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CHALLENGES AND SUCCESSES IN A HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT: JULIA MORGAN, ARCHITECT

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Art & Design

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

Sharon D. Kasser

May 2004

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ABSTRACT

CHALLENGES AND SUCCESSES IN A HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT: JULIA MORGAN, ARCHITECT

by Sharon D. Kasser

Although best known as architect and engineer of the Hearst Castle at San Simeon, the palatial play land built for newspaper mogul William Randolph Hearst, Julia Morgan's other structures designed for women may better reveal the style and spirit of its female creator. Her designs for women include private homes, professional clubs, structures for Mills College, and buildings meant to house and serve the needs of those new working women who were attracted to the city. Miss Morgan understood what women needed and wanted, and she capably addressed these concerns.

This thesis will explore several of the most important structures that Julia Morgan designed for her female clients in the Northern California area. Whether costly or on a limited budget, each Morgan building was unique and functional. This trained specialist created lasting architecture which is still useful and beautiful, and these structures stand as a tribute to this early design professional, Miss Julia Morgan.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

Remember that an architect cannot build buildings on his own account. A painter can say that the world doesn't understand me and sit in his attic and paint, and work during the day as a customs collector like Rousseau. An architect has to be dependent upon the client. Robert A.M. Stern, Architect.

Julia Morgan (1873-1957) was an extraordinary woman who, in the 1890's, overcame major obstacles to became one of the first professionally educated practicing female architects. She infiltrated the limited male-dominated educational institutions of the period and became one of the first women to study engineering at the University of California, Berkeley, the first woman to graduate from the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and the first woman to be granted a license to practice architecture in the state of California. In a closed society where bias against women architects prevailed, this exceptional woman was able to function and thrive. Julia Morgan's superior ability and education, her extraordinary physical strength and determination, a supportive and educationally motivated family, and a productive affiliation with the emerging women's network of this period led to a successful career lasting forty-seven years during which she designed more than 700 structures.

I will explore how this extraordinary woman was able to succeed in such a hostile environment. Chapter One will outline the obstacles faced by women at the turn of the twentieth century and how Miss Morgan was able to overcome them. Chapter Two will examine the role played by her important patron, Phoebe Apperson Hearst. Early commissions and architectural influences will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Finally, in Chapter Four, I'll discuss the dedication of this early woman architect to her professional career, which became her entire life.

At the turn of the twentieth century Julia Morgan faced obstacles which would have deterred many women from becoming a professional architect. She went on to design numerous and varied structures for both men and women. However, Miss Morgan's projects for women are particularly interesting and among her finest efforts. Julia Morgan and her female patrons were pioneers in the women's movement, elevating their own personal status in the community, creating important institutions beneficial to the fledgling women's movement and opening doors for others to come.

CHAPTER I

JULIA MORGAN – OVERCOMING THE OBSTACLES

I know some women who have done well at it, but the obstacles are so great that it takes an exceptional girl to make a go of it. If she insisted upon becoming an architect I would try to dissuade her. If then she was still determined, I would give her my blessing that she could be that exceptional one. Pietro Belluschi, Dean, MIT's School of Architecture, 1955.

Julia Morgan was determined to study architecture and become a professional in this field. At a time when professional architectural schools were limited in number and frequently closed to women, and when women were categorized as physically fragile and less intelligent than their male counterparts, this woman succeeded in obtaining a superb education and establishing her own firm in San Francisco. Without the support that she received from her family and friends, her sorority sisters and various mentors and patrons, she might not have accomplished her goal to become "that exceptional one" at the turn of the twentieth century.

Limited Educational Facilities for Women

One major obstacle that Julia Morgan faced was the limited educational facilities open to women. Opportunities for women to train professionally in architecture in the United States were few. Massachusetts Institute of Technology (founded in 1868) and the University of Illinois (founded in 1871) were the only two schools of architecture in the 1870's.² The architecture department at Columbia University was founded in 1881, and in 1910 accommodations for women were still unavailable.³ The Columbia university catalogue stated: "Owing to the lack of suitable accommodations, women who desire to enter this school are advised to do the

work of design elsewhere." Even at the University of California at Berkeley where female students had previously been accepted, dormitories for women did not exist. It was said that when Phoebe Apperson Hearst offered to fund a women's dormitory at Berkeley a number of years later, the plan was rejected by the president of the university on the grounds that, "Women in groups tend to become hysterical."

Julia Morgan would not compromise her education by training at one of these relatively new American institutions, nor would she consider alternative training programs. She was fortunate to live near the University of California at Berkeley where women had previously been enrolled. Since there was no school of architecture at Berkeley, Miss Morgan compromised and studied engineering. She became one of the earliest female engineering graduates of Berkeley. Then, encouraged by her professor at Berkeley, Bernard Maybeck, she went on to pursue additional training in architecture at his alma mater, the most prestigious architectural institution of the period, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. This institution had never before accepted a female candidate, but there were rumors that this situation might change. Julia Morgan was willing to travel to Paris, immerse herself in language and metric study, and compete for a prized spot at the Ecole.

Bias Against Women in Architecture

A second major obstacle for Julia Morgan was the prevailing bias against women in the field of architecture. Women were seen as fragile and less intelligent creatures who could neither function nor survive in the field.⁶ There were stories of women who had suffered breakdowns attempting to practice architecture, and it was

well known at the time that no women could climb scaffolding or work with trades people. Therefore, no woman could or should become an architect.

However, an important opportunity for women architects arose in 1893 when Bertha Honore Palmer and Susan B. Anthony organized the first competition among women architects for a Woman's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. No previous event compared with this major contest at the most celebrated and influential American happening of the century. The competition for the Woman's Building was unique and received much publicity at the time. Young women like Julia Morgan, who were interested in professional architectural study, would have been aware of this monumental opportunity, which attracted a number of female architects including Sophia Hayden, a recent graduate of MIT. She won the contest, complying with the guidelines put forth by the Department of Publicity and Promotion of the Fair Committee, specifying "A simple, light-colored classic type of building..." Hayden designed a modest, low-budget Italian Renaissance style structure, complete with Ionic and modified Corinthian columns, pilasters and an ornamental frieze.

There were many published articles and photographs of this exhibition, and it is likely that Julia Morgan read these articles and noted the bias toward this female architect. Participating male architects intensely scrutinized the Woman's Building.¹⁰
The talented and fragile Sophia Hayden had difficulty accepting criticism from her male colleagues and suffered a nervous breakdown after the close of the exposition. "The pressure to please too many, the unaccustomed criticism she received, and the physical demands she underwent took their toll." "She accomplished her goal but with severe

mental stress to herself."¹² Eventually she recovered but was never known to design another building. Hayden's personal physical and emotional distress during the exposition was interpreted by her male counterparts as an inability of women architects to function under pressure, thereby raising the question, was architecture an unhealthy career for women? Judith Paine, writing about Pioneer Women Architects, quotes an article in American Architect and Building News of 1892.

It seems a question not yet answered how successfully a woman with her physical limitations can enter and engage in...a profession which is a very wearing one...If the building of which the women seem to be so proud...is to mark the physical ruin of the architect, it will be a much more telling argument against the wisdom of women entering this especial profession than anything else could be.¹³

Julia Morgan was a physically strong and determined woman who was able to overcome these major obstacles by a combination of her own attributes, a supportive family, devoted friends and the finest professional credentials. Her career aspirations were supported by her parents and siblings, as well as by a cousin by marriage, a practicing architect. Her lifelong sorority associations provided numerous private and community commissions throughout her long career. Having the proper credentials from outstanding training programs also added to her professional success.

Julia Morgan would not be held down by the mores of her day. Because there were no dormitories for women on the Berkeley campus, her brother walked her to and from school. Having enrolled in the School of Engineering, she sought out architectural training from Berkeley engineering professor Bernard Maybeck, an Ecole trained architect. With his encouragement she traveled to Paris and spent two years preparing for the challenging entrance examination to the Ecole. Failing the examination twice,

Julia Morgan refused to give up. On her third try she gained admittance to the famed program, the first woman admitted into the Ecole.

Family Support

Julia Morgan was fortunate to receive encouragement and financial aid from her parents, Eliza Woodland Parmalee Morgan and Charles Bill Morgan, both strong supporters of equal education for the sexes. Charles worked in mining, business and politics, but his numerous business ventures were unprofitable, and he never accomplished his grandiose goals. He recognized his daughter's superior ability, and he wrote to her upon her acceptance to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1898 that, "It seems as if I might go down in history as the father of the distinguished architect, Julia Morgan." This appears to have been the case.

Eliza Parmelee Morgan was a strong woman who had a great influence on her daughter Julia. In a letter written many years later in 1919 to Phoebe Hearst, Julia stated, "Through it all is the thread of your kindness since those Paris days when you were so beautifully kind to a most painfully shy and homesick girl. My mother's and yours are the greatest 'faiths' put in me, and I hope you both know how I love and thank you for it." ¹⁵

Eliza Morgan encouraged all of her children to receive a classical education in mathematics, physics, Latin and German so that they would be prepared for higher education. Both Morgan daughters, Julia and her younger sister Emma, enrolled at the University of California at Berkeley during the 1890's, twenty years after the first women were accepted to this university. Julia was only the third woman to graduate in

the field of engineering in 1894, and her sister Emma went on to obtain a degree in law from Hastings College of the Law in San Francisco. ¹⁶ Because of their preparatory education, talents and family support, Julia and Emma were the unusual women who were able to attend professional school at a time when doors were not readily open to women.

Eliza Morgan recognized and respected her daughter's abilities and supported her professional aspirations. Mrs. Morgan financed Julia's trip to Paris in 1896 to continue her education at the celebrated Ecole des Beaux-Arts even though they knew that this institution had never before opened its doors to women. This emotional and financial support from the Morgan family allowed Julia Morgan the independence to dedicate herself totally to her studies.

