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Skirting the House:
The Evolution of the Women's Home, 1890-1910

by

Kyle Ross Fisher

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
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Abstract

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Working from the assumption that a distinct women’s subjectivity has driven the development of the modern American home, this two part thesis examines the nature of that evolution.

The first part shows how a women’s perspective was capable of effecting the general development of the home from 1880-1920. By analyzing four houses that chart the evolution of the American home, the criteria that characterizes the women’s house type is traced.

The second part examines the initial movement towards the development of the women’s home. Using the Ladies’ Home Journal and The House Beautiful from 1890-1910 establishes the source of particular women’s criteria that transformed the design of middle-class housing around the turn of the century.

The conclusion demonstrates that the house’s character has been two fold; while on the one hand it has been a means of oppression for women within our culture, and it has also been a means of liberation.
Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of family, teachers and friends who were an integral and indispensible part of this project.

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Introduction

The individuality of woman is ever increasing in the direct line of the evolution of humanity, and it naturally finds in the house the fullest and most significant exemplification.\textsuperscript{1}

The development of the modern house has in many respects been the development of a women's house. Traditional approaches have denied the role of women in the house's history because women have been considered both incapable of positively effecting the house, yet at the same time not in a position to effect the design of the house. While an understanding of the domestic environment and women's roles within the domestic environment have been defined by the writings of historians, architects and feminists alike, more accepted readings of the house have developed out of a dialogue between extreme positions. However, in trying to determine the true nature of the house these polarities provide little help. They construct an exclusive reality and an ideal of the domestic realm that while theoretically possible in practice does not exist.

The assumption that drove the development of this project was my own personal understanding of the women's house. Researching the house I have been intrigued by the fact that only the decorating and more frivolous aspects of domesticity were understood as women's work. However, I have been equally dismayed by the majority of feminist writings, most of which have proposed that the house was only a realm of women's entrapment and enslavement. On a theoretical level I realize the general validity of these arguments, yet, I also understand my own

experience within the house to be quite different. Growing up in a family where women were independent, educated, and equal to men the house was not a sphere of either male authority or of women's oppression. The house was always my mother's realm where she made decisions from designing the addition of a bathroom to choosing the landscaping for the yard. The man in our house, my father, had little say in domestic decisions, he was not consulted for approval but considered as an equal in decision making processes even when decisions involved financial consent. Although I realize that this subjective experience is not universal and applicable to all American families, it does pose an interesting contradiction to more traditional interpretations of the house and women's position in respect to it. Using this juxtaposition as a framework I am attempting to find the truth, or at least a measured perspective of women's roles in the development of the modern house.

*......*......*

The modern home first began to take shape after the Victorian era, at the end of the nineteenth century. It is here that the beginnings of the women's house were first made apparent. The general reconfiguration of society at this time was represented in changes made to the house. In the past histories of the home have not looked at women as arbiters of reform primarily because stereotypes of women and their position in society have denied the possibility of her involvement. However, if these rational male understandings of women were to be reconsidered the existence of a women's house becomes more plausible.
The suburbs were quickly becoming the most popular domestic landscape at the end of the nineteenth century. Traditionally, they have been understood as a women's realm. Writers who have addressed the suburbs, John Stilgoe, Robert Fishman, and Gwendolyn Wright who have addressed the suburbs, have focused on women's condition of separation, entrapment, and marginalization. Although these discussions have included an acknowledgment of movements such as the Cult of True Womanhood, a movement which promoted women's moral authority within the home, they have usually only recognized the potential for women's "self sacrifice" and lack of social control.

Similarly, an accepted understanding of women's position in the Progressive era has denied consideration of women's ability to assert authority over this "separate sphere". Part of this inability to see women in a position to effect the design of the house stems from the classic stereotypes of women that exist within our culture. Perhaps the most prominent image that has marginalized women can be seen in writings that characterize women's natural childlike and emotive disposition. Various well respected texts by Freud, Nietzsche, and Marx subscribe to these conventions that saw women as the lesser, or to Simone de Beauvoir, the "Second" sex. These constructions and characterizations of women as irrational and hysterical beings continue even today. Understandings of the female such as these have helped to minimize women's contributions. The predominant emphasis on male perspectives hinders the exposure of women's efforts in domestic design.

Interestingly, the history of the house continues to be principally dominated by male points-of-view. This condition could be construed as an extension of the fact that architecture has been and remains primarily a male dominated profession. Histories of
architecture have focused on male architects' contributions to the field, in part because few women have been architects, but also because histories have been dominated by male points of view. When women's designs and women clients were involved their gendered voices and roles are not addressed. Discussions of vernacular and building traditions also have not acknowledged women's influence. This fact derives from a social understanding of men as designers and women as decorators, as well as more traditional means of gathering information, census information, legal documents, and land ownership have preference the recording of men's lives. It is important to realize that architectural histories have not been receptive to a female reading of the house.

However, feminist reconstructed histories have also promoted readings that deny the positive aspects of women's role in the evolution of the house. Dolores Hayden's social history *Grand Domestic Revolution* is a case in point. Written in 1981, it posits the single-family home as one of the primary culprits behind women's inequality in our society. In critiquing the work of women such as Catherine Beecher for supporting the enslavement of women in the house, Hayden focuses on how the house functioned to enslave women. Many of these discussions, however, have avoided ways in which the house was able to help women escape their status as second class citizens. Other traditional feminists such as Mary Daly have tried to substantiate women's equality with men by deconstructing the differences between the sexes, going so far as to reconfigure the terms of our language, with the goal of reconstituting thought processes and societal expectations. In using both legislation and the courts as a motivator and insurance of women's liberation: they have postulated women's natural and innate similarities to men as a means by which to establish women's equality. Yet by creating
genderless beings these positions generally imply that women, in being
different, can not be equal. As Elizabeth Fox-Genovese discusses in her
book, Feminism is not the Story of My Life, this form of feminism
promotes a highly particularized interpretation of women that excludes,
if not derides, the accepted women's position of raising children within
the suburban single-family home. It has been argued, that much of
feminist writing has assumed a male perspective in trying to establish a
singular women's condition in our culture.²

This absolute approach has been taken to place women's
interpretations on an equal footing to male histories and arguments, yet
it has had the detrimental effect of assuming thereby that women compete
with men as men, discrediting the validity of more flexible readings,
the women's distinct perspective. To more fully understand women's
influence on the house, women must be accepted as distinct from men and
in a position to effectively influence the design of the house. The
interpreting of women's influence over the home should take into
consideration the multiple layers of individual experiences as a factor
in the design.

The arguments surrounding this thesis will be developed in two
distinct sections; the first will focus on the culture of the suburbs
and while the second will entail the culture surrounding popular writing
on issues of domesticity. The first section, using four middle-class
houses as a field of inquiry, will show that suburbia can be understood
as a women's realm of authority; however it will also show perhaps
contrary to expectations how a women's distinct character placed women
in a position to make the house their own. In essence, these houses
reveal how the changes in the domestic environment were both affects and

² Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth. Feminism is not the Story of My Life.
effects of women's desires. Although the examples demonstrate the feasibility of women's involvement in domestic design, the point is more strongly represented in the houses of popular culture.

The second section concentrates on the literary culture of popular magazines from around the turn of the century to define women's roles within domestic design. "Popular monthly magazines, enjoying lower prices, sizable circulation... seized on housing as a favored topic," but these mass-produced serials tended to be women's publications. Therefore, they are a rich source of information for recovery of the female past. As Ann Douglas describes in her book Feminization of American Culture the mass circulation of the women's periodicals at the end of the nineteenth century was one form of feminization that was occurring within society. Because of their popularity these magazines also helped define the collective experience of the society of the time. Many of these magazines provided house designs within their format, but the composite of correspondence, editorials, feature articles, fashion sections, as well as architecture features provided a more complete and inclusive picture of the society. Ladies' Home Journal and The House Beautiful, from 1890-1910, two of the most influential periodicals of the period, clearly announce the house as women's construct. Within the pages of the magazines it can be seen that an understanding of women's identity is embedded in the features, the columns, the editorials and the design of the American home. This approach is more inclusive in crediting authorship while at the same time creating a more broad and unprejudiced understanding the house.

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Part I
I. The Woman and Her Realm

Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier all agreed that the new city had no place for suburbia, but reality accepted suburbia which was transforming the structure of modernity.¹

With the evolution of suburbia in the nineteenth century the nature of the single family home began to change. Prior to the 19th-century, the home for women had been a center of both production and reproduction which was fully integrated into urban society. The characteristics that would later come to epitomize the home developed after production and the surrounding business environment were completely separated from the domestic realm. By the end of the nineteenth century this fundamental shift in the nature of the home had taken place. It was primarily the result of corresponding changes in the urban environment, for "the finite city, as it had come into being... was totally transformed in the space of a century by the interaction of a number of unprecedented technical and socio-economic forces."²

Changes in industry and technology, such as the railway, the daily press, and the telegraph changed the city by actually compressing space and time, allowing for a new scale of planning that helped to facilitate the process of suburbanization.³ Industrialization also effected the internal nature of the city; for it quickly became synonymous with the primary economic functions of industry and business. Concurrent with

these technological transformations was an increase in foreign and
domestic immigration leading to an urban population explosion. This
inundation by poor unskilled labor led to a housing shortage, an
increase in slum conditions, and an increase in crime. For the first
time the city was perceived as an enemy of the family 'unit.'
Exacerbating this perception was the shift towards a more private
nuclear family that also fostered the desire for a safer domestic
environment. It is also important to realize that the latter part of
the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century
were frequently hit by periods of depression.¹ Unprecedented problems,
which included inadequate housing for the poor and middle-classes,
immigration, labor unrest, crime, municipal misrule, and a persistent
anti-urban bias fueled widespread concern and fear of the urban
environment. These conditions, some more real than others, prompted the
phenomena of middle-class flight to havens outside the city.²

Beginning just after the Civil War, significant migration to the
suburbs began in earnest. This radical rethinking of the relation
between the residence and the urban landscape was founded on the primacy
of the family and domestic life in American society.³ Although
initiated in the 1870s "suburban growth did not really prosper until the
1890s, when, with the introduction of the electric streetcar, suburban

¹ Economic depression was common during the this period in history.
Unemployment rates were generally fairly high, but there were certain
harder hit years than others where unemployment rates skyrocketed. In
1876 there was 13% unemployment, in 1885-7%, in 1894-18%, and in 1908-
8%. All of these rates were higher than the current unemployment rate,
but they were not as sharp as unemployment rates in the 1830's and
1930's. From class notes for Professor Haskell's History 312, American
Thought and Society II, Thursday, 11/9/95.
Journal House Plans 1900-1902". Journal of Design History, vol.6, no.4,
transit greatly extended its range, speed, and frequency."^7 At the same
time a depression in the agricultural markets led to decreased rural
land prices, resulting in the extension of rails into the "cheap"
pastoral landscape. The use of short range transportation methods such
as trolleys and electric streetcars bolstered movement to the new
suburbs. For the first time rail service extended beyond the main lines
to areas beyond the previous limits of the city, resulting in a
redefinition of the city as a metropolitan area or region. In 1890
alone, 283 miles of track were laid in 23 cities, carrying two billion
new suburban commuters per year.\footnote{Fishman, Bourgeois Utopias, p.12.}
The streetcar also fostered an
interest in land speculation which helped facilitate suburban growth.
In America, as J.B. Jackson states in Crabgrass Frontiers, there was a
close "relationship between land speculation and the construction and
location of streetcar tracks."^9 Developing these two new innovations in
tandem, railway tycoons were expertly able to govern the direction and
extent of growth into the country. The owners of the rail lines reaped
huge profits, not from the flat 5¢ fares, but from the speculative
selling of the land. The low price of transportation became a marketing
tool that was used to induce the middle class into buying land in the
suburbs. By making land more readily salable they made the suburbs more
accessible to the common man. This system instigated suburban
development as an ongoing economic enterprise which was aided and
abetted by political and economic legislation, as well as by corporate
restructuring. The suburbs with their incorporation within the city
helped to improve the metropolitan tax base and urban center's financial

\footnote{Frampton, Modern Architecture, p.26.}

\footnote{Jackson, Kenneth T. Crabgrass Frontiers: The Suburbanization of the
situation. In *Crabgrass Frontiers*, Jackson traces this transformation in three major cities around the turn of the century: Oakland, Los Angeles, and Washington DC. The growth of these types of suburbs, in the latter years of the 19th-century, accounted for a great percentage of what was often considered to be new urban growth.

Although prompted by economic and social changes, the shift towards a suburban model could also be regarded as a more deeply rooted phenomena in the American subconscious. So mentioned previously, the distrust of the city had been established long before the rise of suburbia, "emerg[ing] from an indigenous Jeffersonian tradition".\(^9\) As J.B. Jackson has shown, Jefferson sought an alternative development to Britain’s industrialized urban centers and believed that maintaining a rural economy and agrarian landscape would create the ideal "virtuous man." However, it was this environment which was "vast, monolithic, and without charm" that eventually held the promise of man’s liberation. In response to this Jeffersonian ideology there developed a romantic approach towards the American landscape. Espoused by 19th-century writers and philosophers such as Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson, the Jeffersonian vision provided first seeds of a future suburban ideal were laid.\(^10\) American Romanticism- a viewpoint dependent on a vision of the Arcadian landscape and the promotion of nature according to Christian ideology- strove to balance the relationship between man and his natural surroundings. This desire provided the vision, if not the impetus, for the structure of American culture. As Leo Marx pointed out in his essay *The Machine in the Garden*, the development of suburbia reconciled America’s contradictory imaginings of

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\(^9\) Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontiers*, p.119.

its virgin landscape as both a Garden of Eden and hideous "howling" wilderness. The suburbs simultaneously provided the order and control of the landscape as well as the freedom of the natural world. This idealization of the pastoral landscape existed long before the rise of suburbia, but the utopian vision that it promoted was finally realized with the introduction of the suburbs.

The suburbs were a materialization of what America was ideally supposed to offer. They developed in response to the establishment of the urban environment as a business and industrial realm, in establishing a domestic realm that was removed from the city. The symbols of the city and the suburbs that arose were diametrically opposed in that they assumed the distinct characteristics of the public and private realms. Interestingly, these separate spheres, set in contradistinction to one another, were dependent upon one another for their identities. As Robert Fishman in Bourgeois Utopias pointed out, "if suburbia was the bourgeois utopia, it existed in an inevitable tension with the bourgeois hell, the teeming world of the urban slum." In essence, the establishment of the urban "male" realm was only understood through to its juxtaposition to the suburban "female" realm. Only in relation to the other could either be fully defined.

The Separate Realm

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11 Jackson, J.B. Landscapes, p.8.
13 Fishman, Bourgeois Utopias, p.133.
14 I realize that I am looking at one particular class in society. My distinguishing between male/urban and female/suburban does not apply to the lower classes that could not afford to live apart from the urban realm.
For she, with harmonizing will,
Her pleasures in her duties found,
And strove, with still advancing skill
To make her home's secluded bound
An Eden refuge, sweet and blest,
When weary, he returned for rest.
Lydia Sigourney

As Gwendolyn Wright found the late nineteenth century suburbs
"became the preferred living environment for a majority of middle income
families and for many workers as well... provid[ing] a clear expression
of the private home as a haven for the family, [the suburbs were
regarded as] a temple of refined culture, and a sound investment in land
and property."\(^{15}\) In the center of this new domestic sphere, the family
held an exalted station. In a sense, the home became a sacred icon in
American culture, protecting the family while functioning as a "personal
bastion... safeguarding against moral slide."\(^{16}\) The suburban house
quickly became the symbol of the American dream. It provided more than
just an image of the safe and proper environment for the family, it
created an image of what society should aspire to achieve. In this
domain devoted entirely to the woman and the family that was completely
shut off from the opportunities of the urban realm, promoting a
perception about woman's "duty to husband [that] involved adoring the
home in the image of a private haven."\(^{17}\)

Separate from the man and his world, the suburbs and the home
quickly became synonymous with the woman's sphere. In contrast to "the
serious work which has always taken place within the masculine province
of the city"\(^{18}\) the "women and suburbs shared domesticity, repose,

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\(^{15}\) Wright, *Building the American Dream*, p.94.
\(^{16}\) Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, p.48.
\(^{17}\) Wright, *Building the American Dream*, p.76.
\(^{18}\) Saegert, Susan. "Masculine Cities and Feminine Suburbs: Polarized
closeness to nature, lack of seriousness, mindlessness, and safety."  
It was in the suburbs, isolated from the urban environment that the first signs of a women's house began to develop. Before the development of the suburbs the house was intimately tied of the roles of both men and women, however it was women's separation from the urban world of work that allowed for a distinct women's realm to develop. "Separate spheres encouraged specialized individual sex roles," and thus through the prevalence of separate spheres, woman and the house came to resemble one another. Eventually, the feminine became completely synonymous with the suburban situation. Contrary to feminist ideology, Susan Saegert in her study "Masculine Cities and Feminine Suburbs" found that women cared more about the home and gained more satisfaction from it, as men gained satisfaction from their professions proving that women felt more innately connected to the home. Like men who derived a sense of self through their profession women developed their individuality through their homes. Women were responsible for the functioning of the house, and therefore it was from the production of family and the process of domestic work that women developed an identity. Coincidentally it was also discovered that "more women thought it was important for the home to express their personalities." Perhaps even more important was the fact that "the suburban home, how it was furnished, and the family life

Saegert, "Masculine Cities and Feminine Suburbs," p.94.
Saegert, "Masculine Cities and Feminine Suburbs," p.98.
22 Saegert is not postulating that all women are home-makers instead she is positing that women inherently feel more connected to the home and derive more sense of self from the home than men.
the housewife oversaw, contributed to the definition of middle-class as much as did the husband's income indicating that both male and female contributions to family life were central components in helping shape its identity.

Past histories have negatively portrayed suburbanization's effects upon women. The separation and isolation that the suburbs engendered have traditionally been perceived as a basis for the subjugation of women because separate spheres encouraged the developing of distinctions in gendered roles. The suburbs created a situation that isolated women and their work. This isolation reiterated Victorian restrictions on women's roles in society. "The house thus allowed her to fulfill her image of the ideal Victorian woman, combining as it did the goals of service, sacrifice, and morality." The separation also established a means by which to devalue women's work. In separating women, the suburbs made women distinct from men, and therefore in the male mind inferior. This type of "spatial institution" also created "barriers to women's acquisition of (professional and educational) knowledge", opportunities that only the urban environment could provide. In removing women from the city and the business world- and hence public life- the suburbs relegated women to a position of less importance and

24 Wright, Building the American Dream, p.99.
27 "For the male employee, the home [in the suburbs] became a sanctuary from the pressures of production, while for women it became an isolated site for the economically devalued yet demanding labors of consumption." This difference in perception and use of the home for males and females led to further devaluation of women's work by male dominated society that saw suburban forms of production as separate and distinct, even easier than forms of production found in the business world. Lupton, Ellen and J. Abbott Miller. The Bathroom, the Kitchen, and the Aesthetics of Waste: A Process of Elimination. MIT List Visual Arts Center, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1992, p.11.
28 Spain, Daphne. Gendered Spaces. The University of North Carolina
even subservience without much chance for improving their lot. In essence, women became second class citizens with the dawning of the suburbs. Separating the spheres also halted women's progress. Chaining women to the house and family, the suburbs promoted a situation of "discrimination by design." As Ursula Vogel demonstrated in her article "Rationalism and Romanticism." "The failure to break with the traditional separation between the public and private sphere impeded a full recognition of the informal mechanisms at the root of women's subjugation," a situation which would later help liberate women."

Proving that the suburbs were more attuned to sublimating women's position, Susan Saegert's recent study of women in urban and suburban environments found that the urban model was more agreeable to women's aspirations outside of the home. The business environment of the city offered women more options for employment and better chances for educational advancement while the family oriented suburbs only provided women with opportunities within the home. Many of the women in her study expressed fears about the suburbs stating that "they felt more boring, [and] more isolated" living in the suburbs, because in the suburbs women did not have the opportunities provided by culture, jobs, schools." Removed from the urban environment, women felt "trapped simply by the enormous demands of [their] role as modern housewife: [which included being] wife, mistress, mother, nurse, consumer, cook, chauffeur, expert on interior decoration, child care, appliance repair,

furniture refinishing, nutrition, and education." Often these responsibilities that bound women were not easily perceived and were usually even less easily shaken off because they had come to be commonly expected of women.

The isolation that the suburban home fostered led to a cyclical process of women's subjugation. "After woman became tied exclusively to the tasks of the domestic sphere—a sphere of much narrower experience than that occupied by men—their capacities and energies graduated attuned themselves to limited demands." Without other options a woman's anatomy continually was forced to become her destiny. It was never assumed that women could achieve outside of their domestic roles because there were few opportunities for women to challenge these stereotypes. Therefore, "it was simply taken for granted... that women were not interested in politics, life outside the United States, national issues, art, science, ideas, adventure, education, or even their own communities." This understanding of femininity led to further stereotypes of women's rational and mental capacity.

Clearly, this type of femininity was a cultural construction, and not an inherent characteristic of women. Betty Freidan in her analysis of the state of women in the 1950s documented woman's stagnation and lack of fulfillment in their roles as mothers and wives. The child-like state in which she found many women to be trapped was essentially the effect of women's lack of opportunity or inability to see opportunity outside the home. Women were conditioned to believe that their role in society, was solely dependent upon them being a wife and mother. Freidan found that even women like herself, women who attended college

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and had professional aspirations, found that their goals were only a secondary plan to becoming a wife and mother. Restrictions of woman's roles in society evolved, at least in part, as a response to the suburban model, placed on a model which promoted the primacy of women's domestic sphere. Similarly, Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo in her study of "Women, Culture, and Society" found that "...women's status was lowest in conditions of sharp separation of domestic life and the public sphere of activity and of isolation from each other in homes belonging to men." This finding reinforced Freidan and Saegert's observations of women in American society and Saegert pushes this point further in suggesting that the development of the suburbs "...may be partially motivated by the perhaps unconscious desire in many men to assure that their home will be taken care of by a woman with few other options," thereby reiterating the stereotypical belief that women should exist solely for their husbands and families.

This type of inequality and marginalization that suburbia fostered illustrated the specific contradictions inherent in modern civilization. The project of modernity worked towards a universal acceptance of "the rights of man," but women's inequality proved that women were not included in this project of enlightenment. Even leading philosophers and intellectuals believed women were not the equals of their male counterparts. Jean-Jacques Rousseau believed that women had a "...limited capacity for knowledge," while Sigmund Freud thought "women were strange, inferior, less-than-human species...(that he) saw as childlike dolls." These views of women illustrated the extent to

34 Freidan, Feminine Mystique, p.30.
37 Freidan, Feminine Mystique, p.108.
which women’s inferiority was a common perception. These points of view stemmed from the traditional hierarchies that governed society and while these views did not develop out of a suburban model, suburbia did exacerbate these modes of thinking. In a system where they were by and large removed from male centers of power, women had little recourse to these subjugating stereotypes. Thus the “moderns... exaggerated the natural differences between the sexes into a rigid scheme of mutually exclusive qualities. They found it difficult even to imagine that there was a time when [in Sparta] women possessed masculine strength and individuality while young men displayed female modesty, shame and gentleness.”

In actuality the development of the suburbs was a “mixed blessing” for women. For although it is true that the development of separate spheres did relegate women to a realm of less importance, it also provided women with the first opportunities to exert control over their own domain. As a separate realm, the house became a center for women’s power in American society. Isolated from the public life of business and the city, women were able to construct a world around them that was almost completely devoid of men. The domestic liberation that women experienced did not provide economic independence in the way professionalization did, but women did gain control of family life, which was quickly becoming a competing center of power within modern society.

38 Vogel, “Rationalism and Romanticism,” p.36.
39 Women have not been able to control their professional and education opportunities, but they have been given control of their domestic surroundings.
40 With the development and wide spread dispersal of the automobile in the twentieth century the nature of the suburbs changed. Not only were the suburbs opened to greater numbers of families, the distance between home and work could increase because the automobile was a cheaper form
The development of women's authority over the home began with the ideology of the Cult of True Womanhood, a movement which developed during the first evangelical revivals of the 1830s. This movement promoted an idealized version of womanhood, where the feminine was equated with excessive piety and morality. This ideal of virtuous woman was a rationalized male construct, at least in part developed to demystify woman and deny her sexuality. It was a response to male anxiety that believed women's sexuality could be used to exert control over the male 'rational' thought. Therefore suppressing women's sexuality was a means of controlling female 'passion'. However in the process, this movement also exalted the values of domesticity and established women as the moral protectors of society. For "...within this holy sphere [of the home], women were pictured [to be] best suited, both biologically and emotionally, to counteract the disruptions caused by the expanding and transient economy." Considered morally superior to men, women were the accepted leaders of the domestic realm; their primary responsibilities were in offering guidance and nurturance to the family. This situation allowed women to become the "overseeing [all powerful] eye" within the home, promoting their moral superiority as a means of enfranchisement.

Catherine Beecher became one of the primary proponents of this type of woman. In her books A Treatise on Domestic Economy and the American Woman's Home, Beecher "heightened gender distinctions and
designed an ideal single-family home for the Christian wife and mother. " Beecher in a sense was an early feminist in that she wanted women to take control of their lives through the domestic environment. She instructed women on how to become not only moral authorities, but experts of all functions contained within the home. Rather than challenge societal structures, Beecher promoted women's autonomy using already accepted understandings of women's place in society. She wanted women "to improve themselves within the parameters of the middle class woman's role." Although Dolores Hayden in her work criticized Beecher and this movement for contributing to the subsequent entrapment of Victorian women, these methods also helped position woman as an unquestioned center of authority within the home. The power and acceptance of this movement could be seen in the subsequent feminization of the home. The universal shift towards a suburban model aided this process in removing the presence and authority of men away from the home, thereby allowing for women to establish uncontested control of the house which created a matriarchal center of society.

Acceptance of the home as a separate women's sphere provided women with the opportunity to develop their identities and express their individuality through their houses. Susan Saegert found that "more women thought it was important for the home to express their personalities than did most men, and women cared more about the home and gained more satisfaction from it." Ultimately the "home was intimately tied to

43 Damon-Moore, Magazines for the Millions, p.83.  
45 Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier, p.48.  
the definition of both men's and women's roles [in society] but the man's absence from the home front meant that the men were not defined by their domesticity, as women were. Over time the suburbs developed into a situation where men were actually not the dominant or privileged sex. Although men were not discriminated against in traditional terms, the suburbs established a system that privileged the woman.

Corroborating this development of the feminized suburbs was the development of the woman's home. One of the best examples of the women's home was the winner of the "Better Homes in America Competition" of 1924. This competition was established to educate American viewers about good house design. The first model home winner, from Kalamazoo, Michigan was "A Home Built Around Mother" by Caroline Crane. (See figure 1) The entire house was designed to facilitate women's activities within the home. In essence, the downstairs became the mother's suite combining the mother's room, the bathroom, and the kitchen.

Ideally, the proximity of the mother's room to the kitchen allowed her to care for her baby while performing household tasks. The downstairs bathroom saved the women steps. In addition, the bedroom and bathroom could be converted into a sickroom.48

What was significant about this house was that the man of the house was not even considered in its planning. As Janet Hutchinson has shown, the house "failed to give him proper space... [and] allowed him only limited participation."49 The only separate space for men was located within the basement. It was an optional feature in the woman's house if the

47 Saegert, "Masculine Cities and Feminine Suburbs," p.95.
family decided to build a workshop for the man. Interestingly, the basement was the location to which the kitchen or other women's work had been traditionally relegated. Thus men's spaces were supplanting the previously devalued women's spaces. This transformation indicated the changed disposition of the home towards a women's perspective.

Although the home was understood as woman's realm, it has not been considered a realm of women's liberation, especially when compared to men's economic and political freedom found in the public world. In the past, a rational approach to women's liberation had been taken as the sole means by which women could gain equality. The rational approach focused upon women's gaining of freedom through political means. It was believed that political equality would mandate social equality, thus extending "the rights of man" to include women. Consequently, the rational approach to women's liberation advocated that women attempt to become more rational, like men. Women had to prove that they were worthy of their equal status, and thus they had to exhibit dominance of reason, the male characteristic, over passion, the female characteristic. "In order to qualify as equals citizens, women [had to] adopt values and attitudes and emulate standards of excellence that [had] been irrevocably shaped by the history of patriarchal domination." 50 This process denied women's female nature, in a sense devaluing women's distinctive constitution.

