Workers'-cottage and minimal-bungalow districts in Oakland and Berkeley, California, 1870-1945

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Abstract. *Case studies in West Oakland and West Berkeley, California – blue-collar districts built between 1870 and 1945 in the San Francisco Bay Area – exemplify two contrasting sets of urban forms. Within each set, house types and block plans share similar spatial rules. Workers' cottages and workers'-cottage districts, typically begun up to 1900, rely on mixed uses and very little spatial specialization, with* ad hoc *additions to the dwellings, varied street setbacks and lot lines, mixed land uses, and very little uniformity. In contrast, the dwellings and blocks of minimal-bungalow districts, typically built between 1900 and 1945, are constructed all at once and in a permanent form, with interior spaces that are specialized, hierarchical, socially zoned, and separated by hallways; the blocks have uniform setbacks and lots, and restrictive covenants. The differences between these two forms illustrate closely-intertwined oppositions of twentieth-century modernity that North Americans are still debating: the desirability of urban form based on individual decision-making rather than official control of experts; the benefits of mixture and overlapping uses rather than uniformity and hierarchical separation; and the tensions between obviously temporary urban surroundings on the one hand and visually finished, permanent forms and more predictable real estate values on the other.*

Key Words: micro-morphology, workers'-cottage district, minimal-bungalow district, Oakland, Berkeley

Between 1870 and 1945, within walking distance of large industrial workplaces, blue-collar owner-builders and other housing investors in the United States developed several dramatically different house types and street forms for low-income residential districts. Two of the most widespread types of these districts might best be called 'workers'-cottage districts' (typically begun before 1900) and 'minimal-bungalow districts' (typically built from 1900 to 1945). Two case studies in the San Francisco Bay Area show that the small-scale forms of urban micro-morphology (the interior details of building types, including plumbing and utilities) show striking spatial correspondences with larger-scale street and neighbourhood form.[1]

In 1869, twenty years after California's Gold Rush and urban settlement boom, the

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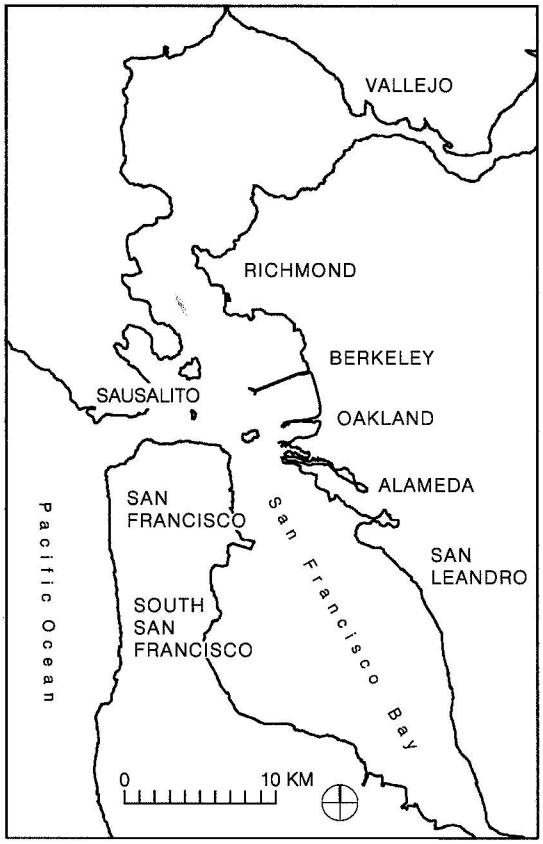

Figure 1. Industrial cities distributed around the San Francisco Bay region (drawing by Matt Wittman).

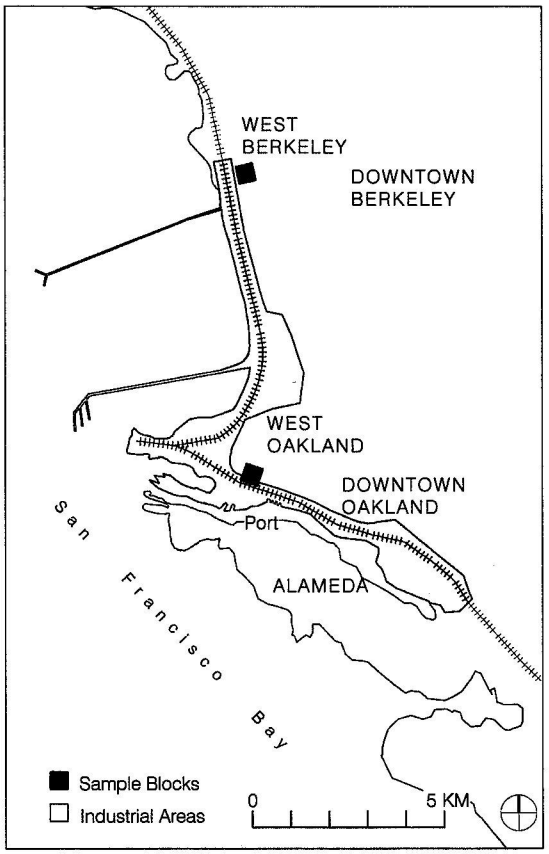

Figure 2. The East Bay cities of Berkeley and Oakland, showing industrial areas and locations of sample blocks (drawing by Matt Wittman).

first U.S. transcontinental railroad reached its West Coast terminus in the fledgling town of Oakland. Oakland was only one of several new towns and cities distributed around San Francisco Bay (Figure 1). Until bridges spanned the Bay in the 1930s, for both passengers and freight the trip to San Francisco was made by ferry from the end of one of the long railroad and streetcar piers that stretched far out into the shallow eastern waters of the Bay. Where the first major railroad, the Southern Pacific, met the Bay, the company built a large complex of sorting tracks, maintenance yards, and construction shops which, along with the crews on the trains, quickly employed over 5 000 people and made West Oakland a busy industrial district. This railroad access, and the sunnier climate and cheap land that lured white-collar commuters away from the more famous and foggier city across the Bay, soon helped Oakland become second only to San Francisco in the region's urban population.