Eliza Morgan wrote warm, informative and encouraging letters to her daughter Julia in Paris. "...Don't work too hard...you can stay as long as you wish to so take things comfortable..." In another letter Eliza wrote, "This is to wish you a very happy Birthday and many returns of the day, prosperity, health, wealth and every wish of your kind heart including professional success." Eliza Morgan's personal interest in the women's movement is unknown, although she wrote to Julia about a women's suffrage meeting that Eliza had once attended.

While Eliza Morgan was aware of her daughter's total dedication to the field of architecture, she encouraged Julia to rest, socialize, and travel through Europe during her Ecole experience.²⁰ It would seem that Eliza hoped that her architect daughter would be able to combine a professional and a personal life. On several occasions Eliza

wrote that "I do so hope someone will invite you to dine..." Mrs. Morgan suggested that her daughter take a vacation to Geneva, Switzerland to "...get out of the Paris heat, which must be trying to you." And at the end of 1901 Eliza wrote:

If you call at your Bankers you will find a New Letter of Credit for 100 pounds or \$500 dollars as I call it – so you need not skimp yourself – toward spring I will send you another one so you can travel into Italy, England, or some place you find congenial people to latch onto... You might meet or happen on people you know who were going somewhere you'd like to go, and be with them – if you had to write home it would be too late – if you have money on hand you could go right along – don't even hesitate to draw it all.²³

But Julia Morgan remained focused on her studies and resisted spending time at social activities. In one of her letters, Eliza Morgan referred to a previous letter from Julia in which she wrote that she did not even have time for Thanksgiving Dinner because of her work!²⁴

Eliza Morgan instilled strong dedication to family in her children, and they frequently supported and cared for one another over the years. Julia and Emma lived together at Kappa Alpha Theta Sorority at Berkeley. After Emma's marriage Julia designed Emma's family home in Berkeley. Brother Avery was sent to Paris to apply to art school as well as assist his homesick sister. "I sent Avery to you especially to help you rest and give you pleasure..." A week later Eliza wrote, "I know you will be glad to have him [Avery] – though he may be a care to you – he is very fond of you." Julia's artistic and often unstable brother frequently found himself without permanent work. He became chauffeur for his architect sister, and he cared for his father when he suffered a severe stroke. Finally, when Avery was physically and mentally unable to work, he lived with his sister Julia until his death. Never married and without a family

of her own, the shy and reserved Julia enjoyed the company and support of members of her family throughout her life.

Julia and Emma were devoted to their mother who had nurtured and supported them, and this can best be seen in their care of Eliza during her final years. Eliza Morgan was very attached to the family home in Oakland and remained there long after her children had established their own homes. When Eliza could no longer care for herself, Julia had a smaller home built for her mother adjacent to Emma's home. The bedroom was an exact replica of the Oakland bedroom. Eliza was taken to Emma's home for a holiday celebration and then transported to the new house. Here she was cared for by her devoted daughters until she passed away a year later. No one ever knew if she was aware of the change of location!²⁷

It may be concluded that Eliza Morgan had a major influence on both of her daughters. Never limited by the social traditions of the period, Eliza financially supported both daughters seeking professional careers in a hostile environment. In addition, Eliza encouraged her young daughter Julia to travel and study abroad, long before such international study for women was acceptable. Eliza deeply missed her children as they left home to establish their own lives. In a letter to Julia she spoke about a little family vacation together in Santa Cruz, "If you were here we'd go, but if you were — I suppose you'd be too busy — such a modern young woman." This unique and progressive mother should be recognized as Julia Morgan's first mentor.

Another important source of encouragement for Julia Morgan was a cousin by marriage, New York architect Pierre LeBrun.²⁹ Julia visited Pierre and his wife Lucy

during family vacations. She appreciated the encouragement she received from Pierre, a member of the well-respected architectural firm of N. LeBrun and Sons, located at One Madison Avenue in New York City. This third generation firm designed major New York City projects such as the Metropolitan Building, the Home Life Insurance Company building, and the Church of St. Mary the Virgin. Additionally, they designed Metropolitan Insurance Company structures in San Francisco and St. Louis. Julia visited Pierre and Lucy before and after her extended stay in Paris. She wrote to the LeBruns from Paris of her challenges and successes. Finally, when Pierre retired from practice in 1910, he sent Morgan his architectural library.

Sorority Commissions

Julia Morgan also received support and commissions from her twenty seven sorority sisters at Kappa Alpha Theta at Berkeley, who remained lifelong friends and clients throughout the years. In 1908, now practicing on her own in San Francisco, she designed a new and permanent sorority house for the organization to replace the earlier rented facility. In addition, she became involved in both residential and community projects with members of this group, some of whom were active in the newly formed Women's Network. This Women's Network comprised a growing number of professionally trained females who were concerned with important issues of the day such as suffrage and temperance. They needed private facilities in which they could meet and socialize. Sorority sister Grace Fisher Richards was president of the Oakland Y.W.C.A. at the time that Miss Morgan was hired to design this structure. Mrs. Richards also served on the board of the Foothill Professional Club in Saratoga, another

Morgan commission. Leaders in this new movement sought out other female professionals whom they sensed could relate to their specific design needs.

Bernard Maybeck

Julia Morgan's career was also influenced by architect and teacher Bernard Maybeck, a member of the Berkeley faculty during Miss Morgan's undergraduate years. Although a student in the School of Engineering, Julia Morgan was primarily interested in architecture, and she sought out enrichment opportunities in this field. During her senior year she met Bernard Maybeck, a professionally trained architect affiliated with the School of Engineering. Thirty-two-year-old Maybeck, a graduate of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, gave private and informal classes at his home to promising university students interested in architecture. This group included Julia Morgan, John Bakewell, and Arthur Brown, Junior, all destined to become major figures in San Francisco architectural history. Morgan, Bakewell and Brown were deeply influenced by this creative, inspirational and charismatic teacher, who enriched their Berkeley experience and encouraged them to seek further training at the Ecole in Paris. 32

The Ecole des Beaux-Arts

Another profound influence on Julia Morgan was her experiences and training at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. In 1896, Julia Morgan, a recent civil engineering graduate of the University of California at Berkeley, traveled to Paris with the goal of gaining entry into the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. At the Ecole one could attend lectures presented by the most celebrated architects of the period, use an extensive library, and study in a gallery of prints and plaster casts. Juried competition programs might result in four years of

study at the French Academy in Rome and official government positions, if one were a male French citizen. Previously the institution had reluctantly accepted non-French male students who scored high on the extremely competitive entry examination. Never before had a woman applied for admission.

To prepare for this competitive entrance examination, Julia Morgan worked in the atelier of Marcel Perousse de Monclos, a personal friend of Bernard Maybeck. Here she perfected her language as well as her metric and drafting ability, skills needed to compete for entrance into the program. Over a two-year period she sat for the examination three times. She wrote to her cousins Lucy and Pierre LeBrun of her challenges and successes."...a letter from home said I could stay on here and probably Avery would come next year...and next week after, it was definitely announced that the Beaux Arts Examinations would be open to women this time. It was short notice about $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 weeks, and a great deal to do..."³³ She described the actual examination to Lucy and Pierre:

...you are given from 8:AM to 8:PM en loge...The programme was very difficult for the 12 hours, for it had to be drawn very carefully. I was very tired...I had my plan finished and the elevations about penciled by 4 o'clock, when I took up the scale with a sudden suspicion, and found I had made a mistake calculating, as I cannot yet think in the meters and the whole thing was too low, though in proportion. That just finished all hopes.³⁴

She continued describing the events to her cousins:

The list had not been made out officially yet, but the students get their values by going to the Secretary. He said this morning only 30 would probably be taken – and I am about 42 or 43 – so you see it would be impossible in any case. None of those receiving had tried them less than twice – every one takes their defeat in the most cheerful way, for you are always in the majority at least. That is perhaps too much to have said

about it, but you see it had filled one's life pretty completely the last seven weeks. Next time perhaps it will be better results – it does not seem that one would ever be so nervous again, even when some of these Frenchmen turn up for their 6th trial at the same thing.³⁵

While the competition format was identical for both men and women, Julia Morgan became aware of additional challenges that she, as a woman, would face.

I met him [M. Marcel Perousse de Monclos] by accident on the street...and I asked him what had been the mistakes in the Architecture. He looked very funny and said "the Mark" – explaining that the Jury had openly said that they "ne voudront pas encourager les jeunes filles" [did not wish to encourage young girls] and that everyone said it would make no matter what I did. It was such a relief I did not care much. In the end as it was I did not rank with the first eight foreigners, so that ended it, but I'll try again next time anyway even without expectations, just to show "des jeunes filles" are not discouraged. The more serious trouble is that it is said that none of the school professors will take me, and it seems there really is a good deal of feeling in the matter. 36

The Ecole did not willingly accept its first female student, and it has been suggested that she was denied entrance on her two first attempts because of her gender. Finally, Julia Morgan scored so high on the third attempt, they could no longer ignore her. She placed thirteenth on the examination and became one of thirty new Ecole students. However, [The Beaux-Arts]"...advised the persistent little American that even if she passed the strenuous entrance examination she couldn't expect to graduate, nor to practice architecture. Architects had to mingle with artisans and climb scaffolds to inspect work. Of course a woman could do neither."³⁷

Once Julia Morgan was accepted to the Ecole she joined the atelier of Bernard Chaussemiche, winner of the Grand Prix in 1893.³⁸ Chaussemiche's atelier proved to be a more comfortable situation for the student architect, and she wrote to her cousin, Pierre LeBrun in 1898 that "He [Chaussemiche] is considered the finest of the younger

school of architects – especially as to draughtmanship. He criticized from an entirely different point of view from M. de Monclos, and it feels like a sort of weight has been lifted – and one could work in a bigger, freer, happier way."³⁹ She and Bernard Chaussemiche became lifelong friends and exchanged annual holiday greetings. ⁴⁰ Julia Morgan progressed through a series of competitions, gaining points toward graduation, and eventually received her diploma in 1902, just before her thirtieth birthday, the cut-off date for graduation.

