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**SPANISH DREAM CASTLES:
DEFINING AN ARCHITECTURAL STYLE FOR LOS ANGELES
IN THE DEPRESSION ERA**

By

Emily Natasha Zaiden

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
in Early American Culture

Spring 2002

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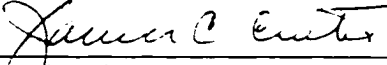
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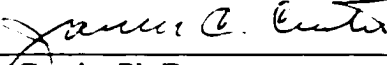
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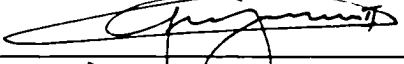
By

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor, James Curtis, PhD., for his wise guidance, reassurance, critical insight, and support throughout the evolution of this paper. My tremendous gratitude for all of his encouragement and enthusiasm cannot be overstated. I was fortunate enough to consult with several scholars as I began to develop this thesis topic, including Gretchen Buggeln, Richard Longstreth, Thomas Hines, and Margaretta Lovell. I am also grateful for the generosity of the librarians, on both coasts, who offered their invaluable assistance and keen advice. I would like to extend a special thanks to Alan Michelson, Architecture and Design Librarian at the Arts Library of UCLA; Frank Piontek, Librarian at the Beverly Hills Library; Ruth Wallach, Librarian at the USC Architecture and Fine Arts Library; and naturally, Winterthur's Neville Thompson, for her overall wisdom, inspirational resourcefulness, and delicious wit.

And finally, thank you to my family, and my friends, for always being there for me as my anchor.

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ABSTRACT

Despite the impact of the depression, Los Angeles experienced a period of growth over the course of the late 1920s and 1930s. Throughout this time, Los Angeles designers, builders, and residents searched for an architectural identity that would symbolically unify the community. As a response, they turned to California's pre-existing Spanish Colonial style to assert an architectural tradition for their burgeoning city. This thesis offers an interpretation of the way that their vision for Los Angeles' residential architecture was expressed in both the specialized and popular-interest design sources and periodicals of the era.

Numerous scholars have studied the way that the Spanish Colonial style grew out of the climate of the late 1900s. Others have examined the influence of individual architects in disseminating this style. Rather than studying the role of isolated structures, designers, and clients, this paper examines the wider manifestation of the style as it evolved in relation to the Depression-era climate. In light of redefined values and tastes, the style that was initially adopted for its charming and romantic qualities was soon embraced as an expression of modern architectural ideals of simplicity and restraint. Beyond the significant racial, economic, and political implications of its appropriation, the Spanish Colonial style could straddle the past, and simultaneously move Los Angeles into the future.

Architecture is more than self-display. It is a thesis, a declaration, a statement of the social aims of the age.¹

When architect, Harwood Hewitt stated to the Allied Architects Association of Los Angeles in 1925, “No wonder dreams are called castles in Spain,” Los Angelenos were on their way to finding a visual language that could articulate their aspirations.² After the 1929 stock market crash and the onset of the Great Depression, Los Angelenos consciously recognized the need to redefine their burgeoning community. Architecture was a critical way for the community to express its ability to weather hard times. Despite the way that most American idealism was later crushed by economic depression at the end of the decade, dreams could live on in Los Angeles and materialize in the form of Spanish style homes.

The hopes of attaining the lifestyle that was evoked and created through these Spanish-esque buildings helped to unify the greater Los Angeles area in its formative years. As Dolores Hayden states in *The Power of Place*, “Storytelling with the shapes of time uses the forms of the city . . . to connect residents with urban landscape history and foster a stronger sense of belonging.”³ Reflecting Hayden’s insights, Los Angelenos constructed the architectural character of their city by appropriating Spanish precedent and adapting it to suit their own desire to create a new American city. This thesis will examine the way in which designers and urban residents used architecture in general, and

the Spanish Colonial style in particular, to establish a visual and symbolic identity for Los Angeles.

At a time when most Americans were looking inward to their cultural heritage for architectural inspiration, Los Angeles chose to look outwards to a foreign tradition that could serve local needs and also be suitable to the circumstances of the Depression. Consumers and designers decided to view their homes and lives through the “cultural lens” of a mythologized Spanish past.⁴ Los Angelenos thereby constructed a unified architectural style that balanced elements of modernity and history, regionalism and nationalism. When properly packaged, the Spanish Colonial style could embody their dreams and still be accepted by their Eastern peers as both American and appropriate to an era of rapid economic decline. “Appropriate” architecture, after all, was created through words and theories, not the flesh and bones of buildings. Buildings were almost secondary to the phrases used to describe them.

The rise of the Spanish Colonial style, has been interpreted as the escapist longing for a better, idyllic place and time disassociated from California’s economic depression, racial tension, and political conflict.⁵ Despite these more traditional readings of the architecture, the only thing Los Angelenos might have symbolically escaped, was the Anglo history that had carried them into these hard times. Yet, in their attempt to distance themselves from Anglo-American culture, they merely replaced the northern European, British Colonial style of the East, with the more lyrical, yet equally imperialistic, southern European, Spanish past. More importantly than an exotic and romantic escape from current hardships, the Spanish Colonial style offered Los

Angelenos an assertion of the power of a culture to face the challenges and rise to dominate the American West. In the end, their version of California's Spanish history was also white and European, and not far from the reality they already knew so well.

Although Anglo-Los Angeles embraced the architectural contributions of the white, Spanish Colonial legacy, they intentionally disregarded darker, Mexican and indigenous influences on the style. It was thus, no small coincidence that in this historic moment, Los Angelenos began to deny the contemporary Mexican American population a role in the design of the modern city. By 1930, Mexican Americans were the largest non-white group in Los Angeles, and they were clearly perceived as a threat to white Americans as the job market closed in upon itself. As invisible as this work force of Angelenos seemed to be to the Anglo mainstream, their presence could not be overlooked after the stock market crashed in 1929.⁶

Between 1929 and 1934, close to 400,000 Mexicans were forced to leave the United States by the federal government.⁷ Many of the descendants of the people who had built the architecture under the domination of the Spanish missionaries and colonists were stripped of their jobs and homes, which were soon thereafter, usurped by Anglo-Americans. Southern Californians continued to appropriate the architectural traces that were left behind as a significant portion of the Mexican population was pushed out of the state. Reducing and distilling the community along racial lines, Los Angeles was essentially strengthened and solidified at the price of its non-white residents.⁸ Beyond the discussion of how Los Angeles homes were set among lush, rolling hills; deeper than the smooth stucco walls that reflected the brilliant Californian sunlight; and below the burnt

sienna rooftops that set off the vivid blue sky, year-round, lie much more significant racial, economic, and social subtexts. Architectural forms conveyed strong political and ethnic messages.

The origins of the Spanish Colonial style lie buried in two hundred years of Southern California's history, and even deeper underneath centuries of European and American life. Numerous scholars have traced the development and dissemination of California's Mission and Spanish Revival styles over the course of the late nineteenth century, and into the early twentieth century.⁹ By the late 1920s and early 1930s, the work of architects and designers, as well as the numerous Spanish design sources and journals that were being published, helped to bring Spanish Colonial architecture in the U.S. to the forefront, while also connecting it to its roots, perhaps superficially, in Mexico and Spain.

Designer Joseph Stark was one of Los Angeles' initial, leading advocates of the Spanish revival style. His was an urban vision, part European, and part American. In a 1927 address to the City Club he argued, "We cannot expect to be able to literally copy the features of Paris . . . at best we can only find inspiration and adopt general ideas." After examining Paris as a model, Stark then applied these design concepts to his vision for Los Angeles.

In Stark's view, Los Angeles lacked an essential, artistic unity:

Our architecture . . . is restless in character, (it) presents a bizarre picture—the very opposite of repose and beauty... We have, in short, no architecture of a coherent taste and style...(the architects') work is wholly individualistic; their aim is set on making each separate design a novelty, a sensational effect of personal gratification. In these efforts the styles of

the whole ancient and modern world are ransacked for suggestions and thrown together pell-mell to a kaleidoscopic ensemble, often showing poor understanding and very bad taste.¹⁰

Stark advocated that the city begin to build with, “a certain uniformity of architectural style and detail, but spiced with sufficient variety to prevent any impression of monotony.” The stylistic influences that were adopted throughout the 1920s in order to achieve a faraway look needed to be brought down to the Californian earth to build roots and homes for the local culture. Clearly, the need for a Los Angeles style was apparent to Stark, and many others, even before the Depression brought forth the importance of building for unified communities.¹¹

Stark was critical of the city’s flirtation with a succession of architectural revival styles. “What degree of understanding has even our most educated class got of the strange forms and ornaments of these obsolete styles?” He added that “No matter how beautiful in itself and how much ‘modernized’ it may be, it is unnatural and illogical, merely a ‘curiosity.’” To Stark, like many of his peers and other architects and designers to come, revival-generated designs did not produce a living architecture. His words reflected the conscious awareness that Los Angelenos, architects, builders and homeowners, alike, needed to come together to build a suitable landscape that represented the city’s history, and the character of the community. Los Angelenos wanted a representation of themselves in their city’s architecture, not simply some implanted facade.

In the case of Los Angeles, a natural solution for filling this stylistic void rested in what Stark referred to as “our closest architectural inheritance- the Mexican-Spanish style.” Historical continuity of the mythic Spanish past of Southern California could become a way of creating “beauty and grandeur” in the city. However, taking a somewhat deprecating tone, Stark disparagingly viewed LA’s “immediate architectural tradition” of the Missions as lacking the pure, “rich inheritance” of the white Europeans that was much more explicitly present in New England. In his eyes, the Spanish Colonial and Mission style of California was essentially tainted by Mexican influences and too detached from its more acceptable European associations.¹²

Stark and other advocates of the new Spanish style specifically focused on the captivating legends of the Conquistadors and European Colonials of Old Mexico, not the general history of the larger indigenous culture. The group of European, sovereign leaders who unified Mexico became the historic models for uniting Los Angeles, and the architectural artifacts that they left behind were the reusable emblems of their efforts. Stark’s suggestion that LA “annex” the 250-year style revealed the way in which LA became a landscape of colonialism, though quite different from that of the East Coast.

In the same 1927 issue that included Stark’s treatise on the Spanish-esque architectural vision for Los Angeles, an article appeared that was entitled, “Mediterranean House at Beverly Hills Notable Example of California Style.” The profile set forth some of the key characteristics that would come to typify a “California style of architecture along Spanish lines . . . generally known as Mediterranean.”¹³ The statement further represented the way that Californians preferred to view the style that they asserted as their

own, and as a direct, European descendant, rather than a product that was colored by indigenous Mexican influences.