By the 1910s, two other railroad companies had also built lines and additional shops in the West Oakland area. Owners of multiple shipyards, several large canneries, and other food processing plants followed, creating an arc of large industrial employers surrounding the neighbourhood (Figure 2). Scattered on blocks throughout the district were dozens of smaller firms supplying parts to the larger companies and handling specialty goods. Also within walking distance, to the east, were downtown offices and department stores which offered custodial and stockroom jobs for unskilled workers. In a narrow estuary reconstructed as a deepwater port in the 1880s, maritime work flourished.[2]

Directly north of Oakland, a linear pattern of heavy industry gradually spread between

the rail lines and the Bay, with workers' housing districts alongside. Eventually joined politically to the university city of Berkeley, the neighbourhood of West Berkeley remained a blue-collar area. The northern-most industrial areas of West Berkeley developed after 1900; the associated housing thus shows a later and different pattern to that of West Oakland.

As they developed between 1870 and 1945, the workers' housing areas of West Oakland and West Berkeley very reasonably represent two types of urban building patterns widespread in the U.S., and very different attitudes about the form of small houses and of residential blocks within the industrial city. *Ad hoc*, mixed-use workers'-cottage districts like West Oakland can be found in most U.S. industrial cities developed before 1900, from the wheat milling districts of Buffalo, New York, to the mining town of Leadville, Colorado. Similarly, the later type of neighbourhood, minimal-bungalow districts like that of West Berkeley – offering permanence, separation, and segregation of uses – are most famous in Los Angeles, a town whose industrial boom was also most notable after 1900. However, minimal-bungalow districts are also common in places like Chicago (the Bridgeport area is a classic case), Detroit and Atlanta.

Within two small case-study areas of West Oakland and West Berkeley, by studying the interior spatial details of the homes, together with the details of plots and streets, it is possible to begin to see spatial correspondences between the interior of the house and the whole block.[3] The linked ways in which spaces are connected, how additions are made (or not made) over time, and adjacency – the expectation of mixed uses or insistence on single uses – become apparent. In West Oakland, individual owners organized change at the scale of the room and plot. In West Berkeley, developers organized change at the scale of the whole house and whole block.

The contrasts in the two case studies also suggest local, 'on-the-street' implications of broader social and cultural discussions that Americans were actively debating between 1870 and 1945. Middle- and upper-class reformers and large-scale developers argued that city officials should have more power in creating and monitoring the use of urban space, while many blue-collar workers saw such actions as yet another intrusion upon their lives by management. The desire for control and separation that single-use areas embodied, both inside and outside of houses, and the advantages of permanent urban forms (in comparison to forms that seemed overtly temporary) also sparked debate. The present-day forms of West Oakland and West Berkeley show how different groups of homeowners 'voted' on such issues by their choices and investments in houses and neighbourhoods.

Workers'-cottage districts

Depending on industrial and warehousing locations, cottage districts can be found near the centre of the city or at its nineteenth-century growing edges. Before 1900, workers' cottages were numerically one of the most common house types in American industrial cities, although these houses are only beginning to receive attention in scholarly literature.[4] Millions of workers' cottages survive today. They are almost always wood frame buildings, typically with an initial size of just two to four rooms. From the front, workers' cottages appear to be permanent, well-built wooden dwellings (Figure 3). From the back, however, cottages often appear to be an assemblage of shacks. Workers' cottages typically remain small houses of fewer than 1000 sq ft (approx. 92 m^2), even though, over time, cottage owners have altered their homes dramatically by changing room uses and making significant self-built additions. Because of these additions, we must say that workers' cottages were 'begun' in a particular year, rather than 'completed' at any one time. In describing cottages, even verb tenses are difficult to choose, since these dwellings are still in the process of creation.

The first portion of the house nearest the street, the starter cottage, was often very

Figure 3. Varied setbacks and worker's cottage house types on Fifth Street in West Oakland, a streetscape begun in the 1870s. Note front yards converted for parking automobiles (photograph by the author, 1995).

solidly-built with standard platform frame construction (Figure 4). Good construction was probably required in order to secure a formal mortgage from a savings and loan institution, and may also have been required for an informal 'vest pocket' loan from a neighbourhood business person.[5] However, in later additions to cottages, the construction quality has varied wildly, depending upon household budget and building skills. Windows, doors, and other elements often have been scavenged from older structures. The additions have been – and are – practical solutions to immediate problems rather than a search for visual elegance or duplication of starter cottage details. A cottage room may have interior walls from three different building phases, each of different materials.