In spite of the unwelcoming atmosphere at the Ecole, Julia Morgan did benefit from her educational experience at the Ecole. She studied geometry, perspective, and mathematics and entered competitions as she progressed through the various levels of accomplishment. After accumulating a prescribed number of points, she became a First Class student, assigned to a major individual project, based upon an esquisse (sketch) prepared during a twelve-hour period of isolation. Her assigned program was to design a theatre located in a palace. Working from this basic sketch, a copy of which was on file at the Ecole, she returned two months later with detailed drawings demonstrating her solution to the problem. The final presentation, meticulous floor plans and elevations, was designed to demonstrate the student's skill in drafting and watercolor. Julia Morgan would later actually design such imaginative buildings when she created elaborate and extraordinary structures for Mrs. Hearst and her son William Randolph Hearst at Wyntoon and San Simeon.

Julia Morgan was known for her excellent drafting abilities, a skill perfected at the Ecole, where drawing was an essential part of the curriculum. According to Julien

Guadet, Julia Morgan's Ecole professor of theory and a personal friend of Bernard Maybeck, drafting was a "unique means of representation and communication. ….It was also an art." Guadet went on to state that drawing is a means of explaining a thought or idea. Sketches, drawings, and watercolors can "…demonstrate a project more precise than reality." The proud, independent and determined young Miss Morgan was able to finance her additional years of training in Paris working as a draftsman for a Paris architect.

Training at the Ecole perfected Julia Morgan's skills and would elevate her status in the United States, where Ecole-trained architects were at the forefront of the new architectural standardization process. Some served on the faculty of newly emerging architectural schools, and many were active in organizing and establishing rules of membership in the American Institute of Architects. Ecole-trained architects had a status above locally trained American architects, and this special education, along with a degree in engineering, gave Miss Morgan a position above many architects, both male and female, working in the Bay Area.

Although her stay in Paris extended beyond the original years anticipated, she refused to ask for supplementary funds from her family or friends. One person who offered assistance was Phoebe Apperson Hearst, a California philanthropist who was in Paris to promote the Berkeley Competition, a plan devised by Bernard Maybeck to enhance the Berkeley college campus. Impressed by this lone female student at the Ecole, and well known for her "Phoebes," scholarships given to promising Berkeley

women students, Mrs. Hearst proposed funding. But Miss Morgan declined the generous offer and wrote:

If I honestly felt more money freedom would make my work much better, I would be tempted to accept your offer – but I am sure it has not been the physical work which has been or will be the hardest part for I am used to that and strong, but rather the months of striving against homesickness and the nervous strain of examinations....Now my brother [Avery] is here, and a place is won at the Beaux-Arts, really mine now it seems, the work might simply be a pleasure whether housekeeping or study. I will thank you for them [your kind words] always. 43

It is clear that loneliness was Julia Morgan's greatest challenge in Paris. Neither the lack of funds, the hard work nor the competitive examinations were as difficult as the separation from members of her family.

Despite many challenges which existed at the turn of the twentieth century, Julia Morgan was able to become a professional architect. Her personal strength and intelligence, along with a supportive family, friends and mentors and study at the Ecole helped her accomplish her career goals. However, it was her fortuitous meeting with Phoebe Apperson Hearst in 1899 in Paris which resulted in many important commissions for the neophyte upon her return to California.

CHAPTER 2

PHOEBE APPERSON HEARST -AN EARLY PATRON

Phoebe Apperson Hearst was no average woman. She was 'different' from the time she was born. Down in Missouri, when she walked three miles to school and back every day, she was 'different' from the girls and boys who sometimes walked part of the way with her. She was never quite satisfied with just living – she always wanted to know how other people lived and what they thought and what life seemed to mean to them. She liked to study, she loved to learn and, from the moment she could read and write, her little head was full of dreams. Winifred Black Bonfils, writer.¹

During the 1890's Phoebe Apperson Hearst was attracted to the University of California at Berkeley, a public institution where both men and women could receive an advanced education. The first woman member of the Board of Regents, she donated funds for campus improvements as well as special scholarships for women. Eventually she sought to fund a structure in memory of her late husband, Senator George Hearst. This project was enlarged to become an international competition for an overall campus plan, bringing Mrs. Hearst and her traveling companions, the Maybecks, to Paris, where Mrs. Hearst was introduced to architect-in-training, Julia Morgan. This lone female at the Ecole, a graduate of Berkeley in engineering, caught Mrs. Hearst's attention. A special working relationship developed between Miss Morgan and Mrs. Hearst which would last until the death of Mrs. Hearst in 1919.

Phoebe Apperson Hearst rose from obscurity in rural Missouri to become an influential American philanthropist. Well-traveled, self-educated and eager to perpetuate the family name in monumental architecture, she was a driving force behind the newly emerging women's movement. After her death in 1919, her only son,

prominent publicist William Randolph Hearst, spared no effort to further elevate her status and achievements. Winifred Black Bonfils' biography, published by the Friends of Hearst Castle, perpetuated the myths about Mrs. Hearst. Fortunately, other, more factual material exists on this unique woman.

Wife and Mother

Phoebe Elizabeth Epperson (the spelling of her maiden name was changed at a later date) and George Hearst were married in 1862 in Missouri. George Hearst, a man of forty two, had already made a fortune mining in California and had returned to his native Missouri to select a bride. Phoebe, distantly related to the Hearsts, was only nineteen when she left her home and family to travel with her new husband back to California. Previously, with only a basic education and some tutoring in French, she had briefly taught school. Life on the farm in Missouri was dull, and Phoebe longed to travel the world. Marriage to wealthy George Hearst offered great possibilities.

The Hearsts made the long trip to California, and their only son William Randolph, (Willie), was born the following year. Phoebe was alone with Willie and household servants for long periods of time while George was away mining. She spent her time reading, studying French, art and music, decorating her home in San Francisco, and organizing social and cultural events. Using the financial resources provided by George Hearst, she was now able to fulfill her childhood dreams of education and travel. Phoebe sought out the sophisticated activities of the city and planned trips to Europe. She and ten-year-old Willie took their first of many European trips in 1873. ²
They spent eighteen months touring the major cities of Europe. They also traveled in

the United States and in 1876 they attended the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition. Mother and son enjoyed studying languages, viewing historic buildings and museums, and mingling with European and American society. At an early age Willie showed an interest in collecting artifacts. This hobby would later result in a vast collection of antiques from all over the world, around which Julia Morgan would design an American palace known as San Simeon on the central coast of California.

Community Activities

While at home in San Francisco, Phoebe Hearst became active in supporting community projects. The former Missouri school teacher was interested in providing a basic education to all young children. Sensitive to her own limited formal education, she was attracted to early public educational programs. As early as 1879 she became a patron in the local free kindergarten movement, The Golden Gate Association, brought to San Francisco by Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper. The purpose of the program was to "...rescue these little, neglected, sad-faced, prematurely old, weary-eyed little ones in the purlieus of vice and crime." In 1883 Phoebe Hearst was the first San Franciscan to finance an entire kindergarten which was located on Union Street. Over the next several years she financed six additional programs in San Francisco and endowed the Hearst Free Kindergarten Building, which provided facilities for more than one hundred and eighty-five children. The importance of Mrs. Hearst in this kindergarten movement can be appreciated in a letter from Sarah B. Cooper in which she stated, "Your seven kindergartens are a beacon light guiding the little ones to the port of peace – may we all

reach that port of peace at last." ⁴ Phoebe Hearst's contribution to the San Francisco kindergarten movement was significant.

But Phoebe Hearst did not limit her philanthropic activities to the City of San Francisco. When George Hearst was elected to the United States Senate in 1886, Mrs. Hearst participated in establishing free kindergartens in the Washington, D.C. area, and she provided funds for the National Cathedral School for Girls. She also was active in architecturally restoring George Washington's home, Mount Vernon. Elected to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, she sought out original furnishings and donated funds for the overall project. A sizable endowment was established for the continuation and survival of all of these Phoebe Hearst programs.⁵

It was unremarkable for Phoebe Hearst to participate actively in such historical and charitable activities. Many wealthy San Francisco women, including Mrs. Leland Stanford and Mrs. William Crocker, were moved by Judeo-Christian principles of helping those who were less fortunate. Mrs. Stanford was another early supporter of Sarah B. Cooper's free kindergarten movement. However, after a personal tragedy, the death of her only son Leland, Junior, Jane Stanford redirected all of her energy and finances to the building and continuation of Stanford University.

A Fitting Memorial to Senator Hearst

When, in 1891, Senator Hearst passed away, a distraught and confused Phoebe Hearst sought out worthwhile community projects to fill her time. She had always been concerned with women receiving a "...comparable education to men" and approved of "public universities which would give rudimentary and useful training." According

to a childhood friend of Phoebe Hearst, Clara Anthony, Mrs. Hearst spent over fifty thousand dollars a year in 1896 to send students through school. "I know of whole families of children of whose education and maintenance she has taken the entire charge until they become self-supporting." Mrs. Anthony stated that Mrs. Hearst "...asked students to whom she gave 'scholarships' to do the same for other promising and needy students in the future." She was attracted by the University of California at Berkeley, a state-supported local institution. In 1897, at the age of 55, she became the first woman regent of the University. Already well known for her wealth, independent spirit and scholarship generosity to women students on campus (the "Phoebes" – scholarships for women), she went on to fund lighting in the library, art gallery and along campus walks. These small projects were Phoebe's initial contribution to the Berkeley Campus. But in the back of her mind she began thinking about a more significant and permanent building that would perpetuate the memory of her late husband.

