): 507–27.
- Link, Paul Karl, and E. Chilton Phoenix. *Rocks, Rails, and Trails: The Geology, Geography, & History of Eastern Idaho*. Pocatello: Idaho Museum of Natural History, 1996.
- Livingstone, Karen, and Linda Parry, eds. *International Arts and Crafts*. London: V&A Publications, 2005.
- Lofthouse, Pamela B. "The Development of the English Semi-detached House: 1750–1950." MA thesis, University of York, 2012. <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/2825/>.
- Malone, Michael P., Richard B. Roeder, and William L. Lang. *Montana: A History of Two Centuries*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991.
- Mathews, Allan James. *A Guide to Historic Missoula*. Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 2002.
- Mattson, Richard. "The Bungalow Spirit." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 1, no. 2 (1981): 75–92.
- McAlester, Virginia, and Lee McAlester. *A Field Guide to American Houses*. New York: Knopf, 1984.
- McClelland, John M. Jr. *R.A. Long's Planned City: The Story of Longview*. Longview, WA: Longview Publishing.

- McLeod, Dianne S. *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- McWilliams, Carey. *Southern California: An Island on the Land*. Salt Lake City, UT: Gibbs Smith, 1973.
- Miller, Mervyn. *English Garden Cities*. Swindon, UK: Historic England, 2010.
- Miller, Mervyn. *Hampstead Garden Suburb: Art and Crafts Utopia?* Chichester, UK: Phillimore, 2006.
- Miller, Mervyn. *Letchworth: The First Garden City*. Chichester, UK: Phillimore, 2002.
- Millett, Larry. *AIA guide to the Twin Cities: The Essential Source on the Architecture of Minneapolis and St. Paul*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2007.
- Milner, Clyde A. II, Carol A O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss, eds. *The Oxford History of the American West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- O'Brien, Kevin H. F. "'The House Beautiful': A Reconstruction of Oscar Wilde's American Lecture." *Victorian Studies* 17, no. 4 (1974): 395–418.
- O'Gorman, James F. "On Vacation with H.H. Richardson: Ten Letters from Europe, 1882." *Archives of American Art Journal* 19, no. 1 (1979): 2–14.
- Ore, Janet. *The Seattle Bungalow: People & Houses, 1900–1940*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.
- Perrot, Michelle. "At Home." In *A History of Private Life*, vol. 4: *From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, ed. Michelle Perrot and trans. Arthur Goldhammer, trans., (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990), 341–58.
- Phillips, Cedar Imboden, and the Pasadena Museum of History. *Early Pasadena*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008.
- Powers, Alan. "Architecture and Gardens." In Karen Livingstone and Linda Parry, eds., *International Arts and Crafts*, 108–21. London: V&A Publications, 2005.
- Purce, Idaho, Mary Sanders Watkins, and Kevin R. Marsh. *The Triangle: A Slice of America*. Pocatello, ID: City of Pocatello, Planning & Development Services, 2005.
- Reed, Aileen. *Brentham: A History of the Pioneer Garden Suburb 1901–2001*. Brentham: Brentham Heritage Society, 2000.
- Rybczynski, Witold. *The Most Beautiful House in the World*. New York: Viking, 1989.
- Roth, Leland M. "Getting the Houses to the People: Edward Bok, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, and the Ideal House," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 4 (1991): 187–96.

- Rubin, Barbara. "A Chronology of Architecture in Los Angeles." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 67, no. 4 (1977): 521–37.
- Saunders, Arthur C. *The History of Bannock County Idaho*, Pocatello: Tribune Company, 1915. <https://archive.org/stream/historyofbannock00saun#page/n7/mode/2up>.
- Scheid, Ann. *Historic Pasadena: An Illustrated History*. San Antonio, TX: Historical Publishing Network, for the Pasadena Historical Museum, 1999.
- Schwantes, Carlos. *In Mountain Shadows: A History of Idaho*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.
- Schweitzer, Robert, and Michael W.R. Davis. *America's Favorite Homes*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990.
- Scott, Peter. *The Making of the Modern British Home. The Suburban Semi and Family Life between the Wars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Sears Archives. "History of Sears Modern Homes." <http://www.searsarchives.com/homes/history.htm>. Last accessed February 2, 2017.
- Sears Archives. "What Is a Sears Modern Home?" <http://www.searsarchives.com/homes/>. Last accessed February 2, 2017.
- Simpson, M.A., and T.H. Lloyd, eds. *Middle Class Housing in Britain*. Newton Abbot, UK: David & Charles, 1977.
- Smith, Mary Ann. *Gustav Stickley, the Craftsman*. Mineola, NY: Dover, 1992.
- Starr, Kevin. *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Starr, Kevin. *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Steffel, R. Vladimir. "The Boundary Street Estate: An Example of Urban Redevelopment by the London County Council, 1889–1914." *Town Planning Review* 47, no. 2 (April 1976): 161–73.
- Stone, Lawrence, and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone. *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
- Tarn, John Nelson. *Five Per Cent Philanthropy: An Account of Housing in Urban Areas between 1840 and 1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- Thompson, E.P. "William Morris." In *Persons and Polemics. Historical Essays*. London: Merlin Press, 1994. Available at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/thompson-ep/1959/william-morris.htm>.

- Thompson, E.P. *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary*. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2011.
- Thompson, F.M.L. *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830–1900*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Tosh, John. “New Men? The Bourgeois Cult of Home.” In *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Society*, ed. Gordon Marsden, 77–88. London: Pearson, 1998.
- Whiffen, Marcus, and Frederick Koeper. *American Architecture, Vol. 2: 1860–1976*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981.
- Winter, Robert. *The California Bungalow*. Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1980.
- Winter, Robert, and Alexander Vertikoff. *American Bungalow Style*. New York: Archetype Press/Simon & Schuster, 2006.
- Wolff, Janet, and Caroline Arscott. “‘Cultivated Capital’: Patronage and Art in Nineteenth-Century Manchester and Leeds,” In *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Society*, ed. Gordon Marsden, 35–46. London: Pearson, 1998.
- Wright, Gwendolyn. *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*. New York: Pantheon, 1981.
- Wrigley, Robert L. Jr. *The Occupational Structure of Pocatello, Idaho*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1942.
- Wrigley, Robert Jr. “The Early History of Pocatello, Idaho,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (1943): 353–65.
- Wrigley, Robert Jr. “Pocatello, Idaho as a Railroad Center,” *Economic Geography* 19, no. 4 (1943): 325–36