The plan of a cottage on Chester Street in West Oakland (Figure 5) shows a fairly informal present-day arrangement of five rooms. Inspection of construction materials, tax assessment records, and historical maps reveal at least six different stages of growth for the dwelling (Figure 6). An Irish-American family of four lived in the original two rooms, built about 1875. The next owner seems to have added a rear kitchen extension in 1887. A third owner enclosed the kitchen porch, about 1900. The fourth stage of construction probably dates from the Second World War, when employment in the district surged and the U.S. government made incentive loans available for rental units hastily-added to existing homes. The rear extension and enclosed porch were torn down and re-built in a slightly larger, two-room rear wing; at the same time, the house was also raised and a downstairs flat added. Phase five occurred in the 1970s, when another owner built a new three-fixture bathroom and rear laundry room/passageway, and added a closet and extra space to the rear bedroom. Finally, in a sixth stage, the owner enclosed the rear porch with its own protruding shed roof. All of these changes result in a dwelling still tiny by American standards, only 790 sq ft (73 m^2). The lower

Figure 4. Worker's cottage on Chester Street, West Oakland, begun *c.* 1875. Starter cottage at the front (right), with several later additions to the rear (photograph by the author, 1995).

flat is the same size.

Thus, mixed uses and spatial informality have, from initial construction, marked workers'-cottage interiors. Circulation has been very informal: there were typically no purpose-built hallways; rooms opened onto each other. Nor have builders specialized rooms by their shape or details. Most rooms have been made about the same size; bedrooms rarely have had built-in closets and have been located anywhere in the plan, often with doors leading to the kitchen or wash porch – all the easier for the rooms to be rented out. The kitchen of a workers' cottage usually has served as sitting room and dining room, and often as a sleeping room as well. If there was a parlour, for years at a time it may have served as a bedroom, or it also may have been let.[6]

The rear laundry porches of cottages, with their access to the outhouse, eventually lost some of their space to back-porch toilets (in West Oakland, usually added after 1920). A 1926 study of workers' houses in Zanesville, Ohio, found virtually every dwelling with gas service and a gas range, and 90 per cent with running water, but 40 per cent of the homes did not have both an indoor toilet and bath tub.[7] Judging from the dates found on bath fixtures in West Oakland (by federal law, U.S. toilets are all dated on the interior of their tanks), the proportions in West Oakland seem to be similar. Workers' cottages today all typically have a toilet, a sink, and a bathtub – but all three fixtures are rarely in the same room; if they are, it is as part of a new bathroom added after 1960.[8]

Like cottage interiors, the streetscapes of cottage districts typically have very little spatial uniformity. Middle- and upper-class social workers in Chicago described cottage streetscapes as 'strangely varying' from house to house and block to block.[9] Indeed, the houses typically have street setbacks that vary from zero to 30 ft (9 m). In most U.S. cities, lots for workers' cottages were 25 ft wide (7.6 m), and from 60 ft deep to over 100 ft deep (about 18 to 30 m), depending upon the relative initial cost of the land. In West Oakland, most cottage lots were originally

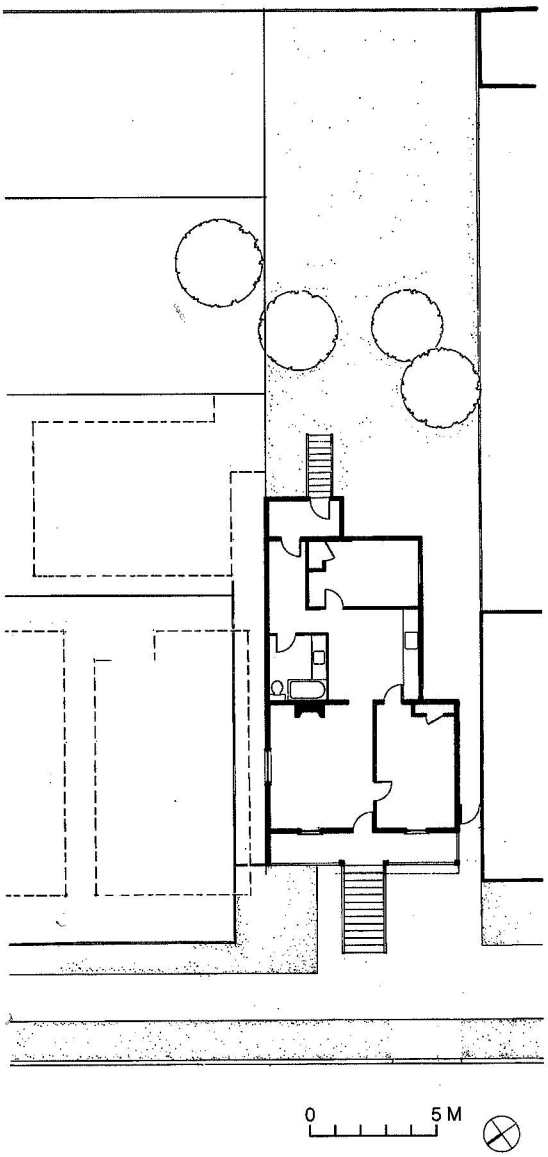

Figure 5. Plot- and floor-plan of a worker's cottage on Chester Street. The fireplace and closet in the front two rooms are additions, perhaps from 1887. The three-fixture bathroom and rear hall are post-1970 additions (drawing by Benjamin Chuaqui and Sibel Zandi-Sayek).