In 1896 Phoebe first approached the university regarding the funding of a mining building as a living memorial to her late husband. Professor Maybeck, still working in the School of Engineering, was called upon to create a preliminary design. Phoebe Hearst was said to be delighted with Maybeck's hastily-drawn sketches executed in the Beaux-Arts classical style of his training. However, Maybeck was quick to point out how strange such an elegant building would be surrounded by the hodge-podge of existing rustic structures. His enthusiasm and exciting views on future campus growth captivated the widow, and Mrs. Hearst was soon funding an international competition for a Berkeley campus plan. At her request, Maybeck was

relieved of his teaching duties, and he and his wife escorted Mrs. Hearst throughout the United States and Europe publicizing the competition.

The International Hearst Competition

The Hearst Competition for the Berkeley Campus evolved from a single memorial mining building and grew under the dynamic leadership of Bernard Maybeck, who proposed an international competition for an overall campus plan with a generous financial prize. More than one hundred prominent international architects were attracted to the competition, including Emile Henri Benard (1844-1929) winner of the Prix de Rome in 1866. The competition program was written by Bernard Maybeck's friend and Julia Morgan's professor at the Ecole, Julien Guadet. ⁹ It was Emile Bénard's plan for the Berkeley campus which was selected, and he willingly accepted the prize money, but refused to travel to California to implement his plan. ¹⁰ Instead, the fourth place winner, John Galen Howard, agreed to supervise the execution of the plan and to establish a department of architecture at Berkeley. 11 Howard's credentials included study at MIT and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. In addition, he apprenticed with H.H. Richardson and McKim, Mead & White, celebrated Eastern architects with Ecole affiliation. He had already distinguished himself locally supervising construction on the Stanford Campus. 12

It was in Paris during this 1899 competition voyage that Bernard Maybeck introduced Julia Morgan to her future patron, Phoebe Apperson Hearst. Maybeck visited his alma mater and reconnected with his most promising Berkeley students who were now studying at the Ecole. Julia Morgan, one such student and the sole female at

the Ecole, met Mrs. Hearst, and an affectionate and lasting bond was formed between these two strong and independent women. Several years later in California their paths would again cross, and together they would create public and private monuments dedicated to the Hearst dynasty and the welfare of the community in general. The importance of Phoebe Apperson Hearst in the early career of Julia Morgan cannot be emphasized enough. The Hearst campus plan, under the direction of John Galen Howard, provided work experience for Morgan until she was eligible to pass the state certification examination. Mrs. Hearst hired the neophyte to work on the family summer home in Pleasanton, the Hacienda del Pozo de Verona. Later, Morgan was drawn into the planning of regional and local YWCA's, a cause dear to the heart of her patron. Moreover, this special and lasting relationship would continue with Phoebe Hearst's son, William Randolph Hearst, who had confidence in Julia Morgan, family friend and competent architect. She would be asked to orchestrate his many elaborate building and engineering projects over the next thirty years.

CHAPTER 3

EARLY INFLUENCES AND SPECIAL COMMISSIONS

[There is] no point to being an architect unless you get to build. Unlike music, a symphony can remain unplayed for a hundred years. But an architect who makes pretty drawings and floor plans and nobody builds them – they turn to dust. Brendan Gill, writer. ¹

The question remained: could Julia Morgan, the first woman to graduate from the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, find employment in her chosen field? Miss Morgan was fortunate to have met and connected with philanthropist Phoebe Apperson Hearst during the Paris training years. This relationship, her friendship with Bernard Maybeck, sorority links and an affiliation with Mills College, a college for women in Oakland, provided early work experience and important independent commissions for the young architect.

Early Influences

Julia Morgan was hired to work for John Galen Howard on the Hearst Berkeley campus project, which gave her an important entrée into the profession. She was involved in drafting the plans and supervising the construction of the Hearst Mining Building and the Greek Theater, both designed by Howard and financed by Mrs. Hearst. These were two of the earliest neoclassical buildings constructed on the campus, in 1901 and 1903, respectively as part of the new campus plan. The symmetrical Mining Building has a central arched entry ornamented with red tile. The stucco exterior hides a modern steel framework. The Greek Theatre, a semicircular, open-air structure based on the ancient Hellenistic Epidaurus Theatre of 350 BC was built on a grassy site called Weed Amphitheater, where Miss Morgan graduated from Berkeley in 1894. This new

facility provided seating for 6,000 in a reinforced concrete arena, the new material being used extensively at the time.² Working on these Berkeley projects gave Julia Morgan an opportunity to become better acquainted with Phoebe Hearst.

During this same period Miss Morgan collaborated with Bernard Maybeck on various Phoebe Hearst projects. In 1902, Maybeck was commissioned to design a vacation structure near Mt. Shasta on the McCloud River. Working with Julia Morgan's assistance while she was still employed by John Galen Howard, Maybeck designed Wyntoon, the earliest building on this site, "...a medieval Gothic castle, constructed of native rock." This Arts and Crafts structure, destroyed in a fire in 1930, had a profound influence on Julia Morgan. She saw Maybeck using natural materials and approaching them with honesty in construction. "If the material used was wood, it should look like wood, not stone." He disliked painted wood and applied ornament, which he frequently saw in the Victorian homes of the period, and he admired William Morris and John Ruskin of the English Arts and Crafts movement. Maybeck's local mentor was the Reverend Joseph Worcester, a Swedenborgian minister, amateur architect, and furniture maker. Worcester had an extensive library of books and articles by well-known architects, and photographs of English, French and Venetian cathedrals, palaces and farm houses.⁵ A common interest in all types of architecture and design linked these two men.

This more rustic and natural architecture which Julia Morgan was seeing in the work of Bernard Maybeck and others was similar to architecture she had seen in her limited travels through the countryside of France. Rustic and simple peasant structures

contrasted with the very elegant and ornamented edifices she was asked to design at the Ecole. Now, living in California with a strong foundation in both engineering and architecture and a general curiosity about the world around her, the young architect had the confidence to reach out and embrace new and different types of construction. At this early date in her career she began moving beyond her traditional Beaux-Arts classical education and would soon design her own buildings, often using local materials and incorporating structural elements into her designs.

After passing the state examination for certification in 1904, and with the support of Bernard Maybeck and Phoebe Hearst, Morgan left John Galen Howard and established her own practice. Howard was said to have boasted earlier that he had a wonderful designer whom he "didn't have to pay anything because she was a woman." Howard "... never forgave her for opening her own office and for hiring his junior draftsman, Ira Wilson Hoover. Morgan was effectively barred from making any important contributions to the campus architecture until Howard's influence had waned."

Hacienda del Pozo de Verona

Miss Morgan's first independent commission was a summer home for Phoebe Apperson Hearst in Pleasanton, California. Originally built as a hunting lodge for William Randolph Hearst by A.C. Schweinfurth between 1895-98 without his mother's approval, the Hacienda del Pozo de Verona required extensive new construction and renovations for Mrs. Hearst's personal needs. A.C. Schweinfurth had recently died and Julia Morgan was selected to remodel and add on to the existing structure.

Between 1903-10 Miss Morgan transformed this minimal lodge into an elegant and comfortable site where Phoebe Hearst could entertain her many guests. Visitors to the hacienda spoke of Morgan's music room and dining room, both filled with treasures from around the world. A swimming pool under glass was another special Julia Morgan addition. At Mrs. Hearst's summer home in Pleasanton Julia Morgan began using elements seen earlier in the California Arts and Crafts structures of Bernard Maybeck. "Morgan incorporated the outdoors into the houses she built, seeking a building's material from its own environment. She used large windows, courtyards, and open porches. Wood, for both interiors and particularly exteriors, was used to blend in with the landscape."

However, early women architects rarely received credit for their work, especially when a male architect was involved in any manner. As late as 1976

Frederick Platt's volume on architecture, *America's Gilded Age, Its Architecture And Decoration*, describes and shows both interior and exterior photographs of the elegant and transformed Hacienda del Pozo de Verona, with full credit given to A.C.

Schweinfurth. After the death of Phoebe Hearst the Hacienda was sold and became a private club before being destroyed in a fire in 1969.

Commissions for Mills College

During this same period Julia Morgan also worked with President Susan Mills and Dr. Mariana Bertola at Mills College, a private school for women in Oakland, California. Julia Morgan was hired to house a gift of ten bronze bells in a special tower - El Campanile [Fig. 1]. The Ecole training experience prepared Julia Morgan well

for such a unique project constructed using the most modern engineering materials. The modest tan concrete bell tower is a structurally sound, delightfully-ornamented, whimsical structure that easily withstood the 1906 great San Francisco earthquake. It might have served well as an Ecole des Beaux-Arts final presentation project.

This trained architect was very aware of an existing structure, Mills Hall built in 1891, a Victorian building located diagonally across from her proposed bell tower. Her design is very different, yet complementary to this massive white and pale gray edifice, which stands out prominently against the natural setting. Mills Hall has a Mansard roof, rounded and rectangular windows, various cornices and a projecting and receding façade – a complicated hodgepodge of Victorian creativity. This elevated and symmetrical edifice features Romanesque arches of various sizes displaying the Mills bell collection and mirroring the central entrance to Mills Hall. Miss Morgan integrated Mission Style tile roof segments of various dimensions, and a deeply pitched tile roof supported by redwood brackets. Incorporated at the front and rear areas are private and intimate inglenook-type benches, frequently found in many Arts and Crafts style buildings. Here, in this natural and secluded site, students at Mills were invited to find a moment of peace and solitude.

El Campanile was designed in an eclectic style incorporating Beaux-Arts,
California Mission, and Arts and Crafts elements to produce one of Miss Morgan's most
fanciful early structures. It also demonstrates important elements which would always
be seen in Julia Morgan's architecture, such as attention to proportion, scale, symmetry,
and site. All individual elements work together to produce a unified building

which harmonizes with the existing natural setting. This unified approach, a plan, comes directly from Julia Morgan's Ecole training. The bell tower is tucked subtly into the existing natural setting of eucalyptus and live oaks, and it is quite possible to entirely miss this exquisite three story hidden structure.