Other designers echoed Stark's racial views. Architect Harwood Hewitt admitted, "No matter how cosmopolitan our population, our environment is definitely racial."¹⁴ To Hewitt, architectural impurities were acceptable, whereas the actual ethnic diversity of Los Angeles was not. The Spanish style, if modeled on white European sources, would provide safeguards against this diversity.

Hewitt believed in the power of architecture to crystallize, and in some cases, address cultural and political tensions in ways that actual social forums could not. "We are Mediterranean, in climate, in vegetation and sunlight and, deny it who will, in tradition and inheritance." Hewitt's use of the word "deny," was a vague reference to the discomfort some Americans had in identifying with southern European culture, at a time of anti-immigrant and specifically, anti-Catholic, nativist rhetoric. Contemplating worthy exemplars of the Spanish style, he spoke not of immigrants, but of more historic icons, such as, "the stately ghost of Spanish Don or brown robed Padre" and wrote of the vibrant hues of "Italian skies or the fields of France."¹⁵ Although colorful, Hewitt's appeal blurred distinctions between Spanish, Italian, and French influences. "Mediterranean" became a ubiquitous term that was quite blurry, even arbitrary at times.

Hewitt did not fret about these geographic inconsistencies. In his mind, Spanish and Mediterranean were synonymous and appropriate in California. After all, he pointed out, "From Spain to Italy across the Mediterranean is no further than from Los Angeles to San Francisco."¹⁶ The way that the style absorbed features from the various cultures that

occupied Spain and Italy over history made it a flexible foundation that could merge the backgrounds and ideals of all of the people who immigrated to Southern California. If the Mediterranean countries could communicate and exchange architectural ideas, then the western states could likewise generate a regional style. For hundreds of years, Spain and Italy had woven their tastes together with North African embellishments, and now it was California's turn to contribute to this architectural expression.

The example set by planned "Mediterranean" communities like Palos Verdes, Rancho Santa Fe and Santa Barbara demonstrated the power of a unified, harmonious built environment. Their model both reinforced the popularity of the Spanish-Mediterranean style and convinced Los Angelenos that their individual desires for residential design needed to be responsibly meshed with the aspirations for community.¹⁷ While serving on the art jury for planned community Palos Verdes, Architect Myron Hunt declared that the features of the Spanish Colonial and Mediterranean styles were notable in mass, color, and material. The way that the defining traits of the style were successfully carried out in the architecturally mandated communities, inspired the way that they were reinterpreted throughout Los Angeles in numerous variations, with a distinct Californian flare.¹⁸

By the late 1920s, design literature expressed awareness and desire for a perfectly balanced design in which, "Spanish traditions have been followed . . . as they were applicable to a modern California house."¹⁹ In the hands, and minds, of Los Angelenos, Spanish design was not only revived, but also perfected. Soon, Californian hands were so successful in their adaptations of the style that it was apparently re-exported to its mother

country, producing what one design magazine described as, “A California Castle in Spain.”²⁰

One of the crucial improvements that occurred in the vision of the ideal Californian home, was a design that embraced sunlight. Numerous sources discussed how the Old Spanish builders had “sought to shut out the bright sunlight” of early California. Writers and designers talked enthusiastically of how the “folly of small windows and cramped doorways” would now be “happily recognized,” through “expansive windows and doorways [which] let in floods of light and open to the dwellers wonderful vistas of gardens and hills.”²¹ Clearly, Los Angelenos wished to pull the Spanish style out of the shadows of the past, and open it to the illumination of modernity.

In the process of declaring the Spanish style as suitable for California homes, illustrious author, critic, and architect Rexford Newcomb repeatedly defined the style as “sun loving architecture.” Newcomb noted the importance of light colors, terra cotta, stone and plaster in truly capturing the spirit of the style, because they could cool the house by reflecting harsh sunlight. Newcomb also referred to the style as “lovable,” a phrase which may have been intended to stress that the style would be accessible to wide segments of the population (Fig. 1).

Newcomb also argued that the style’s “essential sunniness” would become synonymous with the optimism and clarity of the lives of Depression-era Americans, a joy that their daily existence might otherwise lack.²² According to designer William Wallace, sunlight in the home had the power to illuminate the hope and ideals of a brighter tomorrow, as well as create an interior climate in which to nurture the healthy

modern family. In Wallace's view, a home that was flooded with light could be interpreted as the ultimate physical expression of enlightened owners.²³

Enlightened though the Spanish style might be, it still needed to conform in some measure to natural stylistic preferences. Operating under the general framework of modernism, Depression era designers embarked on an extended discourse to define what type of buildings were "appropriate" in a time marked by extreme economic fluctuation.²⁴ Over the course of the 1930s, "appropriate architecture" came to embody the following major principles; historicism, simplicity, and durability. Although these ideals seemed theoretically distinct, in practice as applied to buildings, they often overlapped, and sometimes seemed to contradict one another.

I. Historicism

History, or more accurately, "imaginative memory," extended beyond California's romance with the mythic Spanish past.²⁵ California's Missions were the natural social models for Southern Californians at a time when Americans in all parts of the United States tried to cope with the circumstances of the Depression by creating model homes and ideal communities. The establishment of the Resettlement Administration, headed by Rexford Tugwell, was responsible for the creation of an idealistic community design. The Administration's pinnacle design for Greenbelt, Maryland balanced rugged individualism with community cooperation. The California-Spanish mission vernacular offered a way for Los Angeles to import these noble goals.²⁶

No matter that the Spanish mission looked markedly different than Tugwell's Greenbelt, the planned community ideal offered Californians a way to erect barriers against the detrimental effects of industrialization. In the words of Rexford Newcomb, "What our mission cloisters gained in unity, strength, and simple beauty, we may to-day appreciate and perpetuate in our modern structures" (Fig. 2).²⁷

Southern Californians who were building in the 1930s were aware of the fact that the mission was generally constructed as a group of buildings that formed a self-sufficient community. Typical missions were designed as a collection of several structures, which were linked together by three major institutions; the presidio, the pueblo, and the mission, itself. According to Rexford Newcomb:

These buildings were designed in a simple, straightforward, and craftsman-like manner to accommodate the workday life that the padres had prescribed for the Indians, afford the necessary protection, and teach the Indians the commonly accepted notions of sanitation and orderliness.²⁸

Moreover, the missions taught the Indian workers to become accomplished artisans.

In praising this tutelage, writers such as Cleve Hallenbeck did not condone all of the missionaries' actions. There was still the troubled question of slavery. Hallenbeck made what now appears as a feeble attempt to clear the padres of charges of cruelty and stated that, "Slavery is also questionable, since they were driven by religious zeal." Later in his work, Hallenbeck discussed the events that transpired after Mexican independence and the secularization of the missions. Here, he took a harsh stance against the Mexican government, which he felt "defrauded" Indians out of their property, actions clearly at

odds with the goals of the missionaries. In his eyes, and to many of his peers, the mission system clearly had its advantages for native life.²⁹

In terms of the architecture associated with this social system, missions thus became bastions of civilization and physical nuclei for converting natives in compact community settings. Interestingly enough, within the mission complexes, only the church buildings were normally designed as permanent structures. Americans were intrigued by the notion of Spanish overlords who came to control and dominate the natives as a peasant class by creating a rigid, social order. In referencing Spanish Colonial architecture, Los Angelenos revived not only the visual and physical forms, but also the hierarchies and values they represented (Figs. 3 and 4).³⁰

Free-standing, single-family dwellings that drew on the tradition of the self-contained, mission cooperatives of early California, became a way of adhering to national ideals while establishing the regional character of the landscape. Ironically, Los Angeles' mission heritage was used to support private cooperatives of individual families rather than a traditional, collective community. Given the sprawling, unconventional nature of Los Angeles, which came to resemble a confluence of small towns, the proliferation of a unified architectural tradition provided some sense of coherence. The tendency to build as neighborhood clusters was indicative of what noted novelist and social critic Sherwood Anderson identified as an American desire to keep small towns as the center of national life. Central to the small town ideal was the single-family dwelling.³¹

In his pivotal 1929 *Middletown*, Robert Lynd wrote extensively on the decay of the American family unit. American families were being pulled apart as a result of new

technology, such as the automobile and motion pictures, as well as other new leisure activities. In response to what Lynd was criticizing, designers placed new attention on homes that would support solidarity and interaction. In a city that was dominated by the automobile and motion picture industry, Los Angeles had an even stronger need to build homes that clearly signified and affirmed the strength of the family.³²

These ideas found expression in January of 1930, when *California Arts & Architecture* featured a prototype of this appropriate structure in, “A House That Is Unmistakably Californian.” The article described a single-family dwelling in suburban Los Angeles built in the Spanish Colonial style. The author argued that by its “very simplicity and straight-forwardness,” this low-lying, one story residence “fit the conditions and traditions of California life.” The following pages will explore these critical notions of architectural simplicity and straight-forward design (Fig. 5).