platted at 25 by 125 ft (7.6 by 38 m) – standard survey lots of the nineteenth-century American city (Figure 7).[10] The sample blocks were initially surveyed with a set of uniform lots facing Third and Fifth Streets, and other equal lots facing Chester Street. However, the present pattern shows an intricate history of plot alterations; as lots were sold to individual buyers, it is clear that

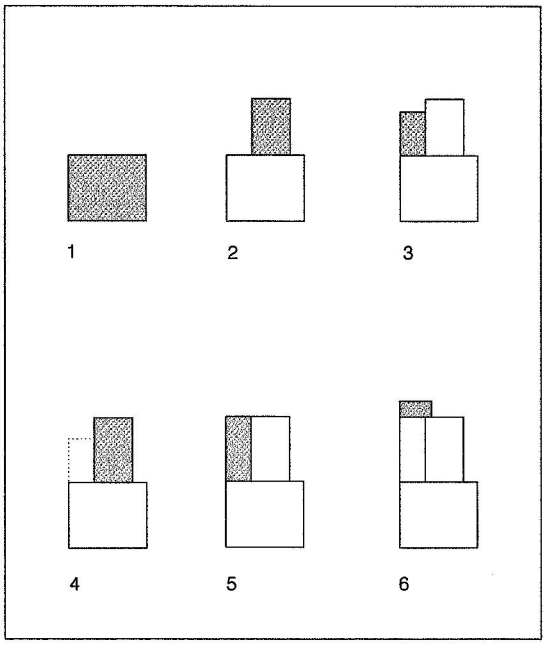

Figure 6. Sequence of major additions to the cottage on Chester Street, from 1875 to the 1990s. At stage 4, a separate rental flat was added underneath the cottage (drawing by Matt Wittman).

the purchasers could negotiate for slightly wider or narrower lots. Some corner lots were subdivided.

Fences and garden plots reveal other informal details. The lot of the sample cottage on Chester Street is 28 ft wide and 125 ft long (8.5 by 38 m), but when the house next door burned down and was not rebuilt, the present residents incorporated into the front half of their lot some of the side yard of the adjacent house. No legal record exists of this change, or many similar adjustments throughout the district. Like the practical, individual solutions to interior space needs, the plot patterns and fences show gradual and on-going adjustment. Truly, in West Oakland, the units of development were the room and the individual lot, and both units were (and are) seen as temporary limits not to be taken too seriously.

Even with their narrow lots and subsequent additions, Oakland's cottages are not row houses; rather, in response to building codes designed to reduce fire potential, they are open-lot structures with

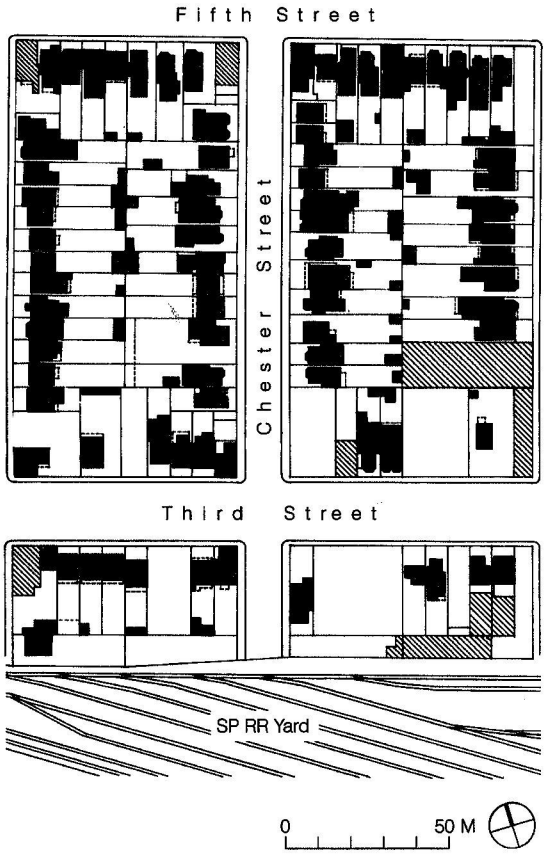

Figure 7. Ground plan of four typical West Oakland cottage district blocks, 1911-1912. Hatched lines designate commercial and light industrial buildings; tracks of a freight sorting yard of the Southern Pacific Railroad are shown to the south. Source: Sanborn Insurance Maps (drawing by Renu Desai).

side yards of at least two or three feet (0.6 to 0.9 m) between adjoining houses. This fire precaution seems to be the only rigorously enforced municipal building code in West Oakland. These very narrow side yards allow for some light and ventilation, maintenance of the side of the building, fixing water-drainage problems, access to the backyard for deliveries, hauling out trash, and (historically) hauling out ashes. In the Bay Area, these side passages have also proved to be useful for the installation of plumbing pipes, electrical boxes and wiring, and flues from new gas furnaces and stoves. In climates that, unlike the Bay Area, have freezing winter temperatures, plumbing cannot be exposed on the exterior walls.

Not too much should be inferred about the size and shape of the sample blocks shown in Figure 7. West Oakland land was subdivided by dozens of different owners who owned from 10 to 40 acres (about 4-16 ha) each. As the skipping of street numbers suggests in the sample blocks (from Third Street to Fifth Street), the original street names were changed to conform to connections made later to streets near the port, to the east. Third and Fifth Streets are significantly wider than the north-south streets in this pattern, reflecting the correct assumption that traffic going east-west would be heavier. Yet the width of streets had no influence on the location of scattered light industrial buildings.