The Mills community was pleased with Miss Morgan's initial plans and mentioned her tower in the local campus magazine of January, 1904.

It is a pleasure in this first number of the *White and Gold*, for the new year, to announce that work has already begun on the tower, in which the chime of ten bells...will be hung. The plans for this building, which is soon to add new beauty to our campus, have been prepared by Miss Julia Morgan, of Oakland. Those who have been privileged to see them are much impressed by the architectural and artistic skill displayed by this lady, and feel assured that when completed this first campanile to be erected on the Pacific Slope will be a model of strength and refined sentiment. It is interesting also to note that a work of so much promise has been designed by a carefully trained woman architect for a woman's college. ¹²

But once again the female architect was denied full recognition for her efforts when, at the dedication of the structure, builder Bernard Ransome received credit ahead of Miss Morgan. Throughout the project Ransome had questioned her professional credentials – her knowledge of concrete and brick. Ransome went directly to the donor, Frank "Borax" Smith, and urged him to change the building specifications. Julia Morgan was obliged to follow the dictates of her builder.

Julia Morgan was asked to design other buildings on the Mills College campus. In 1906 she designed the Margaret Carnegie Library constructed of reinforced concrete with a red tile roof and both arched and rectangular windows. The exterior of the library is very much in harmony with the earlier bell tower, while the interior, designed

in the Arts and Crafts style, features polished natural redwood, stone and exposed structural elements. Between 1906 and 1926 Julia Morgan designed a pool, infirmary, and social center for Mills College, as well as a private home and office for Dr. Bertola in San Francisco.¹⁴ The infirmary, a modest wood structure with sleeping porches, now serves as faculty housing.¹⁵

Kappa Alpha Theta Sorority

During Julia Morgan's long career she was called upon to design many buildings which were used exclusively by women. Besides the Mills College commissions, early in her career she crafted private homes for Berkeley sorority sisters and their families. In 1908 she was asked to design a new and permanent redwoodshingle structure for her Kappa Alpha Theta Sorority. This structure proved to be so functional and pleasing that she was called back twenty years later, after the disastrous Berkeley fire, to update the facility using more fireproof materials. Julia Morgan understood the importance of providing safe, inexpensive, attractive and functional living spaces for women studying and working in the city. After all, Miss Morgan had faced these same obstacles during her years at Berkeley. She could and did relate to the needs of her female clients

Young Women's Christian Association

One significant female patron was Phoebe Apperson Hearst, who began involving Julia Morgan in Hearst charitable activities. Phoebe Hearst was a member of the governing board of the Young Women's Christian Association in the Western States, an organization without a permanent meeting site. Regional meetings were often

held at Hearst's Pleasanton Hacienda, recently remodeled by Julia Morgan. In 1912 Phoebe Apperson Hearst secured thirty acres of land at Pacific Grove on the coast of California and recommended Julia Morgan to design a permanent meeting site for the board. The Asilomar complex evolved because of the dedication and energy of these two women.

Asilomar is located in one of the most picturesque areas of California, along the Pacific Ocean. Julia Morgan wisely decided not to try to compete with this natural setting and designed modest buildings in harmony with the site. She selected natural wood and stone for the structures, which blend with and complement the existing wooded area of redwoods and Monterey pines. In the first structure built in 1913, the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Administration Building, she chose natural redwood for the walls and fieldstone for the fireplace. She made no attempt to camouflage the structural elements of the building, with exposed beams as an integral part of the design. So, too, are the massive windows which carry the eye outside to the unsurpassed natural views of ocean and woodlands. Over the years Julia Morgan added additional structures on this site, all in this same Arts and Crafts style. One might say that at Asilomar Julia Morgan married site and structure, actually enhancing the natural site.

As a result of Morgan's affiliation with Mrs. Hearst, her successful endeavors at Asilomar, and her sorority connections, Julia Morgan was hired to design a series of Young Women's Christian Associations on the West Coast and in Hawaii. YWCA facilities, first built in Boston and New York, catered to a new and diverse emerging group of young women who were now coming to work in the industries of the city. The

Y.W.C.A. offered safe and comfortable low-cost housing, vocational and educational services, and opportunities for physical activity.

The chief cornerstone on which rests the foundation of Women's Christian Association work is the purpose to 'help those who help themselves.'... One of the chief outgrowths of this purpose thus far is the establishment of safe, suitable and economical homes for girls who earn their own support. These homes should not be regarded as 'charities,' for they are not such. They should be looked upon rather as cooperative enterprises, where the funds which the women would individually expend for a poor and insufficient living are, by combination and judicious management, rendered sufficient to give to all those advantages which without such combination would be beyond the reach of any.¹⁷

Julia Morgan was commissioned to design Y.W.C.A. structures which provided facilities for learning, living and exercise. Classes in bookkeeping, typewriting, penmanship, the use of the newly-invented sewing machine, all began before 1900. The Y.W.C.A. became active in establishing classes in English for the foreign born as early as 1877. All instruction was accompanied by religious meetings, Bible classes and "...an effort to demonstrate a way of life based on the principles of the teachings of Jesus." The architect designed appropriate areas for each of these activities. Additionally, she created private living spaces which were more than purely functional, so that young women would feel more at home in this new and different environment. This architect proved that she could relate to the needs of these new women drawn to the city.

Julia Morgan's first Y.W.C.A. building was in Oakland, where sorority sister Grace Fisher served as president of the local board [Fig. 2]. The architect prepared for this project by touring existing Y.W.C.A. locations along the East Coast. Her plans, developed shortly thereafter, were said to show "...all the newest features to be found in

the finest buildings of this type in the East."²⁰ This building, costing \$125,000, is still an impressive monument in downtown Oakland. It features terra-cotta polychrome fruit and flower tile motifs on the façade, executed locally in Alameda from Morgan's drawings.²¹ The tile-faced exterior consisted of thousands of small tiles, many personally inspected by Miss Morgan "Miss Mary Tisher, Oakland Y.W.C.A. administrator, remembered that when Miss Morgan was building the Oakland Y.W.C.A., whose exterior design included fifty columns faced with small tiles, she sat down and lifted separately thousands of tiles, scrutinizing each. All imperfect tile was returned."²²

Inside the Oakland building Morgan planned a central two-story arcaded and enclosed Renaissance-inspired courtyard with an immense glass coffered skylight resembling a parasol floating above an indoor garden [Fig 3]. "She borrowed from Romanesque, Classic, Gothic, or Byzantine styles for public buildings..." Never forgetting the religious focus of the Y.W.C.A., she added a decorative gilded frieze in the central courtyard which reads, "The Heavens Declare the Glory of God, The Firmament Showeth His handiwork, Day Unto Day Uttereth Speech and Night Unto Night Showeth Knowledge." Elaborate cornice treatments, moldings, pilasters and columns in variations of the Corinthian order of architecture, further embellish the space. Miss Morgan repeated the coffered ceiling on the second floor balcony area using the traditional wood material. This "Renaissance garden," full of greenery, filtered light and sculpture, is impressive, beautiful and welcoming.

Julia Morgan designed an elegant stairway set within an arch leading to the second floor [Fig. 4]. Symmetrically placed within this arch is an arched-glass doorway at the next level with rectangular windows on either side. The architect skillfully repeated arches, rectangles and circles throughout the area, linking the spaces in an interesting. and attractive manner. No detail was too small for her attention. The flowing stairwell features a carved and turned balustrade, rounded treads, stucco ornamentation and warm color tones.

But Miss Morgan was a practical woman working with a limited budget for this entire Oakland Y.W.C.A. project. She wisely selected public areas which deserved special embellishments and economized in secondary spaces. Located in the basement is a swimming pool for physical activity. It is light, airy, spacious and functional, executed entirely in tile, but nothing like the earlier luxury pool designed for Mrs. Hearst's Hacienda in Pleasanton. Later Julia Morgan would design even more elegant pools at the Berkeley City Club and at the Hearst Castle, San Simeon.

The Oakland Y.W.C.A. is a functional and beautiful building created for women by a woman architect. "While the emphasis on physical buildings seems to have been more of a priority of the Y.M.C.A., local Y.W.C.A.s were proud of their facilities as well." After her success designing the regional site Asilomar in Pacific Grove, the Oakland Y.W.C.A. was another major accomplishment which led to fourteen more Y.W.C.A. commissions in California and one in Waikiki, Hawaii. These successful achievements led author Reva Hulden Hodges to state, "Morgan understood women's organizations, their goals and their limitations, not just because of her gender but also

because she shared their determination to improve the lives of individuals and groups who could not take social action on their own"²⁵

Berkeley Women's City Club: Designing for the New Professional Woman

Doctor Mariana Bertola, formerly of Mills College, became president of the Federation of Women's Clubs at a time when the organization was contemplating building a meeting facility. She had previously worked with Julia Morgan at Mills College and on her own personal home and office, and she now recommended this female architect for the proposed Berkeley Women's City Club. Permanent gathering sites were needed in which professional women could meet and discuss diverse issues such as women's rights, child labor laws and conservation issues. They also wanted personal facilities for physical activity. Previously, women had met in private homes or churches, makeshift facilities which were not conducive to the new, educated woman, who was active in her community.

This desire to construct attractive social and recreational centers dedicated to the needs of women was part of a national movement at the turn of the century. In New York City interior designer Elsie de Wolfe participated in the design of Colony Club, a private association for women. At Colony Club, working with architect Sanford White, Miss de Wolfe experimented with new and different decorative materials, which, she believed, would appeal to women. Gone were the dark tones and rich deep paneling of the male smoking room. Now, inspired by the English country home and garden, she used trellis, glazed chintzes and sheer curtains. Rooms were painted white, and light permeated all areas.²⁶

On the West Coast, women who were designers and architects were being asked to create similar centers for specific needs of women. Hazel Wood Waterman and her protégé Lillian Rice were in the forefront of this movement in Southern California, designing the Wednesday Club of San Diego. And Julia Morgan was hired to design a number of centers in both the Los Angeles and the Northern California regions. Welleducated professional women were seeking out women architects and designers whom they believed would be more sensitive and responsive to their special requirements as well as those of the less affluent emerging working girl. In 1929-30, Julia Morgan completed her last major YWCA structure in San Francisco on Nob Hill..