In contrast, a romantic approach accepted the inherent sexual division of labor that existed within society and promoted the home and personal relations as a means by which women sought emancipation. Instead of trying to change women to fit male definitions this model

50 Vogel, "Rationalism and Romanticism," p.32.
accepted women's differences and distinct modes of thinking, as separate
but equal. Acceptance of gender distinctions did not predicate that
women could not be rational beings or that they had to be exclusively
emotive beings. Instead this system allows women's identities to be
individual and thus female. "The romantic ideal of self-reliant
femininity stood apart both from the traditionalist claim of women's
cultural incapacity for freedom and from the rationalist postulate of
sexless humanity. It accepted women's differences, but did not see
these qualities as diminishing women's capabilities. This reasoning
denied the preexisting societal discrimination based upon sexuality
while accepting women's particular subjectivity. Thus, this approach to
seeking women's liberation believed that only through acceptance of an
inherent difference between the sexes, i.e. "women's independence
included liberation of female sexuality."51 In her study of the two
approaches, Ursula Vogel found that this admission could be dangerous,
in that targeting women as separate and unique, women were more easily
discriminated against. But she also found that if women could only
achieve equality through sameness with men, a comprehension of women
would always be considered a negative characteristic. Therefore
liberating women's sexuality was the basic element necessary for women's
emancipation.

As Vogel found it was only through an understanding of gender
specificity that women could achieve emancipation, because "motherhood
would never be changed by legal status."52 "The rationalist vision of
emancipation of women depended upon a transformation in the political
relationships among individuals, while the romantic ideal of self-

51 Vogel, "Rationalism and Romanticism," p.38.
52 Vogel, "Rationalism and Romanticism," p.23.
reliant femininity referred to a process of liberation that took place outside the public sphere [in the home]." Thus women's liberation in this format began with the home and radiated outwards from that center of private life. Therefore women had to gain equality in their domesticity and private relations before society in total could be modified. The development of the woman's home indicated the evolution of a self sufficient and independent woman's identity. The first attempts at women's domestic liberty can be seen with the inception of the suburbs at the end of the nineteenth century.

The Woman's Subjectivity

In American society, female and male identities are understood to be diametrically opposed. Typically the defining of these roles has been determined through the establishment of the relationship between the two. Consequently, an understanding of women has evolved in contradistinction to men. The juxtaposition of masculine and feminine principles has traditionally led to contests that resulted in the defeat of feminine values and sympathetic understanding. The dominance of male values in our society has created a situation in which women have been devalued and marginalized. Women's lesser status has left many feminists trying to establish means by which women can claim and attain equal status to their male counterparts.

In the past, feminist debates have focused attention on determining the origins of women's specificity as a way of establishing women's equality. The interpretations are split between two primary

53 Vogel, "Rationalism and Romanticism," p.42.
54 Okruhlik, Kathleen and Elizabeth D. Harvey. Women and Reason. The
readings: biologically-determined gender and socially constructed sexuality. Although these positions are usually set against one another, in the end it is irrelevant because in culture an understanding of human beings is tied to an already existing understanding of gender and sexuality. According to Barbara Sichtermann in her study of femininity, "the social inequality between the sexes, the one which affects the development of individuals, [which] is the greatest difference between them" is engrained into our beings from an early age. Similarly, Ellyn Kaschak found in her study of new born babies that from the beginning... females and males are set on different physically based psychological paths...[for] both mothers and fathers rated female children as significantly softer, smaller, finer-featured, and less alert... [while] they rated boys as more alert, stronger, firmer, hardier, and better coordinated than girls. Kaschak's study implies that gender, while partly a function of anatomy, is also highly conditioned by how gender is considered within society and that these societal constructs are almost impossible to avoid. Due to this fact everything from manner of dress, posture, appropriate seating positions, eating patterns, performance of household chores, sexual expression, and voice tone and inflection, to freedom of movement in public, safety, educational path, career choice, self-esteem, and self-concept, flows from the gender one is assigned at birth as a function of anatomy.

 Kaschak, Engendered Lives, p.45.
As women and men we function according to understood patterns of sexuality. Therefore, the origins of gender distinctions may become less important than an understanding of existing gender distinctions accepted within our society. Whether a factual determination can be made as to the essential nature of women is not as important as establishing women's equality. Interestingly, the biological and the social constructions of gender have been positioned in opposition to one another, yet this might not be the truth.

As Helene Cixious has stated, "biological sex and socially constructed gender are not separate or opposed, but rather form an integral part of what we are as individuals." This position implies that woman's character has been created through a combination of the two conditions, that neither functions individually, and that in working together they help make women distinct and separate from men. Hence, Freud was in some respects accurate in claiming that "anatomy is destiny." For as he assumed gender is achieved biologically, however it is also a product of socialization conceived through understandings of gender. Working together biology and socialization have sharpened those distinctions.

In the past, this separate women's character has been instinctively tied to nature. Ultimately this typing of the women has derived from women's reproductive capacity. This connection to the natural world has led to an understanding of women as non-rational beings because "femaleness was symbolically associated with what reason left behind- the dark powers of the earth goddesses, immersion in unknown forces associated with mysterious female powers. [While]

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maleness, on the other hand, was associated with clear determination." As Marie Fleming states in her article *A Woman's Place in Communicative Reason*, "women have been simply left behind in the state of nature." This stereotype of women as natural beings denies women access to male power structures which are entrenched in a process of "rational" thought that is believed to be incomprehensible to women. Capability in our society has often been determined by capacity for reasoning. According to Kathleen Okruhlik, moral reasoning that governed society was inherently different from ethical reasoning that was more particular to a women's mind. The distinction between the two forms made women appear less capable than men. However, this study showed women were less capable of moral reasoning while men were less capable of ethical reasoning. It is important to realize that comparing reasoning capabilities between the sexes is a little like comparing apples and oranges. The differences between the two does make either sex less equal to the other, just distinct.

Thus the question of understanding gender distinction is not a question of understanding the rational and the non-rational, but instead a process of understanding forms of reasoning. According to Jurgen Habermas society's understanding of reason is usually affiliated with what is termed "autonomous reason" while women's reason is connected to "communicative reason." Autonomous reason is marked by strong claims to impartiality and implied disinterestedness, while communicative reason is based around "a collectivity of socially rooted individuals that produced intersubjectively derived judgements of generizable interest

59 Okruhlik, *Women and Reason*, p.3.
for the community." This new more complex understanding of reason is not based on an individual set of absolutes, but instead upon a system that is flexible and receptive to real conditions. This difference in forms of reason is the essence of what separates men from women. Whereas men are more autonomous in their approach women are more connected to others. According to Susan Hekman in Gender and Knowledge, this receptivity, relatedness, and responsiveness is rooted in a female character that is built on caring. Consequently its women's capacity for empathy and nurturing that has conditioned her specific powers of reasoning.

Although women's sexuality has been a means of repressing women, it has also been a means by which women have accumulated power. Traditionally in our society, obstacles have been created to hinder women and empower men. Women's condition has provided her with flexibility and responsiveness that has allowed women to function within the limiting system. As Kaschak proclaimed men "take up more space and make a greater impact on the environment than do women. They must be more powerful in every way, from the personal to the institutional." In contrast, women have had to be more creative in finding ways to make statements because the structure within which women work privileges men not women. In her talk at the Rice Women's Conference, Monika Merz broaches on this situation when identifying the male "benevolent dictator" type. The benevolent dictator was a male figure who generously dispersed "gifts" upon the family in order to aggrandize his

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62 Hekman, Gender and Knowledge, p.141.
63 Kaschak, "Gender Embodied," in Engendered Lives: A New Psychology of
own position and reputation. Merz showed how this action was partly innate to the male ego, yet she also discusses women’s role in this construction. Women allowed men to take the credit for changes that were largely directed by their own ideas and impetus. This women’s solution was a response to a system that provided little opportunity for women to assert their own position and authority. This was a situation in which women had to create their own opportunities. Similarly, Irene Claremont de Castillejo demonstrates how women are able to gain power in personal relationships through their role as mediators, or "hetairas." According to de Castillejo the women’s "role of mediator lies in her capacity to mediate the unconscious of man." It is important to note that de Castillejo points out that the hetaira type will reflect the attitudes of his, the male, personal anima, but in order to mediate or direct the contents of the collective unconscious to him she must have enough "masculine" ego to assert her own desires." Therefore, in a subtle and usually not perceived manner women are able through their role as a "muse" to direct men’s actions. This ability to shape and reclaim control of their lives illustrates women’s adaptability, yet this situation also points to the fact that women do not need and desire public recognition to the extent than men do. Whereas men need the affirmation of their achievements, women seem not to need similar public acknowledgment of their accomplishments. Often this humility allows women to work in the background uncontested instead of the foreground, the uncontested male sphere. This distinction makes understandable

46 de Castillejo, Knowing Woman: A Feminine Psychology, p.71.
women's flourishing role within the domestic sphere.

This understanding of women's separate nature is not an attempt to supplant men's principles with women's values. Instead it builds upon what Jean Bethke Elshtain calls "sex complementarity" in which "females gain power and authority without positing the absolute superiority of the feminine standpoint." It is important to realize that neither sex should be preferred, but that sex does determine particular aspects of life. Although this interpretation is based upon an identification of gender specificity, it also realizes that people are also highly individualistic. Chaining either sex to narrow definitions reduces the actual role of gender in determining character. Consequently this approach attempts to show that the ways in which people think and act depict gender specificity in a broader sense, and is therefore more flexible. Gender can determine ways of thinking and acting, but does not specify particular actions. This approach is female in itself in that it accepts the collective attributes while trying to allow for the inclusion of the subjectivity of the specific. Understanding the woman helps to explain the changing conditions that directed the development of the American home.

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6 Hekman, p.140. From Elshtain's Public Man, Private Woman, 1981. This position is set in contradistinction to the "Second Wave" of feminism that accepted gender specificity as means by which to assert women's moral authority over men. Freidan, Betty. The Second Stage.
II. Establishing the Woman’s Domestic Influence, 1880-1920

Over and over I have heard that the borderlands are trivial, that they are a long way from the industrial zones and railroad terminals, that they are in the end feminine, frivolous, and undeserving of study.¹

Histories have marginalized the primary women’s realm of our society, suburbia. Analysis of this region has overlooked the role of women in the process of its development, focusing instead on more “objective” criteria. Therefore, an understanding of the house’s development has been attributed to various movements from Progressivism and Taylorism to Modernism and Postmodernism, and traditionally, women have been excluded from these interpretations. Despite this fact, women’s culture has been a driving force behind the development of the suburban house. Suburbia established a situation in which domestic architecture framed the woman, and the modern house evolved around a new set of domestic criteria that catered to the female perspective and position. The new house that developed was a women’s house, yet it is not studied as such. However, to come to a more complete understanding of the house the relationship of the women to her home must be determined.

It is important to realize that the American house was not always a women’s realm. With the shifting of the house to the suburbs and the removal of production functions from the domestic sphere the house developed a clearer sense of gender specificity. The gendered house was first evidenced in Catherine Beecher’s The American Woman’s Home from

¹ Stilgoe, John, Borderlands, p.16.
1869. Beecher’s book inaugurated the household reform movement, however with her work the idea of a woman’s home was also first institutionalized in our society. ² Beecher’s book addressed the new women’s sphere, providing women with the quintessential information for the running all aspects of the household, from nutrition to sanitation to architecture. Beecher wrote for women who as she said “increasingly had the opportunity to plan the house they would live in.”³ She believed that women could derive power through gaining control of the house. In the American Woman’s Home, domestic work and women’s considerations drove design. Male spaces of leisure and show, the library and the parlor, were subsumed to the female spaces of work and family relaxation, the kitchen and the living room. Although Beecher was ahead of her time, the women’s home in the near future would become the commonly accepted norm.

The suburban house that developed at the end of the nineteenth century was a reaction against late Victorian culture which has, in the past, been cited as a woman’s culture. Derived from Beecher’s writings, the new house designs produced a more realistic women’s house type. It was not a traditional type, in that it’s formal structure could not be easily diagrammed or catalogued. However, the house established a consistent set of criteria that became the essential components of American house design.⁴ These criteria did not mandate a specific form or aesthetic for domestic design. Instead, they premised a way of thinking about and considering the house. The woman’s house type,

² Frampton, Great Masterworks, p.11.
³ Sklar, Catherine Beecher, p.136.
⁴ The type of woman’s house that emerges is not one that could be considered a prototype, it is more abstract and provides more freedom in interpretation than a prototype is able to provide.
therefore, was allied more closely with nineteenth century
investigations of typology "that permitted adaptability to site and
flexibility for use."5 The women’s changes that first effected the
design of the house continue to guide domestic design within our
culture.

A basic premise of this argument is that women’s concerns for the
house are different from male concerns. Though, it is important to
understand that women are not different from men in the stereotypically
perceived ways, it is important to realize that distinctions do exist.
Traditionally, it has been believed "that men build and project while
women decorate and protect."6 The fact that women turned to the
interior world to express themselves during Victorian times has been
used to illustrate that all women preferred designing the subordinate
non-structural spaces. In actuality, women’s inclination towards
interior decoration demonstrated more clearly women’s marginalized
position in society. Around the turn of the century, when the house
began to change, women’s influence spread outwards from an initial
center of interior design to encompass the entirety of the house,
proving that women’s concerns and capabilities were not limited to
certain areas of the house. The new house expressed the particular and
distinct ways women thought about the home, and these women’s concerns
centered around personal preferences, as a means of privatizing the
house and encoding architecture.7 Hence, the new house was not an

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5 Mineo, Raphael. "On Typology", Oppositions, vol.12, p. 27. The type
that the woman’s house comes closest to replicating is described by
Ernesto Rogers. He is opposed to the concept of type-form, instead type
is developed in reaction to the architect’s identification of a real
type. Therefore the architect’s work leads to a contextualization of a
more generic type.
6 Betsky, Building Sex, p.xii.
7 Similarly, Suzanne Lebsock discusses in her study The Free Women of
absolute model, many varieties of the house developed out of the same ideology. As Katherine Roich stated in her article "the ideal home for any woman [was to be] decided by her own circumstances, her means, her strength, the society in which she moves, the size of her family, the cooperation she can have from her husband." The home was to be specific to its distinct circumstances. The modern house that developed was different from the Victorian understanding of the unique, that demonstrated creativity and culture. Instead, during the progressive era individuality was used to make the house more comfortable and easier to manage.

Traditionally, modern architecture has been defined as having its roots in male power structures, and hierarchical ordering systems, but the modern house is quite different and should be separated from this analysis of the modern project which refer more specifically to public and corporate projects. In the house the personal preferences that guided design were different from the highly rational issues that drove "public" architecture. This ideas were embedded in male ways of thinking that were more absolute and less flexible. In the house, on the other hand, the modern project was tempered by female rationale that accentuated more subjective criteria such as informalidad, functionality, and subjectivity, to guide the design of the home.

*Petersburg* that women's writing of wills differed from male writing of wills in their operating from a distinct female value system based around "personalism" which was considered to be more biased and less rational order. Lebscock, Suzanne. *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town.* W.W. Norton and Company, New York, 1984, p.112.


9 A primary criticism of modern public projects has been modernism's lack of responsiveness to particular situations and the sacrificing of the individual to the grand gesture of the idea.
Daphne Spain in her book Gendered Spaces stated that "the spatial structure of buildings embodied a knowledge of social relations, or the... rules that governed relations,” implying that architecture represented specific periods and cultures. Similarly, it is true that the house records the evolution of a women’s home. This study looks specifically at four suburban houses from the decades around the turn of the century to document the beginnings of a women’s home. By continuing this study through the twentieth century, the analysis also demonstrates that the aspects that first demarcated the women’s home have become both the accepted and expected elements of domestic design. The four houses chosen not only document the incremental changes made to the home between 1880 and 1920, but were chosen because they were considered to be part of the historic canon and embodied popular issues and symbolized the architecture of their era. It is important to realize that these houses were not typical American homes; they were not the builder’s residences found in contemporary plan books, ladies’ magazines, and mail-order catalogs. Designed by well known and respected architects, they represent architectural high design. They point to the fact that the women’s house was not just a middle-class phenomenon, but a universal occurrence. Three primary issues-informality, functionality, and subjectivity—distinguished the women’s house from the house of the previous era. These issues were the means

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10 Spain, Gendered Spaces, p.7.
11 I have chosen four houses one from each decade between 1880 and 1920 that can be considered to be representative of their era.
12 Julia Morgan is the exception to this rule, but it is important to include Morgan in this study. Morgan’s work often has been marginalized, even by people who have studied California architecture and are more familiar with her work. Morgan was an incredibly prolific architect, she “managed to design about twenty houses per year on top of many other more public commissions she was awarded. James, Cary. Julia Morgan. Chelsea House Publishers, New York, 1990.
by which women were able to claim the house and make the house their own. The four houses, H.H. Richardson's Percy Brown House, Frank Lloyd Wright's Winslow House, Greene and Greene's Jennie A. Reeve House, and Julia Morgan's Williams Mitchell House, demonstrate the first developments towards the establishment of a women's house. Analyzing these houses according to the three criteria provides a foundation for understanding the women's particular approach to the house.

The Informal House

Our house was nothing special it was just the way we lived.\textsuperscript{12}

At the end of the nineteenth-century a desire for simple living swept the nation, and the subsequent refugation of the house made apparent the rejection of Victorian styles and values that were more formal and regimented. An informal house arose in place of more traditional models to meet the needs of the changing society. Houses became smaller which facilitated the development of a more personal family home. Divisions within the home began to disappear and open plans became more common. Parlors were replaced with spaces for everyday living. While, the modern house still retained a sacred separation from the outside world, the new house expressed on the exterior the more comfortable character found within the house which allowed the home to remain a symbolic image of nurturing and caring. The shift towards informality has been attributed to many factors from the interest in the Arts and Crafts to the changing nature of the family

to the focus on progressive and populist politics. Ironically, rarely have these interpretations looked to women for answers, yet the changes in the house reflect more strongly than any other influence the women’s evolving status within the house.

The informal was primarily a reaction against the highly restrictive Victorian values that bound society. As the authority of the Victorians subsided, the women’s character influenced the house more freely. It was becoming more acceptable for women to have identities and interests separate from their family and husbands, and the more relaxed house that came into being at the end of the century reflected this changing understanding of women’s position. The emphasis on informality was the result of the women’s governing that was not based on traditional hierarchies and was not just concerned with decoration. It was a realm where women’s personal relationships and subjectivity governed design. Intimacy and comfort were valued over the more formal and pretentious relationships found in the public realm and was revealed in the house’s less showy, less ornate, more simple, more organic, and more open character. The new house was inherently female.

With the Percy Brown House in Marion, Massachusetts from 1881, H.H. Richardson attempted to create this type of comfortable and relaxed environment. (See figures 2, 3, and 4) The house was initially designed as a summer retreat, but shortly after it’s completion it was converted to meet the needs of year-round living. With this house, Richardson

"The configuration of the family was also in flux which was seen in the growing prominence of the nuclear family, the bearing of fewer children, the hiring of fewer servants. All of these changes worked to reduce the family’s size. However, women’s roles and relationships to the family were also changing in that women were being encouraged to look beyond the home for fulfillment of their desires. Women’s new found autonomy also effected the design of the house."
created an ideal image of informal living. The house was the smallest and least expensive house Richardson ever built, and the modesty of economics led to a simple design that was expressed initially in its outward appearance. The house broke with the 1880s dominating interest in Revival styles that led to more formal models. In total the house’s exterior diverged from the symmetrical precise facades of more classical models. It was long and low, making the house appear less obtrusive on the site, and the windows were used playfully in broad groups and in varying sizes and shapes making the house seem less rigid. The gamble roof and the position of the dormers created an irregular roof line that made the house’s presence seem smaller. The simple shingle cladding visibly accentuated the modesty of the design, and they were the primary vehicle for expressing the shift away from ornamentalism and pretense. They “provided classic unity without classicizing detail.” Shingles were representative of the “originality and invention” of the evolving "American Style." The building’s materiality functioned to unify the design while simultaneously becoming a means by which to free the house. In total the house’s exterior diverged from the precise symmetrical facades or more classical models.

In the Brown House, Richardson also worked to connect the house to its natural surroundings. However, this connection to nature is different than the Victorian’s alignment with nature which was achieved through irregular forms and excessive use of ornament. Here the front facade which faced the bay was open, and the verandah became the central

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16 The design did emulate 18th century vernacular models.
element that created a void in the composition. Included under the continuous plane of the roof, it created a transition zone between the domestic sphere of the house and the natural world of the garden. The wall that divided the interior and exterior was lined with glass doors that connected the two spaces, helping to extend the interior of the house into the natural landscape. Foliage was also employed to make the house appear less formal. Plants were a cloaking device that hid the house and allowed it to recede into the surroundings. After a century the foliage has completely engulfed the structure, and it appears as if the house literally grew out of nature. The back of the house was more tight and restrained. The fewer and smaller openings never interrupted the continuity of the house’s form, but even when more subdued the house’s design is not formal.18

The house’s interior also gestures towards this ideal of simple living. The primary living space was a single open area that was more spacious and airy than the enclosed compartmentalized rooms of the Victorians. No walls or doors separated the two primary living rooms. The fireplace created a delineation between spaces, but its projecting presence did not impede movement between the two areas. The flow of this space also extended outward into nature along the front wall that opened to the verandah (as has been stated before), but space also spilled into the large hall that ran perpendicular to these two rooms. The hall, new addition to houses of this generation, provided another living space within the house, but they also functioned as a mediators

18 In the Brown House it is difficult to delineate between the front and back facade because their is no clear symmetrical front entrance and no axially to the design. The facade that is actually the front facade is more relaxed and designed more like a back facade in Wright’s Winslow House. The ambiguity of the exterior indicates the informality and relaxed nature of the design.
of space connecting the front to the back and the public to the private.
These new layers of connections were the result of the break down of the
more traditional and strict separations, divisions that were no longer
needed or desired. Although this plan was innovative, it still retained
elements of more traditional plans. The kitchen was isolated from the
living spaces and the linear circulation pattern prevented the complete
integration to realms to develop.

Like the Brown House, the Winslow House in River Forest, Illinois
of 1894 also emphasized informality, but here this emphasis was not as
recognizable on first appearance. This house was Frank Lloyd Wright's
first commission after leaving Adler and Sullivan's office. (See figures
5, 6, 7, and 8) The house does not exhibit the maturity and complexity of
Wright's later Prairie houses. Wright's implementation of the informal
was quite different from that of Richardson. The most obvious
difference was the clear delineation between the front and back facades.
The separate conditions of the street and garden illustrate the tensions
that Wright perceived to exist in American society. Divided into parts,
the front "public" facade was symmetrically balanced and used double
hung windows. The facade used traditional materials - brick, plaster,
and stone - in fairly typical ways. It was a formal front which
functioned as a rational mask concealing the messiness of daily life.
In juxtaposition to the front, the back of the house was less restricted
and more free. The rear lacked the formal coherence of the public
facade. Using casement windows and interlocking forms it was
asymmetrical, and less restricted. The house opened outwards to the
rear exposing the messiness of daily life. As Robert Twombly
acknowledged, the back facade was transparent to both structure and
function, expressing the functional diversity of family life as the
front facade could not. Working with of variety of forms and materials that accommodated awkward ingredients such as service elements, Wright began to develop a more natural relationship between the disparate elements of the home. This development of more informal form became the impetus for Wright’s subsequent Prairie Houses.

Like later Prairie Houses, the Winslow House was also designed as a refuge from the hectic public world. Revering graciousness, hospitality, and rituals Wright illustrated these qualities in establishing the interior of the house as a sacred realm. The front facade clearly separated the street from the interior of the house that was cave like and nurturing. The low ceiling heights and tight spaces helped create this illusion of “light and warmth.” However, the horizontal emphasis also functioned to make the interior extend into the outside world of the backyard and terrace. The stylobate foundation that firmly set the house on the ground floor plane let the outside world pass freely into the rooms. But Wright still was able to control interactions only connecting the living areas to the less dangerous settings; space never flows into the front yard which is exposed to the public world..

Unlike these gestures to the natural world the plan of the house was not open. It employed a traditional wall system and maintained a common Colonial four-square plan. However, one aspect of the plan, the use of the fireplace and stairwell as a service core, was innovative. This combination of functions worked as a pin piece around which space and people moved freely. The core was the permanent and static element

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20 Twombly, *Frank Lloyd Wright,* p.40.
within the design, and it foreshadowed the placement of the hearth in Wright's open-plans of the prairie houses which did break down the formal divisions between rooms.

The interiors of the Winslow House also began to indicate the house's more relaxed attitude. Like the front facade the interior was more traditional and formal. A minimal aesthetic was employed to make the house appear more serious, but the materials Wright used softened the effect. The halls were paneled in large wood sheets that resembled cut stone in character. In actuality the walls were lined in rough cedar that looked more natural and comfortable. The windows of the dining room used leaded panes in an organic geometric leaf pattern designed by Wright. The cornice detail of the dining room's wood columns and the inglenook's metal columns mimicked the foliage forms of the terra cotta tiles used on the exterior. Wright tried to control all aspects of his house designs which usually regimented and restricted the lives of his clients. However, in the Winslow House Wright's overarching demands were tempered some what in that he employed some outside designs such as, the owner's iron work and art collection into the house's design. These concessions were not consistent Wright's later designs, and set the Winslow House apart from Wright's later Prairie houses.

On first appearance, Greene and Greene's Jennie A. Reeve House in Long Beach, California from 1904 is unlike Wright's house. Here the exterior uses every means to convey the comfortable life of the interior. (See figures 9, 10, and 11) Randall Mackinson attributed the informality of the Greene's houses like other California houses to the particular climate and landscape of the West which he believed
facilitated the desire and achievement of the simple life.\textsuperscript{21} The Greene house was a two-story, shingle-clad bungalow that had a timber structure, multiple gables and deeply overhanging roof that was common along the California landscape. This house demonstrated a more relaxed side of domestic architecture in that it was simple, small, box-like, and functional. Materials were used to express their inherent natural beauty, while the design worked to express function. Therefore the house was not ornamental or decorative in a traditional sense. Yet, although unadorned the variety of humble materials created a panoply of visual stimulus. The most impressive source of beauty in the design stemmed from the craft of the house which was the quality of fine cabinet making.\textsuperscript{22} Every element within the design was exquisitely detailed using craftsman ideals. The form and spaces of the Reeve House were simple, uncomplicated, and minimal. Their natural aesthetic made the living environment less formal and more amenable to every day living patterns while maintaining a connection to the more traditionally understood nurturing environment of the home.

The house’s simple square plan also helped create this more informal environment. The fireplace created a centralized cross-axial element within the living area. The living room, hall, and dining room formed an ell, around this piece, but the spaces were open and flowed easily from one room into the next. As in the Winslow House the fireplace controlled the development of the design. However, the kitchen was also similar to Wright’s previous design which included work spaces within the main structure of the house, and as in Wright’s house the kitchen only completed the circulation plan, not really integrating

\textsuperscript{21} Makinson, \textit{Greene and Greene}, p.70.
women's work into the living spaces of the home. An uncommon element in
the Reeve House was the bedroom situated on the first floor adjacent to
the living room. Its location provided the downstairs with a more
private family room, but it also served as a women's suit like the one
found in the Better Homes competition. (See figure)

Julia Morgan's Williams Mitchell House, in Berkeley, California
from 1912 was designed much like herself and her career, in that it
"hoped to remain anonymous." (See figures 12, 13, 14, and 15) The
Williams Mitchell House was a small redwood shingle cottage designed for
the steeply sloping hillsides of California, and the house was nestled
comfortably into its surroundings. From the street the house was
unobtrusive and appeared to be a single story tall, much smaller house
than the three floors it actually was. The lower levels of the house
descended down the hill and were hidden from view. Like the Brown House
and the Reeve House before it, its informality was readily apparent in
the exterior structure and materials. Morgan's house has been
categorized as adhering to Arts and Crafts ideals in its craftsmanship
and simple organic design. But Morgan's house was more eclectic and
more freely borrowed from a variety of styles to carefully mold the
house to its users lifestyles and surroundings.

Morgan extended this exterior informality to the planning of the
house. It was a simple design based on a simple plan. Here Morgan

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I am sorry to say slides and historical information are lacking for this
house, like much of Morgan's work. But this is fitting and ties
Morgan's work more closely to women's ways of making which in the past
have occurred in relative obscurity. Morgan actively fostered the
development of her own anonymity. She did not give interviews and would
not allow her work to be published, and when her office closed its
doors in 1951, she destroyed most of her working drawings because she
had no place to store them.
"rejected the pursuit of innovation when a good, feasible solution was already available," and the house’s plan has been described as "classically comfortable." The plan was compact and was intended for a servantless household. The house provided both more spacious and intimate rooms that suited the nature of the two female physicians who owned the house. Morgan manipulated a traditional four-square layout into an open-plan. The entry floor was a single open-space that revolved around a stairwell core. No interior walls divided the rooms, but the functions remain clearly delineated. The dominant piece in the primary three room arrangement was the living room which was an large open-area that extended the length of the house. Incidentally, this room has a view of the San Francisco Bay, and the back deck was used to connect the interior to these surroundings. Morgan also used windows, flower boxes, and natural materials to add to this rooms more relaxed character. Within this open-plan, the separation of realms dissolves. There was very little that separates living, work, and private areas of the house. However, not all spaces are open and exposed, which is evidenced in the shift in scale between the dining room and living room. The living room has a high ceiling and hand-crafted trusses while the dining room was lower, where the ceiling and doorway frame the space. The change in scale signals the more intimate nature of space that was reserved for private family interaction. Within this plan the entry has been shifted off-access to the side of the house which provided access for the doctors offices, and also removed the living areas from unwanted intrusion, allowing the more informal plan to develop freely.