Another striking cottage-district characteristic is relatively high housing density. Splitting cottages into informal flats for two or three families has been very common. In 1912, in a typical area of West Oakland, fire insurance mapping surveyors recorded 23 units per acre (9.3 units per ha), including flats and backyard cottages. During production surges such as in the Second World War, with round-the-clock shifts in the nearby work places, the number of residents per block probably tripled.

The front yards historically were planted with flowers or flowering fruit trees. Italian-Americans in particular found the front yards of West Oakland useful for storing crates of fruit or vegetables, and the planting strip between the sidewalk and the street was used for playing boccie ball.[11] Historical photographs show that parking wagons and horses (usually used in a family business) in the front yards of cottages predated the tradition, common by the 1960s, of parking automobiles in cottage front yards.[12] From the 1870s through to the present, the backyards often have been occupied by vegetable gardens and pens for animals, especially chicken coops, that supply parts of the local diets.

Land uses in the cottage district were – and still are – as mixed as the cottage interiors. Large-scale workplaces, small foundries and workshops, stores, and houses can be found on directly adjacent lots. These mixtures have had positive aspects: varied and competitive employment, within walking

Figure 8. Minimal bungalow on Jones Street, Berkeley, built *c.* 1926 (photograph by the author, 1995).

distance, drew residents to live in cottage districts. Once there, the residents (many coming from rural settings) could plant yards, raise animals, and build new rooms as they had on farms.

Although they may not show up in morphological drawings, the pollution and intrusion of smoke, noise, traffic, and pounding vibration have been other defining elements of cottage districts. Pollution was one of the reasons that the lots and houses remained relatively cheap in spite of their central locations. Until the 1950s, virtually all of West Oakland's workplaces, large and small, plus the railroad locomotives, depended on coal-fed boilers. The area was noted for the constant grey cloud of coal smoke that hung over the neighbourhood.

Minimal-bungalow districts

Just five miles north of West Oakland, in the western part of Berkeley, beginning about 1900 land-owners developed a notable example of a very different blue-collar urban form. The small bungalows so common in such districts are, like workers' cottages, another very prevalent house type in the United States (Figure 8).[13] The interiors of these houses, plus their lots and neighbourhood type, present strong contrasts to the cottage and cottage district. Minimal bungalows, like cottages, are very small: 600 to 1000 sq ft (about 56 to 92 m^2). However, they were built all at once and in a form meant to be permanent.

The design historian Carma Gorman has documented one Bay Area developer who, between 1925 and 1927, built 41 minimal bungalows in West Berkeley, each only 684 sq ft (63.5 m^2), with minor variations in façade design but all with a plan exactly like that of a house on Jones Street (Figure 9).[14] At first glance, the plan of the bungalow on Jones Street might appear similar to the cottage on Chester Street. Both are two-bedroom housing units, and both today have kitchens with running water and a rear laundry porch/passage. But Gorman succinctly describes the distinctiveness of the interior design on Jones Street: 'what the plan lacks in size, it makes up for in social

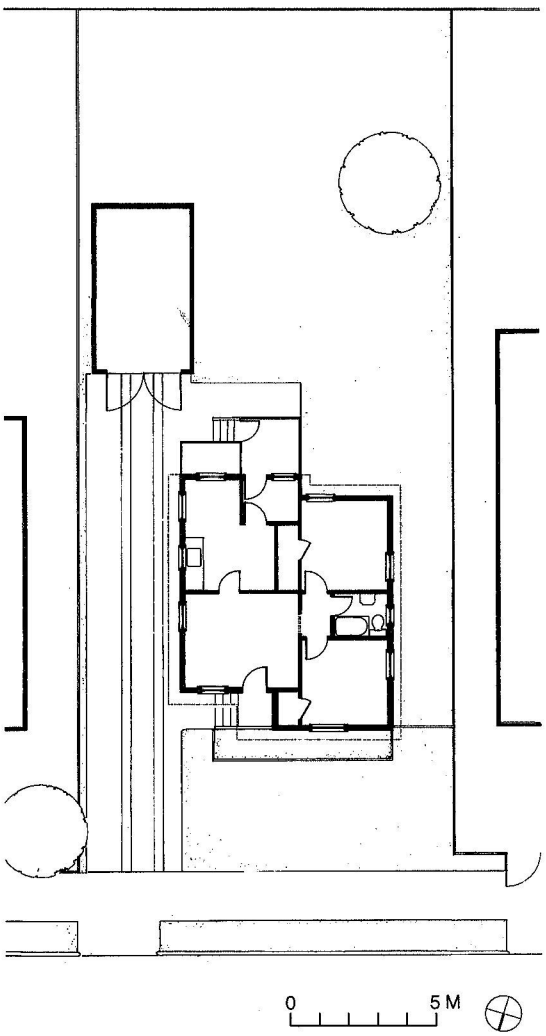

Figure 9. Plot- and floor-plan of minimal bungalow on Jones Street, Berkeley. Note small hallway separating bedrooms from the living room (drawing by Sibel Zandi-Sayek).