Morgan wanted this building to signify the importance of working women, and she sought to provide them with amenities that at times seemed excessive to the YWCA board. Her determination to provide private dining rooms and kitchenettes for the young women, so they could occasionally entertain friends for meals, met with opposition. 'But these are minimum-wage girls.' was the protect, 'why spoil them? 'To which the architect replied: 'That's just the reason.'

Miss Morgan had already created facilities for professional women in Los

Angeles in 1908, in Saratoga in 1915, and in Sausalito in 1916, when she was selected
to design the Berkeley City Women's Club in 1929. The Saratoga, San Luis Obispo
and Sausalito clubs were executed in Arts and Crafts style. But this new Berkeley
facility was to be grander. In addition to being functional and attractive, it was meant to
demonstrate the new power, influence and affluence that professional women now had
in the community. Using a tile roof and stucco for the exterior of this California
Mission style building, Julia Morgan designed a six-story reinforced concrete central
block with two-story wings on either side [Fig. 5]. The lower two floors feature

elongated arched windows highlighting a massive arched entry decorated with engaged columns and stuccowork.

Never an architect to be limited by only one taste, Julia Morgan embellished the interior of the City Club with a successful blending of classical architectural tastes to create an elegant and sophisticated structure. There is Gothic tracery, ribbing and leaded glass, as well as Romanesque arches and classical columns and pilasters [Fig. 6]. The two Renaissance style interior courtyards, the Fuchsia (Camellia) Court and the Rhododendron Court, are full of greenery and flood all public and private areas with natural light and beauty [Fig. 7]. Exterior windows, unencumbered by window treatments, are filled with small diagonal panes of leaded glass, which allow filtered light to enter all areas and still maintain privacy within. The Berkeley Women's City Club, completed in 1930-31, was designed for residential, educational and recreational use at a total cost of \$500,000, a significant sum at the time.²⁹

Miss Morgan placed an enclosed 25 foot by 75 foot swimming pool within the club, which is exquisitely tiled in turquoise and naturally illuminated by massive arched windows separated by Corinthian engaged columns. While not as ostentatious as the famous San Simeon indoor pool, the "Roman bath," which was executed a few years later, this pool was constructed with intricate tile patterns, and high quality, long lasting materials. This rectangular space is made more intimate and appealing by the addition of a series of four wall-to-wall arches, which soften the sharp lines of the rectangle, and appear to lower the ceiling. The architect reused this element at San Simeon in 1930 -

32, further embellishing the San Simeon pool with statuary, gilding, and very ornate mosaic patterns.

Julia Morgan designed the Berkeley City Women's Club as a beautiful facility which provided for the special needs of its high-end clientele. She provided a beauty parlor, library, tea room and spaces for lectures, dining, and small private events. Sculpture and plaques relevant to women were commissioned from local artisans, and a copy of the famous Canova sculpture of Pauline Bonaparte Borghese as Venus Holding the Golden Apple was executed by Clara Huntington Perkins. No aspect of the job was too small for her supervision. She designed multiple and different fireplaces, all light fixtures, linens, and the china used throughout [Fig. 8]. According to a 1931 article by author Julian Mesic writing in *The Architect & Engineer*:

The building of the Berkeley Women's City Club is an achievement -first because it was promoted and financed by women and second,
because its architect is a woman...[It} is symbolic of the changed status
of women, and their broadening outlook...Enthusiasm ran so high that,
on completion, a dinner was given to those who had worked upon the
building as an expression of appreciation. Craftsmen, builders and
architects joined for an evening to see together the finish of that which
they had aided in creating. The spirit of the worker played no small part
in the result...In the Berkeley Women's City Club, members are
wholeheartedly enthusiastic about their building and well they may be.
Over and above the individual success is the contribution to construction,
art and architecture. ³¹

It is a tribute to the architect that this lovely building, located very near the Berkeley Campus, still serves as an active and vital structure.

Julia Morgan was the unusual female architect who was fortunate to meet and work with powerful and educated women. These relationships allowed her the independence to launch her own architectural firm at a time when other female were

relegated to associate positions working for male architects. With the support and encouragement that she received from Phoebe Apperson Hearst, her long standing professional relationship with architect Bernard Maybeck, and general support from her sorority sisters and the emerging women's movement in the community, Miss Morgan was able to establish herself in the community as a professional architect.

CHAPTER 4

ACHIEVEMENTS IN A HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

Julia Morgan ...set out to do the impossible. Today it is still very unusual for a woman to be a successful architect, let alone a principal in a firm. At that time it was unheard of. Gray Brechin, architectural historian. ¹

Opportunities for women to study architecture at the turn of the 20th Century were limited, and only the most talented and determined women were able to enter professional training programs and succeed in the field. In school they often faced harassment by both students and professors. In practice many worked for their male counterparts behind the scenes. Opportunities for solo practice were limited. Almost a century later in 1989 contemporary architect and teacher Rochelle Martin wrote that male colleagues suggested, "...not to 'waste' a good grade on women students because they were 'just cute little things who would only end up as wives."²

Some female architects were not physically or mentally strong enough to handle the pressure involved. After stressful encounters in the field, they either retreated to the drafting table or left the field entirely. In 1891, during the planning and construction of the Columbian Exposition of Chicago, there was an article in *The Inland Architect and News Record* suggesting that women architects design "...artistic furniture...for which the field is unlimited; decorative details for mantels and chimney nooks; and stair building, which would require new designs for balusters and railings." However, an early woman architect, Louise Bethume, observed that, "Those who shirk the brick-and-mortar-rubber-boot-and-ladder-climbing period of investigative education remain at the

tracing stage of draftsmanship."⁴ The question was asked, what would be the future role of the female architect?

Personal and Professional Challenges For Women

Rochelle Martin wrote about her personal challenges and those of other modern woman architects. She shared one of her own negative experiences during professional training. As a student she was told by one of her professors that

...as a woman I would have difficulty finding a job and that if employed I would feel isolated from all others in the office. During these years from 1975-1978, I saw women students ignored, patronized, and discouraged from pursuing the profession. I was also told by male colleagues that unless an individual made a 'total commitment,' the person would not make a 'good architect..'

Rochelle Martin's challenges were not unique. She later interviewed a number of practicing female architects and found that many attested to similar difficulties as they trained and worked in this profession. They spoke of being "an oddity" and feeling "different." "The sense of being an outsider has colored the professional life of women architects and profoundly affected identity, performance, and achievement."

Career and Marriage

Still, women architects continued to train and practice, often attempting to combine a career and marriage.

Women....wanted both to marry and to have a professional career...

One of the ways found and practiced by women was to marry architects.

Marrying an architect increased the likelihood of having a husband who understood and had sympathy for one's work....The professional marriage...was ideal so long as the husband upheld the conviction that architecture was the shared domain of both men and women.

But marriage, even between successful architects, did not always protect a woman's individual achievements. Denise Scott Brown, a respected educator and writer in her own regard, discovered that after her marriage to Robert Venturi, her writing was no longer considered to be her own.⁸ Venturi's personal note emphasizing their collaborative effort at the preface to their book, *Learning from Las Vegas*, was often ignored. A Japanese publication reviewing a community plan in the book attributed the entire project to Venturi, when, in fact, the project was completely designed by Scott Brown, an urban planner.⁹

Architecture Above All

Julia Morgan had dealt with similar issues one hundred years earlier when it was said that a woman had to be better and work harder than any male architect to succeed. Her commitment to architecture and her desire to succeed in the field made architecture her life as well as her career. For Julia Morgan this was not a problem. Barney Dahl, a young man who lived as a ward in her home stated, "Architecture was her one great love. She worked sixteen hours a day."

According to her colleagues, Julia Morgan was a driven woman who devoted her life to her profession and expected the same from those who worked for her.

Associate Dorothy Wormser Coblentz wrote that, "Miss Morgan...set a standard of diligence and skill that none of her associates could match...You worked from 8-5 and you didn't stop and you didn't take time off..."

Miss Morgan believed that architecture was a full time profession. After marriage Ms. Coblentz resigned her position and years later, when her children were in

school, sought out a part-time position in the Morgan office. "She had a policy against that. You worked full-time or not at all for her." ¹² Architect Walter Steilberg remarked, "She ran as efficient an office as I've ever been in." ¹³ Women architects were hired and encouraged to carry on a career. However, she made sure to always employ a majority of men in the firm, men whom she felt would stay on with the firm. In a letter written by one of Miss Morgan's draftsman, Louis Schalk, he wrote:

No doubt you have often wished for at least one girl who would amount to something, but I am convinced that there will not be any in another ten years. There are no reasons why girls should follow up Architecture in preference to marriage, but there are many good reasons why they should do just the reverse. You cannot quote yourself as an example because I firmly believe that you are one in centuries, as a woman architect." 14

While there is no existing reply to Louis Schalk's letter to his employer, it is not difficult to imagine how Julia Morgan might respond. She saw architecture as a full time professional endeavor. It would have been inconceivable to hire anyone who might have had other primary responsibilities such as a home and family. "Eating and sleeping were things she did when there was time for them, coffee and chocolate bars kept her going when building boomed." 15

The Consummate Architect

Julia Morgan was involved in every aspect of architecture. A perfectionist at the drafting table, she never limited her activities to purely decorative details. Walter Steilberg, an architect in the Morgan office, had been referred to the female architect by Arthur Brown, Jr. Steilberg remembered that he must have looked surprised at the idea of working for a woman architect. Brown said to him, "Don't fool yourself, young

man, she's one of the most able architects in San Francisco. I know. I was in competition with her in Paris." ¹⁶

Steilberg described his employer as 'fearless.' A hands-on architect, Julia Morgan never hesitated to climb a scaffold to examine work in progress. Steilberg wrote that...