The shift towards informality was not solely produced by women to

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meet women's needs. However it is ignorant to write women's influence out of an understanding of this change to the house at the end of the nineteenth-century. The result of the informal house benefited women and the desiring of informality is consistent with women's concerns for their homes. Informality suited women's more personal and private relationships, and also created an environment that was more sympathetic to the dealings of every day life. A formal model was not as consistent with women's interactions and subjectivity, and thus it is prudent to reason that women effected this change in the houses character.

The Functional House

At the end of the nineteenth-century, use supplanted aesthetics, as science supplanted the Cult of True Womanhood. This new infatuation with function and practicality transformed the house. Architects were more aware of work spaces and began designing the house around the spaces for work. Therefore the primary work areas: the kitchen, pantry, laundry room, and bathroom changed in both design, materiality, and use of technology as these rooms came to occupy more central location within the plan. The changes made the house easier to use and to clean, and along with the house's reduced size the reforms made the house more manageable and less cumbersome for women, the primary caretakers of the home. In the past, the development of the function conscious house has been attributed to the sanitation movement and domestic science's efforts to make society more aware of dirt, germs, and disease and Taylorism's push to mechanize and industrialize the house. Rarely have women's contributions to this "rational" type of house been acknowledged, however the beneficial and detrimental effects upon women
have been realized. Writers such as Dolores Hayden, Gwendolyn Wright, and Daphne Spain have argued the relationship between the functional house and women. In each of these instances, women were not understood as the driving force behind change, and instead they have been pegged as the victims of modern technology's new tools of enslavement. As the primary beneficiaries of these innovative changes, it seems logical that women would desire and promote the shift towards the more functional house. Ideally, the more streamlined and efficient house would allow women more time to pursue other interests and provide women with a greater center of power within the home. This rhetoric was similar to the rhetoric used by the initial movements and instigators of reform, and therefore seen as repressive and restricting of women. The changes made to the house that focused on science and technology should be analyzed in relation to women to provide a more complete understanding of the extent to which women's involvement in the project of the modern functional house influenced design.

In the Brown House, concern for functionality was most clearly expressed in the building's compact size which was made readily apparent on the exterior of the house. Unlike most of Richardson's domestic designs, this house was clearly designed as a smaller summer residence and no extra space was allotted for domestic servants. Therefore the house was designed for easy living and easy maintenance, that could be accomplished by the woman of the house. The compact, easy living nature of the design was made apparent, in that the plan did not accommodate the extreme separation of functions and realms. The beginnings of the open-space between the living room and dining room expressed the desiring of more flexible spaces. Although the kitchen was included within the main structure of the house, it was still functioned on the
periphery, removed from the more central living areas. The separation of the kitchen illustrated that the work spaces were still not completely accepted aspects of the family living environment. The kitchen’s plan shows no evidence of built-in units or free standing appliances which indicates the modern influence of technology into the home. The lack of innovation in the design of the kitchen suggests that function had not become central to the design of the house yet.

The house’s consideration of function, however, was also expressed in Richardson’s use of materials. Function in this form becomes integral to the design of the form and spaces. The use of shingles and lack of ornament pointed to the simplicity and ease of the rest of the house, but the views of the interiors more clearly illustrate the continuation of this aesthetic. The walls were painted in light pastel colors and simple wood trims were of dark green, no other ornament or wall treatments were added to the interiors. The sparse design made the house easy to care for and to manage which was helpful considering the house was originally intended to be used as a summer residence. The extensive use of windows was also more conducive to creating a more functional open and airy environment, that was beneficial for both work and health. From the exterior the placement of windows appeared random, however, their situation was based on necessity and demonstrated the primacy of function over aesthetics.

Similar to the Brown House, the Winslow House was a compact suburban house, and along with the innovative layout of the house these changes made domestic work easier for women. An open-plan was budding in this design; it focused movement and space around the core structure of the stairwell and fireplace. The circulation plan made the house smaller than more compartmentalized and linear circulation plans. It is
also important to remember that Wright was designing this house for middle-class clients, and therefore no separate servants wing was included. The subsequent house had to be more conscious of women's work. The kitchen in this house once again was situated in a peripheral location, and it was still separated from other functions by the pantry and the side hall. However, within this plan the kitchen became a key component in connecting the house, the circular flow pattern reduced energy spent moving between functions and spaces. This location allowed women to access all other rooms easily from one primary center.

As the kitchen's position within the home was changing its interior design was also being modified. Unlike the Brown House, Wright's plan articulated the fittings and appliances to be housed in the kitchen. This shift indicates that these new appliances and materials—built-in counters, shelves, sinks, refrigerator/ice box, and stove—were considered part of the total architecture of the house. Wright in his article "The Art and Craft of the Machine" described the necessity of integrating the new industrial methods into domestic design. He saw the machine as a tool for providing a decent and uplifting environment for new patterns of life.25 His refiguration of the design and expectations of the kitchen which included the addition of storage and work spaces helped ease women's of work, and therefore the new design of the kitchen became a vehicle for unburdening women.

In the Reeve House functionality was integral to the nature of the building. The Greene's careful craftsmanship of the house led to a design that began to include built in furniture and spaces such as bookshelves, chairs, and lamps as well as storage closets and

25 Curtis, Modern Architecture Since 1900, p.78.
inglenooks. The built-in designs were devoted to two issues; they created spaces that concealed and organized the clutter of daily life and they made the house more comfortable and cozy. The inclusion of storage although standard today was new for this era, and indicated the shift towards a consumerism that had engulfed American culture. With houses becoming smaller and a new emphasis on simplicity and efficiency houses had to dedicate more space to storage. However, the implementation of built-ins and standardized units, to meet the new houses needs, led to the general shift towards uniform and prototypical designs of the house which later became the model for creating more efficient and economic houses.

Functionality was also accounted for in the Greene’s bungalow style house. The bungalow was small cottage type that had its roots in practicality and was devoted to simple life of the common man. Like Wright’s Winslow House, the Greene’s Reeve House circulated around a core structure, but here walls did not define the separate areas in a typical manner. There existed a clear delineation of spaces and functions, however, the rooms came one step closer to achieving functional and spatial flexibility. The house retained the separation between rooms which was more common in the bungalow type and was a outgrowth of the vernacular models. The separation between areas was not as strict as those found in Victorian houses, and the distinctions between realms were disappearing quickly, as was evidenced in the focus on function which was seen in the kitchen’s compact design and the addition of the bedroom to the first floor. Like Wright’s kitchen, the Greene’s work space was also highly crafted and detailed. Together the kitchen, pantry, and dining room formed a linear unit that was more efficient to use. In addition to these amenities, the downstairs
bedroom was added to the design which functioned as both a family room and nursery, allowing the woman to oversee and perform all aspects of domestic work more easily.

The Williams Mitchell House also demonstrated its concern for functionality through the use of an open-plan. The top floor virtually created one space that contained the kitchen, the dining room, and the living room. Rooms in this triad were prioritized with the living room being the largest most open space, while the kitchen was the smallest and most compartmentalized section. The house demonstrated the dissolving of separations between work and living. The kitchen played a new role in this house in that it connected and mediated between the garage and the main living area of the house. Garages at this time were typically detached structures, but here it was integral to the main structure of the house. This feature aided in eliminating unnecessary walking distances and foreshadowed the development of a very common feature of many ranch style houses designed a couple of decades later.

In this house, the kitchen connected functions and was conveniently located for women to assume more control over the house. The design also did away with the pantry; instead shelving and storage were incorporated into the more compact plan of the kitchen. This change was important for two reasons first it removed unnecessary space that supposedly slowed women's work and second it removed buffer zones that had previously existed between work and living. Both of these factors helped to integrate women into the living spaces of the house. The kitchen, as in the design for the Winslow House and the Reeve House was drawn to show the designed and crafted elements of the work space.

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26 Entry into the Williams Mitchell House occurs on the top floor. The house descends three floors down a steep slope from this floor.
Shelves, counters, sinks, and drains were integral to the room. In this more compacted kitchen, Morgan was careful to leave the center space clear, allowing easier movement between functions which minimized wasted energy. It is important to remember that the clients for this project were professional women, and their desire for ease and functionality demonstrates that the changes in the home were, at least in part, driven by women's impetus and rational desires that made their lives easier.

It is important to realize, that although based in different reasonings, the effects of informality and functionality have often created similar effects. The similarity of the responses indicates that the background ideology that was driving movements was often very closely related, even when not discussed as such. The concern for progress in general led to the similarities in work, however their is one aspect of the designs change that is solely attributable to women's effects upon the house. These changes do not fit the normal trends of their era and represent the women's subjective approach to design of the house.

The Subjective House

Subjectivity is not an issue by which the house has been readily understood. This category defines changes that can be thought of as women's exclusive ways of thinking about domestic design. When Susan Hekman wrote about women's "receptivity, relatedness, and responsiveness" she was not referring to women's effects upon the house, but the house has been a prime recipient of the women's distinct character. This emphasis on inclusivity is tied to women's desire to 'protect', and is also tied to women's ways of preferencing that are not
absolute, hierarchical, or discriminating. Subjectivity within the design of the modern house is not manifest in a single form, but there are a few primary characteristics. The first steps towards a more subjective position can be seen in the move to include furniture and textile design into the realm of architecture of the middle-class home. According to Aaron Betsky, a primary change of the modern house was that it "was not built, constructed, or ordered, but [instead] assembled, arranged, composed, and decorated" which were more affiliated with women's ways of making. The new interest in interior space, was in part an assuming of women's more traditional roles as decorators, however, decoration became a necessary element in the house's design, integrating the structure, materials, and furniture into one coherent system. This more inclusive approach extended to the designing of spaces that were more flexible. Multi-functional rooms broke with the compartmentalization and over separation of spaces found in earlier Victorian models. Rooms facilitated more than one family or one person to appropriate the space, making the plan more adjustable to situations. Inclusivity was also defined in the design's ability to create conditions that suited the particular needs of the users. This expression of subjectivity worked within the existing framework of the house's design, tweaking only certain conditions that made the house better suited to the family. The repercussions of this kind of thinking can be seen in modern development homes that allow families to choose interior materials, paint colors, and particular plans. In bringing all conditions within the house into the realm architecture discussion, women were more easily able to make the house their own.

27 Betsky, Building Sex, p.xiv.
The Brown House took steps towards creating a design where the exterior expressed the life of the interior. Simplicity governed, and materials expressed this order on both the exterior and the interior. Richardson emphasized surface continuity and the materials demonstrate this desire for unity, in the use of shingles and the unadorned wall treatments. "Outside, the only touch of ornament was given by the varied shaping of the shingles, and inside, pleasant tints alone relieve the plainness of the woodwork."\textsuperscript{29} The refinement that Richardson was able to achieve without decoration became the motivating idea behind this project, and the modesty of detail made the building appropriate to its surroundings. In essence, detailing and size become extensions of the desire for simple living, and the modesty of detail extended to the compact nature of design of the house. However, the extent of this shift towards more inclusive design was not overly apparent, but the consistent implementation of modesty made this house a stepping stone towards future inclusive works.

The Winslow House more adamantly expressed this inclusive approach. Wright used the roof structure and the horizontal emphasis to create a system that drove the design of the entire house. Later this system along with Wright's use of the fireplace and interlocking forms would become the signature style of the prairie houses. In hiring Wright, many owners relinquished their ability to effect the design and the lifestyle of their houses. Wright did adhere to a few particular requests made by the client. Specifically, he followed Winslow's instructions for "a house devoid of frills, but with a solid

\textsuperscript{28} Betsky, \textit{Building Sex}, p.141.  
\textsuperscript{29} Scully, \textit{Modern Architecture Since 1900}, p.95.
elegance". Wright's design for the Winslow house represented the "unspoiled instincts and untainted values" of the middle-class client, who was a businessman. The house adhered to Winslow's qualifications but still retained Wright's signature style. However, in the Winslow House, Wright's belief in the primacy of his architecture was not as firmly established, as it was in later years, which can be seen in Wright's adhering to his clients requests and implementing designs not done solely by himself. To a certain extent Wright's belief in architecture as art was already manifested in Wright's work for the Winslow House which was almost entirely detailed and furnished by Wright. The masonry treated foliage, the cast iron columns, the leaded glass windows, the urns on the porch, and the geometric furniture were all created by Wright, and together they unified the disparate elements of the house's design. This system began to equalize the various aspects of the design in that exterior was not prioritized over the interior, and similarly structure was not more important than decoration.

Wright was forceful in his approach to designing the house. As Henry Russell Hitchcock stated "his furniture completed a room... and molded interior space". In distinction to Wright, the Greene's approach built upon a similar principles in that their designs finished the house, but their interiors "were gentler more reticent in design, apparently more comfortable, and certainly more elegantly complete as furniture." The Greene's process created "the pieces in the environment rather than the environment." Their beautifully crafted

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30 Curtis, Modern Architecture Since 1900, p.77.
31 Curtis, Modern Architecture Since 1900, p.78.
32 Jordy, "Craftsmanship as Structural Engineering," p.241
interior was much softer and was more flexible for the family and clients than Wright's more absolute design approach. The dining room with its built-in side and china cupboard that coordinated with the chandelier and lamp that used Tiffany glass with vine-patterned leaded overlay demonstrated this fact most clearly. The Greene's were more permissive of including other's work in their designs, and at times they even readily employed others work. The chair and table designed for the Reeve House were modeled on Gustav Stickley's furniture for the Craftsman which used similar woods and details. Like Wright, the Greene's coordinated every aspect of the architecture, but their system was not as controlling and as regimented. However, the totality of this small design did establish the Reeve House and as one of the Greene's most significant bungalow designs.

The Williams Mitchell House was not a totally designed as the previous two houses were. Instead Morgan's houses tended to be more eclectic, acknowledging and embracing the haphazard nature of collecting and accumulating that families go through. Morgan's design for this house was economic and simple. It was a redwood shingle cottage that had to be designed to a small lot situated on a steep hillside in the Berkeley hills. Morgan was noted for her "ability to mold her designs to the personal and budgetary needs of her clients."34 In this case the site and client were the most important considerations. She developed a reputation for development of designs on the basis of their own merits, not as economy versions of larger houses. Morgan also gained notoriety for excessively competent and careful designs. Her designs were based upon fairly standard plans that she manipulated and worked to fit the

34 James, Julia Morgan, p.56.
clients needs. In the case of the Williams Mitchell House she was
designing for two female doctors. Consideration was given to creating a
public office at the front of the house and accommodating a garage for
their car which would have been difficult to park on Berkeley's steeply
slopping hills. Another more subjective decision was the counters at
2'8" for female clients. 35 The noted primary weakness of Morgan's
houses was their "lack of boldness... but that was what attracted many
admirers."36 The lack of her own hand in the process prefaced the needs
of the clients over her own desires.

Initially, this analysis reveals more assuringly the existence of
a women's separate realm based around a woman's informality,
functionality, and subjectivity. While these houses demonstrate women's
influence within the design of the house, the design of the women's home
is more clearly represented in the popular-culture magazines of the
late-nineteenth century. The changes seen there were a means of both
empowerment and subjugation for women. The house represented in these
magazines established a relationship between the woman and the home,
that indicated the women's changing position in society. Looking at
middle-class house in mass-media periodicals is a way of documenting the
women's house, but also reinforces the study these suburban designs.

35 James, Julia Morgan, p.56.
36 Boutelle, Julia Morgan Architect, p.129.
Part II
III. Magazines, Houses: Construction of Women’s Identity

Between 1890 and 1940, American culture of consumption took its modern form: products were mass produced and mass distributed, designed to be purchased and rapidly replaced by a vast buying public.¹

The late 20th-century is saturated with mass media assisted buying, selling, and consuming. The consumer is offered products that have been analyzed, designed, packaged, and marketed to appeal to mass target audiences. Since the turn of the century, the illustrated magazine has been one of the primary stereotypical purveyors of consumer capitalist ideas. Women consumers have been the beneficiaries of journal marketing. The proliferation and success of today’s women’s journals such as Martha Stewart’s Living, Sunset, Good Housekeeping, and Better Homes and Gardens are a case in point. These magazines make it difficult to imagine a time when gendered domestic magazines did not exist. However, it was not until the nineteenth century that gender became marketable. For the first time women were actually targeted as consumers, a potential market with their own needs and desires, distinct from those of their husbands and their families.

A variety of movements helped accentuate the differences between the sexes creating a demand for gendered production. Many of these movements fall under the heading of Progressivism, but they can be broken down into individual units. The Cult of True Womanhood which was first discussed in the 1840s promoted the moral superiority of women. This ideology continued to effect the house in modified form into the

late 19th century. Suburbanization which first began in the 1840's, and became a more popular living option after the Civil War removed production functions from the house and established the house a women's realm. Nineteenth-century feminist movements led by women such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman worked towards acknowledging the economic value of domestic work and socializing household functions to relieve women of their domestic burden. The sanitation movement popularized a cultural obsession with cleanliness and helped instigate the shift towards streamlining and mechanizing the house. The domestic sciences built upon this theme and promoted women's education to encourage women to become experts of their new factory like home. The aesthetic movement motivated women to become professionally involved in the arts and the design of the house. These movements might seem disparate and unrelated, but they were united in their ability to effect women's roles in society. The combination of these various movements led to wide ranging discussions of women's issues. It was these concerns that the magazines attempted to deal with through their writings. The dramatic effect these issues had was in part due to the incredible distribution and popularity of the women's magazine. The popularity of gendered periodicals provided women with a commercial power that they had not previously experienced.\(^2\) This new "buying [of] magazines and consuming [of] commercial products- insofar as they involved choosing, making decisions, and at least some small measure of autonomy- represented an appealing expansion of activity for middle class women, [and although] this expansion built on tasks previously designated as womanly and did not involve an abrupt change [of women's roles]," it did change women's

\(^2\) This point is expanded upon by Ann Douglas' Feminization of American Culture.
expectations and understanding of their position within society.¹

Concurrent with the changes in gender awareness were improvements in rail transportation, mass production of printed materials, lower postal rates, and national advertising that allowed for monthly magazines to become primary vehicles for addressing the woman consumer.⁴ The widespread popularity of the magazine format with producers, advertisers, and readers made its growth inevitable, and magazines experienced a phenomenal period of growth around the turn of the century.⁵ The "magazine revolution", as it was termed by T.J. Jackson Lears, exhibited the proliferation of cheaper periodicals with larger circulations and more sensational contents.⁶ "One sign of this rapid expansion [was] the shift in commercial discourse from conceptualizing potential buyers as customers to describing them as consumers."⁷ The reference indicated a less personal approach to marketing which coincided with the change in market size.

The process of gendering commodities was used by publications and

⁵ Between 1880-1900 America was transforming into an urban industrial society. The 1880s were a critical transition point for the country. Steel, machine tools, and electric power all allowed for human labor to be replaced by machine labor. In the 1890s alone, 90% of America's steel went towards the building of railroads, by this time over 1/3 of all the rails tracks were located in the United States. The industrialization of society that was occurring created an atmosphere that was conducive to the development of larger markets both because the output of production was faster and greater and the speed of transporting goods was greatly increased. Professor Haskell, History 312, American Thought and Society, Rice University, 10/24/95.
⁷ Damon-Moore, Magazine for the Millions, p.10.
advertisers to personalize products, and make them seem more familiar with readers. This feminization of American culture was not always positively received and it did come under attack from literary realists that opposed the neoromatic overtones of the women’s periodicals. Silas Weir Mitchell expressed male conventional wisdom when he complained that “the monthly magazines were getting so lady-like that naturally they will soon menstruate”.

Male resistance to women’s periodicals was indicative of the changing values of the society, but the development of these publications helped transform American society.

The Ladies’ Home Journal and The House Beautiful were two extremely popular monthly magazines designed to cater to this new market. The Journal was first and foremost a women’s magazine; though after 1895 the magazine also provided house designs. The House Beautiful, on the other hand, focused on illustrating progressive houses, while promoting women’s issues and progressive politics in addition to its housing program. The “modern” ideas espoused by these magazines made them popular with American mass audiences, and they became influential arbiters of taste and culture. The magazines’ formats, a combination of practical housekeeping information, women’s issues, and house and interior designs are still the premise upon which most contemporary women’s magazines and house journals are based.

They became part of an emerging tradition of diffusing information on domestic architecture to the majority of Americans, particularly the

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8 Lears, T.J. Jackson. No Place of Grace, p.104.
working classes who could not afford expensive architecture, and who
desired a single family home in the suburbs. 10 This novel method of
influencing domestic architecture created a new discourse within house
design, and strengthened the innate connection between the woman and the
house. In retrospect, these two magazines constitute an excellent
survey of the American middle-class home. This study is an attempt to
use these magazines to better understand the evolving relationship
between the new woman and her home during the period, 1890-1910, a time
when women's relationship to the home was fully in flux.

The Magazines

In 1883, the Ladies' Home Journal was founded, by Cyrus Curtis and
Louisa Knapp Curtis in Philadelphia. It began as "Woman and the Home",
a supplement column of women's concerns, published in a local farm
magazine, Tribune and Farmer. The magazine eventually evolved into an
independent women's publication, in 1887, upon reaching a circulation of
400,000 subscribers. 11 At this point the magazine sold for 5¢ a copy,
and thus was accessible to most women throughout America. From its
earliest days the Journal's influence was of "undisputed importance." 12
Though other women's magazines such as Godey's Lady's Book and the
Ladies' Book preceded the Journal, they were of a considerably smaller

10 Jennings, Jay. "Cheap and Tasteful Dwellings in Popular
Architecture," in Gender, Class, and Shelter: Perspectives in Vernacular
Architecture Volume V. ed. by Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L.
Hudgins, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1995,
p.133.
11 Roth, Leland M. "Getting the Houses to the People: Edward Bok, The
Ladies' Home Journal, and the Ideal House." Perspectives in Vernacular
Architecture IV, ed. by Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman, University
of Missouri Press, Columbia, Missouri, 1991, p.188.
scale. In 1889 Edward Bok replaced Knapp as editor-in-chief.\textsuperscript{13} Under Bok's tenure, a period which ran until 1917, the magazine drastically grew in popularity and readership. In 1903, the Journal was the first magazine to surpass a million paid subscribers; by 1910 it was estimated that 1 in 5 American women were reading the Journal.\textsuperscript{14} In an amusing turn of phrase, it became known as "the Bible of the American home."\textsuperscript{15} Similarly, Stanford White in 1906 stated that he "believed that Edward Bok had more completely influenced American domestic architecture for the better than any man in his generation."\textsuperscript{16}

Under Bok's leadership the magazine became more conservative in its approach while remaining focused on middle class women and their issues. Louisa Knapp's publication had "defined itself in ways that simultaneously reflected both approved and suppressed definitions of womanhood"\textsuperscript{17} which differed from Bok's Journal that represented women in a less realistic and more idealized fashion. This difference may be attributed to the fact that Knapp's journal was produced by women to a greater extent. Bok's system was devised to create an idealized image of woman. While Bok wanted to cater to his female readers, he also sought to speak for them; his attempts at providing a variety of useful new departments to entice and interest his diverse female audience were indicative of his overall project to shape his readers. While Bok was

\begin{itemize}
\item An interesting aside is that "Bok was hired by the Curtis's for his business sense not for his limited basis with print materials for targeting women." Damon-Moore, \textit{Magazines for the Millions}, p.59.
\item This phrase was used by James P. Wood, \textit{The Curtis Magazines}, New York: Ronald Press, 1971.
\item Damon-Moore. \textit{Magazines for the Millions}. p.34.
\end{itemize}
personally skeptical of the evolving "New Woman", his magazine was
careful to provide a variety of points of view, ranging from the
progressive to the traditional. However, the Journal did not generally
take a radically reformist stand on women's issues. For Bok was aware
that he was writing for middle-class American women who were primarily
conservative in their outlook. The appeal, as he phrased it, was "to
the intelligent woman, rather than to the intelligent type." 18 Bok was
not interested in creating a magazine that promoted women's liberation;
a magazine for the intelligent type. Instead his publication worked with
traditional values that an intelligent woman positioned in the home
could relate to. As Helen Damon-Moore stated in her book Magazines for
the Millions, "Bok's magazine was much more reflective of its culture
than it was a magazine of light and leading", and it gained popularity
with this approach. 19

The Journal's keynote became "intimacy", the personal tone with
which it was written helped make it accessible to women. 20
Interestingly, Bok's female experts edited the magazine's standard
service columns and household departments known for their more familiar
tone, while men supplied the popular exciting features used to advertise
and promote the magazine. 21(See figure p.85 and 176) Authors such as
Reverend DeWitt Talmadge, President Rutherford B. Hayes, Reverend
Charles Parkhurst, and President Theodore Roosevelt were hired by the
magazine to write monthly articles that asserted more traditional and
conservative gender roles. Aggressive with the magazine's content and
format, Bok continually amended the publication to maintain its level of

19 Damon-Moore, Magazines for the Millions. p.82.
success. His tactics of expanding the service departments, providing more correspondence with readers, adding literary features, providing house designs, and creating a new modern format with handsome color work and advertising sections kept the magazine current and fresh.

In 1895, the Journal began publishing house designs, costing between one and five thousand dollars. These houses were designed by prominent architects from around the country, and were published in a very specific format. An entire page was devoted to presenting an elevation, floor plans, interior perspectives and the architects notes about the design. The presented work provided a good overview of the design, but more detailed drawings could be purchased from the magazine upon request. A complete set of working drawings were sold to readers for five dollars.

In general, the houses in the Journal were current, modern, reform-minded designs for middle-class families building their own homes. Aesthetics and affordability were the primary objectives; consequently the Journal's houses were "simple" low cost designs that balanced an artistic and comfortable character with economic and efficient plans. A primary objective in publishing these plans was to help get families into their own suburban houses. Bok believed by

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22 "Godey's Lady's Book had published a similar architecture feature between 1846-1892," but it was neither as successful or progressive as Bok's version. Frances, Ellen E. Progressivism and the American House: Architecture As An Agent of Social Reform. M.A. Thesis University of Oregon, 1982, p.48.
23 The $5 set of plans consisted of a complete set of construction documents that supposedly any contractor could build from. This offer to sell plans in this format was first presented in "The Model Suburban House," by the Journal's Special Architect William Price, LHJ 14, July 1897, p.17.
24 One of Bok's primary aims was getting American families into homes. One aspect of marketing was the affordable designs, but Bok also published department's such as "How We Saved for a Home", running between January and October, 1903, that provided personal accounts of
producing plans that eliminated the overhead cost of the architect’s fees he could make the professionally designed home a reality for the middle class. The Journal’s designs, along with other similar publications designs, have been attributed with finally putting quality housing within reach of the middle-class family.25

In contradistinction to the Journal, The House Beautiful was devoted almost solely to the development of the house. Founded in 1896, the magazine, edited by Virginia Robie,26 was the vision of Chicagoan Herbert S. Stone.27 Asserting Stone’s new ideal home, The House Beautiful emphasized “simplicity combined with beauty.”28 Stone hired architects and showed houses that illustrated a similar reform-minded ideology. Designs by Frank Lloyd Wright, Robert Spencer, Charles White, Myron Hunt, and Lawrence Buck regularly appeared in the publication.29 Arts and Crafts ideology filled the pages of The House Beautiful. There is no one single definition of the Arts and Crafts style, and the magazine acknowledged this fact by liberally appropriating its ideology. The magazine

encouraged restrained simplicity, the honest and direct use of materials, the integration of the building with nature, the unification of fixtures and fittings, and the expression of an elevated moral ideal.30

how single women and young families could afford to buy a house.
25 The popularity of magazines, plan books and mail order houses all helped get American families into suburban homes, but the popularity of the Ladies’ Home Journal made its influence more strongly felt.
27 The House Beautiful was actually founded by Eugene Klapp, but it was bought by Stone within its first year. Mott, v.v., p.155.
29 These architects became the core of Prairie School designers that revolutionized house designs in the next decade.
30 Curtis, Modern Architecture, p.78.
The designs tended to follow these guidelines, but the magazine also promoted a non-professional approach to architecture believing popular participation and communal discussions would improve the design of the house. As a supplement to Stone's vision the magazine became a forum for discussing progressive reforms. *The House Beautiful*, showed designs critiquing both the good and bad points of the house. Stone made the design of the house more accessible to his readers through the promotion of popular participation. Diverging from the Journal, *The House Beautiful* was hesitant to spotlight the work of expert professionals. In effect, it was more interested in getting the readers involved in the process of house design, and believed that a non-professional approach would facilitate readers' responses.  