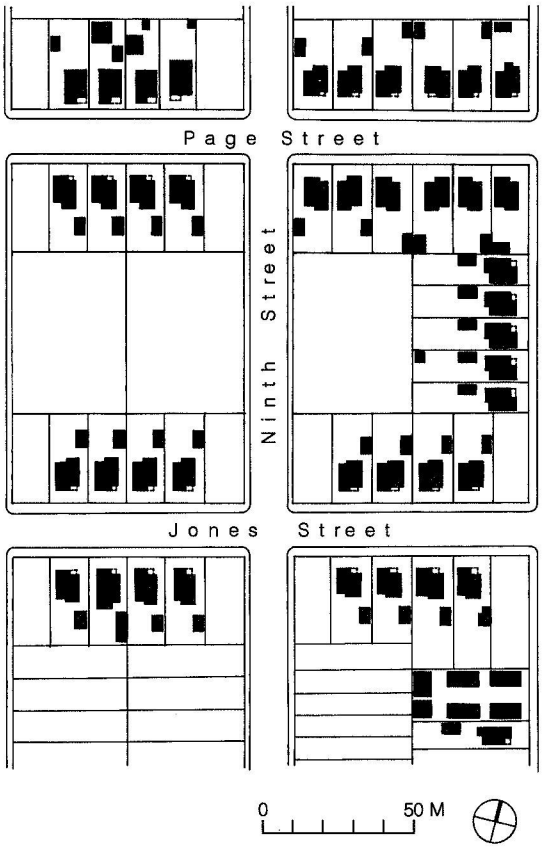

Figure 10. Ground plan of minimal bungalow blocks in Berkeley, 1929. At upper right, notice symmetrical placement of rear garages. A small bungalow court (lower right) shows the proximity of old densities. Source: Sanborn Insurance Maps (drawing by Renu Desai).

and spatial subtlety.[15] The interior spaces are specialized, hierarchical, and socially separated. Circulation is more controlled; both bedrooms are in a single zone of the plan rather than scattered. The bedrooms are set apart from the living room by a tiny hallway, marked by an arched opening. The rear bedroom is slightly larger than the other, has a larger closet and has a more private position – all of which indicate it is a 'master bedroom', even in a four-room house. By the 1920s, a significant share of the cost of new houses was going into utilities, in this case a furnace, a kitchen, and a wash porch, as well as a cramped but thoroughly modern three-fixture bathroom, adjacent to the bedrooms, that was part of the house from its inception.

West Berkeley's minimal-bungalow providers made the unit of morphological development not the room and lot, but the full house and street (or block). The houses are not on scattered lots, but in carefully arranged whole-streetscape patterns typical of other minimal-bungalow districts (Figure 10). In West Berkeley, the uniform street widths and block sizes were determined by land speculators on the scene long before the housing developers bought their land. But the bungalow developers bought locations on which open lots faced each other across a street. They re-platted lots originally 25 ft

wide into 45 ft (13.7 m) on Page and Jones streets and 40 ft (12.2 m) on Ninth Street. Lot depths measure 100 to 125 ft (30 to 38 m). The setback of houses was a uniform 15 ft (4.6 m) from the front property line. In the 1990s, the lots, fences, and gardens of the West Berkeley sample blocks remain regular and legal, rather than freely and informally adjusted.

The new wider lots were clearly aimed at maintaining much lower densities than those found in West Oakland. In West Berkeley, the typical density in 1929 was 10 units per acre (4 units per ha). That is the same unit density today. These larger lots and lower densities meant more light and separation for the house, and even more importantly, allowed room for automobiles to drive to a rear-yard garage. Most of the houses in the West Berkeley development had single back-yard garages supplied by the developer in varying yard locations, showing that the Berkeley buyers were assumed to own automobiles as early as 1925. The Berkeley developers also fashioned a modest urban design plan for the neighbourhood; as the sample blocks' ground plan shows (in fact, this detail is only noticeable in plan view), the garages are symmetrically arranged on both sides of the street. Many corner lots were initially reserved, perhaps for more expensive houses or for corner stores that were not given the expected zoning variances. Later, non-matching houses filled these spaces.

Urban forms as records of social and cultural tensions

The differences between the cottage district and the minimal-bungalow district illustrate three important and closely intertwined social and cultural oppositions that were part of the adoption of twentieth-century modernity.[16] One opposition stretched between individual decision-making as a basis of urban form in contrast to top-down, official control by experts. Victorian-era public health reforms, based on the germ theory of disease, led to many good things for low-income areas: better services for sewer, water, and garbage collection; better police protection; widespread street paving and storm water drains; and rodent abatement. The next reform steps in the U.S. led to the writing and enforcing of tougher building codes, and eventually zoning laws – all of which constrained individual city-building action.[17] In minimal-bungalow districts, the new rules of house and block development were clearly imposed, politically and economically, by people in the middle- and upper-class.