Although this exemplary house bore significant resemblance to earlier 1920s buildings, the author looked at the structure in a new light. The article featured a photo of an elaborately tiled fountain at the center of the “sheltered, paved patio.” Whereas earlier 1920s authors would have called attention to the fountain’s elaborate Spanish-style tilework and pottery, the author of this 1930s essay did not even mention these decorative details, undoubtedly considering them inconsistent with the rhetoric of restraint ushered in by the Great Depression. Instead, he stressed that the protected patio “concentrates family life” (Fig. 6).³³

The patio became not only the center of family life, but also the architectural key around which a house was built. Los Angeles home owners and builders quickly asserted

the centrality of the Mediterranean garden-court as a defining feature for the true California home, around which all interior rooms were focused. Gardens that were enclosed by the walls of the home conveyed the ultimate sense of security, seclusion and permanence.³⁴

In Los Angeles, landscaping followed in much the same vein as the architecture. Landscape design was generally a fusion of vast forms, as advocates admired the entire Mediterranean region for its emphasis on “comfort and beauty.” Ideally, all of the best characteristics of these individual styles could be selected and unified in southern Californian gardens. However, designers warned of treating gardens as superficial, physical revivals that were pulled together haphazardly to resemble landscaped, patchwork quilts. Leading landscape designer Florence Yoch noted how important it was to envision gardens that blended elements together to form an integral whole.³⁵ With a similar principle in mind, Rexford Newcomb stated, “In this way only, can we be true to the fine precedents of the past and at the same time loyal to the ideals of to-day.”³⁶

Like the Spanish Colonial style it came to symbolize, the enclosed courtyard had its own lineage that can be traced to Egypt and Assyria, then to Greece and Rome, and more recently to Gothic monasteries. When Spanish missionaries constructed the first Californian courtyards, they did so to promote security. Just as enemies were excluded from the fortress-like structures, natives could be contained within. By the time of the Depression, the enclosed patio was viewed as a modest feature that did not have to be elaborately decorated with colored tiles and elegant pots, it simply provided a functional,

sheltered space where families of all economic categories could seek solidarity and shelter from hard times.³⁷

When Depression-era designers elaborated the courtyard with flowers, hanging pots, and additional decorative materials, they did so not in the name of opulence but under the guise of creating a sacred space for fostering family solidarity. The vibrant hues and varied shapes and textures of flowers and polychrome tiles contrasted with the canvas of smooth stucco walls to energize and revitalize American lives in this core domestic space. These colorful touches sparkled like gems in the sunshine, bringing light into these environments. Despite the economic depression, Americans could try their best to maintain a sense of divine wealth through their homes and sacred gardens. Similar to how missionary priests utilized these enclosed gardens for their meditative powers, Los Angelenos adopted and secularized these spaces for their individual and family spiritual renewal. A healthy, thriving garden at the center of the home helped nurture and strengthen the family unit (Fig. 7).³⁸

Outdoor living was a privilege of life in Los Angeles that Americans who ventured out West had never known. Homes were designed to take advantage of that luxury through the logical addition of the patio garden.³⁹ The central garden patio made entertaining a basic part of life in Southern California to an extent that was not possible in formal homes of New England. Interior gardens could serve as informal social settings just as much as they were intimate spaces where residents could find repose. These courtyards replaced what Americans knew as the porch, and moved it to a more private

location inside the home. And no garden was complete without a fountain. As one contemporary advertisement proclaimed:

A garden without a fountain is like a home without a fireplace. Neither one can be justified on purely utilitarian grounds. Each one offers an opportunity for the expression of individual thought and may contribute the final note of beauty to the project. A fountain adds to the joy of living. No other justification is necessary.⁴⁰

Fountains, in particular, survived as the vital core of the Californian home because, as one writer explained, they manifested the, “perfect balance between spirited action and repose” (Fig. 8).⁴¹

Like other elements of the Spanish style, the fountain had a long history of animating environments in both Europe and Mexico. The fountain’s presence communicated the historic legacy of manipulating and containing the life-giving forces of water in arid climates. Certainly the control and supply of water in Southern California had its own shorter, yet equally dramatic past. The Los Angeles home owner who had individuals such as Mulholland, and twentieth-century technological advances to thank for this privilege could now possess that force. The pure water that was captured to flow through the fountain could be viewed as a symbolic expression of progress and enlightenment, and a sign of the triumphs of Anglo settlement in the region.

The multi-sensory delights of the fountain’s soothing, melodious sound and graceful visual appearance brought joy, peace, and vitality to the enclosed garden, and therefore, to the heart of the Depression-era home. Their constant, and steady flow provided a link between the rhythms of the human and technological enterprises inside the home, and the natural activities of the exterior world. The fountain brought a

mellifluous auditory pleasure to the garden, which was similar to the comforting crackle of the hearth, and even more musical.

Associations with music and Spanish lyricism that appeared in the discussion of architectural elements contributed to the sense of architectural harmony that Los Angelenos strived to achieve in their Spanish-influenced homes. Fountains were not the only components that brought music to their daily lives. “Barcelona Tile! Its Rhythm Flows as softly as the Spanish Syllables,” claimed one advertisement.⁴² In the nostalgic, and at times escapist dreams of Los Angelenos in the 1930s, the notion that roof tiles could provide harmony to the home was hardly outrageous. “An architect of today, to be successful must be able to translate the rhythm into something of beauty in brick and stone,” wrote one designer.⁴³ In the case of these new homes in Los Angeles, the tune was a soft, Spanish ballad rather than a swinging, popular jazz standard.

Undeniably, popular Hollywood films that glamorized and romanticized images of the Southwest influenced Southern Californians to fantasize that the noble Spanish wandered California with a constant soundtrack of flowing chants and melodies that followed them wherever they went. To the Anglo mainstream, Spanish culture evoked images of picturesque, harmonious lives, balanced between work and pleasure. The soothing melody of tranquillity could be brought into the modern American home through elements that suggested the rhythms of the Spanish past.

Los Angeles contractors and building suppliers were naturally quick to capitalize on the lyrical qualities of the Spanish Colonial Revival. Whereas, the luxury elements of the garden, such as fountains and tile work were presented as practical, the critical roofing

tiles and other utilitarian, architectural components that these building industry members promoted, were frequently described as decorative and aesthetic ingredients. For instance, the Spanish Tile Roofing Company of Los Angeles, (its name alone an index to the new fashion), offered to bring Los Angeles homes the “colors of Granada,” as did the Los Angeles Pressed Brick Company and Gladding, McBean & Co’s burnt roof tiles. Advertisements in design publications featured photos of “rough” and “quaint”-laid roofing tiles, which were described as “romantic,” “harmonious,” and above all Spanish.

These ads, like many others, offered tile roofs specifically appropriate for California, because they pleasingly contrasted with the year-round green shrubbery. “They blend with sunlit skies,” stated one ad. Other Gladding, McBean & Co. advertisements reinforced the importance of the “restful and always refreshing” contrast between the warm, rich tiles and the “blue California skies.” Roof tiles were not merely materials that frosted the top of a house. they were seen as objects that “breathe forth spirit and color typical of California.”⁴⁴ These advertisements indicate that consumers were drawn to architectural products that conveyed a sense of “Californian-ness,” and thereby promoted local identity.

Although a house could be capped by sienna-colored tiles, the body of this “typical” Los Angeles home was pure white, and a significant reflection of the local, ethnic identity that was being asserted on the landscape. Before the city was densely populated, these massive, white stucco bodies stood gleaming against the dark green and brown Los Angeles hills. Like pure, white pearls, they were strongly planted within the

lush vegetation, creating a loose string of Anglo civilization in the natural and relatively untamed environment.

Los Angelenos would have looked across the horizon and up into the Hollywood Hills to see these smooth, sleek buildings gleaming in the brilliant sun as the city quickly took shape, and residents anchored themselves in the landscape. These structures were affirmations of the authority of white Los Angeles, who settled and adopted southern California as their own, without so much as acknowledging the Indian, Mexican, and Mestizo populations that had come before them. The histories of these peoples had merely become anonymous, indistinguishable features in the backdrop of the city they were building.

This whites-only vision often found expression in advertisements for private resorts and clubs that were scattered throughout Southern California, and frequently designed in Spanish Colonial style. White Los Angeles usurped the romantic aspects of the region's Spanish history and often denied access to non-whites. Take for instance a 1930 advertisement for the Lake Norconian Club, which was designed in the Spanish style and offered, "early Spanish hospitality." Parallel to the racially reductive vision of California's Spanish past, a striking caption at the bottom of the advertisement advised contemporary Americans that, "White people- such as would be eligible to membership in discriminating clubs- are invited to enjoy the many privileges."⁴⁵ Apparently, the ad's writers and sponsors wished to extend Spanish hospitality only to those with white skin, which was perhaps no surprise based on the way that similar, though less blatant ideologies were being symbolically expressed through residential architecture. Or as one

1933 article stated, Old California offered, “the happiest, the humanest, the most beautiful life that Caucasians have ever lived anywhere under the sun.”⁴⁶

In *The Decorative Art of Today*, Le Corbusier wrote a chapter entitled, “A Coat of Whitewash,” in which he stated that whitewashing offered the visual advantages of highlighting outlines, and enhancing the appearance of architectural volumes. In addition, he recognized the moral value of whitewashing when he stated that it, “exists wherever peoples have preserved intact the balanced structure of a harmonious culture.”⁴⁷ These homes that were carefully coated in their own skins of white stucco can be interpreted as physical extensions of the identities of their owners and builders. Furthermore, whitewashing was a physical means for symbolically presenting the illusion of the stabilized and homogenized social structure that Los Angelenos strived to achieve, at the cost of the Mexican culture whose architectural innovations were eclipsed by modern Anglo revisions.

Architectural signifiers of racial exclusivity and insulation notwithstanding, to some extent, Los Angelenos hoped that the designs of their Spanish style homes conveyed an image of welcome, however deceptive that may have been. When compared with the more elaborate and colorful interior decoration, the porcelain *fachada* of the Spanish Colonial style house might have seemed somewhat bleak and bare with its smooth surface. However, in the typical Spanish design, the cold, pale span of the facade was interrupted by the ornamentation that surrounded the doorway.

The embellished entrance could be viewed as an attempt to lure visitors into the home and to mark their arrival. It was a, “place for great elaboration and enrichment,” in

the eyes of Rexford Newcomb, who also cautioned homeowners on the “use of paint, lest too modern an effect result.”⁴⁸ After all, the doorway set the tone of the home and these Americans were not yet entirely comfortable in giving a completely modern look to the primary spaces that greeted their guests.

The flat, smooth wall surfaces set off the elaborate entranceways, which could be decorated with colored tiles or ornately carved stone. Doorways were often embellished with plasterwork and other types of Classical, heraldic or floral ornamentation, as demonstrated by a frescoed entrance featured in *California Arts and Architecture* in November of 1929 (Fig. 9). Clearly these embellishments often contradicted the cause of simplicity but they did so in the service of family privacy.⁴⁹

A lavish doorway articulated the division between the outside world, and the private domain of the home. A tiled or carved, arched entranceway provided a clear demarcation between the bustle of the urban environment and the tranquility of the domestic interior. The doorways were much more a display of personal taste and the aesthetics of private life, than they were a public offering of hospitality and an honest reflection of a resident’s openness and sociability (Fig. 10).

Los Angelenos enhanced the distinguishing features of this buffer zone by adding grilled and wrought iron gates of endless patterns and motifs to numerous homes. These gates physically provided a sense of protection to interior family life in an age that constantly seemed to present challenges to this core social unit. At the same time, passers-by were given a brief, but often seductive glimpse of the sunlit patios and gardens that were tucked away, beyond these outer barriers (Fig. 11).