Stone believed that this method would help improve the design of the home, because it was the people, the readers that actually lived and used the house. Therefore the magazine espoused "popular participation" as a format for redesigning the home. Focusing more on the architecture and readers' responses, *The House Beautiful* believed it would be able to monitor the public's pulse and provide reform minded designs that suited their needs. Like the Journal, the magazine was instrumental in providing good and affordable designs for the middle-class readers, but unlike the Journal, it never sold designs. This choice was, at least in part tied to the fact that

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32 The *House Beautiful* began to implement competitions into the magazines format in 1898. The Journal also used competitions to get readers involved, but the Journal's first competitions focused on presenting the best built Journal Architect designs. The second competition series $3000 Country Houses presented designs by relatively unknown architects. In contrast, Bok felt that designs for the Journal should always be designed by professional architects not by builders or
Stone wanted the readers to become more involved in the design of their homes. However, it was also a result of The House Beautiful's format which functioned as a critique, providing analysis, understanding, and evaluations of the houses that made it more difficult for the magazine to operate as a broker of architecture.

Although The House Beautiful never formally affiliated itself with women's causes, the sentiments of the editorials and the articles tended to show a bias towards woman's issues and progressive politics. In 1904, The House Beautiful incorporated a new department concerned with home economics, sanitation, and women's suffrage and education called "The Woman's Forum." The column was written and guided by Marion Talbot, Dean of Women and Associate Professor of Sanitary Science at the University of Chicago. The addition of this monthly section confirmed the strength of women's readership, in that these topics were believed to satisfy women's interests and knowledge in the running of the home. The lack of any similar male-oriented departments makes evident the fact that men were not the magazine's target audience. Not surprising, the majority of staff writers and the correspondents to the magazine were women; this focus and format facilitated the implementation of women's ideas into evolving American home design.

While using slightly different focuses, both magazines became leading voices in architectural taste and culture of the time. Their popularity with female readers ensured that the house would be discussed and designed with gender and domesticity in mind. To understand the evolving union between the woman and the house, it is first important to

owners.

The Journal under Bok's tenure did begin publishing departments for men. But the departments were written mainly to provide women with a better understanding of their men.
understand how the messages of the magazines and the role of the house before the progressive era affected women's identity.

Schizophrenia and The Messages of the Magazines

The image of woman that the magazines were advocating around the turn of the century was contradictory and complex in nature. The ideal woman was supposed to be a happy help-mate that sacrificed her life to her husband and family, but she was also supposed to be concerned with professional work, education, and enlightenment. The mixed messages that the magazines were sending were problematic for women because they abstracted an image of womanhood that no woman could live up to. The messages promoted a superhero type of women which was just not possible. To understand the effect of these messages on house design it is important to understand the messages the magazines were relaying to their readers.

Using Betty Freidan's methodology of studying magazine heroines in *Feminine Mystique* can be helpful in establishing a means of understanding the messages that the Ladies' Home Journal and The House Beautiful were providing to women around the turn of the century. Like magazines directed towards women today, the Ladies' Home Journal and The House Beautiful provided messages to its readers that helped to construct and define woman's identity. The popularity of the magazines has allowed them to become the conveyors of what women should think, eat, wear, and buy. Betty Freidan, in her study used magazines' representations of female heroines in the 1950's, to describe the state of American womanhood. She examined the contents of magazines to establish the dominant female identity of the era. Specifically, using
McCall's heroines as an example, she found that

the image of woman that emerge[d] from this big, pretty
magazine [was] young and frivolous, almost childlike; fluffy
and feminine; passive; gaily content in a world of bedroom
and kitchen, sex, babies, and home. 34

Freidan postulated that the magazines' representations were, at least in
part, responsible for the shaping of expectations and desires of women
in the 1950's. She found that these women were more passive and less
resolute than women of the generation before who were exposed to
different model heroines in their times. 35 Through this study of the
1950's magazines Freidan was able to establish a clear relationship
between women's identity and the magazine's messages which situated the
magazines as vehicle for identity construction.

It is important to remember that the Journal and The House
Beautiful were middle-of-the-road publications that took few risks, that
their popularity was rooted in conservative politics and conventional
positions on women's issues. Both publications were saturated with
messages that would appeal to the largest base of female readers. To
ensure popularity their messages could not have a single voice or tone.

34 Freidan, Betty. Feminine Mystique. Dell Publishing, New York, 1962,
p.36.
35 "In 1939, the heroines of women's magazine stories were not always
younger, but in a certain sense they were younger than their fictional
counterparts today[in the 1950's]. They were young in the same way that
the American hero has always been young: the were New Women, creating
with a gay determined spirit a new identity for women- a life of their
own. There was an aura about them of becoming, of moving into a future
that was going to be different from the past. The majority of heroines
in the four major women's magazines... were career women- happily,
proudly, adventurously, attractively career women. And the spirit,
courage, independence, determination-the strength of character they
showed in their work as nurses, teachers, artists, actresses,
copywriters, saleswomen- were part of their charm. There was a definite
aura that their individuality was something to be admired. Freidan,
Feminine Mystique, p.38.
Instead, the magazines "had to present, in a popular forum, images of femininity and masculinity with which a large number of readers could identify."36 Thus, the magazines ended up presenting a relatively broad range of views and opinions, commonly accepted by middle-class women. The consequent schizophrenic messages of the Journal and The House Beautiful presented a precariously split female personality. One representation supplied a traditional role of femininity and womanhood that centered around the world of home, while the other was invested in a progressive image of woman that promoted her entrance into the public realm (i.e., women were encouraged to both stay at home as "happy homemakers" and to go to school to become self-supporting "bread-winners"). The confusion engendered by the messages underscored the contradictions embedded in the new complex woman's identity, and helped indicate that her identity was in transition.

Many of the practical help articles that the Journal and The House Beautiful provided depicted a traditional image of woman as home slaves. Women were depicted working hard within the home without monetary compensation, but the magazines were hesitant to claim women were slaves to the home because their success was invested in maintaining the existing societal infrastructures that placed women squarely within the home.37 Instead work was presented as a labor of love. The notion that women wanted to be tied to the home was popular because it reinforced accepted women's roles as wife and mother. In "The Joys of Housecleaning", Katherine Pope suggested as much:

A woman who cannot take part in such pure joy[housecleaning] is no woman at all, lacking in domestic home instinct. A

36 Damon-Moore, Magazines for the Millions, p.77.
37 Burdette, Robert J. "Making a Suburban Home." LHJ, July 1894, p.16.
woman who quails at thought of the refurbishing of her home is a weak sort of creature, who looks upon her belongings as burdens rather than possessions, does not deserve possessions. If she were normal, she would enjoy seeing her dusty draperies switching in the wind, her pillows airing on the line, walls bare and ready for hand cleanser, floors clear of rug and mat... every housewife should be glad to renew indoors that it be harmony with renewed outdoors.  

This depiction supported the notion that women who did not love housework were abnormal. The possible feelings of inadequacy that such opinions engendered could make many women feel inferior among peers. Pope reiterated the common sentiments that a woman's place was at home, tending to the issues of domesticity.

Other opinions presented by the magazines also called into question woman's ability to work in the professional world outside of the home. In the article, "Why Women Have No Time", Junius Henri Browne stated that women only did housework from dawn till dusk because they were non-rational beings who were prone to frittered their time away. Edward Bok expressed similar sentiments when he stated that he "thought that women arrived at conclusions by something he called "instinct" rather than by "reasoning". This view of women supports the earlier connection made between women and slaves. Like slaves women were assumed to be incapable of thinking or providing for themselves which extended the belief that women needed to be protected and sheltered. Implicit in these arguments was the assumption that women were not capable of rational thought- in essence suggesting they were not, as a group, capable of doing "real" work found in the public realm. The acceptance of them helped to maintain the status quo that kept women out

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of professional spheres, by keeping them in the house, in jobs they were "capable" of accomplishing.

Besides reinforcing the notion that women were not as capable, rational, and strong as men, the magazines concomitantly used a condescending and prescriptive narrative that reinforced the image of woman as weak and helpless. Women were given advice on how to manage the home, how to plan a meal, how to set a table; the list of prescriptive tasks appeared endless. In effect, instruction in the most simple of household details exaggerated the idea that women needed someone to look out for them. In the article, "Housekeeping as a Profession", Edith Dickson professed similar sentiments stating that,

> if a woman wishes to be happy and not to break down in strength and health, let her look upon the care of her home as her profession in life, and regard all other pursuits as simply occupations for her leisure."^{41}

Dickson presumed that domestic work was less taxing and less rigorous, and thus more appropriate for the delicate composition of women. She assumed that men’s and women’s work were not equal, at least not in terms of effort and exertion. This acceptance of the inequality of gendered work and devaluing of women’s work helped to maintain society’s expectations of women.

However, traditional positions were not the only propositions of the magazines. In some cases, these opinions were tempered by a belief that a woman could succeed in society on her own. The magazines published a variety of articles that encouraged the development of the modern women. Articles ranged from promoting women’s

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{41} Dickson, Edith. "Housekeeping As A Profession." *LHJ*, December,
professionalization to advocating the women's domestic training.

"Women's Chances as Bread Winners" by Elizabeth Robinson Scovil, a department that ran monthly in the Ladies' Home Journal during the early 1890s, informed women about professions open to them. This column encouraged them to think of nursing, teaching, art, medicine... as potential career possibilities. (See figure 18) By providing helpful advice about the work, the education, the material and physical demands, as well as the cost of given professions. Scovil tried to provide as much information as possible in the hope of inducing women to consider a professional career. Through positive reinforcement she encouraged women at least to consider the possibilities of professional life. In one article she stated,

> there is no reason at all, so far as I can see, why a woman, with proper training, should fail in success to take a house from the architect.⁴

Scovil's faith in women's ability and competence to do "a man's work" illustrated that old stereotypes of women and women's work were being called into question.

The issues that were being discussed in the Journal were current social issues as was made evident by Russell Pitman, a women's instructor in the aesthetic arts and a leader in the Aesthetic Movement. He stated near the end of his career reflecting on the work of Candace Wheeler who was one of his pupils,

> let men construct and women decorate. How foolish! ... I now say let women construct or decorate or do anything else

1891, p.28.
according to their ability or inclination.\textsuperscript{41}

Pitman's evolving view of women made evident the changing perceptions of women's abilities that were becoming more popular by late nineteenth-century American culture. This evolving understanding of women places Scovil's articles among the discussions of the time, even though they seem to stand in contradiction to some of the more traditional sentiments found in the Journal.

While trying to inform women about the benefits of professional work, the Journal also tried to furnish monthlies such as "The Distinguished American Women" devoted to presenting successful working women as positive role models.\textsuperscript{(See figure 19)} Professional women such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Candace Wheeler, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps were presented to readers in this format. Other columns, such as "Clever Daughters of Clever Men", "Unknown Wives of Well Known Men", and "The Woman Who Most Influenced Me" all sought to provide women with a new ideal type. The literary departments reinforced this agenda featuring stories by Helen Keller, Jane Addams, and Louisa May Alcott, all of whom sought to demonstrate that women were capable of living independent and fulfilling lives outside of their homes and families.

Although women were encouraged to pursue education and careers, the articles in the magazines were never able to completely separate the woman's identity from the image of the nurturing home. However, some of the more ingenious writers used this contradictory duality to help empower women. Rather than resist the ties to home these writers used the home as a vehicle by which to educate women. Although this path has been construed as aiding in women's subjugation, this tactic also

\textsuperscript{41} Stein, The Aesthetic Arts, p.33.
provided women with an accepted means by which to challenge societal stereotypes of women's capabilities. Education in the domestic sciences was promoted to encourage women to become authorities of the domestic realm. The Journal stated that women

at the head of a home [would] find it an immense advantage to familiarize herself intelligently with the special construction of the house she live[d] in there [would] be plenty of times when she [could] use all this knowledge to advantage.44

Helen Watterson Moody suggested that women specifically look at particular systems of the house, the mechanical, the furnace, the plumbing, and the drainage to become more self-sufficient and independent. It was believed that education and expertise would legitimate and equalize woman's work, while also providing women with self-reliance and unquestioned power within the domestic arena. This modern interpretation of the woman's sphere stretched the understanding and acceptance of women's roles as authority figures. This line of reasoning was also used to help give women more time to pursue their own interests, many of which occurred outside the home.45 It was thought that

quick [educated] intelligence [would] constantly suggest easier methods, more skillful tools, economy of time, and also economy of strength" that would save women time and energy.46

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44 Moody, Helen Watterson. "What It Means To Be A Housewife." LHJ, April, 1899, p.22.
45 Later studies contradict the belief that economizing housework would save women time and provide them with more free time of their own. What was found was that this focus and obsession on efficiency only produced more work for women. Hayden, The Grand Domestic Revolution, p.
Although these changes in women’s roles do not seem radical by today’s standards, the thought of women asserting their autonomy and power over the home was a relatively new concept. The acceptance of this change was rooted in the perception that these new roles did not pose a threat to the dominant male culture. This subversive tactic helped alter the perceptions of woman’s work, whereby women’s work would be seen as valuable and equal to that of men. In addition such tactics also helped to empower women by making the house their center of unquestioned authority, not just a world of separation and denigration.

The types of mixed messages seen running throughout the text of the two magazines were also found within their featured advertising. Advertisements such as those for Pearline Soap and Standard Plumbing, presented a traditional picture of women happily engaged in domestic life, providing nurturance and guidance for family. (See figures 20 and 21) These wives and mothers were not the new modern professional woman, they were more closely associated with the self-sacrificing domestic helpers of the Victorian age. Juxtaposed to these images were advertisements that positioned women as the primary decision makers within the family, in control of consumer decisions and the family budget. Marion Talbot reinforced this ideal when she stated that

a wife who manages her share in household matter has as much influence as her husband in their prosperity; for as a rule it is the labor of the husband that brings in the money of the family, but the judgment of the wife that regulates the spending of most of it.47

47 “The Opportunity of the Householder,” The House Beautiful, p.120.
p.143
The advertisements for Pompeian Massage Cream and William’s Jersey Cream Toilet Soap demonstrated more explicitly that women were the primary consumers within society. (See figures 22 and 23) In the William’s Jersey Cream ad, male products were being marketed towards women buyers. It was not that men were no longer able to consume, but that women had become the accepted consumers for men. 48 Similarly, it can be assumed that women were the primary consumers of home products and house designs that were displayed in women’s magazines. Whether or not women had unilateral power, the responsibility for making family decisions was at least in part theirs to make.

The dual messages of the magazines provide insight into the split between women’s desires and women’s responsibilities, between the woman she wanted to be and the woman she was supposed to be. Both of these images in and of themselves was an ideal type, but together they helped to configure the new hybrid “ideal woman” that was popular during this era. Woman still saw marriage and family as their primary responsibility, but the promise of education and independence offered new opportunities. In the article “What Is Your Highest Ambition,” the Ladies’ Home Journal interviewed college “girls” about their career and life goals. (See figure 24) The article demonstrated that even educated women were torn between the two ideal images. Some like the woman at the University of California felt “a woman’s highest calling, [was] as a wife and mother,” still others were career oriented. One woman at Wellesley College wanted to be “a success on the stage,” while a woman from Brown University “wanted to be independent, to feel that [she] could rely on [her] own resources for a living and not have to call in

48 In her book Damon-Moore looks at the success of the Washington Post as a male gendered publication. She found that it was not until the
the help of anyone." More important perhaps was the suggestion that these women had a choice. The reconfiguring of the Cult of Domesticity provided a vehicle for allowing women this choice, and although many modern day feminists have criticized this period for not having pushed women's issues far enough, it was successful in inducing women to go to college and have options. By 1920, 47% of American women went to college and the 14th amendment was passed. These changes in society were at least in part due to the success and popularity of these two magazines that provided a form of women's progressivism that was acceptable to the general public. These mixed messages helped create and refine the new image of an ideal woman with a foot in the domestic world and a foot in the public world. This reading of women was neither solely traditional nor solely progressive, but instead was a blending of the two qualities. More importantly, these messages were concordant with the house designs emerging on the pages of these two publications. The house like the woman was developing a split personality, becoming more modern and more rational, usually considered a male characteristic, yet it still retained a connection to the personal and the emotional world of "women". This dual nature of the evolving house was like the woman herself, more inclusive and flexible. To understand these changes within house design during the progressive era, it is important to first understand the character of the Victorian house, the type that the progressive house was reacting against.

Post begin marketing towards a women's audience.
49 "What Is Your Highest Ambition," LADY, January, 1903, p.4. While the article listed this one woman as attending Brown University in actual fact Pembroke College was the women's college affiliated with Brown at the time.
50 In 1958, only 37% of American women were going to college. Freidan, Feminine Mystique, p.16.
The Victorian Woman's House

The women of the family are at home. The mother slouches low in a chair, reading a newspaper that connects her to an outside world we see only as light, shadows, and a few leaves. The curtains are almost drawn, the woman sits beneath the mirror that doubles the objects around her, and she is hemmed in by heavy couches. The children play between rugs and tiger skins, creating their own way through the layers of soft surfaces that seem to drown the room. Each object speaks of other sensuous worlds that exist somewhere else but are here only for their texture, their feel, their aura. There is an air of stillness, as if the incessant movement that makes the space of the exterior such an active one has been smothered by the inward turn.
Between all these materials and messages, the children play hide and seek, trying to find a path for themselves in this parlor.\(^{51}\)

Betsky's image of the Victorian house was a "woman's" house, a lavish interior world shut off from the dangers of the outside world, filled with feminine fantasy. (See figure 25) Ideally situated in the suburbs, the Victorian house was a setting of luxury and comfort, softness and frivolity, at once a place of [both] refinement and exotica."\(^{52}\) Architecture, specifically the home, symbolized and expressed the values of this culture. Therefore there emerged a "nostalgic image of the family home as a place of strong feelings and delicate emotions."\(^{53}\)

The Victorian society that this house represented was more formal than the "comfortable" society of the later Progressive era. The house of the Victorians sat in contradiction to the more relaxed houses that would be illustrated on the pages of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *The House Beautiful*. Traditionally, the Victorian era has referred to the

\(^{51}\)Betsy, *Building Sex*, p.139.
\(^{52}\) Wright, *Building the American Dream*, p.106.
period in the middle decades of the nineteenth century that continued through the early 1890s onset of the Progressive era. Importance during the Victorian era was placed on the demonstration of culture, decorum, and respectability. This emphasis on convention and behavior helped assert women's moral and religious superiority over men, but it also functioned to restrict women within society. The Cult of True Womanhood, that positioned women as the moral caretakers of society, evolved simultaneously with Victorian culture and values. Although this ideology was initially discussed in the 1840s it continued in modified form through the late nineteenth century. Its ideology still resonates to a degree within our culture today with the continued presence of women within the home. The Cult of True Womanhood "glorified the wife's role in creating a calm peaceful retreat for her family, but did not acknowledge a woman's desires for herself. Obsessive fears of impropriety, corruption, and scandal led to more restrictive measures. Embodying the identity that women were supposed to aspire to, the home became a means by which to help construct proper roles and identities for women. It established controls as well as possibilities that helped guide women's lives. These changes were first seen when houses moved from the urban center to the suburban retreat.

With industrialization and rapid expansion of urban centers Victorians no longer believed the city to be the proper environment for family life. The new suburbs offered isolation from urban market values

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54 The Progressive era officially begins with the election of McKinley into office in 1894. The Progressive era is accepted to extend until 1932 while the Republicans dominated both Houses of Congress. The exception to this rule is Woodrow Wilson's presidency that extended from 1912-1920 which brought the Democrats into power for a short while. From class notes from Professor Haskell's, "American Thought and Society," History 312, Thursday, November, 9, 1995.
and factory conditions. It was believed that "the private dwelling in a safe residential neighborhood would protect the wife and children from the dangers of the wicked city." The house was seen as "a safeguard against moral slide." Through separation the home became sacred within American mythology. The image of the lone house, on the landscape, provided the illusion of independence. It was a self contained entity, a fortress, that secured and protected the family, but this seclusion was bought at a dear price, women's entrapment.

Many varieties of a Victorian style house emerged at this time, but there were a consistent set of elements that described the general character the house. (See figure, p.26) One of the most notable aspects of the Victorian house was its expression of individuality. Creativity was construed to mean complexity, intricacy, and naturalness. Therefore the houses tended to ramble along in a hodgepodge creation of form. The irregularity of the houses' outlines illustrated this fact best.

Designs were not clear, rational, or simple, but instead they seemed to grow like wild organisms. Walls, roofs, windows, and rooms were pushed and pulled to create elaborate formal gestures, but the forms had no real purpose or function. Victorians believed these manipulations and contortions symbolized and connected the house to the natural order of the world. Although these ideas were present in most homes at this time they were most prevalent and highly emphasized in houses designed by builders. "Builders [the primary designers of the age, who naively] claimed that architecture could assert almost as much natural imagery as the landscape itself." The individuality and naturalness that intimated affiliation to purity and morality, often just helped to

55 Wright, Building the American Dream, p.96.
56 Jackson, Crabgrass Frontiers, p.48.
create a house that was more concerned with ostentatious living.

Atop the irregular "natural" forms of the houses, layer upon layer of ornament was applied. These layers were the clothing of the house. They wrapped, covered, and hid the house from top to bottom, much the way that women were hidden within clothing. (See figure 27) This similarity to women's clothing of the day was exposed in Priscilla Harris Dalrymple's description of the horrifying Victorian styles that exhibited

billowing hoop skirts, modest poke bonnets, absurd and cumbersome bustles, dirt collecting trains, painfully corseted wasp waists, leg-o'-mutton sleeves, outrageous hats—[and] where one sartorial excess succeeded another. 58

Women's fashions were used to idealize and restrict women, and throughout the Victorian era technology and style were being implemented to "modernize" designs. Fine steel hoops replaced the layers of petticoats and heavy coarse crinoline lining, and bodices became less elongated, more loose, and more ruffled. In turn flounces were added to the skirt to make them fuller and wider in proportion to the fuller body of dresses. These changes in women's clothing were similar to changes found in the ornament of the house that more effectively hid the woman.

In domestic design, industrialization created faster and easier production processes that made mass-production of ornament possible. Similar to the effects within fashion design, industrialization initially led to more restrictive house designs. Industrial processes created more ornate pieces of decoration that tended to be

57 Wright, Building the American Dream, p.106.
indiscriminately applied to the house. This system fostered an attitude of over implementation of overly excessive ornament. Rough limestone, wide clapboards, cedar shingles, green patina on slate tiles, all used for a single facade, gave the look of natural materials and venerable aging to a new home. Layers of machine details, of bizarre forms, added to the irregularity. Finally, a wide range of colors would appear in tandem to provide the finishing touches to the family's masterpiece of individuality. The result was a garish and opulent display of materials, ornament, and color. The total external appearance of the house was designed to personify the values, the status, and the beliefs of the family, demonstrating their individuality and uniqueness.

The complexity of the Victorian exterior penetrated to the interior of the house, and the layering process continues. (See figure, 28) Almost every square inch of the house was covered with some element of decoration. Windows were shrouded in both sheer muslin and heavy brocade drapes. Sensuous plush fabrics in rich deep colors lined the walls. Wood floors were completely concealed under ornate wool rugs. Abundant furniture, of which there was a lot, was made of heavy, dark woods and tended to be awkward and cumbersome. The maze of chairs, tables, couches and art made movement and maneuvering within rooms difficult.

It was important for the family to establish the home as their own center of society and the endeavor to create an instructive surrounding was a means by which to create a more protective nurturing environment. The home provided sensuous, indulgent experience, but was also designed to provide children and family with a basis for education. Like Soane's design for his own house, Victorian houses provided an arts and cultural education. In effect, the "sophisticated interior was supposed to be,
in one sense, a book that would repay several readings... that might be explored by family friends and visitors."59 Women were expected to be the procurers of this education. They were to use their creative artistic skills to exhibit art, nature, history throughout the home. The subsequent cluttered interior provided a variety of stimulus that became the tools for instructing children about the world. The popularity of eclectic design in the houses of this age demonstrated the contemporary cultural fascination with exotic cultures which developed with the imperial conquering of foreign lands.

The plans that developed for these houses were also incredibly complex and fragmented. Excessive separation of space was used to divide the house into two primary realms, the public and the private, and two secondary realms the served and the servants. These divisions split the house into three sections the public, the private, and the servant. The public realm was located on the first floor at the front of the house while the private realm of women and children was relegated to the second floor of the house.60 Servants spaces were situated out of sight, towards the back of the house on both the first and second floor. The individual spaces provided each type of function within the home its own space. However, the separation of spheres also made it possible to control social interaction, at once protecting the family from corrupting influences of the outside world and allowing a family to maintain the high degree of etiquette and decorum commanded by Victorian ideology. The compartmentalization of spaces preserved the strict ordering of the family affirming the more restrictive roles placed upon

60 It was expected that the wife should spend some time in her bedroom, reading her favorite books or doing needlework. Clark, The American Family Home, 1800-1960, p.40.
women.

The separation of spheres also allowed for the establishment of a hierarchical ordering within the home. Americans of the Victorian era built into their homes a certain amount of gender segregation that both reflected and perpetuated men's higher status... women did not have property or voting rights, and few had college educations. Women's space was subjugated to the second floor of the house where they could be safely removed from public spaces of interaction. The parlor, was the exception to the rule. It was a woman's space, but even it was controlled by the watchful male eye. For women the home was a controlled environment, but for men the home functioned quite differently. Men were provided rooms that facilitated freedom. Libraries were to be at the back of the house and afforded with separate entrances, so gentlemen could come and go without disturbing the family.  

The distinct differences between male and female spaces assured men a situation where their privacy was guaranteed while women were assured that their actions were always being watched and observed. Similar freedoms within private spaces only occurred for women on the second floor where there was no fear of contact with the outside world. This distinction between men and women existed because

the public as an immoral domain meant rather different things to men and women. For women, it was where one risked losing virtue, dirtying oneself, being swept into a disorderly and heady swirl. The public and the idea of disgrace were closely allied. The public for the bourgeois man had a different moral tone. By going out in public, or losing yourself in public, as the phrase occurred in ordinary speech a century ago, a man was able to withdraw from those very repressive and authoritarian features of respectability which were supposed to be incarnate in his person, as father and husband, in the home. So that for men, the immorality of public life was allied to an undercurrent of sensing immorality to be a region of freedom, rather than of simple disgrace, as it was for women.  

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Isolation within the home also functioned to, "remove women from the interaction with men that might have exposed them to information related to their public status." The controls established by society were embedded in the designs of the houses to ensure women's position in society. They effectively functioned to limit women's ability to take control of their environment by not allowing them near the centers of public power.

Separation of rooms was also based on an interest in functional design. This consideration of functional design was quite different from that seen in the progressive era. Here every function within the house was differentiated and separated, and the consequent floor plans created a maze-like interior. The sheer number of rooms made obvious their obsession with separating functions. Houses often had a hall, a library, a parlor, a dining room, a servants' hall, a pantry, a kitchen, a sewing room, two separate staircases, chambers, bathrooms, and servants' chambers. Every function no matter how small had its own specific space. The idea of function in the Victorian house was tied to the necessity of maintaining separate realms which was different from the necessity of function which would be expressed through rational and minimal forms. Therefore, spaces in the houses, like the roles of women in society, were not flexible but highly ordered, working to maintain appropriate behavior through the use of controls.

Two characters influential in the development of this version of the American Dream home were Andrew Jackson Downing and Catherine Beecher. These two were the premiere promoters of suburban living and

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83 Spain, Gendered Spaces, p.123-124.
the single family home, helping to construct the prevailing ideology
governing domestic architecture. Downing was a landscape gardener
who associated suburban or country living with virtue and health. He
thought that house design should focus on three principles:
picturesqueness, functionalism, and symbolism. His version of the
picturesque developed from eighteenth-century landscape design and the
romantic movement, and his writings promoted a similar production of
narrative and allegory which was expressed through irregularity,
asymmetry, and "harmony with nature". This vein of thought had great
implications for new housing. Alexander Jackson Davis' Llewellyn Park
in New Jersey, with its curving roads and picturesque landscape, was
designed with similar principles in mind, Downing built upon Davis'ideal of suburban living."(See figure 29) Functionalism incorporated
use and convenience into domestic design and tied aesthetics to the
expression of truth. This rational approach hinted at the beginnings of
desire for functionally-determined form, but here in its infancy
function just tried to mimic nature. Symbolism was similar to this
representation of nature in that it invested meaning into the domestic
architecture of the times. Through symbol the house "represented
stability and independence of Jefferson's yeoman farmer, [and also]
symbolized the virtues of the nation, the family and the land."65 These
three elements repeatedly drove the design of the architecture,
especially that of the single family home during this era.