A second opposition was the tension between mixture and uniformity, especially between mixed land uses and single uses and the overlapping of production and consumption realms in contrast to their strict separation and specialization. After 1900, Progressive-Era building codes and city planning rules were being more carefully enforced, even in workers' districts like West Oakland, than codes of the nineteenth century. Social and cultural élites at the end of the Victorian era had convinced themselves that for public health, visual organization and spatial uniformity were as important as fighting germs. The most convincing explanation for the official choice of uniformity lies in reform desires to ease the realities of class struggle (in this case, the cleavages between working-class values, on the one hand, and middle- and upper-class values, on the other). If they could not ease the oppositional disparities of income and acculturation, reformers could at least erase their visual evidence. Beginning in the 1890s, and more effectively in the 1910s and the 1920s, reformers sought to outlaw the expansion or reproduction of irregular, messy, immigrant cottage districts. Meanwhile, officials applauded the neat regularity and modernity of minimal-bungalow districts.[18]

Uniformity in West Berkeley was reinforced by land-use zoning, which was city-wide by the early 1920s.[19] The developers of Berkeley's minimal bungalows also placed restrictive covenants, similar to better-known covenants on middle- and upper-class housing of the same period, on

the individual bungalow lots. These covenants forbade selling to anyone other than whites; they also forbade mixed use and any work uses of yards. Production was to be clearly separate from consumption. The covenants also established the uniform setback of houses from the street. After 1920, even on streets of West Berkeley that were not built by one developer, the setbacks were uniform and land uses were zoned.

The third opposition (again, one that in practice was tightly woven into the other two) was the fight between the temporary and the permanent – the choice between a city that was obviously undergoing constant transition and a city that appeared finished and complete. Cottage districts stood for ever-changing, contingent diversity and individual use value. Minimal-bungalow districts may have been areas of very small houses located unfashionably close to polluting industries; however, even when viewed from the exterior, minimal bungalows and their streetscapes better mirrored the social and cultural rules of more expensive residential areas. The minimum-bungalow district matched the goal of a visually finished, permanent city: very importantly, a city whose real estate values could be counted as being more predictable and stable than in mixed-use areas.[20]

By 1945, blue-collar homeowners in West Oakland and West Berkeley, by their investments in housing, had clearly adopted and were continuing to use different attitudes about house and neighbourhood form, and about co-operation with (or opposition to) city officials and majority cultures. West Oakland remained more like the nineteenth-century city, with full employment but with the city's most recent migrants and immigrants, and a mixture of skilled and unskilled work incomes. Oakland officials seem to have turned a blind eye to enforcing codes, and the neighbourhood residents enjoyed the ability to continue to change their homes and move lot-lines as they saw fit, with few permits or outside oversight. For West Oaklanders, matching materials on inside or exterior walls and other expressions of visual uniformity were less valued than other expensive updates, such as paving for front-yard carports, as auto ownership in the area started to rise after the Second World War.

Meanwhile, in West Berkeley, the 1920s option of a minimal bungalow district had prompted a selective migration of skilled blue-collar workers, most of them already automobile owners, away from older cottage districts and towards streetscapes more like middle-class areas. These home buyers increasingly needed automobiles for their journey-to-work; by the 1940s, pipe fitters, carpenters, and machinists in West Berkeley were not only working at nearby factories, but also at far-flung industrial sites at the new edges of the urban region. Clearly, these homeowners shared middle-class values of urban form; they appreciated and maintained the uniform and permanent city, aided by the city of Berkeley's very watchful enforcement. Although the construction of the West Berkeley minimal bungalows was wood frame – like that of West Oakland workers' cottages, and hence (at least in concept) very malleable – West Berkeley homeowners made only very minor additions to their houses – an enclosed rear porch or patio, for instance, rather than additions that doubled or tripled the initial size of the dwelling. Two-thirds of the dwellings in the West Berkeley sample are still their original size; the rest did not have major additions until the 1980s.

North Americans are still debating the issues of decision-making power, uniformity, and permanence, and these debates highlight the usefulness of urban form as both a real and a symbolic tool in building cultural change. The West Oakland and West Berkeley examples point toward the importance of micro-morphology for studying the relationships between interiors of houses and their surrounding blocks. Practices of interior connections, additions, and adjacencies can be seen as linked to parallel practices at the scale of the street and block. Indeed, looking at the social and cultural uses of micro-morphology, together with the uses

of meso-morphology of street and block, helps us understand, literally, the inner workings of how social groups – both low-income and high-income groups – use urban space for creating and changing urban societies.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. Whitehand, J.W.R. (2001) 'Changing sub-urban landscapes at the microscale,' *Tijd-schrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 92, 164-184, has defined 'micro-morphology' relying primarily upon exterior details of buildings; here we extend his definition to include key interior attributes. On interior building details as social keys to building types, see also Groth, P. (1994) *Living downtown: the history of residential hotels in the United States* (University of California Press, Berkeley) 26-167.
2. See Vance, J.E., Jr (1964) *Geography and urban evolution in the San Francisco Bay area* (Institute of Governmental Studies, Berkeley) esp. pp. 1-41.
3. For the field report of the West Oakland and West Berkeley research see Groth, P. and Gutman, M. (1997) 'Workers houses in West Oakland', in Stewart, S., and Praetzellis, M. (eds) *Sights and sounds: essays in celebration of West Oakland* Report for the Cypress I-880 Replacement Project (California Department of Transportation, CALTRANS, with the Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University) 31-84. The West Berkeley research relies heavily on Gorman, C. (1993) 'The colonization of home: West Berkeley's zone of emergence and American middle-class family values in the mid-1920s', unpublished seminar paper, University of California, Berkeley, in collection of P. Groth.
4. See Barrows, R.B. (1983) 'Beyond the tenement: patterns of American urban housing, 1870-1930', *Journal of Urban History* 9, 395-420; and Borchert, J. (1997) 'Social landscapes of a streetcar suburb', in Groth, P. and Bressi, T.W. (eds) *Under-standing ordinary landscapes* (Yale Univer-sity Press, New Haven) 25-43. Michael Conzen, in comments at the Eighth Inter-national Seminar on Urban Form in Cincinnati, Ohio, argues that the American workers' cottage building type of 1870 probably owes much to the influence of Chicago builders; this idea is explored in Bigott, J.C. (2001) *From cottage to bungalow: houses and the working class in metropolitan Chicago, 1869-1929* (Univer-sity of Chicago Press, Chicago). See also Loeb, C.S. (2001) *Entrepreneurial ver-nacular: developers' subdivisions in the 1920s* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore) 55-87; and Harris, R. (1996) *Unplanned suburbs: Toronto's American tragedy, 1900 to 1950* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore).
5. On the informal real estate economy of such districts, see Zunz, O. (1982) *The changing face of inequality: urbanization, industrial development, and immigrants in Detroit, 1880-1920* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago) 129-77.
6. Bertha Rosas, interview with Paul Groth and Marta Gutman in Oakland, California, 27 March 1995. Life in West Oakland in the 1880s and 1890s was also captured by the neighbourhood's most famous resident, the fiction writer Jack London. See especially London, J. (1999) *The valley of the moon* (University of California Press, Berkeley,