I came in early one morning, no one was in the drafting room or the outer office, but I noticed that there was a ladder in the library leaning out of the window to a suspended scaffold on which two masons were working, - and Miss Morgan was coming down the ladder. When she reached the floor (her neat gray suit all dusty and spattered with mortar and her wide-brimmed hat over one ear) she was quite a-glow with enthusiasm with learning what the masons had discovered that the cracking of the terra cotta was not so much due to the effects of the 1906 earthquake as it was to faulty engineering in that the steel beams, although of ample strength, had excessive deflection. She urged me to go up on the scaffold and see for myself. It was a fearful experience, but I went, conquered my trembling, and did see for myself.¹⁷

Silent and Private

Julia Morgan spoke of architecture as visual, not verbal, art and that the "buildings spoke for themselves." She thought that the modern architect should emulate the medieval master builders, "...the anonymous coordinators of artisans – the stonecutters, woodcarvers and masons who together were led to transcend themselves and give the world the great cathedrals" A very private individual, Julia Morgan rarely expressed her personal feelings and protected the privacy of her clients.

.Unlike many modern architects, she shunned publicity and seldom gave interviews. There are few photographs of Miss Morgan, and little was written about her during her lifetime. She never married, nor apparently did she seem to have much of a private life. According to Flora D. North, the wife of Julia Morgan's nephew, Morgan

North, "Achievement by women in the professions was very difficult in her time, and almost always meant that marriage and children must be forsaken." Additionally, during more than twenty years of her life she worked in her office from Monday to Friday and traveled to supervise construction at San Simeon over the weekend.

Julia Morgan's desire for privacy persisted until the end of her career when she closed her office in 1951. She offered design plans to former clients, placed some materials at California Polytechnic State University at San Luis Obispo and at the University of California at Berkeley, and destroyed many others, including her office files. Most of her family and clients had passed away, and surviving family members complied with her desire for privacy and gave only rare interviews.

Whether designing for affluent members of society or for the emerging working woman in major metropolitan areas, Julia Morgan attempted to create sound, comfortable and unique facilities. Always taking into account the preferences and needs of the client, Julia Morgan designed distinctive structures in a variety of tastes. She frequently combined Italianate arcaded courtyards with Grecian pools. Other structures were designed in an Arts and Crafts style. And sometimes she combined a number of styles together. "Her style was eclectic... She designed residencies (with characteristic redwood shingles), community buildings, and institutions that featured her trademark tasteful detailing, exposed support beams, and beautifully functional form." Always the engineer at heart, Miss Morgan used the most modern structural materials.

Julia Morgan did not seek out her role as the first distinguished woman architect of her day. As with contemporary women professionals, her goal was to be included among the respected members of her chosen profession. In the exclusively male world of architecture, the prolific Morgan carved out her own path and left an exquisite legacy of more than seven hundred buildings. ²² She had the training and expertise to compete with any other architect of her time, male or female. She would have appreciated words spoken by the foreman of the Fairmont Hotel project, who said that, "An architect's an architect, and you can count them all on the fingers of one hand. Now this building is in charge of a real architect and her name happens to be Julia Morgan. But it might as well be John Morgan."

CONCLUSION

...She was a perfectionist and each job was a maximum effort. Nothing was left incomplete and...nothing was left to chance. Dorothy Wormser Coblentz, architect.¹

Julia Morgan was an uncommon woman who, at the end of the nineteenth century, decided to become an architect and allowed nothing to stand in her way.

Focused, determined, meticulous, she would not be excluded by the male dominated professional training institutions, nor would she be limited to a role prescribed by society for women. Julia Morgan was a pioneer in the field of architecture.

This early female architect was fortunate to have support along her uncharted course. Her family was there to encourage her dreams. She met the talented Bernard Maybeck who directed her to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts for her professional education. Additionally, Maybeck introduced her to Phoebe Apperson Hearst, her first patron, and then Maybeck hired Miss Morgan to work at Wyntoon, on projects which sent her in new architectural directions.

Mrs. Hearst gave this young architect support as she established her own architectural firm. Both private and community Hearst projects kept Julia Morgan occupied during her early years in practice. And commissions from women – sorority sisters, those in charge at Mills College, and the Women's Network – added to Miss Morgan's professional success.

Julia Morgan loved her work and it became her entire life. She designed residential and commercial projects, planned economy and luxury facilities, and organized both short-term and decade-long commissions. She worked fourteen hours a day and often traveled to long distance projects on weekends. She accomplished her

goal in life to become a professional architect and directed her own firm. Julia Morgan was married to architecture, and her children are built of redwood, brick, stucco, and stone. They stand as a tribute to this first successful female architect.



Figure 1. El Campanile. Mills College, Oakland, California, 1903-4.



Figure 2. Oakland Y.W.C.A., Oakland, California, 1913-14. Exterior Façade.



Figure 3. Oakland Y.W.C.A., Oakland, California, 1913-14. Central Courtyard Showing Luminous Ceiling and Inspirational Frieze.



Figure 4. Oakland Y.W.C.A., Oakland, California, 1913-14. Stairwell and Detailing.

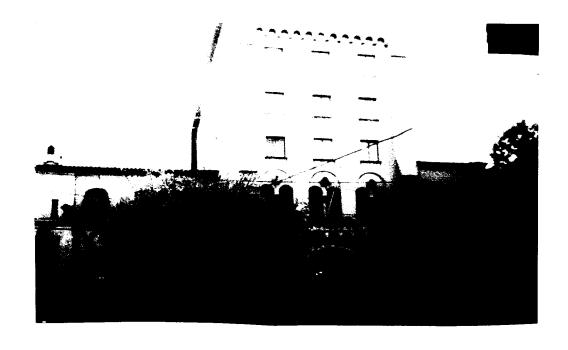


Figure 5. Berkeley City Women's Club, Berkeley, California, 1929. Building Exterior.



Figure 6. Berkeley City Women's Club, Berkeley, California, 1929. Interior Beaux-Arts Detailing.



Figure 7. Berkeley City Women's Club, Berkeley, California, 1929. Interior with View into Courtyard.

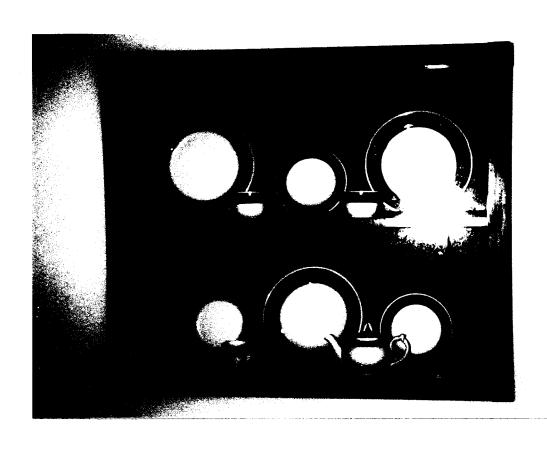


Figure 8. Berkeley City Women's Club, Berkeley, California, 1929. Original China Pattern Designed by Miss Julia Morgan.

ENDNOTES

¹ Pietro Belluschi, "The Exceptional One" essay by Dean of MIT School of Architecture, 1955 in Women in Architecture, http://www.arvha.asso.fr/arvha_french/info_arvha/document_info/us-archi.html
² Doris Cole, From Tipi to Skyscraper, A History of Women in Architecture (New York: George Braziller, 1973), 76. Massachusetts Institute of Technology offered both two-year and four-year programs in architecture. Sophia Hayden, an award winning female architect, was an early graduate of the MIT four year architectural program in 1890. However, regardless of the type of training received, commissions for female architects remained limited.

³ Susana Torre, Women In American Architecture: A Historic And Contemporary Perspective. (New York: Whitney Library of Design of Watson-Guptill Publications, 1977), 56.

⁴ Sara Holmes Boutelle, Julia Morgan, Architect. (New York: Abbeyville Press, 1995), 60.

⁵ There were correspondence courses, private tutorials and opportunities for apprenticeship.

⁶ Cole, 115.

Inside the pavilion was a great hall with exhibits of the work and interests of women. Two of these presentations included a model hospital and a model kitchen. Featured in the tympana and highlighting this exposition hall of the Woman's Building were two large murals by Mary Cassatt and Mary Macmonnies entitled, "Modern Woman" and "Primitive Woman" respectively. Cassatt's mural depicted modern women in the arts pursuing fame, knowledge and science. Macmonnies painted cavewomen assisting their male partners. Celebrated male artists of the period criticized the decorative murals designed for the pavilion and the lack of harmony between architecture and decoration. Even Cassatt's French colleagues and friends such as Camille Pissarro and Edgar Degas were unimpressed by the work. It might appear that male contemporaries of Cassatt and Macmonnies were uncomfortable with the potential new role of women in modern society. Stanley Appelbaum, *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893*, A Photographic Record. (New York. Dover Publications, 1980) 69.

⁸ Torre, 57.

⁹ Cole, 116-117.

¹⁰ Fellow architects described the Women's Building using feminine terms such as "...delicacy of style, artistic taste, gentility and elegance." Kansas City architect Henry Van Brunt described, "...a certain quality of sentiment which might be designated as ... graceful timidity or gentleness, combines however, with evident technical knowledge, which at once reveals the sex of its author." Others, including exhibition organizer Daniel Burnham,"...admired the building and...encouraged her to set up practice in Chicago." And famed Ecole des Beaux-Arts graduate Richard Morris Hunt, another participating architect, sent "a letter of commendation to the female architect." Richard Morris Hunt was the first American to attend the Ecole between 1845-1853. In the following years Henry Hobson Richardson, Charles F. McKim, Louis Sullivan, Bernard Maybeck and John Galen Howard followed this traditional path. Returning from the Ecole, these American architects established private practices of their own, or became involved in organizing new American architectural institutions, based very much upon the teachings of the Ecole. This exhibition in Chicago featured Beaux-Arts design which could be identified in the work of the major participating architects. Charles McKim was equally involved promoting the proper professional education. He had an extensive library and was known to lend promising students funds to study abroad. John Galen Howard was such a recipient. Thus Ecole training had a far-reaching influence at this time. Torre, 58.