Catherine Beecher's approach to the American home was slightly

64 Llewellyn Park was designed by Alexander Jackson Davis, whose designs
were later published by Downing. Bowsher, "Edward Bok's Attempt to
65 Bowsher, "Edward Bok's Attempt to Promote Good Design in the
different from that of Downing in that she was primarily concerned with the functional household. Along with her sister Harriet Beecher Stowe, Catherine wrote for the middle-class woman "who increasingly had the opportunity to plan the house they would live in and at the same time had to do much of their house work." (See figure 30) Beecher believed that women "could derive their power from training their children and providing shelter for men... She became the ultimate domestic feminist, demanding women's control over all aspects of domestic life." Dolores Hayden has identified in Beecher's writings as establishing the now familiar stereotypes of gender. Beecher believed that women in no way should compete with men, but in this relinquishing of the business world she established the home as a center for women's authority. Subsequently, Beecher encouraged women to study domestic science and technology to help them manage their households; her advice ranged in scope from nutrition to electrical systems to house design, in which she demonstrated a pragmatic approach for women to follow. The designs she produced for the house illustrated an efficiency with respect to housekeeping that continually reiterated definitions of female dominance within the home. In the American Woman's Home she employed a simple Puritan plan which implemented nineteenth-century technology. This streamlined and simplified house produced the new woman's home as a center of work and flexibility. Beecher's works had their greatest effect during the Victorian era in establishing the home as a woman's center of authority over family life and her innovative designs for the

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68 Puritan in this situation indicates the simple two room plan that resembled the early vernacular two room houses found in colonial America.
house would become a springboard for designers during the progressive era. In the end Beecher's project worked for home economy which was liberating for women, but in retrospect as Hayden found her feminine realm was also about servitude.

By the end of the 1890s, the Victorian model was being questioned. The emphasis on individuality, ornamentation, and maintenance of separate spheres was no longer looked upon favorably. Many women felt smothered and stifled by the totally repressive environment of the house. In her short story, "The Yellow Wallpaper", Charlotte Perkins Gilman chronicled her own state of depression and neurosis caused by her entrapment within the home.

The story was, on the one hand, a heartening account of a middle-class white woman's attempt to claim sexual and textual authority... But on the other hand the story was nonetheless a very dark and hopeless one in which even the imprisoned heroines most likely source of aid-solidarity with other oppressed women- remained but a private fantasy.69

Gilman demonstrated that women confined to the home "would become inevitably narrowed and weakened by it"70, it was not the outside world that was exhausted for women but the house itself that drove women mad, or in this case the wallpaper. Gilman's own account called into question the works of both Downing and Beecher, who promoted women's isolation within the home, especially the home in the suburbs. This damnation of Victorian ideology became more commonly accepted during the next decades by women and reformers who believed the ostentation of the house symbolized the moral depravity of the era. This skepticism of the

house questioned the notion of the Victorian house as a woman’s house; it examined whether women’s decoration, the symbol of women’s presence and control, was actually functioning to entrap women. With this shift in ideology, the house became a target for social reform at the end of the nineteenth century and a candidate for a new type of women’s home.

IV. The Ladies' Home Journal and The House Beautiful: An Architecture of Constructing Women

Under the constant pounding from architects, social reformers, planbook writers, and sanitarians, the Victorian system of values crumbled. In less than two decades, Queen Anne and Eastlake houses went from being works of art and monuments of individual achievement to being attacked as 'architectural atrocities' and 'hideous landmarks of forty years ago' based on 'the craze for imitation and deceit.' By the start of World War I, the older standards for middle class housing and family life had virtually disappeared.¹

The years between 1890 and the beginning of World War I were marked by extremely rapid change in popular architectural taste. Middle-class Victorian homes were replated by rustic bungalows and modest colonial homes that emphasized informality and spontaneity. The social and cultural confusion of the late nineteenth-century led to universal attack on Victorian ideology, specifically focusing attention on the horror of domestic architecture. The transformation began with the home because "most Americans recognized the family as the basic unit of society and viewed the house as an influential social unit."² This position made architects leaders of the movement. As John S. Bergen states the acceptance of this mentality meant that, "the American architect [had] a great opportunity as a leader of the people toward honesty, simplicity and directness, he educate[d] their tastes and controlled to a great extent their morals and happiness."³ People believed that the house alone held the future for American society, and consequently invested its hopes in its metamorphosis. However, it is important to remember that in general, "the decade of the 1890s became

² Frances, Progressivism and the American House, p.2.
³ John S. Bergen, from Curtis, Modern Architecture Since 1900, p.72.
a period of experimentation in reforms in all areas of American life, including women's rights, public health, consumer products, public participation in government, temperance, and better housing for all.⁴

The Ladies' Home Journal and The House Beautiful followed this line of faith, providing examples of progressive houses to their female readers. Central to this faith was a call to reorganize and rationalize the single family home in an attempt to democratize society. The designs were "devoted... to reshaping the heavily-idealized single-family house, giving it new forms and seeking ways to make such a house available to greater numbers of people."⁵ Prairie, bungalow, and colonial revival designs provided the masses with professionally designed houses. The houses emphasized taste and economy. They were a direct response to these aims that put an end to the overly ornamental and excessive architecture of the Victorians. The magazine also "endeavored to illustrate houses costing from $1500 to $75000 [for a family] whose family income was from $1200 to $2500" to help persuade families about the importance of both good design and home ownership.⁶ The changed house most conspicuously effected the middle-class home, where the magazines had their largest readership. It was with the professional middle class that the possibility of owning a home was most conceivable. The mass availability of such designs through magazines, plan books, and catalogs of these decades, at least in part, has

⁵ Roth, "Getting the Houses to the People: Edward Bok, the Ladies' Home Journal, and the Ideal House," p.187.
⁶ Roth, "Getting the Houses to the People," p.189. Only upper middle-class professionals could feasibly own these houses, but the format of using magazines to provide designs did begin a trend of providing affordable houses through periodicals. Kenneth Jackson reinforces this fact in Crabgrass Frontier where he sites ownership statistics for the city of St. Louis in 1930. (See figure 31) Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier, p.325.
contributed to the successful shift towards quality home ownership.

The popularity of the houses, like the success of the magazines, was rooted in a general conservatism, and the "designs [in this format] rarely took any risks; they came from what was out there". Many of the houses imitated the popular designs found in "Inside a Hundred Homes," a monthly department of the Journal, and "Successful Houses," a monthly department of The House Beautiful.(See figures 32, 33, and 34) The houses were designed by respected and well-known architects, but were rarely great works of architecture. Most were usually more instrumental in diagramming the progression towards a more modern ideal, rather than illustrating the ideal itself.

Although the home was changing, architects were not able to separate houses completely from their traditional symbolic meanings. Therefore, the new identity of the house was similar to the new identity of woman that was unable to break with the responsibilities of being a wife and mother. The house exhibited a dual nature which was the product of a simultaneous process of looking forward and looking backward. The dualities embedded in house indicated a need to hold on to past notions of nurturing and comfort while establishing modern progressive roles based on the fostering of rational thought and women's

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7 Frances, "Progressivism and the American House," Ellen Frances in her dissertation presents the Journal's architecture as an agent of progressive reform. This assessment of the designs is correct in that the architecture became a means by which to reform the house, but the designs still rely on an acceptance of traditional models for their inspiration.

8 Jennings, "Cheap and Tasteful Dwellings in Popular Architecture", p.140.

9 "Inside a Hundred Homes" was published monthly beginning in October, 1897. Some variation on this theme, whether it be Inside Some California Homes..., continued in the publication for the next ten years. "Successful Houses" began with the first edition of The House Beautiful and continued as a monthly through the first decade of the 20th century.
equality with men. What was interesting was that these differing
tendencies were not mutually exclusive, and the confusion that
proliferated in house design illustrated this struggle to define the new
model. Together, the past and future identities intertwined to define a
new ideal in house design. These characteristics have, over time,
become understood characteristics of the house. The synthesis of these
inherently contradictory features opens the door to other possible
multiple readings of the house, for example the house as both an
enslaver women and as a positive role in women’s lives.

The magazines’ houses chronicled this first phase of feminization
of the home. The new woman’s house was different from the stereotyped
feminine spaces found within the Victorian interior. (See figure)
Whereas the Victorian interior represented women’s confinement, the
progressive house represented women’s attempts at liberation. The
evolution of the magazines’ house designs have been attributed to the
success of progressive reforms that were able to utilize the house
itself as an agent of progress. This ideology assumed that the house
had the ability to construct reform, but denied its ability to construct
identities. The changes and continuities exhibited in the house designs
illustrated these tendencies towards identity construction. However,
histories have conveniently avoided the role of women (as consumers, as
clients, and as designers) as either generators and recipients of
change.

Magazine messages and Victorian houses were aiding in the
construction of women’s identity as well as reflecting women’s roles
within society. Expectedly, the magazine houses illustrate similar
traits, that they were used to help define and depict a new woman’s
identity. This identity was not the sole creation of men’s desires, as
has been usually thought. Women’s desires became a driving force behind reform and therefore must be considered part of the construction process. It is important to realize that the readers were engaging in a dialogue with the magazines which placed women in a position to effect the direction of the magazines’ designs. This factor indicates that women were simultaneously being constructed by the magazines’ houses and were constructing their roles within the domestic realm. This embedding of progressive ideals unto the house led to an acceptance of women’s evolving position of authority within the home which affirmed that changes made to the house were being used to change understood social relationships. The placing of the women resolutely within the home was believed to instill strong moral values into family life that would lead the creating of a more stable society. However, these changes were also successful in altering the relationship between the woman and her home, creating a more complex identity for both.

According to Gwendolyn Wright change within the house centered around five basic principles: 1. simplifying of detail 2. opening and standardizing of plans 3. centralizing of focus on the kitchen 4. integrating of complex technology 5. reducing of square footage. These modifications were the result of specific contemporary movements. Some were affiliated with women’s issues, others were not related, but the reforms that resulted allowed women to both be tied to the home and to claim greater influence and authority over it. The primary changes towards simple aesthetics, the open plan, primacy of the kitchen, and industrial technology have helped the house become more resolutely a woman’s domain, a sphere not just of subjugation, but also of

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\(^{10}\) Wright, *Moralism and the Modern Home*, p. 234.
empowerment.

The Magazine House Format

The Journal and The House Beautiful both began publishing designs in 1895 which coincided with the official designation of the "New Woman"...[which was] in part a creation of journalists and artists, in part a reflection of new concepts of women's roles in society.\textsuperscript{11} This conception of the new woman was a woman who rejected servitude to embrace an image of male-female relations of greater equality. As Kenneth Clark stated "the new woman, as contemporaries called her, was more energetic and natural, eager to ride bikes, play tennis, attend college, and receive professional training".\textsuperscript{12} The magazine house designs were a response to this type of woman. Women were the primary consumers of the magazines' house designs. The format of using women's magazines to disseminate domestic architecture aided the process domestic feminization. Some of the houses published were designed by women architects others were designed for women clients, however this was not the norm. In general, the magazines were marketed with an awareness of the female reader. Houses were designed for families but first had to entice women consumers. The emphasis on women's wants became clear in designs for the magazines. This bias helped to establish a new connection between women and house that is still universally understood today.

The houses presented in the journals were designed by primarily male architects. It probably seems improbable that the subsequent

\textsuperscript{11} Gainor, J. Ellen. \textit{Show's Daughters: Arms and the Woman}. Talk presented at Dallas Theater Center February 26, 1996.
designs could help to create a woman's house, but the gender of the architects did not preclude the establishment of strengthened women's roles within the American home. The woman's house was not only a house that was governed by women but one that embedded the women's desires within the design. These desires for the house were wide ranging from functionality to comfortability, but they all provided women with a means by which to make the house personal and her own. The architecture profession of the time (like today), consisted primarily of men, but society in general was becoming more aware of women's issues. These issues were not usually foregrounded, but the existence of concern for women at all was considered a landmark event. It should be realized that most male architects were not trying to achieve a social ideal of woman's space with their designs. The establishment of a woman's house was an unintended consequence. The goal was to produce a progressive house that would modify yet "preserve aspects of individual and family relationships within modern American society."¹² The innovations implemented helped strengthen women's roles in relation to their house, emphasizing issues such as morality, function, space, technology, and comfort. Helping the development of the women's house was not the primary aim of many of these changes, but many of these changes functioned in tandem to strengthen and centralize the women's role within the home. For the most part, the evolution of a feminized domestic environment occurred without conscious social effort. To a great extent, the establishment of a women's home was not perceived to be a threat to dominant male social structures. The subliminal feminine agenda of the reforms created a situation by which feminization could

occur.

The magazines at times did focus on designs by women or for women. They were similar to designs by male architects, yet they more emphatically pushed women’s issues or more resolutely tried to provide a comfortable environment, indicating that a woman’s house was emerging. Similar elements in these women’s houses were seen in the designs by male architects, but the men tended to push the design for different reasons, and thus the results were slightly skewed. More importantly, no matter who designed the houses and no matter their reasoning these houses established a standard that reinforced the messages being sent to women. An awareness of women’s presence was an integral part of the progressive house’s design. Looking at the three primary modifications—the implementing of a simplified aesthetic, the shift towards the open plan, and the centralizing of the kitchen in the design of the house—as well as looking specifically at women’s designs—elucidates the women’s involvement in the design of the progressive house.

Simplicity, Simplicity, Simplicity: The Arts and Crafts House

The journals’ designs tried to maintain the picturesque identity of the Victorian ideal, but broke with their acceptance of excess which was not true to the structure or the function of the house. The initial houses, at least in theory, followed contemporary Arts and Crafts ideas that stressed simplicity, honesty, and necessity. The initial house designs in the Ladies’ Home Journal and The House Beautiful presented the first attempts by socially conscious architects to simplify the decadent Victorian house. It was believed that this interest in simple living would restore moral virtues to the depraved society. The “simple
life was a means of revitalizing the modern morality of self-control
during a period of social and psychic stress". The words synonymous
with the movement's goals were "sincere", "liberating", "democratic",
"functional", and "organic" all displayed the optimistic faith in the
good nature of man that was endemic to the progressive era. The
appropriation of the arts and crafts ideology was also a positive means
by which women's relationship to the home began to change. The
increased informality and return to naturalism created a more
comfortable home that was both accepting of a modern woman and of more
traditional ideas about the woman and the family.

Like the process of the woman's changing identity, the craftsman
ideology was not a solely modern project. The American progressive
reforms "were part of a continuing tradition that looked backward to
ante-bellum utopia and forward to the agrarian communities of the New-
Deal era". America was never able to completely accept the return to
craftsmanship that William Morris and John Ruskin espoused. It was not
ready for "utopian socialism" because it too-readily accepted
individualization, industrialization, and technology that were
essentially tied to capitalism in our country. In this difference the
American movement sublimated the social goals of the European movement
that was working to elevate an awareness of the worker's condition and
quality of life through the implementation of craft in production. Here
in America, the arts and crafts were channeled into improving production
through standardization and mass-production, not through the
reinitiation of craft. This version of arts and crafts ideology,
corrupted the intentions of the European movement, bringing not an ethic

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14 Lears, No Place of Grace, p.77.
of craft to this country but an ethic of craft-like aesthetics. The movement turned into a crusade for good taste, and thus became a project of social engineering, rather than social justice.

The functional and rational expression of the arts and crafts were implemented to create a more "authentic architecture". The emphasis on truth and integrity was appropriated by the magazines to provide tasteful, affordable houses for the masses. From the beginning, the vocabulary of the arts and crafts was apparent in the Journal's houses. The first design from December 1895, "A $3500 Suburban House," by W.L. Price, clearly demonstrated the magazine's aims. (See figure 35) Price spoke out against the evils of "exact reproduction" in his text, and he promoted his version of the English cottage, a reworked version of the traditional model (a porch was added, windows were made larger, the roof was made of cedar shingles, and the exterior was clad in half timber work). He recommended that

in attempting to adopt any one of the well-defined styles of architecture to American uses it was necessary to put aside at once all thought of exact reproduction; the customs and requirements were so different, that what we most admire abroad would make but a sorry home here.

Price's design adhered to the arts and crafts in that it assumed the aesthetics of the movement; but more importantly Price also adopted the movement's humanistic attitudes that became concerned with the

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16 Lears, No Place of Grace, p.65.
17 Curtis, Modern Architecture Since 1900, p.48.
18 The Journal's first series of nine houses appeared between December, 1895 and April, 1897. The designs were commissioned by Bok, but no specific demands were placed upon the architects. Bok switched to the new format of designs by the Journals' Special Architect because architects were reluctant to sell their plans.
19 "Publication of the Tudoresque house by Price established the format followed in the presentation over the next twenty years". Roth, p.188.
occupant’s well being. Light and ventilation were the new criteria for design, and Price wanted to solve problems of heating and lighting, to make home life easier and more comfortable. Price also began to change functional relationships within the home, making the hall a larger more prominent piece within the plan. "More than an entry... properly divid[ing] the house," the hall became a reception room onto which each room opened into, becoming the mediator of space and circulation. Although the house was more simple looking, and the architecture was more aware of the desire for comfortable living, the house really had not been drastically altered. Simplification was limited primarily to the exterior surfaces, while the home’s interior retained an irregular maze like configuration.

The rest of the houses of the first series, "Suburban House of Moderate Cost" ran between December 1895 and April 1897 and followed this pattern. Reconfiguring traditional models using new vocabularies, these designs showed little improvement over what Edward Bok himself called the "wretched architecture" of Queen Anne and eclectic houses. Price’s house and the next design in the series by Ralph Adams Cram were better attempts at creating with arts and crafts ideals in mind, but most of the houses did not live up to Bok’s lofty goals. (See figure 36) Similarly, the second series of seven designs published in the Journal, "Model Homes of Moderate Cost", developed the aesthetics of the movement and left the interior unchanged with respect to the Victorian house. These houses were all designed by W.L. Price, under the alias the Journal’s Special Architect. Here, the movement towards more natural

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23 This series ran in the Journal from July 1897 through March 1898.
and simple living was not realized at this time, remaining only an ideal. The only significant difference between the series was that these designs and their construction drawings could be purchased from the magazine, an offer “simply made to help its readers in their desires to build artistic homes.”

According to Gwendolyn Wright, “the goal of simplicity led to unpretentious amateur house designs and a suspicion of professional expertise.” The House Beautiful’s presentation format was different from that of the Journal. Unlike the Journal, which consciously wanted to provide professional work done by accredited architects, The House Beautiful promoted popular participation within house designs. Stone believed that a broad base of participation within design was beneficial for domestic architecture and from the beginning the houses emphasized this approach. Popular participation promoted the involvement of the layman in the design process, but women, in this case, became the primary benefactors of this method. Women readers responded to the magazine’s correspondence sections, which served as a forum that was available to all women. These ideals related to the arts and crafts ideology that wanted to make good design and good living available to all people. The first “Successful House” published in the magazine’s first issue was an old English cottage in Chicago. What was notable about the house was not its design, but the absence of the architect

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24 This statement prefaced every house design the Journal published.
25 Wright, Building the American Dream, p.161.
26 “Stone had been a follower of William Morris’s aesthetic philosophy, and even his brand of democratic socialism”. Wright, Moralism and the Modern Home, p.144
27 Women’s designs were not usually chosen in the competition sections. Most of the designs that won were done by male architects, some were done by male laymen, but never was a woman’s design chosen. But women’s questions were chosen for the correspondent sections that dealt with questions about all aspects of the house and its design.
from the project. The architect or designer was never mentioned in the article, and in the design process the house was applauded for invoking the owner's participation. The writer of the article who remained anonymous liked the house because "everywhere the stamp of individuality and the personal thought and love of its owners" was apparent.\textsuperscript{28} This shift towards a layman's approach was later made more evident in the magazine's implementation of a competition format in August 1898. Some of the houses that won prizes were not of professional quality, while others were executed by architects. The mixture of levels of design demonstrated the democracy of the approach that judged designs based on the idea and look of the project, rather than the status of the designer. All of the winning houses were designed in the arts and crafts style, but the designs did vary considerably within this vocabulary.

The first and second prize houses by Richard Phillipp and Arthur L. Leach demonstrated an affiliation with arts and craft aesthetics, but the designs remained more traditional in size form and plan.\textsuperscript{29} The third prize house, by Fred W. Lumis from October 1898, was a more innovative design. (See figure 37) It clearly imitated the English cottage, but was not a direct copy, making adjustments to suit its American environment. The house was built of rough hewn stone, and the upper stories of plaster crossed by beams... left the natural color of the wood with an oil finish... [But the house]...was not by any means a direct copy of the English model- he[Mr. Lumis] has given it an appearance entirely its own, and a picturesque

\textsuperscript{28} Successful Houses, The House Beautiful, January 1897, p.1.
\textsuperscript{29} The designs for the first and second prizes in the competition for three-thousand dollar house were published in "Prize Competition" in August and September, 1898.
quite different from that of the foreign prototype. 30

It was plain and simple in design and boasted to be a "rigidly
economical space." The first floor contained only a living room, dining
room, kitchen, small pantry and entry hall. The simplicity of the plan
was refreshing, in comparison to Victorian cottages, but it still
retained elements of the Victorian model. This pristine square plan
exhibited a great reduction of function and space, however
compartmentalization remained. For example, a separation of spheres
existed which were indicated in the placement of the kitchen in the back
corner of the house, away from the public front of the living room, and
in the existence of the second stairwell near the work areas.

The Lumis house integrated arts and crafts ideals into the home
using natural materials, simplified forms, and craftsman like detailing.
Here, the plan was reduced but in later designs all aspects of living
were reorganized. The greatest change could be seen in the house's
interior decoration. Initially, it may seem that focusing on decoration
would not be consistent with a more reductive and functional approach to
the house, but the new emphasis on decoration worked to spotlight the
nature of the materials. Decoration within house design had previously
been marginalized because it was considered to be women's work. Society
did not value privatizing space because permanence and order were
believed to be the building blocks of society. 31 Within the progressive
house, the revamping of decoration was one of the first real steps
towards creating a more progressive house based around the idea of
simple living. In this case decoration became the architecture.

30 Lumis, Fred W., "Prize Competition," The House Beautiful. October,
1898, p.166.
31 Betsky, Building Sex, p.xix.
Architects were more responsible for the design of furnishings, fixtures, and built-ins; furniture became an extension of the structure wherever possible. Becoming more integral to the real architecture, architects were able to use furniture to reconcile space within the home. The "home was not the house, [but] was the furniture... [making] woman... the principle home-maker." The arts and crafts ideology with its call for simplicity and non-professional approach questioned architecture of the past and facilitated women's involvement in the new process of design.

By the turn of the century both magazines were publishing images of simplified interiors. Departments instructed and educated women in aesthetics, craft, quality, and cost of decorating the house. Writers attacked the use of bric-a-brac that cluttered and suffocated the home. Like ornament on the exterior, bric-a-brac represented the evils of a corrupt society, and the new decors emphasized good lines, good colors, and good designs showing simplicity, strength, and beauty. The "Good Taste in and Bad Taste in..." series published in the Journal did not promote mission or arts and crafts aesthetics per se, but did favor the more simplified designs in chairs, tables, beds, curtains, and wall coverings. (See figure 40 and 41) The articles presented good furniture designs that "consisted largely of sound construction. Plain surfaces meant good workmanship. Carving and ornament were put into modern work to cover imperfect wood or faulty construction... Carved furniture caught dust, and of course required care and labor to keep it in

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32 The House Beautiful, p.289.
33 The first attempts at providing simpler decoration appears in both magazines in 1898. "The Quinsana Furniture" in The House Beautiful and the "Remodeling of the Front Door" in the LHJ.
presentable condition". The simplicity, precision, and craftsmanship of this work displayed society's new desire for efficient, moral living.

The House Beautiful took a stronger stand on home decoration and promoted more minimal and simple furniture. (See Figure 42) The Quinsana Furniture was industrial-looking in its simplicity, but it was not plain. The forms were beautiful, stressing geometry, line, minimalism, and craftsmanship, and they expressed an awakening of the craftsman ideal. This style of furniture was almost always made of wood, and if necessary would incorporate cane or burlap fabric, all easy-care materials.35 Totally lacking ornament, this minimal aesthetic embraced the simplicity of life that the arts and crafts promoted. But they also expressed simple-living in that they were "the easiest possible for the housewife to care for- [they] would not conceal dust and grime".36 It was believed that eventually this new type of house would be instrumental in allowing women more productive roles in society since they were at least in part relieved of their domestic burdens.

The emphasis on mission style and arts and craft furniture promoted an ideal of simple living, but these qualities were able to be expressed in other styles. In "An Inexpensive Small House," M.C. Ninde presented a house that appeared traditional in its use of flowered wall papers, oriental rugs, and a canopy bed, but the room was actually quite modern implementing open floor area, natural light, fresh air, cheap wall paper, and simple furnishings. 37 (See figure 43) The new house

34 "Good and Bad Taste in..." LHJ, April, 1906, p.37.
35 Sensusus materials such as brocade, taffeta, and velvet were abandoned in favor of materials that were not as susceptible to the collection of dirt and germs.
37 The use of "cheap" wall papers was applauded over the use of more expensive ones that were believed to now be "nothing short of a crime
interior, whether it be in an English Tudor or American Colonial style, became a comfortable interior devoid of pomp and circumstance, and suitable for daily living. Both magazines attempted to demonstrate an affiliation with arts and crafts ideals in the designs they present, recalling truth of structure and function in the furniture. Obviously not all the designs were successful in meeting these goals, but the attempts helped to make the house more compatible with the evolving woman that was becoming more relaxed about her role within the house and more directed toward professional work.

Eventually the simple type of furniture and interior decoration became more integral to the structure of the home. Bookcases, settees, cabinets, cupboards, desks, and closets were all built into the design of the house, further allowing rooms to remain uncluttered and open. Even the furniture that was not built-in tended to harmonize with the overall simplicity of design, making it appear to be an extension of the house. In "A Good Farmhouse for $3500," from the Journal's fourth series, Robert Spencer's interiors expressed "breadth, simplicity, and comfort" of living.38(See figure 44) The consolidated living room/dining room area and the kitchen made use of built-in storage units that lined the walls and left the center of the expansive room free. Circulation was not the labyrinth-like web found in the Victorian house, but was instead clear and orderly. Spencer's description of the living room focused on the batten-board wainscot, the broad-brick fireplace, and the sideboard and china case that provided both the function and the

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against aesthetic". The wall papers and colors suggested in the designs are usually lighted and easier to clean. Logan, Olive. "Wall Decorations: Cheap and Dear," The House Beautiful. October, 1903, p.277-78.

beauty of the room. Similar interior decoration could be found in Spencer’s "Inside Finish" where the furniture was an extension of the architecture." The interior was almost completely designed of detailed woodwork, and the few pieces of furniture that were not physically part of the house harmonized with the design, appearing as an extension of the design from the outset. (See figure 45) The architecture and decoration, function and art were intertwined flowing naturally into the other making it difficult to demarcate where one began and the other left off.

These reductive principles that liberated the interior space was also an acknowledgment of women’s growing freedom. Through efficiency the amendments made to the house helped to establish a new tradition that began to assert women’s issues within the home. For the first time consideration was given to tedious women’s work. The revamping indicated a shift in ideals about the nature of architecture. Simplicity favored the new woman’s lifestyle, and the design of the comfortable and relaxed decor intimated that women were a motive behind design. Whether or not women were involved in producing these designs, they were definitely the recipients of its benefits, which hopefully provided women with an opportunity to follow their own desires.

The Open Plan Frees The House

With the coming of the progressive era the dynamics of the family began to change. Fewer families were hiring domestic help. Families were having fewer children, and women’s traditional roles were becoming

"Spencer, Robert C. "Inside Finish," The House Beautiful. July, 1907, p.31-33."
more relaxed. Together, these changes meant that the new family of this era was smaller, more intimate, and more informal. Consequently, the houses became smaller, the work areas were incorporated and centralized within the main structure of the house, and a more relaxed relationship came to exist between the house's public and private realms. The more public, formal parlor completely disappeared and a more private, informal living room arose in its place. Larger apertures, fewer solid walls, and the removal of excessive furniture freed movement between rooms, simulating the beginnings of an open plan, which provided an ease and flexibility that was symbolic of the break with the Victorian's ideology that inhibited women.

An early version of the open plan was first seen in the Journal's third and best known series, "Model Suburban Homes," which ran from October 1900 to September 1902. Frank Lloyd Wright's first two houses for the Journal appeared in this series, and illustrated the shift towards a new type of house designed for simple living. Wright's designs developed a distinctive style that he believed symbolically represented the broad prairie of the Midwest. They did not demonstrate the completed prairie idea seen in later works, such as the

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41 Bok actually requested that the architects not design parlors into the house designs because they wasted space within the house.
42 This series ran concurrent with the Journal's fourth series "Good Practical Farmhouses At Moderate Cost," by Robert C. Spencer. Like the third series
43 Bowsher, "Edward Bok's attempt to Promote Good Design in the Suburbs." 45. These changes seen in Wright's work were part of a larger evolution that his architecture was undergoing. Wright trained under J. Lyman Silsbee (a noted Shingle style architect) and Louis Sullivan (noted for his "form follows function" designs). The Prairie Style like the arts and crafts emphasized simplicity and respect for materials. William H. Jordy, "The Organic Ideal: Frank Lloyd Wright's Robie House," p. 182.
Robie House, but they did begin to illustrate this opening up of the plan. "A Home in a Prairie Town" published in February 1901 was Wright's first design for the Journal. (See figure 49) It had a crossaxial plan, within which the hearth was used as a centralizing pin element. The cruciform allowed Wright to create an architecture of interlocking forms. The intertwining of space was used functionally to both physically and symbolically link the family together. As Wright stated in his description of the house it "offered the least resistance to a simple mode of living in keeping with a high ideal of the family life together."\(^4\) Here, Wright's prefacing of the sacredness of the family is hinted at.