As much as the design of entrance areas asserted the break between public and private realms, balconies that hung from residential facades blurred these distinctions. In perhaps the ultimate application of architecture that drew from theatrical traditions, balconies created potentially social stages on which residents could view and be viewed by passers-by in the outside world (Fig. 12). Here again, the dramatic, movie-like qualities of the Spanish Colonial and Mediterranean style appealed to Los Angelenos, which eventually ensured its success. After all, the tradition of loft galleries stemmed from Italian and Spanish pageantry of the Renaissance, when balconies were festooned and used to view parades of victorious athletes and heroes.⁵⁰

Builders and designers applied cast and wrought iron, and wood in the form of ornamental iron balconies, galleries, and awnings to residential facades so as to enhance their “old Spanish” character. In many cases, balcony support beams were aged and treated to give the illusion of hand-adzed timbers, much like the techniques that were used to create the sets for Hollywood films. In the words of Rexford Newcomb, when a balcony or awning was in juxtaposition with, “wide areas of gleaming white plaster, it presents a stunning and gala appearance.”⁵¹ On their balconies, Los Angelenos could stand in the spotlight of the California sun, or discreetly view outside activity from the shadows of an awning (Fig. 13).

Additionally, balconies provided an interesting contrast with the key feature of these homes, the enclosed garden. While patios were areas that offered residents seclusion from the flurry of the city at the private, protected center of the home, balconies hovered above ground level, serving as stages for public performances. Yet, both patios

and balconies served to link interior and exterior spaces. Both components helped assert the physical qualities that would enable California living, in which humans were in harmony with the natural world. In keeping with modern ideals, homes were envisioned as organic compounds that needed to be integrated with the natural environment.

II. Streamlined Simplicity

If the Spanish Colonial style provided a welcome refuge from the frenzy of the industrial era, then how could the style also deal with industrialism's most potent and pervasive symbol: the automobile? The rise of automobile tourism was in effect, what fostered the growth of the greater Los Angeles area in the first place, making the car therefore, an essential piece of life in the region. Although the garage, and the automobile it contained, seemingly opposed the ideals of organic architecture, and of harmony with the environment, designers recognized that the automobile was essential to the proper function of the modern family. The garage became "organic," therefore, designers made no attempt to disguise the garage; quite the contrary, they placed it facing the street and called attention to its symbolic as well as its functional significance. One intriguing feature of the "Unmistakable California home," was what the writer referred to as the home's "frank garage." If the doorway and balcony provided proof of a family's sociability, the garage and driveway, or "motor court" as it was often called, was a key index of the family's ability to move across distances and over time to tomorrow (Fig. 5).

In a more direct illustration of organicism, the motor court seemed to grow out of the front lawn. Los Angeles homes were designed to embrace the cars as well as the

guests who arrived in them.⁵² Those who approached a home in the most current technological innovations made arrivals that began when they drove along these sleek, concrete accessways. Automobiles became a crucial component in the presentation and identity of any homeowner, and the guest as well. The traditional welcome mat was expanded and replaced by concrete driveways that drew residents and invited guests into the modern home. At the same time, driveways and garages guaranteed that occupants could have as little contact with the outside world as possible, as they pulled their cars up directly to the home.

In the era of technology, the incorporation of the automobile into the home and family life was a major consideration. Those who were fortunate enough to build or buy homes during the 1930s experimented with the technological privileges of the new age. Building a home with garage was a way of demonstrating practical thinking and financial success. At a time when Americans lamented how they had not thought far enough ahead with their financial futures, purchasing a car symbolized hope for tomorrow and demonstrated support and participation in the economy. The “frankness” of the garage declared that despite the economic climate, owners had the technological capability and financial stability to be transported into the future, and they were not afraid to hide it.⁵³

The “frank” garage also indicated how Americans had taken control of modern technology. However, there were significant dangers lurking here. The car was a threat to family unity, promoting adventures outside of the home, and pitting parents against children since cars allowed family members to disperse and travel in numerous, independent directions.⁵⁴

As Americans became increasingly concerned that cars were provoking the dissolution of the family unit, they counterbalanced this process by creating domestic interiors that would facilitate interaction and communication. One of the major principles that leading architects such as Sheldon Cheney, highlighted in their definitions of modern architecture, was the spatial, and more importantly, psychological “openness” of the new architecture, which ensured the modern character of Southern Californian homes. A home with an open plan that was typical of the California Style had the power to liberate its residents and allow them to lead happier, healthier lives. Fewer interior walls and barriers, and softly, arched passages and doorways, created the illusion of unrestrained social interactions.⁵⁵

Arched accessways, windows, and porticoes had the dual role of corresponding to essential modern ideals while also serving to create the Spanish environment.⁵⁶ Los Angelenos also used materials such as iron, wood, and brick as grillwork, latticework, shutters, and spindles, to frame or obscure window openings, but most importantly, to bring out the Spanish character. The pier and the column, one of the most fundamental constructs of classical architecture, were readapted to suit these homes. Thankfully in the Southwest, “the poverty of the people, the crudity of the materials, and the paucity of artisans compelled the construction of the simple heavy, pier-borne arcades.”⁵⁷ Such columned arcades were perfectly suited to be adapted by Los Angelenos who hoped to display modesty and restraint in their homes during the Depression era (Fig. 14).

The rounded shape of arched apertures and passageways also opened up vistas and helped Los Angelenos to think through a new visual and symbolic “framework.”

Americans were not accustomed to looking at the outside world in this curvilinear way, since it was significantly different than peering through a rectilinear opening. At the same time, arches were equally important to the exterior appearance of the home, and to the presentation of the family that lived within. For example, in the case of the arched picture windows that were common in many Los Angeles homes, these large, curved frames at the center stage of the home's facade, became perhaps the ultimate visual tactic for attracting attention and showcasing family life. Moreover, the wide application of arches softened the overall profile and line of these structures by adding curves where other more rigid, geometric and rectilinear forms normally contributed to the appearance of the facade.⁵⁸

In addition to the way that open architecture expressed the intention of reinstating family bonds through fluid, unrestrained interaction, the focus on organic architecture illustrated the way that Southern Californians wanted to ensure that homes, and the families within them, were firmly rooted in the environment. As a result, Los Angeles built structures with strong horizontality, low-lying forms, and hovering shapes, which physically and metaphorically anchored their lives in the earth. The horizontal mass of these structures was enhanced by low-pitch rooflines, which flattened and spread the architectural body across the land. Interestingly enough, the horizontal lines of these Los Angeles homes were already essential characteristics of Spanish Colonial architecture and were also critical to Frank Lloyd Wright's designs, and to the entire essence of modernism. In order to avoid monotony as one circulated through the space, floor levels could be slightly varied throughout the home. All the while, when passing through these

one and two story homes, one constantly remained close to the earth and individual occupants could experience a metaphorical and physical sense of connection and balance with the land.

The way that homes were integrated with their natural settings mirrored the ideals of harmony that Americans hoped to achieve in their own lives and personal relationships. Structure, as a solid, integral mass that seemed to spring forth from nature, was a trait that had been embraced by designers and architects since classical times, but Los Angelenos updated these architectural ideals to suit modern needs. Americans recognized that even nature was unpredictable and constantly changing and the profiles and footprints of their low-lying, massive homes seemed to reflect the dynamism of the natural world. These homes can be viewed as the architectural parallels to Cubist paintings, appearing like assemblages of geometric shapes and figures, bodies that were collected together and unified. Much like in the paintings, the result of the chaotic collision of these volumes was harmonious, utterly mirroring principles of the natural world (Fig. 15).

Over the course of the 1930s, Southern Californians became increasingly concerned with building appropriate, modern homes that expressed contemporary ideals. As much as horizontality was a manifestation of naturalism, it was also central to the modern values of efficiency and simplicity that were expressed by streamlined design. In his 1930 *Form and Reform: A Practical Handbook*, designer Paul T. Frankl wrote, "The horizontal expresses speed in locomotion. It denotes stability in architecture."⁵⁹ Although Frankl was writing about skyscrapers, his visionary statement on modern architecture was

perhaps even more applicable to the low-lying homes of Southern California. Spanish Colonial architecture may have been historic in origin, but it had the qualities that were inherent to modern design. Furthermore, a home with a horizontal silhouette was also a more authentically modern response to the demands of speed, in that a flat, low form could be appreciated for a longer moment if one passed by in an automobile, than if it were a tall, towering structure. Californian roof lines were streamlined, smooth, flat and they did not clutter the perspective of the home, nor the horizon, but they were perfectly set to be captured and appreciated in a speedy glimpse (Fig. 16).⁶⁰

Theorists asserted that a streamlined home had a, “rhythmic exterior surface that presented a dramatic new silhouette associated with movement, science, and technology,” but motion was also a focal consideration in terms of the constant rhythm of uninhibited human activity within the home.⁶¹ Here again, the application of arched passageways and openings, and the central courtyard also helped to streamline circulation and movement to create the ideal characteristics of the efficient, modern home, not only in terms of social relations. The age of speed and efficiency in industrial design clearly influenced the ways that architecture was conceived in terms of spatial organization and flow.

The visual impetus to the architecture of streamlining stemmed from the sleek, aerodynamic designs of airplanes, steamliner ships, high speed trains, and automobiles, which seemed to barely skim the earth on super fast voyages.⁶² The form of new homes in the greater Los Angeles area, could allude to this futuristic look without abandoning the allure of the Spanish past.

As Southern Californians sought to balance the assurance of the past with the promise of the future, they tried to build homes that were modern yet avoided extravagance. Over the course of the decade, we can trace a shift in attitudes and perceptions of the Spanish style in American architecture. Los Angelenos, and particularly the new elite, simultaneously wished to perceive and envision the Spanish Colonial and Mission revivals as more restrained and democratic than the ostentatious revival styles that were so popular in other parts of the nation at the time. The mythic Spanish history came with the attachments occasioned by the economic realities of America's Great Depression. As America moved into the 1930s, what was formerly valued for its historic and romantic charm soon became packaged and embraced for its "rugged, straight-forwardness" and "simplicity."⁶³

An article that appeared in *House and Garden* in 1929, in the earliest days of the Depression, reflected a shift in attitudes towards the Spanish influence on Los Angeles and Californian architecture, overall. The article, which is essentially a reading of Spanish early life through its material culture, demonstrates the conscious awareness that objects within the domestic landscape were perceived as vehicles for cultural expression. Even more pointedly, it provides us with an example of how Californians might have seen the culture that they admired and desired to emulate in their own material lives.