originally published in New York by Macmillan, 1913).

7. R.O. Eastman, Inc. (1927) *Zanesville, Ohio, and thirty-six other American cities* (Literary Digest, New York) 52, quoted in Cohen, R.S. (1992) 'Coal stoves and clean sinks: housework between 1880 and 1930', in Foy, J.H. and Schlereth, T.J. (eds) *American home life, 1880-1930: a social history of spaces and services* (University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville) 220.
8. Chauqui, B. (1993) 'The adoption of the bathroom in the working class dwelling: the case of Jingletown', unpublished seminar paper, Department of Architecture, University of California, Berkeley, in collection of P. Groth.
9. Abbott, A. (1936) *The tenements of Chicago, 1908-1935* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago) 127.
10. Groth, P. (1981) 'Streetgrids as frameworks for urban variety', *Harvard Architecture Review* 2, 68-75.
11. Robert Valva, interview with Karana Hattersley-Drayton on 2 March 1995 in Oakland, California; and Angela Albanese Cosy, Ben Albanese, and Evelyn Albanese, interviews with Karana Hattersley-Drayton on 31 January 1995 and 7 February 1995 in San Leandro, California (pp. 24-5, 29). Transcriptions for both interviews are on file at the Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California, and at the Oakland Public Library.
12. On current planning and aesthetic dilemmas of parking in the front yards of workers' neighbourhoods, see Brown, P. L. (2002) 'The chroming of the front yard', *New York Times* June 13, D-1, D-6.
13. A recent spate of books about similar common houses (although usually much larger houses, starting at 1000 sq ft) include Pacyga, D.A. and Shanbruch, C. (eds) (2001) *The Chicago bungalow* (Chicago Architecture Foundation, Chicago). Loeb, *op. cit.* (note 4), 19-54, 88-213, is especially good on the modestly-sized developer houses of Ford Homes in Dearborn, Michigan, and Westwood Highlands in San Francisco, California.
14. Gorman, *op. cit.* (note 3) notes that the houses were all built by the Alameda Investment Company (AIC). Visual evidence suggests AIC built hundreds of similar houses not only in Berkeley and Oakland but also in the nearby cities of Alameda and San Leandro.
15. Gorman, *op. cit.* (note 3) 4.
16. A useful entry point to the modernity literature is still Berman, M. (1982) *All that is solid melts into air: the experience of modernity* (Simon and Schuster, New York). See also Glendinning, M. and Muthesius, S. (1994) *Tower block: modern public housing in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland* (Yale University Press, New Haven) 9-93; and Pred, A. and Watts, M.J. (1992) *Reworking modernity: capitalisms and symbolic discontent* (Rugers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J.).
17. Lubove, R. (1962) *The progressives and the slums: tenement house reform in New York City, 1890-1917* (University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh); Melosi, M.V. (2000) *The sanitary city: urban infrastructure in America from colonial times to the present* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore).
18. An influential early study of the Progressive Era desire for order in a chaotic world is Hofstadter, R. (1955) *The age of reform: from Bryan to F.D.R.* (Vintage Books, New York). See also Hise, G. (1997) 'The minimum house', in his *Magnetic Los Angeles: planning the twentieth-century metropolis* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore) 56-85; Harris, R. (1991) 'The impact of building controls on residential development in Toronto, 1900-1940,' *Planning Perspectives* 6, 269-96; and Buder, S. (1990) *Visionaries and planners: the garden city movement and the modern community* (Oxford University Press, New York).
19. Berkeley was one of the first cities in the U.S. to institute city-wide land use zoning. See Weiss, M. (1987) *The rise of the community builders: the American real estate industry and urban land planning* (Columbia University Press, New York).
20. See Hise, *op. cit.* (note 18); Buder, *op. cit.* (note 18); Boyer, M.C. (1983) *Dreaming the rational city: the myth of American city planning* (MIT Press, Cambridge, MA); and Zukin, S. (1991) *Landscapes of power: from Detroit to Disney World* (University of California Press, Berkeley).