The living space on the first floor contained a dining room, living room, and library. It was a single long linear room in which no major separation of function occurred "enabl[ing] free use without the sense of confusion."\(^4\) This linearity was projected in both plan and elevation creating an illusion of freedom that broke down the traditional separations between functions. Within this plan propriety and decorum could not be segregated or thus controlled, and Wright was therefore able to more fully integrate the previously separated spheres. In creating a double height gallery space over the living room, this open space was also extended vertically. The open clerestory directly connected the private inner sanctum of the upstairs chambers to the public center of the house, the downstairs living room. Although separated by floor height, the two areas became essentially one space.

\(^4\) The interlocking forms were supposedly derived from the use of similar forms found in Froebel blocks, in Japanese prints that Wright collected, and in Sullivan's Getty and Wainwright tombs. Jordy, "Craftsmanship as Structural Elaboration: In Frank Lloyd Wright's Robie House," p.189

The creation of a vertical room blurred the boundaries between function, spheres, and space that provided woman with more freedom and fewer restrictions. Within this living zone no boundaries or restrictions existed. This space confused notions of propriety and decorum and helped conceive of a new model for living based around an idea of more personal and intimate family relationships.

This sense of open space was extended into nature by Wright's use of the porch. The porch functioned as an outdoor room, which pushed space outwards into the house's extremities. The living area was framed by surrounding low terraces and broad eaves that formed a protected enclave onto which the interior space projected creating an illusion of non-containment. However, the porches also functioned to bound and protect the house, creating a buffer zone between the family and the outside world. Incorporated within the structure of the home, this outdoor room was actually not directly connected to the outdoors. The terrace walls were used to prevent any real threat of exposure while the porch provided the illusion that the home's interior was connected to the natural world.

Building on this idea, Wright's site plan for the block of four houses extended space into a walled backyard between the houses. Wright's expansion into these more natural surroundings manipulated the boundaries of the family home, directly connecting it to nature. Wright's connecting of the interior world of the house to nature builds upon a cultural understanding of women's physiology being seen as closer to nature. Therefore, it is fitting that the spaces are not fully open and fully liberating. With this system Wright was able to maintain social structures that tied women to the destiny of her sex which Sherry

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Ortner in her article "Is Female to Male as Nature Is To Culture" defines to be a universal subordination of women. The open plan and connections to the natural world also provide a first opportunity to extend women's presence into the free public environment of greater opportunities. This link to the natural world symbolically released women from the complete confinement of the Victorian house. Women in Wright's houses enjoyed if not real freedom at least exposure to the real world, even when hidden behind the mask of the house.

The freedom that Wright's open plan engendered was not a total freedom. This house demonstrated how his designs were problematic for women in respect to the servant/work spaces that remained largely unaltered. The hearth was used as a divider between the served and the servant spaces. While the living spaces were open and free, the kitchen, pantry, and entry were hidden out of sight behind the fireplace. Although the break-down of the traditional spheres was a good start, Wright's house did not resolve cultural issues concerning women's placement within the home. The kitchen's isolation exemplified this dilemma, retaining the separation of women and their work, and thus retaining the inequality of their status. This space, unlike the rest of the house, remained fragmented and compartmentalized, the last remnant of a more traditional conservative era. The entry hall, like the kitchen was hidden, but here Wright had provided a new solution that actually facilitated the existence of the open living area. The shifting of the U-shaped entry off of the major axis removed the living area from unwanted intrusion, creating a buffer zone between the world

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and the family. It became an interior moderator that connected and monitored the entire house. The work areas, the circulation, the chambers, and the living areas all plugged into the hall. Eventually in Wright's later works this piece expressed the complexity of forces within the home, and in certain works like the Guggenheim Museum it became the building itself.

In this house Wright also began to equalize space. Rooms were not all exactly the same size as there was still an emphasis on the living room, but the kitchen, the hall, the dining room, and the library were all fairly approximate in size. The plan controlled space axially from the center of the house, reiterating the central element, the living room, but the shift towards more democratic spaces indicated that the old hierarchies that previously governed the house were disappearing. This was partly due to the fact that rooms were designed to accommodate more flexible programs, but this equalization was also indicative of a woman's more prominent presence within the house. In a women's house, space was reprioritized based on function and daily living, rather than show and form that facilitated freedom for the man of the public world. Wright's houses did gain "meaning in use" which connected to the women's world of nurturing. The house only gained significance through the using of the spaces that were tied to the life of the woman and her family. Similar tendencies were originally seen in Catherine Beecher's houses that reconfigured the house based upon women's needs, and women's work in particular.

Wright's second design "A Small House With Lots of Room in It" published in July 1901, again illustrated a cross-axial plan pinwheeled around the hearth, but this house was more simple and free in arrangement. (See figure 50) The hearth was used as an anchor, and free
walls projected from it to help define rooms. Each room had a discrete place within the home closed off from other areas, but these areas were not created by conventional walls and doors. As Wright stated, the rooms were "so coupled... that one leads naturally into the other without destroying the privacy of either." The privacy of the rooms, although maintained within the house, began to flow out of the rooms onto the terraces, as in the previous house. The use of foliage in the dining room on the second floor skylit balcony indicated an awareness and importance of nature in Wright's design concept. The section view of the entry explicitly demonstrated this condition of extending rooms.

Wright's use of glass in this house was becoming more progressive than past attempts, and it appeared that the walls were beginning to disappear exposing more of the interior of the house to the world. The casement windows used provided more open window area than more traditional double-hung windows. The transparency of the glass walls that Wright desired was most clearly presented in the plan where expression of the wall had been reduced to the articulation of the frame and the glass. This rendering allowed the interior rooms to extend to the edge of the porch. This implication of glasses transparent quality demonstrated Wright's attempts to offer women a broader vision of the world which was elaborated upon more fully in his later houses. However, in this elevation the use of glass was more conservative in that the supposed glass walls were in reality partial height walls. The solidity of both the wall and the terrace wall provided a sufficient bounding of space. Wright was careful to maintain the home as sacred, separate, and private which indicated his awareness of the home as a

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48 Wright, "A Small House with Lots of Room in It," LBJ. July, 1901, p.15.
protective and nurturing environment. The raising of the main floor onto a plinth reinforced Wright’s belief that the privacy of the home had to be upheld. This house also illustrated how far women’s presence was really allowed to extend into society. Wright’s designs were subconsciously grappling with the placement of women in society but the ideas his houses embodied were themselves an extension of feminine issues.

Wright was able to express the limitlessness of space that provided women with a broader vision of the world, yet he was careful to set boundaries that would allow the home to exist free of exposure. The limits helped maintain the established ideas about women’s and children’s placement within a separated sheltering environment. It also spoke of a feminine nature of space that required enclosure that maintained a personal and comfortable environment that was in character her own. This type of feminine space relates back to the idea of the Victorian interior, not in aesthetics but its need to maintain a closed environment. The extension of space into nature paralleled the evolution of women’s demanding for freedom and liberation while the remaining enclosure was more closely aligned with women’s innate ties to the family. The representation of women’s space in Wright’s designs were primarily expressed in the focus of the interior design, however women’s presence was also depicted in Wright’s attempts at expressing the American character.

Both of Wright’s houses emphasized horizontally, spreading over their lots which disregarded the rational and economical incentives of compact planning. This expansion outward, rather than upwards, was a response to the American prairie, and was an attempt at creating an indigenous architecture evocative of the American landscape. "The House
for a Prairie Town" was formed from long low horizontals that paralleled the flat land of the site.\textsuperscript{49} The interlocking forms, unbroken surfaces, low pitch roofs, and the wide overhangs abstracted the American landscape, through the use of horizontal emphasis. Theo van Doesberg in his treatise written over a decade after Wright's prairie designs analyzed Piet Mondrian's de Stil paintings and allied the horizontal forming of space with the feminine process of constructing.\textsuperscript{50} The de Stil group was well aware of Wright's work and their planar and cubic studies reflect an understanding of Wright's project in there plastic expression in open space. The horizontal is symbolic of women's design in that influence and presence is extended outwards from a centralized point into the natural world. This horizontal extending was in a sense similar to a process of nesting where women possessed space from a center outwards. Wright's designs were sympathetic to women's issues helping to construct an acceptable world to contain women, but also providing women with a house that was more closely tied to their own ways of appropriating space and desires to nurture. The limit of the horizontal was in effect a limit to a woman's control of her environment.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{49} Curtis, Modern Architecture Since 1900, p.79.
\textsuperscript{50} van Doesberg, De Stil: Neo Plasticism in Architecture, p.31.
\textsuperscript{51} I realize that in this section I have spent a lot of time on one architect's work. Wright's designs for the Journal, in many ways launched Wright's public career, and it is fair to say that his designs were the most innovative architecture pieces Bok published. Therefore I think they should be discussed as such and for their ability to bring good architecture to the people. Wright's houses were not the most
Frank Lloyd Wright also made contributions to *The House Beautiful* having three house designs published in the Summer of 1906: "A House on A Bluff" (June 1906), "Solving a Difficult Problem: Making the Most Of A Narrow Lot" (July 1906), and "A House Without a Servant" (August, 1906). (See figures 51, 52, and 53) These houses incorporated similar ideas to the earlier prairie designs found in the Journal, but these three houses established new room relationships that broke traditional norms of juxtaposing space, and a more complex system of circulation was also implemented. In "A House on the Bluff" the private chambers and the living room were adjacent to one another on the first floor. There was literally no separation, no buffer between the traditional private realm and the public realm. Wright also removed the kitchen and dining room to the second floor, separating the inner sanctum from intrusions of the outside world. Over the dining room was a double height clerestory space, similar to that found in the "A Home in a Prairie Town," once again connected another set of chambers to more public elements within the home. In this house a new pin element emerged, and Wright's circulation tower established a new center within the home as well as a sophisticated circulation path. The fireplace was both an anchor and a circulation core, spinning the occupants and spaces around the house. The free spinning circulation was tied to the idea of extending movement and space beyond the exterior walls of the house. Wright was able to accomplish this radical reconfigure the house because he separated the house from the outside world, allowing the interior to remain a private family zone. He did not envision the house to be exposed or physically connected to the outside world; instead he safely
worked at projecting interiors outwards rather than projecting the outdoors inward. For all the attempts at freedom expressed within these houses, there was still a sense of containment to his designs.

Around the middle of the decade, The House Beautiful began to focus heavily on the plan of the house. The magazine ran a series "Planning the House" by Robert C. Spencer, that demonstrated his belief that "the logical order of procedure in designing any building is to work out... the ground plan, then the elevations- with details of fenestration- roofing, etc. as an outgrowth of plan."52 In an article "Economical Floor Plans" from June 1905, Spencer focused solely on the plan of the house. (See figure 54) The elevations and interior sections were not published. Without defining the three dimensional space the design could only be based upon function through use. The article presented four plans: a "small scale derivative of a formal colonial", a "four-unit plan", a "six-unit plan", a "small house with a large interior." These plans never reached the level of development found in Wright’s Journal houses, but they demonstrated the struggle to find a more simple and more economical house. Plan B and D worked with similar ideas as Wright’s prairie open plans. Plan B illustrated an opening of space between the living room and the dining room that used the hearth as a pivot piece, but Spencer’s plan still implemented the use of traditional wall massings and door frames to articulate space. Similar connections between functions did begin to occur like the hall, the stairway, and the kitchen that were combined to create a mediating core unit, but the implications of the design of the plan were more conservative that the realizations of Wright’s designs. Plan D actually

came closest to creating an integrated living room and dining room, with its long linear uninterrupted open space. Spencer's plans, although not as sophisticated as Wright's, illustrated that the ideas were trickling down to architecture for the more common man. These houses were more aware of economic size constraints and worked to incorporate open space into an already more minimal home. In a sense, the minimal size of the home was actually more accepting of an open plan ideology that called for rooms to be more flexible.

Robert Spencer later presented an article "The Suburban House" in October 1908, in which he more successfully attempted to create an open plan house. (See figure 55) Spencer again presented four houses, but here they were all tied to the prairie aesthetic. His design for a house in Irving Park best confronted the issue of the open plan. Spencer created a cruciform cross axial plan, however the layout did not utilize the intersection of the forms, and there was no real functional integration of uses. The penetration of the two forms provided the illusion that one form was cutting through the other, but this gesture was only symbolic. The two units intersect, but the interior spaces created by this junction do not reflect this intertwining. The interior plan was open, and only a few solid walls existed, but the plan retained the impression of compartmentalized space in that within the interior functions remained discretely separated. This separation also remained in section, where the floors never penetrate into the other areas. The first floor plan was actually incredibly similar to Frank Lloyd Wright's "Fireproof House for $5000" published the year before in the Journal(April 1907). (See figure 56) In section Wright's house was far more complex, but Spencer's process of designing and generating designs from plans demonstrated the necessity of expressing the essential ideas
of the house in plan, and this was where Spencer’s design was quite beautiful. Here for the first time we see a house that was almost completely devoid of exterior walls, open to and integrated with the world around it.

Spencer’s design, like Wright’s second design for the Journal, was actually very progressive in its use of glass around the exterior. The casement windows read in plan as creating only a thin separation between the interior and the exterior of the house. In plan the wall completely disappeared, and no solid walls were shown to contain the structure. In elevation the design is not quite as radical as Wright’s because the windows are only of partial height, but Spencer’s house expressed this desire to shift towards the use of the glass curtain wall. In plan this idea begins to be articulated with the corner windows, which give the impression that the structure is disappearing. In elevation these windows illustrate that corner columns were not holding the structure and some form of cantilever system has been implemented to create this impression. The use of casement ribbon windows and the break of the solid corner allowed the interior to be more fully exposed. Although Spencer did use a porch along other facades, here no overhang existed, further exposing living spaces within the home. Lacking buffer zones, Spencer facilitated a closer connection between the interior and the exterior worlds and brought women in closer contact to their surroundings.

In the houses’ movement towards more a open plan, it is important to realize, that it still retained a fundamental separation from the outside world. This separation was timely. Segregation allowed the house to remain a more personal and intimate domain which was important considering the era’s fears about family stability that stemmed from the
rising divorce rate, the lowered birth rate, and the first whisperings of women's suffrage. The loss of confidence in traditional values created the dual natured search (both looking towards the past and future) for new models. What was more important was the development of a design became increasingly more sympathetic to women's ways of creating space. The house that emerged on the pages of the magazines indicated an awareness of the new woman's role in this society, and they both provided examples of women's progress, while simultaneously reinforcing visions of the confined women's place within society. The multi-functional plan, the break down of spheres, and the extension of rooms into the natural world accepted the idea of woman as self-sufficient and the simultaneous masking of the house reinforced were a reaction to fears about women's growing independence that reinforced women's assumed position. The future developments of the kitchen within the house also strengthened this idea that the house was moving towards becoming solely a woman's domain.

The Woman's Modern Kitchen

The kitchen must go the way of the spinning wheel, of which it was the contemporary. -Ladies' Home Journal 1919

By the end of the nineteenth century, the kitchen had replaced the parlor as the center of attention in the house. Builder's patterns, domestic science textbooks, and women's magazines all had acknowledged the changes in the family and society and adjusted their house designs accordingly.51 To further combat fears about the dissolution of

51 Wright, Building the American Dream, p.169.
society, house designs began concentrating on creating a new center within the home that would represent the stability of the well-adjusted family. The kitchen, like the hearth in following decades, came to represent the healthy happy home. It was targeted by architects, home economists, domestic scientists, material feminists, and progressive reformers because it represented a positive image of the new modern woman’s relationship to family and home. In accentuating women’s work and presence within the home, the centralizing of the kitchen highlighted the importance of the new woman’s role in the reforming of the domestic realm. However, it also reinforced traditional opinions about woman’s proper place within society. The kitchen with its more central location was beginning to function not just as work space, but as living space, and its identity was becoming more flexible in that it connected all functions and all people within the family home. Over these decades, the kitchen’s evolution paralleled that of woman’s, becoming a stronger more driving force within the home.

Percy Lancaster’s design for “A Country Bungalow, from 1907” demonstrated the ideal new relationship between the kitchen and the house. (See figure 57) The kitchen here was located directly at the center of the house, dividing the traditional public and private areas. However, it was still detached from the house’s main circulation because society feared odors would too easily penetrate into the living spaces which was considered unhealthy. Therefore passage to the kitchen remained through the pantry.\(^5\) Although, the kitchen wasn’t

\(^5\) The sanitation movement’s fears about hygiene, especially secret dangerous odors, made it important for the kitchen to remain somewhat removed from the rest of the house, although attempts were usually made to create more direct links between the kitchen and the dining room so women would not have to waste energy carrying dishes through the pantry. Rorer, Mrs. S.T. “Sanitation and Ventilation of the Home,” LHJ. April,
functionally incorporated into the open plan of this house, its location demonstrated the existence of a new centralizing element. The new location was easily differentiated from the Victorian designs that placed the kitchen in a separate area usually to the back of the house or in the basement, isolated from other functions. The centralizing of the kitchen developed with the shift towards servantless houses. There was no longer the need to maintain a separate servants' realm, but there was a growing need to create more efficient spaces that would facilitate one woman's running of the home. Robert Spencer's design for the *Journal*, "A Comfortable Bungalow for $1500," was similar to Lancaster's in both layout and use of the kitchen design, and both designs seem to foreshadow the development of the ranch style house that later swept the nation.\textsuperscript{55}(See figure 58)

Although the kitchen was usually separated from the house for reasons of hygiene, some architects toyed with integrating the kitchen more fully into the house. Robert Spencer's "A Plaster Farmhouse for $2600" from 1901 illustrated a kitchen that was almost completely synthesized into the living area.\textsuperscript{56}(See figure 59) In this design Spencer adopted Wright's use of open planning to connect the kitchen and dining room. The kitchen sat at the end of the dining room in an alcove physically becoming an extension of the space. This situation broke down the traditional barriers of doors and pantries that usually separated living and work areas, but the dislocation of this joint room from the actual living room indicated that there still remained a


\textsuperscript{56} Spencer, Robert C. "A Plaster Farmhouse for $2600," *LHJ*. May 1901, p.33.
distance between the public and private realms, but also indicated a shift towards more informal living. The compression and conflation of the kitchen and dining room area was an occurrence that became more popular with the rise of simple living and the bungalow as a housing type. This area rather than becoming a more public domain, over time became even more resolutely tied to the private world of family life.

As the kitchen's location changed its character also changed. The Journal and The House Beautiful's new kitchen designs focused around two primary buzz words; efficiency and economy. Kitchens had to be both spacious for new multiple layers of functions, such as nursing, sewing, and laundry, and efficient so women wouldn't have to waste energy moving from one domestic chore to another. Architects, home economists, domestic scientists, and feminists all tried to find the balance point between these two criteria, and scientific relationships between major appliances were studied to establish the most efficient and healthful designs possible. The magazines quickly came to understand the importance of the kitchen within the home and began running series of articles and designs devoted to these studies that depicted the struggle to define the modern kitchen.

The Journal's articles on kitchens were mainly written by women, and were almost exclusively devoted to having women tell women how they designed or redesigned their kitchen. However, one of the early articles written on the subject was written by "a middle-aged young man of old maidish tendencies." The format acknowledged that the kitchen was the woman's domain and that women would be better equipped to design this space, but he designed a small kitchen to discredit women's awe

with larger more spacious work spaces. In "A Six-by-Nine Kitchen," T.P. Giddings described the kitchen in which "everything in the room [was] within reaching distance of mother when she [sat] upon the piano stool." 58 (See figure 60) The kitchen was originally much larger, but the author had renovated and subdivided the kitchen to house the dining room, the laundry, and a toilet. Here the focus was economy of space, and Giddings presented his kitchen with "the hopes of calling attention of housekeepers to the fact that even in a kitchen as small as this one it [was] easy to do all the work required for a good-sized family." 59 It was commonly accepted that a smaller kitchen would reduce women's chores, but Giddings design also attempted to alleviate fears that the kitchen's smaller size would not induce domestic neglect. This article did not provide a floor plan, but the photographs illustrated the three different wall conditions surrounding an open floor space that was four by five feet in area. The walls were utilized to make the kitchen more useable and more orderly. Every ounce of space within the room had been designed so women could efficiently accomplish tasks without changing position. For example, the "dishes [could] be washed, wiped, and put away with no steps" from the sink, and cupboards and shelves lined the walls so every utensil was immediately at hand. 60 There was a rational process to Giddings' kitchen based on the saving labor. This approach even extended to counters and work surfaces which were determined not by woman's standing height, but by women's sitting height, as new theories believed that "there should always be a chair in the kitchen" so women

wouldn’t have to tire themselves standing.61 The focus on efficiency and economy of domestic labor began to develop into rational and scientific studies of the kitchen, which could be seen more clearly in Gustav Stickley’s kitchen diagrams for the Craftsman. (See figure 61).

The rational approach to function in the kitchen that developed was based on the old adage, “a place for everything and everything in its place.” Well designed cupboards, shelving, and pantry systems were a means by which to organize the space. Storage was utilized to be “time, labor, and temper saving” for women,62 and plans for both the kitchen and the pantry began to emphasize the use of built-in units. More importantly, as the kitchen was becoming smaller and more minimal the space allotted for storage increased in size. In both "A Woman’s Idea of a Convenient Kitchen" and "A Woman’s Idea of a Convenient Pantry," Ethel Bartholomew solved the problems of the kitchen by designing its storage spaces. (See figures 62 and 63) The use of built-in wall storage removed clutter to the edges of the room, leaving the center of the kitchen open for circulation. The variety of storage compartments with different shapes, sizes, and heights allowed the storage spaces to become more flexible and more useful. These designs and drawings, just like those for the houses, could be purchased from the magazine so any carpenter could build or adapt them for the reader’s own kitchen. Before this time, the idea of building-in every aspect of the kitchen was unheard of, as most kitchens were set up with free standing ice boxes, work tables, sinks, and jelly cupboards. This progressive design began the process of standardization and anticipated

the development of today's modern kitchen.

Whereas the Journal tended to emphasize the design of the minimal kitchen, The House Beautiful's kitchens focused more on the planning and functional layout of the space. Robert Spencer devoted two issues of "Planning the House" to kitchen design. (See figures 64 and 65) The first article developed a good plan for the kitchen. Here Spencer began with the premise that small size, was not the sole factor in design, and his five kitchens varied in dimensions, aimed at catering to different types of families. One design took the galley model while the others were more conventional in layout, but all were designed to be large enough for two persons to move in freely. None of the kitchens were as small as the Giddings' kitchen, because Spencer believed that at least "60 to 70 clear square feet" were needed to function. Although Spencer's designs were not standardized, they helped to establish social standards for what was expected from the kitchen. Every model accommodated a sink, refrigerator and stove, the average kitchen plan was about 11' x 11', and all designs were roughly square. No consistent pattern of functional adjacencies was established between appliances, but the sink was usually set underneath the window, with its pipes exposed, and surrounded by lots of counter space. The non-standardized but uniform designs found in Spencer's kitchens were becoming quite the norm. The fact that appliances were becoming considered necessities rather than privileges is recognized in Albert

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64 This arrangement allowed the pipes and drains to be exposed so women could properly care for their kitchens. Fears about germs and harmful odors necessitated the need for exposure to good light and ventilation. Spencer, Robert C. "The Kitchen," The House Beautiful. May, 1908, p.32.
Sherer’s article on “Refrigerators As Parts of the House,” which pointed out that the refrigerator was not just a “companion piece” to the kitchen anymore, but was an essential built-in or permanent fixture in the modern house.66 The idea that standard components were becoming necessary for the running of the house was more common throughout the nation, and in general, the house was more uniform, which led to more simplified designs that could easily be reproduced and provided to everyone.

The standardization of the kitchen plan eventually translated into a standardization of a kitchen aesthetic based in industrialization. Spencer’s kitchens were not as minimal as the example of the German basement kitchen he presents in the article, with its severe geometric lines and smooth surfaces, which were an example of the extreme in efficient and economic design. Spencer’s softer kitchens retained a sense of human experience and feeling, which he advocated in his desire to retain the traditional structure of the family home. Spencer made reference to the fact that modern houses had not “yet arrived at the kitchenless homes advocated by a certain clever but unconvincing lady [Charlotte Perkins Gilman] who [wrote] for the best magazines,”66 but his kitchens implemented similar tactics, that the material feminists advocated, to configure non-socialized single family kitchens.67 Both the material feminists and Spencer used technology

67 Spencer also makes reference to the fact that divorce rates were already high without the implementation of “kitchenless” houses. He implies that many Americans were weary of accepting this version of a progressive house that broke with more traditional family ideals because family stability was an important and sensitive issue. Spencer, Robert C. “Planning the House-Kitchens and Pantries,” The House Beautiful. October, 1905, p.23.
67 The material feminists refers to the late-nineteenth century
that had initially been intended for large businesses and factories to help make the house more efficient. Whereas the material feminists used the technology in original form to create housing with facilities that socialized domestic work. In implementing smaller scale versions of these innovations Spencer was able to modify the single-family house and make it more pleasant working environment for women. His kitchens had all the modern appliances: refrigerators, gas ranges, "horizontal range boiler," water heaters, "single combustion cocks in the sinks for both hot and cold water," "plastered hoods and ventilators," and "roll-lip" sinks, as well as detailed cabinetry and storage units that were found in Bartholomew's work. The total effect was the creation of the factory like kitchen, and "the new scientific techniques resulted in a parody of laboratory conditions." This "interest in regulating health and increasing domestic efficiency meant that a larger portion of construction expenses--often 25 percent--now went into household technology." This meant that although houses were becoming more streamlined and simplified, they were not necessarily becoming less expensive. The universal acceptance of these new expenditures and the simultaneous cutting back in other areas of the home indicated that these once-optional household choices were quickly becoming necessities that families felt they could not do without. The industrialization of the kitchen developed directly out of work done a decade before by the material feminists and progressive reformers that promoted similar

feminists who "identified the economic exploitation of women's domestic labor by men as the most basic cause of women's inequality." Hayden called them material feminists because they defined the revolutionary cause in terms of women's material conditions. Hayden, The Grand Domestic Revolution, p.1.

69 Wright, Building the American Dream, p.155.
standardized, industrialized, and simplified kitchens.

Reformist writings of Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Marion Talbot, Mary Gay Humphries, Ellen H. Richards, and Graham Taylor, to name just a few, challenged the physical and economic separation of women in society, developing theories of socialized domesticity that would help equalize women's status. Reformers hoped the new progressive dwellings would provide only the emotional and symbolic aspects of domestic life while domestic functions would be separated from the home. To achieve this goal, feminists strove to increase women's rights by bringing the homelike nurturing realm into public life through the implementation of socialized domestic services. In attempting to reorganize American domesticity the material feminists adopted a system that was antithetical to the established privatization of women's work. Cooperative housework employed technologies that would make women's work more economical and efficient. Laundries, bakeries, kitchens, and child rearing were removed from the home, promoting the development of a large scale economy of systematized production which employed large technologies. It was believed that this system would minimize the waste of individual human strength. In redefining housework and housing needs of women, the material feminists worked with architects and planners to reconsider the design of house on the position of women in our culture. Extending of women's realm into public/professional society was applied to acquiring urban infrastructures such as water pipes, telegraph lines, fuel lines, and electric power which were viewed to be the means by which women could establish a feasible base of

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70 Wright, Building the American Dream, p.169.
71 Wright, Moralism and the Modern Home, p.239.
73 Hayden, The Grand Domestic Revolution, p.11.
economic power. These systems were targeted because they were tied to an understanding of the women's running of the home, and reformers felt there would be less resistance to their desire for independence if their ventures could be construed as efforts to create a homelike world. Suburbanization was problematic for the material feminists grand scheme, keeping women further separated from the professional world of the city. The strategies that they developed for socializing urban centers did not fall completely to the wayside, however, and eventually did trickle down to the individual house. Beginning around the turn of the century, the large-scale technology developed for restaurants, hotels, and cooperative housing for the material feminists was miniaturized to adapt to the scale of the single family home. Refrigerators, freezers, dishwashers, vacuum cleaners, washing machines all became regular household equipment. Feminists saw cooperative services as a means by which to make domestic work more efficient so women could pursue interests outside the home, and although they did not achieve the goal of removing kitchens and laundries from the home, this alternative fostered ideas that eventually were applied to help liberate women at a smaller scale. The implications of material feminist's ideology did not end here. Their professional attitudes towards women's domestic work and the demanding for women's economic compensation also effected the home and women in other more subtle forms.