At a time when Depression-era values emphasized practical minimalism over decorative splendor, Americans preferred to view Spain as being characterized by "Monastic simplicity" and "noble severity." Yet, in the "Hidden Corners of Old Spain," as the article was entitled, Spanish design hypocritically revealed, "a silent acceptance of

the sumptuous and artistic over the useful and the practical that afford a really comfortable life.” The author observed that perhaps in recognition of their own contradictory values, the Spanish produced objects of beauty but in acts of self-control or punishment, they refused to instill these products with features of material and physical comfort. Americans empathized with this conflict. In the 1930s, they too were quietly struggling to resolve their devotion to the ideal of restraint in design, while finding it hard to let go of the pleasures of ornament and decoration. Los Angelenos could consider the Spanish model and hope not to make the same mistakes, as they came to define a style that suited their own aesthetic principles.⁶⁴

So long as Southern Californians could interpret the sumptuousness of Spanish accessory embellishments as being instilled with morality or spirituality, they could justify including these elements in their American homes. Additionally, although they did not exhibit streamlined qualities, the materials that the Spanish used to create decorative details were generally inexpensive and easily attainable, especially by modern standards. They were not the ostentatious and luxurious ingredients that were commonly found in homes of the elite, such as marbles, gilt, and crystal.

The notion of simplifying and streamlining was critical to Depression-era rhetoric for appropriate building. “Simplicity is the Keynote of Beauty,” wrote architect H. Roy Kelley in a prophetic article which appeared in *California Arts and Architecture* magazine in October of 1929, just moments before the stock market crash. “Simplicity in form and composition of parts, temperance in the use of ornament, and propriety in the placement of subsidiary details, as well as better taste in the use of materials, have

resulted in simpler and more livable homes.” Somehow, the Spanish Colonial style could fulfill this ideal.

Simplicity was the modern means for achieving beauty and efficiency and it began with a well-composed plan. Simplicity, in Kelley’s own prophetic words, was “first cousin to economy . . . modesty, sobriety and propriety.” Elaborating on this point he stated,

If we will take a lesson from our Colonial and early California forefathers and make economy a matter of simplicity of form and detail rather than the use of poor materials and construction and be content to dispense with some of the needless ornamental features, then we will produce homes that will never be ‘out-of-date.’⁶⁵

“Needless” was the troublesome word in this observation. Some embellishment was necessary to make the Spanish style come alive. Designers also justified the use of ornamental materials and accessory embellishments on the grounds that such purchases supported the building trades and general economy. Wooden, ornamented ceilings commonly appeared in Los Angeles homes at all levels of the economic spectrum, and they varied in elaboration. In some cases, the corbels were carved or highly decorated, and the beams could also be painted or carved. Typically, floors were formed from ceramic tiles or bricks, and in some cases, wood. Wrought iron candelabras and light fixtures were common Spanish touches that alluded to the pre-electric past. Ornamental hardware also added a Spanish flavor to architecture, in the form of brackets, door handles, hinges, locks, and knockers (Figs. 17 and 18). As long as the end result did not

seem inauthentic or exaggerated like stage scenery, creative details were occasionally openly embraced.⁶⁶

The conflict between building homes of modern restraint, while holding onto decorative traditionalism generated many defenses. At one point, Los Angelenos seemed to feel that if ornament was made integral to the surface, it could be perceived as modern, which justified any use of two-dimensional decorative devices.⁶⁷ For example, the metal fretwork used to form vents and lattices added lively geometric patterns that contrasted with the smooth, plasterwork of the home. Yet the flatness of this metalwork did not detract or break the streamlined effect of the architectural volume. Moreover, these were first and foremost, utilitarian components that also had the added benefit of contributing to the home's aesthetics.

In the modern Spanish home, "Everything seems to serve a purpose," wrote R. W. Sexton, a Newcomb peer. Sexton admired the, "Absence of sham and meaningless applied ornament," which was typical of the style. He also observed that, "It is, in fact, this sincerity and honesty in design, which amounts to simplicity and austerity, that the Spanish so enjoy."⁶⁸ Eventually, even traditionalists like Rexford Newcomb were declaring, "Californian architects have given us a modern Hispanic architecture expressed with a restraint that is as frugal, straight-forward and craftsmanlike as the old mission houses, the simple masses of which to this day make such glorious pictures under California's white sun."⁶⁹

Another way of addressing the conflict between restraint and ornamentation, was by emphasizing the modesty and simplicity of the people who originated these designs.

Ironically, designers and homeowners chose to ignore the fact that the style originated in a society where a land-owning elite and wealthy missionaries had dominated the indigenous cultures of the area for centuries. Furthermore, these Spanish settlers were merely secondary recipients of the style, which had filtered through generations of Spanish aristocracy, thereby absorbing numerous Mediterranean and Eastern influences over time. Instead, the missions that Los Angeles chose to revive were symbols of religious probity, and Catholicism, and therefore quite a contrast to the excesses of Hollywood culture of the 1930s. The architectural legacy of the missions thus became associated with the purity of the folk culture. According to Newcomb, “While domestic architecture in Mexico sacrificed much of the old Spanish precision, finesse, and delicacy, it gained much in freshness, spontaneity and naiveté.”⁷⁰ Some commentators even went so far as to claim that the indigenous people of Mexico were “highly developed and skillful in the art of building” even before the Spanish arrived. “In many branches of the arts and sciences these people were equal, if not, indeed, the superior, of the Europeans.”⁷¹

They further noted that Colonial Mexican history, “affords a striking contrast with that which existed in our own early colonies, where newcomers often recruited from among the poor, the persecuted, and even the criminal cases struggled for their very existence.”⁷² In other words, Garrison and Rustay wished to acknowledge that the illustrious Spanish who came to settle and rule over the Mexican natives were privileged members of their society from the beginning, and this was reflected in their sophisticated architecture.

In the same respect, Walter H. Kilham noted in his *Mexican Architecture of the Vice-Regal Period* that while Spanish building talent equaled that of the Ancient Romans;

The skill, taste, and originality of the Spaniards were supplemented by the high artistic development of the natives, who quickly became as adept as their masters. Even today, love of beauty is a marked characteristic of the descendants of the Aztec, a quality for which they receive small credit from the more practical Americans and Europeans.⁷³

In other cases, although authors may have claimed to focus geographically on Mexico, they generally attributed the cultural source for Mexican design to Spain. For example, the title of one article, "Spanish Doorways and Facades," appeared in large bold font while the subtitle, "of Historical Buildings in Mexico City," was in smaller plain letters.⁷⁴ Not only was Spanish-influenced architecture a response and embodiment of the desires of one particular racial group of Los Angeles residents, the architecture also became a symbol of Anglo-American absorption of Mexican American culture.

Numerous design texts revealed how Americans interpreted the social and racial significance of Spanish style architecture. For example, William Lawrence Bottomley's *Spanish Details* demonstrated an awareness that readers would be attracted to the racial and national pride that he felt was inherently present in the European heritage of the Spanish style. He noted how, "classic tradition and Moorish influences fused and harmonized by the strong individuality of the Spanish race."⁷⁵ Similarly, in architect Richard Requa's *Architectural Details, Spain and the Mediterranean*, he supplied the building market with a slew of designs from the land that, "gave birth to civilization and advanced the fine arts to a stage of completeness and perfection never since equalled."⁷⁶

Pure and direct European models were generally credited for most design features of the Spanish Colonial style. Some sources even whole-heartedly declared that elements such as the patio “came to California un-changed from its European predecessors.” The statement therefore expressed the need for Los Angeles to be linked to a pure, untainted European parentage. Furthermore, the same source stated, “For to the Americas, the Spanish conquerors brought the semi-Moorish stucco building of Andalusia.”⁷⁷ The writer envisioned the pioneers of Los Angeles design as heroic warriors, rather than mere builders and architects. Such narrative statements provided Los Angeles consumers with a packaged history of nobility and valor.

Los Angeles writers alternated between patronizing Mexican culture for the primitive characteristics that would make homes appear restrained and modest, and glamorizing the confounded legacies of the Toltecs, Aztecs, and Spanish conquistadors that would provide the architectural flare to these structures. In the words of author Sheri Bernstein, “Mexican culture was seen as simple, exotic, colorful, spiritual, pre-industrial, and feminine, i.e., as pointedly antithetical to contemporary white American culture.”⁷⁸ Designers romanticized the Spanish-Colonial past in a similar fashion to how Hollywood constructed the exotic personae of “Spanish” starlets such as Delores del Rio. Pooling traits from various cultural and historical locations, authenticity came second to creating and projecting alluring myths that were distinctly different from what Anglo-Americans knew too well in their own familiar, yet bland culture.⁷⁹

For either its enchantment or humility, Mexican culture seemed to offer white Americans a rich, romantic, and lyrical lifestyle that opposed the pulse of modernity;

A dashing charro, shaded by his wide brimmed sombrero,... rides among them, weaving a bright pattern through the green to the irregular and imposing mountains, carrying on his well shaped shoulders the charm of all Mexico. Or is it the humble peon, who goes about his duties in his simple, unconcerned way, making his age-old customs paint, like the early masters, quaint, simple pictures on the mind's eye, which transport one back to the long ago, when the speed and bustle of modern times did not so insert themselves into the deeper things of life.⁸⁰

Similar imposed visions and imagined memories of California's history were precisely what made the preservation of Los Angeles' Olvera Street and other historic sites successful, as is apparent in a 1931 article which describes 'El Paseo.' 1930s Los Angelenos tended to present the Mexican heritage of their state with a revisionist eye that was heavily laden in nostalgia and sensationalism. They preferred to view Mexican culture, which by that time was forced to submit to white American dominance, as an obedient, hospitable, and tranquil people that offered aesthetic pleasures for hardworking Anglos. One author wrote that on Olvera Street, "Harsh voices are never heard," as if to assure his white audience of the peacefulness of the people who populated the area. If given a bit of assistance by the modern-day Anglo residents of the city, the physical monuments that were the evidence of these historic hierarchies and other narrative layers of California's past, could continue to endure the forces of time and nature, and be ensured for the benefit and use of future generations (Fig. 19).⁸¹

III. Built to Last

The community's move to preserve its historic buildings and artifacts stemmed from the belief that Los Angeles needed to ground itself during these unsteady times.

Stability, as was proven by the tests of time in California's Spanish history, guaranteed longevity. Primary to the new architecture that grew out of this time, was a search for physical representations of reliability, tradition, and constancy in a society perceived as transient in nature. The role that buildings took during this time speaks to the power of architecture as seemingly fixed, permanent symbols in an unstable culture. Certainly, this vision of architecture was conveyed through popular literature, magazines, and advertising of the time.⁸²

Builders and members of the building industry, were forced to think in terms of permanence and strength, to help their clients symbolically move beyond the economic chaos of the Great Depression to a more stable future. Americans were watching the infrastructure of their society crumble. Nowhere was the concept of endurance more important than in places where the foundations of the community were so new and unproved, as in the case of Los Angeles. To the new emerging class in Los Angeles, the Spanish Colonial revival harkened to a time when powerful dons and missionaries lived their days in elegant and stately missions, ranchos, and haciendas and brought order and sophistication to the untamed land. To Los Angeles' nouveau riche, who knew just how fleeting their wealth and stardom really were, building homes in the revival style provided them with tangible signs of security and success that would withstand the test of time.