¹¹ Cole, 115

¹² Torre, 60

¹³ Torre, 60.

¹⁴ Sara Holmes Boutelle, Julia Morgan Architect (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995), 20.

¹⁵ Bernice Scharlach, "The Legacy of Julia Morgan," in the San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle (April 24, 1975) 27.

¹⁶ Flora D. North, "She Built for the Ages," Kappa Alpha Theta (Spring, 1967) 9.

¹⁷ Letter to Julia Morgan from Eliza Morgan, February 5, 1899, Special Collections, Robert E. Kennedy Library, Cal Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, CA.

¹⁸ Letter to Julia Morgan from Eliza Morgan, January 20, 1901.

Chapter Two: Phoebe Apperson Hearst -An Early Patron

¹⁹ Boutelle, 80.

²⁰ Sara Holmes Boutelle speaks of "a case of scarlet fever," on page 21 of her book, but in a letter to her daughter on August 20, 1898, Eliza Morgan refers to "typhoid fever."

²¹ Letter to Julia Morgan from Eliza Morgan, January 20, 1901.

²² Letter to Julia Morgan from Eliza Morgan, August 20, 1898.

²³ Letter to Julia Morgan from Eliza Morgan, December 29, 1901.

²⁴ Letter to Julia Morgan from Eliza Morgan, December 6, 1901

²⁵ Letter to Julia Morgan from Eliza Morgan, August 20, 1898.

²⁶ Letter to Julia Morgan from Eliza Morgan, August 28, 1989.

²⁷ Ginger Wadsworth, Julia Morgan, Architect of Dreams (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 1990), 101.

²⁸ Letter to Julia Morgan from Eliza Morgan, August 20, 1898.

²⁹ Pierre LeBrun married Julia Morgan's Cousin Lucy Thornton. While there is no documentation available from this early period, letters exchanged during Julia Morgan's Ecole days, show a very long, close and supportive relationship.

³⁰ Pierre LeBrun, like his father and grandfather, was a New York architect. Obituary of Michael M. LeBrun, father of Pierre, in a Montclair, New Jersey newspaper, 1912, Julia Morgan Collection, Special Collections, California Polytechnic State University.

³¹ Boutelle, 25.

³² All three went on to study at the Ecole before returning to practice in the Bay Area. Additionally, both Julia Morgan and Arthur Brown, Jr. collaborated with their former professor on several occasions. Morgan worked with Maybeck at Wyntoon and in Berkeley. Bernard Maybeck later served as advisory architect for Brown on his Arguello and Lake Street Temple Emanu-el project. Sally B. Woodbridge, Bernard Maybeck Visionary Architect (New York: Abbeville Press, 1992), 214.

³³ Letter from Julia Morgan to Pierre and Lucy LeBrun, July 19, 1897.

³⁴ Letter from Julia Morgan to Pierre and Lucy LeBrun, July 19, 1897.

³⁵ Letter from Julia Morgan to Pierre and Lucy LeBrun, July 19, 1897.

³⁶ Letter from Julia Morgan to Pierre and Lucy LeBrun, December 12, 1897.

³⁷ Elinor Richey, Eminent Women Of The West. (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1975) 242.

³⁸ Mary E. Osman, "Julia Morgan of California: A Passion for Quality and Anonymity." *American Institute of Architects Journal* 65 (June 1976): 45.

³⁹ Boutelle, 31.

⁴⁰ There is a collection of picture post cards from M. Chaussemiche to Julia Morgan of well-known structures throughout Europe. These include the Notre Dame Cathedral, various chateaux in the Loire Valley, and memorable rural buildings. Julia Morgan Collection, Special Collections, California Polhytechnic State University.

⁴¹ Annie Jacques, Les Dessins D'Architecture Du XIX Siècle (Paris : Bibliotèque de L'Image, 1995) 7.

⁴² Jacques, 7.

⁴³ Wadsworth p-25

¹ Winifred Black Bonfils, The Life and Personality of Phoebe Apperson Hearst (San Simeon: Friends of Hearst Castle, 1928) 70.

² George Hearst was very different from his wife and was content working in his California and Nevada mines. A plain man, he enjoyed poker, comfortable clothing, simple food and his miner friends. George was not interested in participating in any of Phoebe's voyages, but he happily provided funding for Phoebe and Willie to explore the world and for Phoebe's many community projects.

³ Judith Robinson, *The Hearsts, An American Dynasty.* (New York: Avon Books A Division of The Hearst Corporation, 1991) 163-4.

⁴ Bonfils, 57-8.

⁵ Bonfils, 63.

⁶ Robinson, 263.

Chapter 3: Early Influences And Commissions

- ¹ Brendan Gill, Commentary in Frank Lloyd Wright PBS Home Video, Ken Burns and Lynn Novick, Vol. II. (Alexandria, VA.: P.B.S. Home Video).)
- ² Miss Morgan had seen modern Parisian buildings constructed of iron columns and iron arches during her extended stay in Paris. Between 1843 and 1850 Henri Labrouste designed the celebrated Biblioteque Sainte Genevieve. Thereafter, others began using this new material in structures as diverse as Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace in London (1851), the Brooklyn Bridge (1883) and the Eiffel Tower (1889). AllenTate and C. Ray Smith, *Interior Design in the 20th Century*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1986) 224.
- ³ Wadsworth, 32.
- ⁴ Woodbridge, 24.
- ⁵ Woodbridge, 24.
- ⁶ It was not until 1926, when Julia Morgan, working in conjunction with Bernard Maybeck, was asked by William Randolph Hearst to design the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Memorial Gymnasium for Women This was another structurally modern building of reinforced concrete and decorated in a classical style, featuring pedimented windows, Grecian columns, urns and sarcophagi. Boutelle, 53.
- ⁷ Wadsworth, 248
- ⁸ James, 52.
- ⁹ Reva M. Hulden Hodges, "The Architecture of Julia Morgan." in *The Home Forum of the Christian Science Monitor*, (October 12, 1988): 26.
- ¹⁰ Frederick Platt, America's Gilded Age, Its Architecture and Decoration (New York: Barner and Company, 1976) 86-87.
- ¹¹ There is no direct data on why Julia Morgan was selected for this project. It is possible that she was recommended by Phoebe Apperson Hearst, who had connections to Mills College. It is also quite possible that she was selected because she was a professionally-trained female who would be working for a school for women.
- ¹² Boutelle, 57.
- 13 Boutelle, 58.
- ¹⁴ Boutelle, 59, 250.
- ¹⁵ At the turn of the 20th century sleeping porches were often added to structures for health purposes. Architects such as Greene and Greene designed numerous homes in and around Pasadena and in the Bay Area featuring sleeping porches.
- ¹⁶ Boutelle, 59-60.
- ¹⁷ Mary S. Sims, The Natural History Of A Social Institution The Y.W.C.A. (New York: Woman's Press, 1936) 27.
- ¹⁸ Sims, 38.
- ¹⁹ Boutelle, 95.
- ²⁰ Boutelle, 95.
- ²¹ Boutelle, 97.
- ²² Richey, 249.
- ²³ Hulden Hodges, 26.

⁷ Robinson, 259

⁸ Robinson, 259.

⁹ Maybeck, 77

¹⁰ Emile Bénard was involved with a project in Mexico at the time and was unavailable to implement his Berkeley Plan. Jacques, 64.

¹¹ Joan Draper, "The Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States: The Case of John Galen Howard," in *The History of the Profession* (Oxford: Oxford Press, 1979) 209. ¹² James, 49.

Chapter 4: Achievements In A Hostile Environment

- ¹ Gray Brechin, architectural historian, commentary in videocassette, *Julia Morgan, A Life By Design*.
- ² Ellen Perry Berkeley and Matilda McQuaid, Editors, Architecture, A Place for Women (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989) 230.
- ³ Torre, 60.
- ⁴ Torre, 60.
- ⁵ Berkeley, 230).
- ⁶ Berkeley, 230.
- ⁷ Cole, 83.
- ⁸ Before her marriage to Robert Venturi in 1967, Denise Scott Brown had taught at the Universities of Pennsylvania and Berkeley, and had published extensively. Berkeley, 237.
- Berkeley, 239.
- ¹⁰ Barney Dahl, commentary in videocassette, Julia Morgan, A Life By Design.
- 11 Boutelle, 44.
- ¹² Scharlach, 17.
- ¹³ Boutelle, 45.
- 14 Boutelle, 86.
- ¹⁵ North, 11.
- ¹⁶ Scharlach, 26
- ¹⁷ Boutelle, 45
- ¹⁸ Osman, 43.
- ¹⁹ Osman, 43.
- ²⁰ North, 11.
- ²¹ Golden and Findlen, 37.
- ²² Golden and Findlen, 36.
- ²³ Scharlach, 16.

Conclusion.

²⁴ Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt, Men and Women Adrift, The YMCA and the YWCA in the City. (New York: New York University Press, 1997) 288.

²⁵ Hudden Hodges, 26.

²⁶ Tate and Smith, 243-244.

²⁷ Boutelle, 83.

²⁸ Boutelle, 117-118.

²⁹ Mildred Hamilton, "Pioneer Architect Julia Morgan's Historical Landmark." The San Francisco Examiner (October 24, 1986):D2. 30 Boutelle, 126.

³¹ Julian C. Mesic, "Berkeley Women's City Club." *Architect & Engineer* 105 (April 1931): 25-33.

¹ Boutelle, 44

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