Home economists in distinction to the material feminists "proposed that the only way to preserve the family and the private home was to treat housewives as professionals, to transform their role into that of the exacting, highly skilled household administrator." 75 With the

75 Wright, Building the American Dream, p.169.
growing implementation of new technologies women saw a new opportunity for controlling their environment. It was believed that technological improvements would protect family health, preserve privacy, and stimulate the economy.\textsuperscript{76} Here, science became women's new weapon for gaining authority within the home, and it was believed that treating the home as a laboratory would keep women more satisfied. With the implementation of domestic science departments into many major universities curriculum at this time, there was more incentive for women to become educated.\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{7} This ideology stemmed directly from Catherine Beecher's writings that "persuaded women to take control of their own homes and health of their family".\textsuperscript{78}

Although, this push towards feminine professionalization encouraged women to become more independent, it was often a means by which women mastered the technology of the house only to become more tied to it. Education and mastery of knowledge in plumbing, gas, electricity, health, decoration, and nutrition were promoted for women with the goal of having the mistress become independent and self-sufficient in her running of the home. The aim was not that women should become professionals, but that they should demand and maintain good houses. The education of women in these areas, in many ways, was not an attempt to promote women to an equal level to facilitate competition with men in the professional world, but instead an attempt to provide women with the tools by which to control her own separate and independent realm. This system of professionalization did eventually

\textsuperscript{76} Wright, \textit{Moralism and the Modern Home}, p.238.
\textsuperscript{7} In 1890, only 4 land grant colleges offered courses in home economics, by 1899, 21 colleges had departments, and In 1916 17,778 students in 195 institutions were taking courses in the domestic sciences. Wright, \textit{Building the American Dream}, p.159.
\textsuperscript{78} Wright, \textit{Building the American Dream}, p.169.
equip women with tools and provide women with the opportunities of
education to function and participate outside of the home. This new
reliance on science that made women experts within the home and also
provided women with more time to pursue their interests. In this way
technology did promise women individual freedom and social equality.

If the Cult of True Womanhood had once ruled the house, the new
cult of technology was replacing it. At the end of the century, there
was a shift in faith towards science, because it was believed that
science could help save the house from the excess and irrational of the
Victorian home. The sudden prominence of the kitchen itself pointed up
the fact that the cult of technology and a growing interest in
scientific values and rational planning was beginning to direct every
sphere of life. An entire system of rationalization was taking over
the house. Specifically, the interests in science lead to a national
obsession with hygiene. "A crusade against unsanitary conditions in the
home based upon the discovery of germs, and the dangers of epidemics and
infant mortality caused domestic scientists to reject the furnishings
and architecture of the Victorian home in an effort to eliminate dust
and germs and bring in light and fresh air." As Isabel MacDougall
explained in "An Ideal Kitchen," for The House Beautiful in 1902:
"Everything in her temple [was] clean... with the scientific cleanliness
of a surgery, which we all [knew] to be ahead of any mere housewifery
neatness." The attack on dirt and germs led to new industrialized
developments within the kitchen. Similar to the arts and crafts appeals
for simpler ornament and more exposure to the outside world, physicians

79 Wright, Moralism and the Modern Home. p.239.
December, 1902, p.27.
and domestic scientists called for a universal cleaning and minimizing of the house. Designers tried to produce a "healthful house" leaving surfaces unadorned and smooth, design features that were seen as good for both use, health, and cleaning. The color white was preferred because it looked cleaner and hid less dirt. Enamel paints, galvanized sinks, porcelain tubs, ceramic tiles, and linoleum floors all helped make the house more efficient, making women's work faster and easier. The new necessities -- gas ranges, refrigerators, ice boxes, and kitchen appliances -- all made domestic work more efficient. The materials that were used emphasized the mechanization and the streamlining of the home.

Throughout the magazines' articles on kitchens, this emphasis and concern for sanitation was readily apparent. Often times this concern was implemented in a change in textures and materials throughout the home. "Many housekeepers advocated painting and varnishing the kitchen walls. This made a good hard finish that is not easily marred and can be washed and kept clean." 85 In Jane Pearson's article "A Small Family Kitchen" she described how "the kitchen [was] no place for carpets, for curtains, for wall-paper, or even for calcimine. (See figure 65) Hard-finished painted walls, cement or tiled floors, [were] ideal as regards perfect cleanliness and freedom from vermin". 86 (See figure) William Martin Johnson echoed Pearson's sentiments in "The House Practical" for the Journal in 1899. He stated "the walls of the kitchen should be of hard plaster, painted in enamel white, so that they may be easily washed. The corners of the rooms and of the ceiling should be rounded, 

so that dirt may not find a lodging place."^{44} Later he went on to
describe how the "ideal" floor of hardwood should be "laid water tight,
with a drain in the center so that the floor may be flushed after it had
been scrubbed."^{45} In both of these circumstances the focus was placed
upon keeping the kitchen clean, an emphasis that had been reinforced in
Robert Spencer’s articles.

In both sets of Spencer’s plans there was consideration for
hygiene that went beyond putting things away out of sight. The most
evident use of an hygienic approach was seen in his designs to maximize
sunlight and ventilation. The exterior wall space was also opened up to
allow for as much light and air to enter the room. The articles discuss
the ventilator’s function and how it should be designed, letting women
know when pipes should be doubled, when ventilating space should be
added, when asbestos or magnesia pipe coverings should be used. The
articles speak to the educated female readers who understand these
functions within the house, and alludes to the ideology of the home
economists in there call for professional training of women.

Science was integrated to make the house more efficient, and the
machine-like world that was created was incredibly functional and at
times even austere-- quite different from the Victorian house of the
previous era. The changes turned the house into a rational domestic
realm, but this emphasis on Taylorization and systematized cleanliness
never sublimated the emotional realm of mothering and nurturing, the
traditional symbol of women’s presence in the home. In the women’s home
the sanitary environment was implemented with a softened aesthetic.

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Kitchen designs were never as austere as industrial or factory models that were built solely for function. The centralizing of the kitchen within the home emphasized the women's presence within the home, and therefore the home for all its modernization remained tied essentially to the symbol and presence of women within the home.

The Women's House

Because my focus here is on the feminization of the house, it is important to try to discover and analyze what women really desired and wanted from their homes. Looking at women's designs separate from the influence of men makes clear what issues women considered most important. Women's houses were not a usual occurrence within the magazines, but both magazines did publish houses that were either designed by or designed specifically for women. These houses illustrated that women's concerns were different from those of men, or at least that the same concerns were considered differently. The publishing of women's houses acknowledged this fact. What was most interesting about these houses was not their similarity, or uniformity but their diversity.

Most often, women's design for the home were stereotyped in terms of male and female ways of designing. As in Anne Higginson Spicer's article, "How to Furnish a Home" which she wrote The House Beautiful. She stated, "a man's notion may be Let us be comfortable. A woman's idea generally was, Let us make the house pretty." Her argument

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assumed that women and men were different, but also assumed that all men were alike and that all women were alike. Other writers expressed similar sentiments, noting that the "architecture of the home began where the architecture of the house ended," assuming that where men's design of the structure ended women's design of the interior began. These strict definitions limited both men's and women's roles as designers. Much as the design of male architected houses did not end at the front door, the "women's houses" were not limited to decoration.

Women's designs addressed a full range of issues that like male designs were individual and exhibited differing tastes and agendas. Women were concerned with all aspects of the house from the design of the architecture to the plumbing of the house and the materiality of the walls. The range of issues that concerned women was best exemplified in the two primary women's series published by the magazines. The first series, "A Housekeepers House Plan" was published before the turn of the century in The House Beautiful. It provided five houses that the housekeeper, Nina C. Kinney, felt catered to a housekeeper's needs within the home. The second series was published in the Journal around 1910. This series of six articles and eleven houses provided designs for the woman client, a few of which were designed by a women architect. Together these series functioned to demonstrate that women had concerns as both designers and clients that were separate from those of men. The houses in these articles did not exhibit the radical progressive architecture designs of Frank Lloyd Wright, but they were not so that different from most of the designs by men found in the magazines. More importantly, they addressed concerns that many women were facing, and

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tried to solve these problems. The designs, like the other houses presented in the magazine, were aimed at the primary goal of representing the progressive house, but at the same time the designs also provided insight into women's ways of creating space that were different from their male counterparts. This statement in itself does not imply that houses were becoming more feminized, but it does demonstrate that women were able to inform houses differently than men. What was most encouraging about these designs was actually not the designs themselves, but the fact that women first and foremost were being considered active participants in the architectural process.

Women's active participation within the magazine format was not a common practice in the mainstream profession of architecture which was leery of the magazine effects on architecture. Women's presence in the profession had been increasing since the Civil War, but very few women were practicing architecture before the end of the century. After the Civil War, architecture underwent a process of professionalization. Before this time, the profession featured education based on a system of apprenticeship that was largely closed to women. With the establishment of the academies, the profession was slowly made more accessible to women. Architecture schools proposed an easier route by which women could become professionals because women no longer had to rely solely on the benevolence of male architects to win apprenticeships. But even within an academy system that focused on class room training, there remained barriers. Women who wanted to become architects often had to persevere through years of discrimination both from professors and later from architects to achieve their goals.

Women who did enter architecture schools were usually expected to "specialize in domestic architecture... because they could hope for professional acceptance as a house designer."

Even women house designers were often hard to find, and this fact was acknowledged in the lack of women's designs presented by the two magazines during this era. But there were a few concessions to women's designers in the magazines, one of the first was Nina C. Kinney's "A Housekeeper's House Plans."

At an early date The House Beautiful consciously tried to incorporate women into the domestic design process with a format that promoted popular participation. This format was well received by women, and the magazine's "Correspondence" department was usually filled to the brim with women's questions about the design of their homes and requests for suggestions. Popular participation provided women with a voice. Unlike the Journal, with its preference for professional designs, The House Beautiful actually believed women that were non-professionals had something valid to contribute. The articles reiterated this sentiment, and even many designers promoted consulting women in the design of houses because it was the women's lives that they were ultimately affecting most. Their input could be appropriate and beneficial to functioning of the home. It was "not that women knew anymore about building materials than he[her husband] does... But she knew the plans and the specifications by heart, and could repeat them forward and backward." Following up on this line of logic, The House Beautiful hired Nina C. Kinney to present the woman's point of view. Her designs

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tackled issues that concerned women in the home and showed women by example that they could become more active members in their houses design.

Kinney’s five houses tried to achieve that sacred union of economy and comfort that both Bok and Stone were promoting. Kinney was incredibly concerned with the function of the home and her houses primarily dealt with these aspects of design, but she also used her article to help educate women about problems of house design and construction. One of the most important points she stressed was difference between cheap construction and quality construction. She favored the house that was built to last over the house built for less. Her educational approach acknowledged women’s roles as decision makers when it came to issues of the home, but it also acknowledged that women needed help and information about making decisions. Her rational approach to house construction extended to her emphasis on the functioning of the home. For Kinney believed that “life was too short and too precious to sacrifice time and comfort for appearance in our small home house.”  

In these houses the plan became the real generator and aesthetics were placed on the back burner. Kinney established a twelve point frame work from which to produce the design of the house. (See figure 67) Kinney’s lack of advice about decoration questioned the notion that women were only suited to adorn the house.

In her first article, Kinney made clear her belief that only a woman could properly design a home:

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93 In the articles Kinney often did not provide detail of the interior finishes, and in plan No.2 she didn’t include elevations. The focus in her designs was on the plan and small details that helped to make the house more efficient.
Only those who had actually done the work of the kitchen, laundry, pantry, and dining room; who have cleaned, swept, and dusted; cooked, washed and ironed and kept everything in order; or who had at least, carefully superintended the full varied routine of household tasks, [could] intelligently plan a house which [would] expedite and save the labor of the household.\(^\text{94}\)

Similarly, her designs focused primarily around women's functions. The first house, a mountain cottage from March 1898, was designed "to work in smoothly, to rest in comfortably, and to live in happily."\(^\text{95}\) (See figure 68) Through fairly simple maneuvers Kinney made the house function more easily. Her design focused around placing women at the center of activity; thus the kitchen became a central driving element. The kitchen's new location acknowledged the nature of women's work within the house. Without servants, houses had to be planned around women's ability to accomplish domestic chores, and therefore "the kitchen was the stomach of the house."\(^\text{96}\) It became the primary base of work whether that be cooking, nursing children, or washing clothes, and it became a central link connecting various activities within the home, making housework more efficient. Kinney also studied ways to make the kitchen's location more beneficial for women. She found that by redesigning pieces of the architecture she could ease woman's plight. The wall separating the living room and kitchen was one element that was reconceived to reduce women's work. The new china cupboard was this wall that connected the kitchen and the living room. "There was no door

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directly from the living room to kitchen, but the china cupboard and
sink arrangement [did] away with the necessity for journeys through the
hall way... everything [could] be passed back and forth through the
sliding doors." 7 The cupboard looked like a normal china cabinet, but
it could be from both sides which allowed the wife to pass dishes and
food between rooms without walking through the hall. In essence this
piece of furniture functioned a diner counter that allows food to pass
from the kitchen to the dining room.

This cupboard/sink arrangement was also used in Kinney's next
design for the house with a nursery.8 But here in the first design the
cabinet sink arrangement was more fully detailed. What was innovative
about this design was that it maintained existing relationships of
separating functions, but it covertly changed the relationship between
the rooms. This opening between the kitchen and living room/dining room,
although not usually exposed, blurred the strict separation of functions
found in most of the magazine's designs of this time. The house
revolved around designing these types of furniture/architecture pieces
that helped women in their daily work.9 Kinney's interest in
innovations paralleled the interests of the material feminists and the

7 Kinney, Nina C. "A Housekeeper's House Plan- No.1," The House
Beautiful. March, 1898, p.123.
8 Kinney, Nina C. "A Housekeeper's House Plan- No. 3," The House
9 Kinney also attempted to design elaborate storage units that not only
help put things out of the way, but were used to connect rooms. In
these designs there was a focus on efficiency. Although the house now
has fewer items in the rooms indicating the evolution of a more
streamlined house, more closet space was needed and designed to store
items out of sight. Kinney's functional designs of elaborate storage
closets implies the need for storage in the modern home which indicates
the evolving consumer nature of society and more probably of women. We
are still dealing with a consumer society. Kinney, Nina C. "A
Housekeeper's House Plan- No. 3," The House Beautiful. May, 1899, p.69-
71.
home economists who wanted to make the house a more habitable place for women. This element foreshadowed the dissolution of the solid boundary between the kitchen and the dining room found in more modern designs. This type of partition presented another possibility for making spaces that were more flexible, and this idea was built upon by many designers during this era.

Kinney was also concerned with an economy of space as a means by which to help relieve women of needless drudgery. Thus her houses were designed with a purpose, as she stated, "a dwelling properly planned for any family was a growth according with the needs of those who were to live in it." She defined need through use. The first two houses limited the number of rooms and tried to place everything in the house within reach of the kitchen, eliminating unnecessary space. (See figure 69) In size the houses were more of the scale of the cottage or bungalow with "very simple rectangular floor plans. They came to embody Kinney's principles themselves in their reduction of form and emphasis on use.

These floor plans were not the work of Kinney alone, but were informed by many women's experiences that had evolved over time. It is important to realize that these houses chronicled women's choices and desires, not just the desires of Kinney. Kinney designed houses to publish that answered familiar problems that women faced within the house. In this light, the reconception of functional relationships within the houses takes on added importance. In the first house, the

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101 Wright, Moralism and the Modern Home, p.144.
102 Kinney does not discuss her sources other than architects who contributed drawings, but she implies that she has looked at various answers to problems within the house to find her solution.
living room and dining room were conflated to eliminate redundancy and save space. In the second house, a reception room was designed to allow a more open living room/dining room to be designed that would be free of intrusion or exposure. The development of a reception area indicated a shift towards a more informal, more private, more intimate living area. In the last three houses, the library and reception room formed a distinct zone, separate from that of the family living space, the dining room, pantry, and kitchen. These new groupings were created to provide a more relaxed interior open space, that mixed domestic work spaces with more public social functions. This universal shift away from rigid functions and formal spaces indicated that women were allowed more freedom within their own homes. Even in the last houses the creation of a separate public zones allowed for private living areas to evolve. These changes that Kinney made may not seem all that dramatic considering the rest of the designs provided by the magazines, but they did reconceive the house to express women’s desire to be freed from the more confining traditional house.

Interestingly, Kinney’s designs also adhered to and arts and crafts aesthetics, even though she was more concerned with function. This choice may have been based on personal preference, but the arts and crafts style did lend itself well to simple living. It was this desire for simple living that became most evident in Kinney’s writings. She created houses that were innovative in implementing new ideas for the purpose of making women’s lives easier. Her approach was similar to that of Candace Wheeler nearly a half century before, who had promoted the critical role of women as active participants in the production of
their own domestic environment. Both Wheeler and Kinney believed women's knowledge and women's decisions were a means of empowerment. The designing of the house became the starting point for a more fulfilling life for women. This stand may have kept women within the home, but it also accepted that women were capable of running it without the help of men. Thus they endeared to redefine the house to suit women's needs. The innate contradictions found in arts and crafts ideology that connected the movement to both nostalgia for past and desire for future suited the similar contradictions found in the women's house.

But Kinney's houses did not challenge social norms about women's freedom outside of the home. The forms designed by Kinney were fairly traditional and they used conventional gabled forms to evoke an image of home. Even the apertures connecting the interior to the outside world were conservative. Windows were not used to create connections to the street, but were there in a typical fashion to provide light and ventilation. Three of the houses incorporated porches, yet they did not really function as outdoor rooms. Except for the first house the porch functioned more as an appendage than as integral part of the design. These houses were invested in maintaining a closed world where women could create a more open and free world of her own that was separate and protected from the outside world, than in this type of enclosing was typical of both Kinney and Una Nixon Hopkin's, who designed the next series for the Journal, later designs. Both designers demonstrated that women were interested in creating a house that facilitated their own evolution, but one that did not sacrifice essential qualities of the

home such as nurturing and comfort.

It is also interesting to note that the changes in Kinney’s houses sublimated the traditional spaces of male power, and they abolished most forms of control that traditional houses used. The parlor no longer existed, for it had been replaced by the more informal and less contrived living room. The kitchen was no longer shoved to the back of the house, but had become a prominent member of the house. The dining room had also become a more informal eating and gathering area for the family. Libraries still existed in these house plans, but were usually not incorporated into the house’s informal living area. Instead libraries moved into the kitchen’s past space that was out of the way at the back of the house which indicated that men and their spaces were outside the dominant inner loop of the home. In a few designs bedrooms were even placed on the first floor, and in the second house the nursery as well as a bedroom was to be found on the first floor. The dissolution of male space within the home indicated that women felt that the house was their domain. In giving the house and focusing their attentions more exclusively on the public world, men had abdicated many forms of control over family life.

The Journal took a more professional approach to presenting women’s houses. Over the course of twenty five years of publishing houses, it only commissioned one female architect, Una Nixon Hopkins, to design houses.\textsuperscript{105} Her designs dealt primarily with problems women faced.

\textsuperscript{105} Una Nixon Hopkins worked for both The House Beautiful and the Journal, and her designs in both magazines tended to focus upon the woman’s home. The hiring of Hopkins was unusual for Bok who usually tried to present issues that were more conservative and less supportive of women’s emancipation. Although Hopkins was the only woman commissioned to design entire houses for the Journal, Ethel Bartholomew was hired by the magazine to design kitchens, pantries and closets for
Although Hopkins was the only female architecture contributor, the Journal did acknowledge women's concerns in domestic design. Between 1909 and 1911, coinciding with Hopkins' houses, the Journal made a small foray into designing houses for women as clients. In this haphazard series, the Journal produced eleven houses, six of these were produced by Hopkins, the others were produced by Charles White and Ekin Wallick, standard contributors to the magazine's architecture offerings. Hopkins' designs were similar to those of Kinney in that she tackled the problems of function within the home, however they were different in that she also focused on the aesthetics of house design. Her houses presented an interesting situation where a woman architect was designing for women clients, a situation that occurred only one other time in either magazine.\(^{106}\) (See figure 73)

Hopkins' consistently appropriated the bungalow type for these houses. One of the most important house types of the early twentieth century, the bungalow, demonstrated the practicality and potential of the Progressive's ideology.\(^{107}\) It was compatible for the small working class family, or in this case, the bachelor woman living alone. All were economical houses that could be built for about $2000, and more importantly they were easy to maintain. In general, the bungalow was an informal house that broke with the more historicist style houses usually found in the suburbs. They tended to be one or one-and-a-half stories tall with little exterior ornament or pretense.\(^{108}\) They were appealing

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\(^{108}\) Bowsher, Edward Bok's Attempt to Promote Good Design in the Suburbs,
in their promise of spontaneity, informality, and simple living. The simple, plain decor that was easy to clean, the informality that allowed for less time to be spent on social visits, and the promise that women would have more time for themselves all appealed to the more modern women. It was a "classic expression of the new kind of freedom... informal and simple but not without the appropriate and necessary limits." Thus, these houses were well suited to the new woman.

Hopkins emphasized the physical environment and aesthetics of the house because they, more than any other element within the home, influenced human development. Hopkins wanted to provide a healthful environment for families in accommodating light, air, and space for personal freedom. In the first design "The Bachelor Girls' House," published in September 1909, she designed a bungalow for two single women. It was similar to other bungalows with its prominent unifying roof, horizontal emphasis, and four porches. (See figure 70) But here Hopkins' emphasis or special feature was the porches that worked to create an inviting comfortable outdoor room that allowed the form of the house to remain in tact, so the house could represent both solidity and stability while also being open and inviting. The bachelor house integrated four porches into its design, three of which were located on the first floor. According to Hopkins, "it was more comfortable to sleep there than to be shut up in the house." The fourth porch was a sleeping porch located on the second floor. The entrance porch was a pergola, whose tenuous structure sharply contrasted to the solid massing of the house. It created a void in contrast to the house's solid form.

p.57.
becoming "a visible-yet-protected midpoint between the closed zone of the private house and the open zone of the street."

Unlike Wright’s open-plan houses where the porches extended interior space into the landscape, Hopkins’ porches functioned as an in-between space. They were the transition zone that when strung together along a street, dominated the street landscape and created a community that was not so internally oriented. The porch provided women with an outdoor space that was connected to both the private world of the house and the public world of the street.

In the second article, "For the Bride Who does Her own Work" from 1910, Hopkins designed four houses. (See figure 7) The plans for these houses were fairly conventional, stressing convenience, simplicity, and economy. Spaces were more rigid and static than those found in open plans, and they were compartmentalized according to room function. Each house was a variation on a similar theme and all the plans were basically the same. The living room, dining room, and kitchen were aligned on one side of the house while the chambers and bathroom were aligned on the opposite side. Usually an interior hall was created to help connect these two linear zones, but there was no attempt at penetrating the realms, as was evident in the more expensive prairie houses. This was in part due to the fact that economy motivated these plans, but it also indicated what was commonly considered comfortable and simple. Unlike more traditional models, the bungalow was not invested in maintaining separation of spheres, and thus the drive to create traditional floor plans was in effect due to demand, whether they be economic or social. The minimization and reduction in the size of

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111 Bowsher, Edward Bok’s Attempt to Promote Good Design in the Suburbs, p.57.
the house did help to make the house more intimate, even with these more traditional spatial relations existed. Although it retained a more traditional layout, the house was not considered to be formal which insinuates that the house was being used differently than before.

The compact nature of the house was governed by this desire for simple living. There were no attics, no basements, and no second stories, as the designs prioritized these rooms out of existence. With less space there was an increased pressure placed on the remaining rooms, so Hopkins provided storage space to help organize and make the house more efficient. The necessity for closets reflected the increasing pressures of a nature of consumer society, although the reduction space had been conceived by progressive ideology as a criticism of society’s consumer nature, society had not really changed. A common complaint of the new smaller houses was that they appeared even smaller because too much stuff was always shoved into them. Closets, drawers and cupboards were the solution that could help keep the house looking neat and orderly. Hopkins, like Kinney before her, went to extraordinary lengths to add cupboards, closets, and new functional gadgets to help women in their care of the house. There was a cooling closet, cupboards for pots and pans, porch closet, linen closets, and bedroom closets. The addition of storage space began to function like built-in furniture and decoration that were designed with the house to help streamline the design. The Craftsman aesthetic of integrating storage and furniture into to the house’s design was readily apparent in Hopkin’s houses and intimated that these qualities were desired by women in order to make their lives easier and more comfortable. This desire for a more relaxed and personal relationship to the home was also made evident in the materiality of Hopkins’ structures.
The personal expression of women, in Hopkins homes, was no longer associated with frills and ruffles. The decor of these houses, focused on depicting the natural character of the materials. Hopkins' first house stood on a rough cement foundation and was covered with shakes stained a golden brown. The two chimneys were also of rough cement. Also the trim including the pergola and porches was rustic in effect and stained a tone darker than the house... the wood finish throughout the first floor was pine, stained brownish tan mixed with very little green- the green tone being carried on the walls of the living room.\(^{12}\)

Implementing a variety of materials, she juxtaposed the materials' natural qualities, providing quite ornate visual stimulation. The materials were juxtaposed to harmonize, rather than produce outlandish pieces of personal expression, as had the Victorians. Aesthetically the focus was placed not on pure simplicity but on, in Hopkins' words, "ostentatious simplicity" which could be seen in the variety of materials used to articulate the details. The sole emphasis on plan and reduction of ornament that had been seen just a few years before was supplanted in the bungalow's basic designs by an interest in comfortable living based on not just function, but also feeling and emotion, expressed in the tactile qualities of the materials. Although cheap, these bungalows were fairly sophisticated in their development of material and planer abstractions.

The freedom evidenced in Hopkins' exploration of materials was not the only innovative aspect of Hopkins' houses. Her third design for the "Woman [who] Must Earn Her Living at Home" tried to solve domestic

problems for women working within the home. (See figure 72) She was also concerned with making houses more manageable for women within the home. This was the dominant focus of her work, in the series for the magazine. Hopkins understood that women could "work with more courage and feeling of independence when her business interests were under her home roof," and designed a house that would enable women to do so. The design incorporated a workshop/office with a separate entrance for business. Besides the need to be located near access to a street, the major problem was making room in an already compact house, and the addition of work space placed more pressure on the rest of the house. The house design was economical and efficient, but Hopkins had to further minimize rooms. To solve this problem, she created rooms with more flexible functions. The linen closet doubled as a sewing room, while the pantry/hall was a good place to store dishes or prepare food that was outside of the main space of the condensed kitchen. The conflation of living room and dining room helped to make space for the addition of the woman’s workshop, but it also advanced the shift towards more informal living. The bungalow, like the Victorian house, was compartmentalized, but the reduction in size forced the individual compartments to be more flexible in respect to function, as the reduced physical distance would not allow for the maintenance of separate areas. In general all aspects of the home were becoming more elastic. On the one hand, these changes were the product of the process of reduction but on the other hand they were a conscious result of wanting to achieve a simple lifestyle. It was "a businesslike proposition, for the smaller the kitchen the shorter the work. Business men liked to rest when they got home at night: why

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113 Hopkins, Una Nixon. "If a Woman Must Earn Her Living at Home," LHJ. February, 1911, p.23.
not women?"  

Other innovations in Hopkins houses were found in the other woman's workshop, the kitchen. Hopkin's used built-ins and cupboards to help economize space within the kitchen to help minimize energy spent clearing the table and putting away clean dishes. But Hopkins also designed a dining alcove that offered a cozy alternative to the formal dining room. The nook provided women with additional usable space in the kitchen to prepare food, nurse, sew, or read while cooking or washing. It was pushed through the exterior wall to help let in light and create a sunny and fresh retreat within the kitchen facilitating both simple living and leisure. These types of additional designs "were outstanding in their attention to details of function and the needs of one who runs a house."  

They were similar to Kinney's designs, which also tried to develop small innovations that would give women greater freedom.

The magazines were working to help construct a proper new woman's identity that was at once more independent and self sufficient and adequately tied to the home. This construction of a woman's house was neither a completely positive or negative process for women. Women did gain uncontested authority over the domestic realm. Changes made during this period established a precedent in our culture that is still present today. Male influence in suburbia today is almost a non-presence. Houses have remained a woman's world, and all support functions within this society reinforce this interpretation. Women were instrumental in this simultaneous process of being bound to the home while gaining more power for themselves there. The women's designs demonstrated that the

changes that tied women to the house were also often the same elements that brought them freedom. Thus women were both being constructed by the magazine houses, as well as, constructing their own new identities through them. Throughout this century women having been grappling with establishing a new ideal identity. In these houses a clear and consistent image did not exist. Women were expected to have professional desires as well as nurturing instincts. These polarities exist still today, but rather than seeing these elements as contradictions that women have to decide between, they should be understood as an duality embedded in women’s complex identity. The subsequent construction of houses designed with these issues in mind demonstrated the evolution of woman’s house that in the end is an embodiment of her personality.


115 Frances, Progressivism and the American House, p.61.
Conclusion

In our society, women have more choices than they had a century ago. They have gained the right to vote, reproductive rights, the right to equal opportunities in education, work, and before the law. These changes have helped balance women's position in society. However, distinctions between men and women still exist. Primary proof of this point can be found in the fact that the house remains a women's sphere. Even in the face of new options women have chosen to retain control of the house. This fact in part illustrates that the home provides women with positive benefits and opportunities.