A 1930 advertisement for famed Los Angeles tilemaking firm, Batchelder, stated, "Our great grandchildren should share our pleasure in such a tile installation as the one shown above. Time cannot fade its colors nor wear them away." Not only did the ad address American concerns for stable, enduring products, it also recognized the local

interest of Los Angelenos who wished to build homes that would establish their legacy and permanent presence in the landscape. The words of the advertisement then asserted even more openly, "Time only enhances its beauty and mellows its tones to the quality of an oriental rug; --the more beautiful, the greater its age. There is a feeling of stability and permanence in fine tile work."⁸³

Building for the future influenced the interior and skeleton of the home as well. Twentieth-century construction techniques and materials such as, roof tiling, sheathing, cement bedding, and weather-proofing offered the qualities that could improve upon the buildings of the style's innovators. Advertisements for concrete, iron and other impervious, industrial-strength building supplies, exploited the desire for objects that would physically suffer the least depreciation and symbolically endure through troubled times. Several architectural components indicated the renewed sense of faith in building for stability. "Built-in" features, such as cupboards, shelves, niches, and benches, furthered the idea and sense of permanence as did visible evidence, such as exposed ceiling beams, which called attention to the sturdiness of construction.⁸⁴

Appeals to the past underscored this stability. Many companies advertised materials that had been proven by centuries of endurance, such as Union Oil's D Grade Asphalt. One advertisement produced by the company took credit for, "Why Babylon's Streets Have Lasted 2500 Years, Union D Grade Asphalt."⁸⁵ Likewise, the perception that Spanish architecture remained, "unconscious to foreign influences and fluctuating tendencies in contemporary art" had additional appeal to the nationalist sentiments that were running rampant throughout the Depression years.⁸⁶

While promising stability, simplicity, and permanence, the Spanish Colonial style also made room for modern design. Historian, Jeffrey Meikle offers an interpretation of the American struggle to build modern features into their homes and lives. In Meikle's analysis, modernity was a "disjunctive experience," and it generally did not appeal to those seeking the comforts of ordinary life. He argues that in order for Americans to have accepted and adopted modernity, they needed to domesticate it. Only then, could Americans experience a sense of reassurance and stability amidst the changes that the machine age brought to their lives. The Spanish Colonial style, when presented as possessing attributes that straddled the past and future, offered Los Angelenos a comfortable architectural solution.

Through a three-phased process, historical consciousness provided a key to domestication of the modern, according to Meikle. By locating their architecture in a "historical continuum," Los Angeles was able to support the idea that the new style was not revolutionary but part of a process of "evolution from past to future." This had the effect of, "naturalizing modernity and neutralizing its strangeness."⁸⁷ True to Meikle's theories, throughout the 1930s, Los Angeles designers and writers promoted the Spanish Colonial style not as a nostalgic refuge but as derived from the past and refreshed for the present. Reflecting this tendency, a 1930 article entitled, "Old Spain Transferred to California," essentially denied the lapse of time, since it expressed the view that design was directly "transferred" from the past into 1930s homes. In contrast, "Old Spain Renewed in Handicraft," acknowledged the passage of time when it appeared as the title of a 1932 essay.⁸⁸

Architects and builders who promoted the Spanish Colonial style explained to critics that the new designs were not mere exercises in nostalgia but were in fact introducing clients to a forgotten past filled with elements that could serve the cause of modernity. Though the Spanish Colonial style's advocates looked to the past for inspiration, it was a past that was relatively new to most Americans, which made it forward-looking, in a sense, and thus, harder to fault. They argued that characteristics of the style were inherently consistent with modern ideals of simplicity, restrained ornament, horizontality, flatness, lightness, and openness. All of the modern technological amenities could be incorporated into the Spanish scheme. Furthermore, the appropriation and definition of the style became an expression of contemporary white Los Angeles' vision of modern racial politics and ethnic relations.

By the mid-1930s, Los Angelenos were expressing their desire to be, "Living in the present, enjoying the past," rather than escaping from reality to a mythologized, historical illusion.⁸⁹ But the economic and social insecurities of the 1930s gave residents little time to luxuriate in the nostalgia of bygone days. The move against conservative supporters of the Spanish-influenced style seemed to correspond with the stock market crash. In their love-hate relationship with the notion of historicism in architecture, Southern Californians, like most Americans, felt the constant tug between tradition and modernization. As a result, architects and designers described the style as straddling both old and new worlds. In essence, what became defined as the architecture of Los Angelenos, was a product of the tension between history and modernity, which was narrated by designers and theorists of the late 1920s and early 1930s.

ENDNOTES

¹ Berthold Lubetkin as quoted by Paul Greehalgh, introduction to *Modernism in Design*, (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1990), 8.

² Harwood Hewitt, "A Plea for Distinctive Architecture in Southern California," *Allied Architects Association of Southern California Bulletin* 5 (March 1925). Most recently, Hewitt's words have been revived and astutely interpreted in William Alexander McClung, *Landscapes of Desire: Anglo Mythologies of Los Angeles*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 97-98.

³ For more on the methodology of cultural geography, see Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 227.

⁴ Sheri Bernstein, "Selling California 1900-1920," in *Made in California: Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000*, ed. Stephanie Barron (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2000): 82-94.

⁵ I am indebted to key works, such as, Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 191-230; William Alexander McClung, *Landscapes of Desire*, 72-112; and the works of David Gebhard, including, Gebhard and Harriette Von Breton, *Los Angeles in the Thirties, 1931-1941* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1975) and Gebhard, *Santa Barbara- The Creation of a New Spain in America* (Santa Barbara, CA: University Art Museum, 1982).

⁶ Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 82-96.

⁷ Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodriguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995): 121-122.

⁸ For more background, see works by Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999) and *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990): 282-283.

⁹ See the invaluable, pioneer work of Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (Salt Lake City, UT: Peregrine Smith, 1946/1973 reprint). For background on the mission myth and the influence of Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* and Charles Fletcher Lummis' *Land of Sunshine* on California architecture in the late 1800s see sources such as, Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 54-65, 81-86; David Gebhard and Harriette Von Breton, *1868-1968: Architecture in California* (Santa Barbara: University of California, Santa Barbara, Art Galleries, 1968), 3-30; Harold Kirker, *Old Forms on a New Land: California Architecture in Perspective* (Niwot, CO: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1991), 58-60; and McClung, *Landscapes of Desire*, 74-77.

¹⁰ Joseph A. Stark, "Consistent Architectural Style Needed to Make Los Angeles City Beautiful," *Southwest Builder and Contractor* 70 (19 September 1927): 39-41.

¹¹ For example, see John Byers, "The Influence of Adobe in California," *California Arts & Architecture* 35 (April 1929): 29--33, 79, and Verner B. McClurg, "Civic Consciousness," *California Arts & Architecture* 35 (May 1929): 72-73. The first issue of *California Arts & Architecture* came out in February of 1929, merging the former *Pacific Coast Architect* and *California Southland* with the goal of presenting California life through the state's homes and gardens.

¹² Stark, "Consistent Architectural Style," 39-41.

¹³ William Wallace, "Mediterranean House at Beverly Hills Notable Example of California Style," *Southwest Builder and Contractor* 70 (16 September 1927): 37.

¹⁴ "Characteristics of Mediterranean Style House as Enumerated by Architects," *Southwest Builder and Contractor* 70 (29 July 1927): 40.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁷ On Santa Barbara, see M. Urmy Seares, "A Community Approaches Its Ideal," *California Arts & Architecture* 38 (June 1930): 19-21, 70,71. See also, "Typical Home Life of California," *California Arts & Architecture* 40 (October 1931): 17-21, 51. For background on Santa Barbara, see Starr, *Material Dreams*, 263-302.

¹⁸ "Characteristics of Mediterranean Style," 40.

¹⁹ "Editor's Notebook," *California Arts & Architecture* 35 (February 1929): 15.

²⁰ “A California Castle in Spain,” *California Arts & Architecture* 36 (June 1929): 20.

²¹ Wallace, “Mediterranean House at Beverly Hills,” 37. For another example of the importance of glass and light in the home, see Advertisement for American Window Glass Company, *Southwest Builder and Contractor* 77 (17 April 1931).

²² Rexford Newcomb, *The Spanish House for America; Its Design, Furnishing, and Garden* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1927), 5, 24.

²³ Wallace, “Mediterranean House at Beverly Hills,” 37.

²⁴ J. Floyd Yewell, “From the Mediterranean to America,” *House & Garden* 54 (July 1928): 56-57. The house that is proposed in the article is described as “pleasantly and thoroughly appropriate.”

²⁵ Norman M. Klein, *The History of Forgetting: Los Angeles and the Erasure of Memory* (New York: Verso, 1997): 1-27.

²⁶ See Albert J. Evers, AIA, “The Government Plans New Housing,” *California Arts & Architecture* 45 (February 1934): 30; “Progress Exemplified in a Huge Modernization Project, Government’s Better Housing Program Aids Home Owners...” *California Arts & Architecture* 46 (October 1934): 22-25; also, “Plans Completed for Financing of New Home Building,” *California Arts & Architecture* 46 (December 1934): 19.

²⁷ Newcomb, *The Spanish House for America*, 89.

²⁸ Rexford Newcomb, *The Old Mission Churches and Historic Homes of California; Their Architecture, Art and Lore* (Philadelphia, PA: JB Lippincott CO., 1925), 52-55.

²⁹ Cleve Hallenbeck, *Spanish Missions of the Old Southwest* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1926): 7-15, 82, 88-97, 121.

³⁰ In addition to Hallenbeck’s *Spanish Missions of the Old Southwest*, see Floyd Ray, *California Missions: A Guide to the Historic Trails of The Padres* (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1939: 5-9; and Forbes, Mrs. ASC, *California Missions and Landmarks* (Los Angeles: El Camino Real, 1903, revised 8th edition 1925), 97-135.

³¹ Sherwood Anderson, *Home Town* in *The Face of America*, ed. Edwin Rosskam (New York: Grossman, 1940).

³² Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in American Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929) and *Middletown in Transition: A Study in Cultural Conflicts* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937). Also, James Curtis, *Mind's Eye, Mind's Truth: FSA Photography Reconsidered* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 100-106.

³³ "A House That Is Unmistakably Californian," *California Arts & Architecture* 37 (January 1930): 29.

³⁴ John R. Kibbey, "Out-of-Door Living Rooms," *California Arts & Architecture* 42 (June 1932): 21. Stephanos Polyzoides, Roger Sherwood, and James Tice, *Courtyard Housing in Los Angeles* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992). See also, Photoessay, *California Arts and Architecture* 36 (September 1929): 47-49.

³⁵ Florence Yoch, "The Significance of the Mediterranean Garden in California," *California Arts and Architecture* 35 (February 1929): 40-41.

³⁶ Newcomb, *The Spanish House for America*, 153.

³⁷ Thomas D. Church, "Peasant Courtyards of Spain, Patios That Are Useful, Simple, and Still Charming," *California Arts & Architecture* 37 (February 1930): 19-21.

³⁸ Roland E. Coate, "The Early California House, Blending Colonial and California Forms," *California Arts & Architecture* 35 (March 1929): 21-23. Also, Rexford Newcomb, *Mediterranean Domestic Architecture in the United States* (Cleveland, OH: Jansen, 1928), i-v.

³⁹ Sumner M. Spaulding, "The Patio is Logical for California," *California Arts & Architecture* 40 (July 1931): 19, 50.

⁴⁰ Advertisement for Batchelder Tiles, *California Arts & Architecture* 35 (March 1929): 13.

⁴¹ Emerson Knight, "Fountains of Old Mexico," *The Architect and Engineer* 106 (September 1931): 65-72. For an expanded portrayal of the fountain, see Clarence Cullimore, "Patios and Fountains of Old Spain," *The Architect and Engineer* 107 (November 1931): 35; Anderson McCully, "Wall Fountains of Various Materials," *California Arts & Architecture* 40 (October, 1931): 22-23, 52; and Evelyn A. Pitschke, "Fountains and Courtyards Old and New In Picturesque Mexico, the Mother of Spanish California," *California Arts & Architecture* 38 (August 1930): 28-29, 68.

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- ⁴² Advertisement for Gladding, McBean & Co., *California Arts & Architecture* 39 (May 1931): 1.
- ⁴³ Alfred Loos in the mid-1920s as quoted in David Gebhard, *The National Trust Guide to Art Deco in America* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 1.
- ⁴⁴ Advertisements for Concrete Roofing Tile and Gladding, McBean & Co., *Southwest Builder and Contractor* 69 (25 February 1927): 32-33; Advertisement for Alhambra Kilns, Inc., *California Arts & Architecture* 38 (June 1930): 71; Advertisement for Gladding, McBean & Co., *Southwest Builder and Contractor* 4 (July 22, 1927): 32.
- ⁴⁵ Advertisement for Lake Narconian Club, *California Arts & Architecture* 37 (May 1930): 61.
- ⁴⁶ Marion Parks, "The Art of Living in California," *California Arts & Architecture* 43 (January 1933): 10-15, 22.
- ⁴⁷ Le Corbusier, *The Decorative Art of Today* trans. by James I. Dunnett (1925; reprint, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987): 189.
- ⁴⁸ Newcomb, *The Spanish House for America*, 64.
- ⁴⁹ Marjorie Dobbin Kern, "Friendly Doorways in California, Entrances That Extend Welcome to the Approaching Guests," *California Arts & Architecture* 38 (December 1930): 30-31.
- ⁵⁰ Helen Rolph Wren, "The Balconies of California," *House and Garden* 54 (December 1928): 74-75, 124. See also, Yewell, "From the Mediterranean to America," 56-57.
- ⁵¹ Newcomb, *The Spanish House for America*, 74.
- ⁵² Sumner M. Spaulding, "Hospitality in the California Home," *California Arts & Architecture* 43 (January 1933): 16-17.
- ⁵³ "A House That Is Unmistakably Californian," 29.
- ⁵⁴ Paula Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 53-118.
- ⁵⁵ Sheldon Cheney and Martha Cheney, *Art and the Machine* (New York: Acanthus Press, 1936), 97-120.

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- ⁵⁶ Advertisement for Portland Cement, *California Arts and Architecture* 36 (December 1929): 2.
- ⁵⁷ Newcomb, *The Spanish House for America*, 89.
- ⁵⁸ Wallace, "Mediterranean House at Beverly Hills," 37. Also, Martin Greif, *Depression Modern: The Thirties Style in America* (New York: Universe Books, 1975), 23-27.
- ⁵⁹ Paul T. Frankl, *Form and Re-form: A Practical Handbook of Modern Interiors* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1930), 28.
- ⁶⁰ Donald J. Bush, *The Streamlined Decade* (New York: George Braziller, 1975).
- ⁶¹ Martin Eidelberg, ed. *Design 1935-1965. What Modern Was* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 75.
- ⁶² Jeffrey L. Meikle, *Twentieth Century Limited: Industrial Design in America, 1925-1939* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979). See also, J. Stewart Johnson, *American Modern 1925-1940, Design for A New Age* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000), 126-145.
- ⁶³ Rexford Newcomb, *Spanish-Colonial Architecture in the United States* (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1937), 24. For background on restraint in American history, see David E. Shi, *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 8, 175-247.
- ⁶⁴ Jesusa de Solalinde, "Hidden Corners of Old Spain." *House and Garden* 56 (December 1929): 85-142, 152.
- ⁶⁵ H. Roy Kelley, "Simplicity is the Keynote of Beauty," *California Arts and Architecture* 36 (October 1929): 36-38.
- ⁶⁶ Newcomb, *Spanish-Colonial Architecture*, 38.
- ⁶⁷ Gebhard, *The National Trust Guide to Art Deco*, 7.
- ⁶⁸ R.W. Sexton, *Spanish Influence on American Architecture and Decoration* (New York: Brentano's, 1927), 11.
- ⁶⁹ Newcomb, *Spanish-Colonial Architecture*, 39.
- ⁷⁰ Newcomb, *The Spanish House for America*, 19.

⁷¹ Richard Garrison and George Rustay, *Early Mexican Houses: A Book of Photographs and Measured Drawings* (1930; reprint, Stamford, CT: Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1990): 5-6.

⁷² Ibid, 5-6.

⁷³ Walter H. Kilham, *Mexican Architecture of the Vice-Regal Period* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1927), 9.

⁷⁴ Evelyn A. Pitshke, "Spanish Doorways and Facades of Historical Buildings in Mexico City," *California Arts & Architecture* 36 (September 1929): 19-21, 76. See also Newcomb, *The Spanish House for America*, 54-64.

⁷⁵ William Lawrence Bottomley, *Spanish Details* (New York: William Helburn, 1924): foreword.

⁷⁶ Richard Requa, *Architectural Details, Spain and the Mediterranean* (Los Angeles: Monolith Portland Cement Company, 1926): foreword.

⁷⁷ Helen Rolph Wren, "The Balconies of California," 74-75, 124.

⁷⁸ Bernstein, "Contested Eden, 1920-1940," in *Made in California: Art, Image and Identity 1900-2000*, 140.

⁷⁹ Monroy, *Rebirth*, 165-176.

⁸⁰ Pitshke, "Spanish Doorways and Facades," 19.

⁸¹ Natt Piper, "El Paseo de Los Angeles," *The Architect and Engineer* 107 (December 1931): 33-36. For more on Olvera Street, see Dorothea Oyer, "El Paseo de Los Angeles is Restored," *California Arts & Architecture* 38 (October 1930): 26-27, 51.

⁸² For example, "Beauty + Versatility + Permanence are Blended in Roofs of Ramona Tile," Advertisement for N. Clark & Sons, *California Arts & Architecture* 40 (August 1931): 2.

⁸³ Advertisement for Batchelder Pavers, *California Arts & Architecture* 37 (Jan. 1930): 70.

⁸⁴ Robert L. Davison, "Apartment Design to Meet Family Needs," *The Architectural Record* 67(March 1930): 281. Other advertisements that stress the endurance theme include: Downey + Gotwals' Sanitas Wall Covering, *California Arts & Architecture* 38 (July 1930): 4, "Preferred by those who build for permanency." Also, Advertisement for Copper & Brass Research Association, *Southwest Builder and Contractor* 11(14 March 1930): 25.

⁸⁵ Advertisement for Union D Grade Asphalt, *Southwest Builder and Contractor* 71 (25 October 1929): 81.

⁸⁶ R.W. Sexton, *Spanish Influence*, 33.

⁸⁷ Jeffrey L. Meikle, "Domesticating Modernity: Ambivalence and Appropriation, 1920-40," in *Designing Modernity, The Arts of Reform and Persuasion 1885-1945*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Miami, FL: The Wolfsonian, 1995): 143-144.

⁸⁸ "Old Spain Transferred to California," *California Arts & Architecture* 38 (November 1930): 41; and "Old Spain Renewed in Handicraft," *California Arts & Architecture* 42 (December 1932): 16.

⁸⁹ G.W. Hendry, "Spanish Mission Gardens of California," *California Arts & Architecture* 46 (August 1934): 12-13, 28.



Figure 1. Small residence in Los Angeles.
R. Newcomb, *The Spanish House for America*, p. 38.