There have been recent texts that discredit this premise. Witold Rybczynski in "The Androgynous Home" finds that with women entering the work force in the 1960s they abandoned the home and it "ceased to be a women's place."¹ Interestingly he interpreted this abandonment as not a secession to the male, but instead portrayed it to be an example of a development towards the asexual house. It seems a little peculiar that the house could be considered androgynous because ideally it is still connected to women. In our society more women work, more men stay home, and more families need to have two parents work. However, it does not appear that gender roles or the house have changed drastically in the last twenty-five years. The Levittown tract homes that the last generation were raised in are not so different from the ranch-style homes of my generations youth, and these houses are not all that unlike contemporary development houses. The aesthetics have changed and new

rooms have assumed importance such as the bathroom and the kitchen, but the relationship between gender and the house has remained the same.

In a similar vein to Rybczynski's argument, Aaron Betsky in Building Sex has called for an assimilation of our society's understanding of sexuality "to construct a better world". Sexual integration is an ideal, and it is a beautiful concept in that it extends the metaphor of the melting pot to a new level. However, it is also somewhat disconcerting because like other attempts of cultural integration that have occurred within our culture, an actual blending does not occur. Instead, one cultural identity is subsumed by another. More likely in an assimilation of the sexes, the similar type of marginalization would develop as the eradication of the female identity. A multi-gender approach to understanding provides diversity and complexity to our society.

In contrast, a multi-gender approach is more inclusive, but it is also well suited to a situation in which distinct gender identities already exist. Realizing that the differences between the sexes do not have to create only a negative situation, it is possible to look at the domestic sphere as an area of potential benefits. The house can be seen as a place that fostered women's distinct character and even liberation which contributes a new reading of the home. This change in perspective does not deny the more traditional readings of feminists such as Dolores Hayden, Betty Freidan, Mary Daly, and Simone de Beauvoir. Their positions have proven that the marginalized condition of women does exist. My argument accepts their readings, but adds another layer of understanding, providing new voices. In the end, the goal here has been

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2 Betsky, Building Sex, p.176.
to show that the house also has been a positive realm for women to function within.

Two specific considerations initially reinforced this reading. The first being that suburbia established a sphere in which women were left alone to make decisions and run the family. In certain cases the separation of the home established a situation in which women had power to make domestic as well as financial decisions. The initial positioning of women as moral authorities over society soon developed to include authority over the house. The second consideration was the distinct women's character itself which provided women with the incredible ability to cope. This innate quality allowed women to be resilient, strong, flexible, and receptive. Thus women even in negative situations have found subtle ways to be heard and to inform their surroundings that work effectively to empower women. Based on this assumption it is plausible that women have been able to make the house a positive situation. Taking these two circumstances as givens enables us to look at the house in a new light, as a women's realm of authority and desire.

Accepting that women were in a position to effect the home changes the reading of the house. Although histories have not attributed changes to the this cause, the development of the modern house was affected by the women's influence. In acknowledging distinct women's qualities such as ways of thinking, relationships, and work the connection between changes to the house and women becomes more clear. In terms of the commonly perceived reforms, informality and functionality that characterized the development of the modern home, there were direct links. Women benefited from these new constructs in that they provided them with more time to pursue their own interests and
in the fact that totality of the home became more in tune with personal and intimate relationships of the family. Less understood changes such as the shift towards subjectivity also is connected to the presence of women within the home. This change to the home accommodates more subjective and inclusive changes that influenced middle-class housing. These effects can be seen in the four professional designed houses that were discussed. The houses document not just the evolution of these three qualities that define the women's home, they also provide an overview of the changing trends in American architecture of their time. In looking at the architecture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it also is important to realize the power of the emerging mass-culture. Like other aspects of society the shape of the house was driven by the desires of the masses which were articulated in the popular culture magazines of the late nineteenth-century. In the houses for the Ladies' Home Journal and The House Beautiful the criteria for the women's house is more fully elaborated upon. The similarities between the professional houses and magazine houses demonstrates the ability of the magazines to effect all levels of society through design.

Ann Douglas in her study Feminization of American Culture looked at the periodicals from the Victorian era and found that in the periodical format the battle of the sexes was firmly established. Douglas' work specifically looked at the debates between the clergy and women that dominated the serial's discussions. In conclusion she states that "they exploited and played with stereotypic sex distinctions... [and] that in the end they conducted no exploration of the genuine differences between masculinity and femininity."¹ Her observations of

the earlier generation mass-publication illustrates distinct parallels to the periodicals of the turn of the century. In contrast, the later magazines studied in this analysis the Ladies' Home Journal and The House Beautiful were effecting perceptions and ideals of women, and the mixed messages that filled the pages of the magazine were reiterated in the designs of the houses that the magazines provided. This fact indicates two different contradictory facts. One, the changes to the house could be another form of social construction of women, or two, the changes affecting women also could be affecting the design of the home.

Although, the magazines in general were attempting to control women and their desires, specifically in terms of house design, there was more ambiguity as to who was affecting whom. There did exist a tradition of houses controlling and reiterating social values and morals, as was seen in the case of the Victorian House. In contrast, the progressive houses found on the pages of the magazine helped women achieve greater independence. This second reading is more obvious with the house's design becoming more simple, more open in plan, and more focused upon the kitchen and technology. This connection between women's designs and changes to the house added women to the list of historical factors, but it also opened up the possibility of looking at women's more specific additions to the house. These contributions can be most easily detected in the articles and designs done by female contributors: Nancy Kinney and Una Nixon Hopkins. In these sets of designs that literally frame the time period of this argument the house became less restricted and bounded, implying that women's roles had evolved. Their designs also demonstrated an inclination towards tending to and considering all aspects of the house's design from the kitchen to the mechanical systems. The design of the house for women was an inclusive process.
This new conceiving contrasted to the Victorian ideal of women solely as decorators.

In positing the development of the women’s home as a place of empowerment, this argument is not trying to discredit past works that have interpreted the progressive home to be another form of entrapment. It is fair to say that both positive and negative situations existed and coexisted for women within the house. These dualities that were first manifest in the early modern house are still embedded in house designs today. Instead of escaping escape gender as Rybczynski posits it seems that the house has reinforced its ties to the women’s character. The house has remained a women’s sphere for reasons that extend beyond an understanding of men as bread-winners and women as home-makers. In our culture today, the lines between the sexes have been blurred, but the divisions remain. Through retaining women’s preferences the house provides women and families with caring and nurturing that the public “alien” world does not provide. It is in the home that romantic ideas have had their greatest effect, where women’s nature is the accepted norm, where women make the rules, and where women are most comfortable. It is a humane world where emotions matter. It is where families and husbands seek support. It is the world that has allowed women to remain women.

It is in this marginal situation, the house, where women have been discriminated against that they have found their greatest source of strength. This image of the house has remained intact as the house has evolved because it has clung to its past never quite shedding the essence of home in the same way that women have not escaped gender. But I found that this decision has been a women’s choice, a choice not made by men or by society. This decision indicates as the Ladies’ Home
Journal proclaimed in 1892, that women through their houses developed their individuality; it has proven to be a realm of both opportunity and capability for women.⁴

Appendix A
Figure 2. Front Elevation, Percy Brown House, H.H. Richardson from Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, *H.H. Richardson: Complete Architectural Works*, p.268.
Figure 3. Back Elevation, Percy Brown House, H.H. Richardson from Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, H.H. Richardson: Complete Architectural Works, p.269.
Figure 4. Plan, Percy Brown House, H.H. Richardson
from Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, H.H. Richardson: Complete
Architectural Works, p.268.
Figure 5. Front Elevation, Winslow House, Frank Lloyd Wright from Vincent Scully, Jr. *Frank Lloyd Wright*, p.38.
Figure 6. Back Elevation, Winslow House, Frank Lloyd Wright from Bruce Pfeiffer, *Frank Lloyd Wright: Selected Houses* 1, p. 65.
Figure 7. Plan, Winslow House, Frank Lloyd Wright
from William Allin Storrer, The Frank Lloyd Wright Companion, p.23.
Figure 8. Interiors, Winslow House, Frank Lloyd Wright
from Bruce Pfeiffer, Frank Lloyd Wright: Selected Houses 1, p.72,74.
Figure 9. Elevation, Jennie A. Reeve House, Greene and Greene from Randall Makinson, *Greene and Greene: Architecture as Fine Art*, p. 82.
Figure 10. Plan, Jennie A. Reeve House, Greene and Greene from Randall Makinson, *Greene and Greene: Architecture as Fine Art*, p. 83.
Figure 11. Interiors, Jennie A. Reeve House, Greene and Greene from Randall Makinson, *Greene and Greene: Architecture as Fine Art*, p. 84.
Figure 12. Elevations, Williams Mitchel House, Julia Morgan from Sara Boutelle, *Julia Morgan, Architect*, p.139.
Figure 13. Plan, Williams Mitchell House, Julia Morgan from Sara Boutelle, Julia Morgan, Architect, p.139.
Figure 14. Dining Room, Williams Mitchell House, Julia Morgan from Sara Boutelle, Julia Morgan, Architect, p.140.
Figure 16. Cover of Ladies' Home Journal, December 1889.
Figure 17. Cover of The House Beautiful, February 1908.
Figure 19. "Distinguished American Woman," from Ladies' Home Journal.

[FOR THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL]
DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN WOMEN.

"Jenny June," The Successful Journalist, the Founder of Sorosis. Ten Years its President, and a Prominent Member of Several Literary and Art Societies.
Figure 20. Pearline Soap Advertisement from *Ladies' Home Journal.*
Figure 21. Standard Plumbing Advertisement from Ladies’ Home Journal.
Figure 22. Pompeian Message Cream
from Ladies' Home Journal.
THE LATEST

"Woman Question"

The manufacturers of the famous Williams' Shaving Soap are anxious to settle the following much-disputed question:

Does a Woman Buy Her Husband's Shaving Soap?

OUR OFFER To any woman writing us her opinion or experience as to this question, and enclosing (5) two-cent stamps, we will send a full-size cake of Williams' Celebrated Jersey Cream Toilet Soap (which retails at 15c), and is not only a most exquisite toilet soap, but also invaluable for keeping the hands soft, white and smooth, and for the prevention and cure of chapped hands, and in addition will send a Williams' Shaving Stick (the size that sells at 10c.) for her husband or gentleman friend.

Address all replies to
THE J. B. WILLIAMS CO.
Dep. J.
GLASTONBURY, CONN.
Figure 24. "What Is Your Highest Ambition," from Ladies' Home Journal, January 1903, p. 4.

**What Is Your Highest Ambition to be as a Woman?**

Now, the second question I asked: "What is your highest ambition to be as a woman?" Here is the result in figures, as well as some of the answers:

- To be a writer, 12 per cent.
- To be a teacher, 10 per cent.
- To be a doctor, 7 per cent.
- To be an artist, 5 per cent.
- To be a nurse, 4 per cent.
- To be a lawyer, 3 per cent.
- To be a social worker, 3 per cent.
- To be a business woman, 2 per cent.
- To be a musician, 2 per cent.
- To be a politician, 1 per cent.
- To be a homemaker, 1 per cent.
- To be a farmer, 1 per cent.

*The Women's Right to Vote*

"My chief ambition is to be a woman. I believe women are equal to men in every respect." - A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO GIRL.

*The Right toاء to Be Happily Married*

"My chief ambition is to be happy. The main thing is to have a good husband and a home." - A UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA GIRL.

*The Right to a Good Education*

"My chief ambition is to be educated. I want to be able to read and write and to have a good mind." - A UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN GIRL.

*The Right to Be Accepted by Society*

"My chief ambition is to be accepted by society. I want to be able to make good impressions on people." - A UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA GIRL.

*The Right to Be Independent*

"My chief ambition is to be independent. I want to be able to support myself and make my own decisions." - A UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS GIRL.

*The Right to Be Creative*

"My chief ambition is to be creative. I want to make art and express myself through my work." - A UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN GIRL.

*The Right to Be a Leader*

"My chief ambition is to be a leader. I want to be able to influence people and make a difference." - A UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA GIRL.

*The Right to Be a Mother*

"My chief ambition is to be a mother. I want to have children and raise them to be happy and successful." - A UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN GIRL.

*The Right to Be a Philosopher*

"My chief ambition is to be a philosopher. I want to think deeply and understand the world." - A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO GIRL.

*The Right to Be a Physicist*

"My chief ambition is to be a physicist. I want to learn about the universe and how it works." - A UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS GIRL.

*The Right to Be a Mathematician*

"My chief ambition is to be a mathematician. I want to solve complex problems and make new discoveries." - A UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA GIRL.

*The Right to Be a Dancer*

"My chief ambition is to be a dancer. I want to express myself through movement and music." - A UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS GIRL.

*The Right to Be an Actress*

"My chief ambition is to be an actress. I want to tell stories through my performance." - A UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA GIRL.

*The Right to Be a Businesswoman*

"My chief ambition is to be a businesswoman. I want to be able to run my own company and be successful." - A UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN GIRL.

*The Right to Be a Journalist*

"My chief ambition is to be a journalist. I want to report on important events and make a difference." - A UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA GIRL.

*The Right to Be a Politician*

"My chief ambition is to be a politician. I want to make laws that benefit society." - A UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN GIRL.

*The Right to Be a Philanthropist*

"My chief ambition is to be a philanthropist. I want to help others and make the world a better place." - A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO GIRL.
Figure 25. Hide and Seek, James Tissot, 1877.
from Aaron Betsky, Building Sex, p.139.
Figure 26. Sturtevant House, Dudley Newton.
Figure 27. fashionable Women of the Victorian Era.
from Priscilla Harris Dalrymple, American Victorian Costume
in Early Photographs. p.16,26.
Figure 28. Parlor, J.G. Bailey House, 1876.
from Gwendolyn Wright, Building the American Dream, p.110.
Figure 29. Llewellyn Park, Andrew Jackson Davis, 1855. from Kenneth Jackson, Bourgeois Utopias, p.124.
Figure 30. The American Woman's Home, Catherine Beecher. From Dolores Hayden, Grand Domestic Revolution, p. 59.
Figure 31. Percentage Home Owners in 1930 for the city of St. Louis, from Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontiers*, Table A-11.

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Figure 32. "Inside A Hundred Homes,"
from Ladies' Home Journal, November 1902, p. 8.

Inside of a Hundred Suburban Homes

The second article of a series
Giving Glimpses into One Hundred American Suburban Homes

This is an interesting and cheerful room arrangement in a Long Island home, utilizing a modern but a highly chaste scheme. Designed and decorated by Albert Hering.

The large living-room with the bookshelves on each side of the chimney is in a house atgenesee Valley, Long Island. Designed by Chpman & Parks.

A bedroom in a houose in a bungalow at Berkeley, California. The walls are covered in matching white and yellow colors. Designed and decorated by Albert Hering.

Here is a colorful arrangement of modern with ancient colors in the living-room of a house in Berkeley, California. Designed and decorated by Albert Hering.

The door here is nearly 8 feet high, the woodwork being painted white, and the door and dressing room door being made entirely of matching hardwood. Designed and decorated by Albert Hering.

This bedroom is from a house in California. It is particularly admired in a house among some of the most showy in Berkeley. Designed and decorated by Albert Hering.
Figure 33. "The Comfortable Bungalow,"
Mr. Charles H. Reid has built, in Seattle, for Dr. Daniel Kellogg, a house which is simple in design, admirable in proportion, and original in conception. He faced the problem of a sky house in comparatively small lot, which was yet large enough to catch the light on all sides. Mr. Reid has solved it with a single story, and produced a house which is absolutely no experiment occasioned by virtue of being recognized, however, as a single story—a house which in a house of any one estate would be a certain indication of the owner and his architect—and, moreover, has individuality and charm. There is a simplicity dignified by restraint which is incomparably effective.

The first story is built of brick in Swedish bond, the brick being colored a brownish brick, with all the lumber painted black, as taken from near the rock in the hills. This gives a certain variety to the coloring of the interior which is much more attractive than the usual monotony. The second story is of shingles, with red bricks over three inches, giving agreeable shadows, some in the recesses, giving agreeable shadows, some of the windows are set in the walls of the shingles on the second floor, on the gables and dormers, are natural with deep brown, and afterwards filled with imitation. The roof is painted a deep brown, and the trimmings around the windows and all the finish of the outside are painted white.

The ceiling of the porch is colored a warm yellow, which gives a very cheerful appearance to the balcony, even in the still winter air. The windows are large, the doors handsomely framed.

The photographs, which were taken soon after the house was finished, show it better, but as the air is good and you have had little chance of seeing it. Later on, these houses will grow...
from Ladies' Home Journal, December 1895, p.21.
Figure 37. "Prize Competition- Third Prize," Fred W. Lumis.
from The House Beautiful, October 1898, p.166-169.
Figure 38. "The Dress of the Business Girl," Emily Wight. from Ladies' Home Journal, January 1900, p.29.

The Girl and Her Outing Gowns

Original Designs by Mrs. Kelton

Drawings by Thomas Mitchell Pierce

Crawford Shoe

For Men and Women, $2.50

New Fashion Books Free

Macy's

F.P. Corsets

American's Favorite

F. P. Pierce's Corsets

F. P. Pierce & Co., New York City
Figure 40. "Good Taste and Bad Taste in Lamps," from Ladies' Home Journal, May 1906, p.31.
Figure 41. "Good Taste and Bad Taste in Tables," from Ladies' Home Journal, April 1906, p.37.
Figure 43. "Set-a-Spell: An Inexpensive Small House," M.C. Ninde. from The House Beautiful, July 1904, p.22-23.

SET-A-SPELL
AN INEXPENSIVE SMALL HOUSE

W E wanted a house having all the comforts of a well-furnished city apartment, with the tones of one
more even and successful than we hoped.

Next in the pleasant proportions, the coloring
we found a greatly bilateral, well individualized and
boring to the eye, but the floor would suddenly
The living-room with the fireplace was

BY M. C. NINDE

more even and successful than we hoped.
Next in the pleasant proportions, the coloring

the walls a

rich dark green, they blend harmoniously
the walls. The fireplace is in the center of the floor-
place and with the same rule repeated in

the ceiling. The ceiling is in a strong yellow, and
the walls a rich dark green, they blend harmoniously
the walls in the area behind the fireplace, and with
the same rule repeated in the essential rules. Deep-carved paneling gives a
decorative note and brings out the best of color in the old mahogany. With plain

THE SOUTHEAST BEDROOM

THE SOUTHEAST BEDROOM

subdued. This may be because the

and back-lighted wall space is then
group of pictures in black and white
by Whistler, Homer, and Puvis
decorations as a group, within
their individuality and strength of
the house was decided. As

Behrens, perceiving the room, as
"This is truly a place where one

The ceiling is all white and a

The ceiling is all white and a

The ceiling is all white and a

The ceiling is all white and a

The ceiling is all white and a

The ceiling is all white and a
Figure 44. "A Good Farmhouse for $3500," Robert C. Spencer. from Ladies' Home Journal, October 1901, p.21.
Figure 45. "Planning the House—Inside Finish," Robert C. Spencer, from The House Beautiful, July 1907, p.31.
Figure 46. Total fertility rate for whites, 1810-1970.

1.49. Total fertility rate for whites, 1810-1970, showing the rising curve of the post–World War II baby boom, coinciding with suburbanization and the rise of the "feminine mystique." Source of data: Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control, and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America."
Figure 47. Female participation in the paid labor force, 1890-1974, from Dolores Hayden, Grand Domestic Revolution, p.14.

1.3 Female participation in the paid labor force, 1890-1974, showing percentages of all women and of married women. Source of data: America's Working Women, ed. Rosalyn Baxandall, Linda Gordon, Susan Roberby, 1976. Married women's rate of paid labor force participation in 1974 was more than eight times the rate in 1890.

1.5 Percentage of women in the paid labor force engaged in household labor, 1870-1930, comparing all women wage earners in nonagricultural occupations and all women wage earners. Source of data: David Katzman, Seven Days A Week. The return of women to household labor after World War I is clear.
Figure 48. Number of Household Workers per 1000 population from Dolores Hayden, *Grand Domestic Revolution*. p.24.

1.6 Number of household workers (servants, cooks, and laundresses) per 1000 population, 1880–1920, comparing three regions (north, south, and west) and three cities within those regions (Boston, Richmond, and Denver). Source of data: David Kaizman, *Seven Days A Week*. Cities had more household workers than the regional average, especially in the south.
Figure 49. "A Home in a Prairie Town," Frank Lloyd Wright. from Ladies' Home Journal, February 1901, p.17.
Figure 50. "A Small House With Lots of Room in It," Frank Lloyd Wright.
from Ladies' Home Journal, July 1901, p.15.
Figure 51. "A House On a Bluff," Frank Lloyd Wright.

from The House Beautiful, June 1906, p.11-13.

A HOUSE ON A BLUFF

By C. E. PERCIVAL

On none of the principal residence streets of Racine, Wisconsin, Mr. Thomas F. Hardy has built a house, with Mr. Frank Lloyd Wright for architect. The result attracts much attention from the original manner in which it is suited to its locality. A city that is set on a hill shall not be hid, and a candle, set in its candlesticks, gives the light to the house, if one may mix one's metaphor. So this house, standing firmly on its bluff, like an object of art upon its pedestal, is observed and discussed, praised by some and censured by others, as things and persons of strong individuality are apt to be.

Mr. Hardy secured a narrow strip of ground at the top of a high bank overlooking the lake. Although located on one of the principal residence streets, this lot was thought of little value for building purposes as it averaged but twenty-four feet steep on the street level and then fell fifty feet at a sharp inclination to the waters of Lake Michigan. Yet these very peculiarities have been turned into advantages and a house put up, adapted so admirably to them, that, although not large, it has room enough for all the comforts of life and for many delightful features that we commonly expect only in palatial residences.

For one thing, the owner or the architect, instead of covering his entire lot with an ambitious pile he could conceive, left ground enough to make a proper setting to his house. This he placed at the center of the lot, close to the street line, with space for a considerable garden in the rear and then flanked it on either side with small walled gardens. In one of these easy retreats, sheltered from the prevailing lake winds, vegetables are grown and in the other, an orchard of young fruit trees, makes the pleasure-time of picking or cherry a floral festival for the bedroom windows above.

As seen from the street the house’s characteristic features are the high walls that shield its privacy and the unusual disposition of the windows. They are set close together in a line, way up under the broad eaves, while below them the unbroken mass is relieved only by a large plaster panel, till about six feet from the ground, where a second row of casements lights the hall. Just outside of these a wide continuous flowerbox adorns the exterior and also protects even these hall windows from the casual passing glances. These growing plants moreover, with the sunny grouping of the windows and the terraces which that strain the stretches of wall surface, mitigate the reserve of its aspect towards the street.

On the side towards the lake the land descends so abruptly to the shore that the building obtains an additional lower story, dry and well lighted. Here it has a garden front, as one picturesque and imposing. The necessary retaining wall allows of a fine terrace, on a lower level than the walled gardens. Two substantial piers arise from this, leading area of flowers into view of the seven great bedroom windows, and steps lead down from it, making a landing. A symmetrical arrangement of diagonal paths zigzag down to the lighthouse. A swimming pool, bordered with shrubs and fed from the lake, is framed in a stretch of greenward on the lowest level.

The sky line of the mass of the house is perfectly quiet, but crisp and clean, characterizing the style of building perhaps as much as anything else. The wall area of gray plaster, with cement underbraces as the ground. The window millworks, roughings, and eave edges are of rough wood, stained brown. The roof is slanted, with briddled hips, and

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Second Floor Plan

Third Floor
Figure 52. "Solving a Difficult Problem: Making the Most of a Narrow Lot," Frank Lloyd Wright. from The House Beautiful, July 1906, p.20-21.
Figure 53. "A House Without a Servant," Frank Lloyd Wright.
from The House Beautiful, August 1906, p.13-14.

A HOUSE WITHOUT A SERVANT
Figure 54. "Planning the House- Economical Floor Plans," from *The House Beautiful*, June 1905, p.22-23.
Figure 55. "The Suburban House," Robert C. Spencer.
from The House Beautiful, October 1908, p.110-112.
Figure 56. “Fireproof House for $5000,” Frank Lloyd Wright.

Figure 57. "A Country Bungalow," Percy Lancaster.
from The House Beautiful, July 1908, p.38-39.
Figure 59. "A Plaster Farmhouse for $2600," Robert C. Spencer.
from Ladies' Home Journal, May 1901, p.33.

A Plaster Farmhouse for $2600
by Robert C. Spencer, Jr.

[Diagram and text discussing the design and construction of a plaster farmhouse for $2600.]
A Six-by-Nine Kitchen

By E.B. Goddard

With Illustrations from Photographs

ROYAL

is a pure

Cream of Tartar

Baking Powder

Cream of Tartar is a product of the delusive grape.

Cream of Tartar baking powder makes the food digestible and wholesome.

Extraordinary effects are said by some physicians to be peculiar to market baking powders made of what is said to be the cream of tartar. The object is to keep a large pellicle, a thin crust, a crust and a half a crust, will save a good deal of money and keep the food delicious.

The highest authorities recommend a little of baking powder in baking powders as wholesome.

In many States baking powders are required to be labeled as containing.

Yet the most alluring advertisements falsely set forth as pure and wholesome.

Not a reader of The Ladies' Home Journal need knowingly use an ingredient in his food that could make it unwholesome.

Here you see that you are using an alum powder! Would it not be well to look at your baking powder label and see if the label does not show that the powder is made from cream of tartar and not alum powder.

Alum is a mineral poison, contains sulphuric acid, and necessarily makes the food unwholesome.
Figure 61. Diagram showing the proper arrangement of the kitchen.
from Kenneth Clark, The American Family Home, p.159.

Diagram showing badly arranged equipment, which makes confused intersecting chains of steps, in either preparing or clearing away a meal.
(A — preparing; B — clearing)

Diagram showing proper arrangement of equipment, which makes a simple chain of steps, in either preparing or clearing away a meal.
(A — preparing; B — clearing)
A Woman's Idea of a Convenient Kitchen

Some Suggestions that May Make the Present Kitchen More Convenient, or Help You Build a "Model Kitchen"

By Ethel Bartholomew

[Image of a kitchen layout]

[Diagram of kitchen arrangements]

[Text discussing kitchen design and layout, including suggestions for efficient use of space and ergonomics]
Figure 63. "A Woman's Idea of a Convenient Pantry," Ethel Bartholomew. 
from Ladies' Home Journal, October 1906, p.31.
Figure 64. "Planning the House - The Kitchen," Robert C. Spencer.
from The House Beautiful, May 1908, p.30-32.
Figure 65. "Planning the House—Kitchens and Pantries," from The House Beautiful, October 1905, p. 24-25.

A Kitchen with a Ventilated Alcove for the Range

Plan Showing the Ventilated Alcove pictured on page 19
After the first essential, a good, solid foundation and a dry cellar, other points in common to all these plans are:

1. Each floor is on a level, piazza floors are level with room floors, and there are no elevated door sills. This saves strength and nervous energy.

2. From ground to piazzas, from kitchen to cellar, and from each floor to the one above, all the steps in any one house are the same height and depth.

3. Windows are large and abundant, open their whole length, and open to the sky; only occasionally is a window placed under a piazza roof.

4. All wardrobe closets have windows that open and close, and, when possible, the closet door is placed near the end farthest from the window, insuring a free channel for a daily washing out with a current of fresh outdoor air.

5. Each window in each house is fitted with a three-inch strip to match the sash which, placed under the lower sash, lifts it above the meeting with the upper sash, giving a constant supply of fresh air.

6. Each room is furnished with a foul air escape pipe, starting at the floor and connecting with the furnace or main chimney.

7. The ice-box is conveniently placed for the dining-room, kitchen, pantry-room, or pantry—where there is a pantry-room or pantry—and for the ice-man, who can reach it without going through any room.

8. In the kitchen the work-table is near the range, and the range is near the sink.

9. In each house, from the lowest to the highest priced, the china closet and sink arrangements are similar, and are carefully planned to save time and steps.

10. The kitchen is heated just as all the other rooms are; by the furnace, hot air or hot water—and the gas range is supplied in the city, from the city pipes; in suburban or rural locations, from outdoor tanks for natural gas.

11. Each house has a warm, dry, well-lighted, bicycle-room, whose floor is on a level with the outside walk.

12. Until some manufacturer makes a laundry tub that is not too deep for a woman to use, a wooden laundry tub is advised, made to measure.
Figure 68. "The Housekeeper's House Plans: No. 1," Nina C. Kinney, from The House Beautiful, March 1898, p. 119-124.
Figure 69. "The Housekeeper's House Plans - No. 2," Nina C. Kinney, from The House Beautiful, February 1899, p.103-109.
The Bachelor Girls' House
By Una Nixon Hopkins
Photographs by F. Y. Martin

Figure 70. "The Bachelor Girls House," Una Nixon Hopkins.
Figure 71. "For the Bride Who Does Her Own Work: Four Economical Bungalows Which Cost From $2000 to $3000," Una Nixon Hopkins.

If a Woman Must Earn Her Living at Home

A House Planned by a Woman to Meet This Need. Designed by Ada Nixon Hopkins

Figure 72. "If a Woman Must Earn Her Living at Home," Una Hopkins. From Ladies' Home Journal, February 1911, p. 23.
Figure 73. "A Rough Cast House," Lois L. Howe.
from The House Beautiful, November 1908.
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