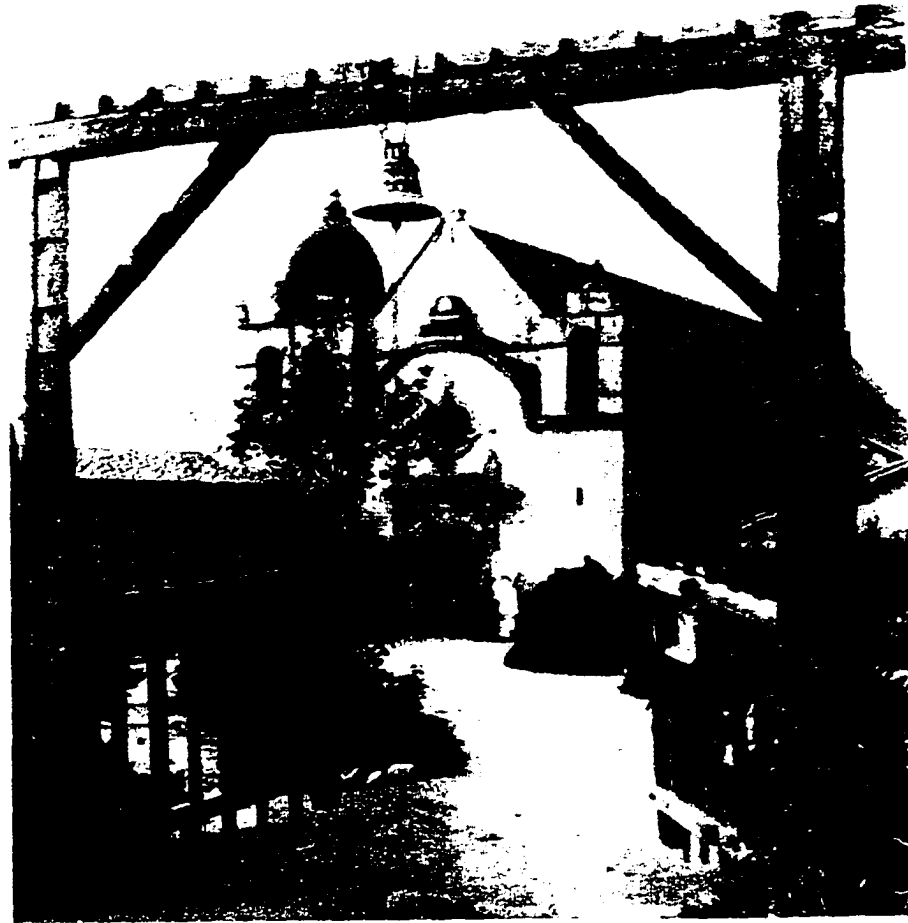


Figure 2. Mission San Carlos de Borromeo, Carmel, CA.
R. Newcomb, *Spanish-Colonial Architecture in the United States*, pl. 83.



Figure 3. Mission San Luis interior.
R. Newcomb, *Spanish-Colonial Architecture in the United States*, pl. 58.



Figure 4. The mission tradition as applied to a residential hallway.
R. Newcomb, *Mediterranean Domestic Architecture in the United States*, p. 98.



Figure 5. The “Unmistakably Californian” Home.
California Arts & Architecture 37 (January 1930): 29.

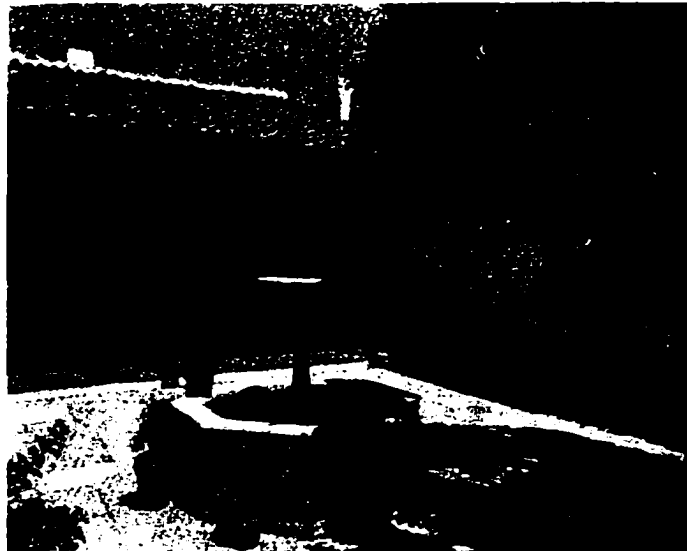


Figure 6. The patio of the “Unmistakably Californian” Home.
California Arts & Architecture 37 (January 1930): 29.



Figure 7. An elaborate patio.
R. Newcomb, *Mediterranean Domestic Architecture in the United States*, p. 105.



Figure 8. A tiled wall fountain.
R. Newcomb, *Spanish-Colonial Architecture in the United States*, frontispiece.



Figure 9. A fanciful, frescoed doorway.
California Arts & Architecture 36 (November 1929): 26.



Figure 10. A paneled doorway.
R.W. Sexton, *Spanish Influences on American Architecture and Decoration*, p. 115.



C A TERRACED GATE - CALIFORNIA-REMINISCENT
OF THE SIMPLE FARM GATES OF ANDALUSIA



D A SIMPLE BUT BEAUTIFUL
GATE RECALLING THE FORMS
OF CATALONIA

Figure 11. Examples of gate designs in the Spanish manner.
R. Newcomb, *The Spanish House for America*, p. 151.



Figure 12. A theatrical balcony.
R.W. Sexton, *Spanish Influences on American Architecture and Decoration*, p. 171.



Figure 13. A wooden balcony.
R. Newcomb, *Mediterranean Domestic Architecture in the United States*, p. 73.

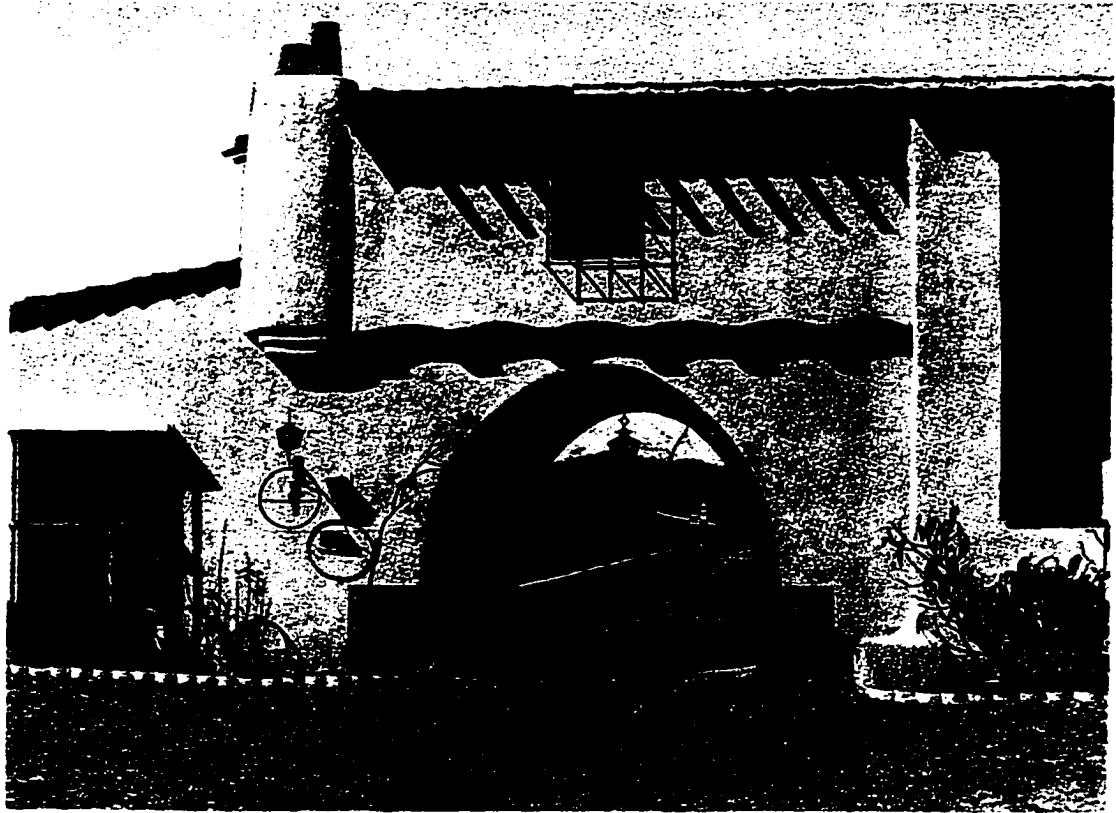


Figure 14. An arched entrance court.
R. Newcomb, *Mediterranean Domestic Architecture in the United States*, p. 100.



Figure 15. An example of an architecturally dynamic profile.
House & Garden 5 (November 1928): 116.



Figure 16. A roofline that “embraces the mountains.”
California Arts & Architecture 39 (January 1931): 43.

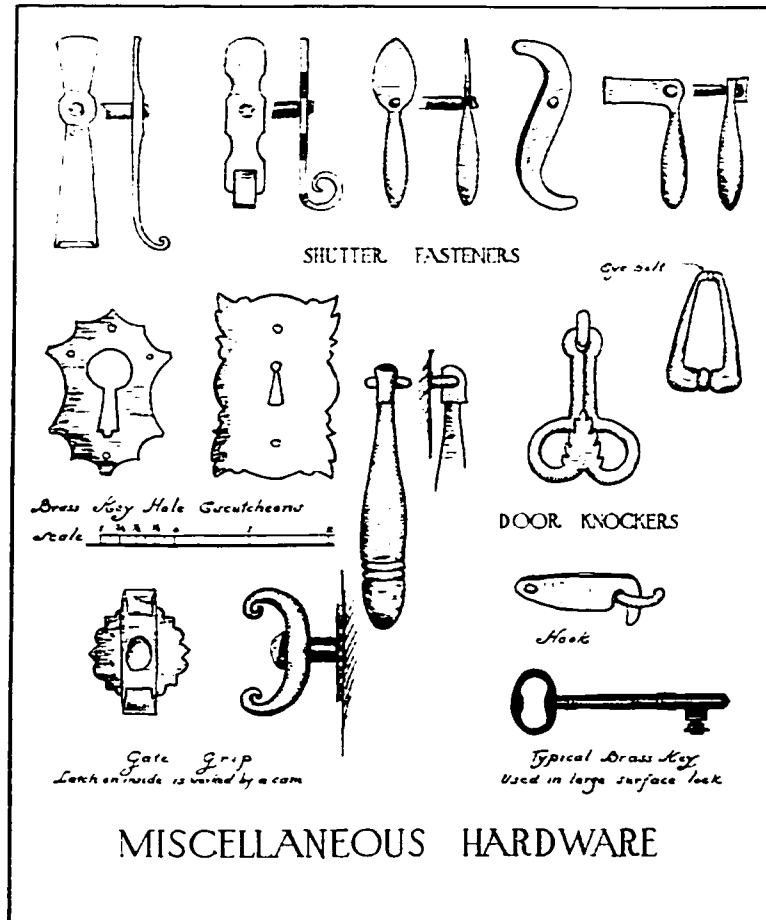


Figure 17. Spanish-inspired hardware designs.
 D. Hannaford and R. Edwards, *Spanish Colonial or Adobe Architecture of California*,
 1800-1850, p. 98.



Figure 18. Examples of wall brackets and lanterns with Spanish flare.
R.W. Sexton, *Spanish Influence on American Architecture and Decoration*, p. 219.



Figure 19. View of Olvera Street, c. 1930.
D. Hannaford and R. Edwards, *Spanish Colonial or Adobe Architecture of California, 1800-1850*, p. 78.

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