

## NOTES

## Abbreviations

### JOURNALS/NEWSPAPERS

NOTES

354

<i>A&amp;E</i>	<i>Architect and Engineer</i>
<i>AA</i>	<i>American Architect</i>
<i>AAG</i>	<i>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</i>
<i>AB</i>	<i>American Builder</i>
<i>ABu</i>	<i>Anaheim Bulletin</i>
<i>ACi</i>	<i>American City</i>
<i>AC</i>	<i>Architectural Concrete</i>
<i>AD</i>	<i>Architectural Digest</i>
<i>AF</i>	<i>Brickbuilder/Architectural Forum</i>
<i>AJ</i>	<i>Appraiser Journal</i>
<i>APC</i>	<i>American Planning and Civic Annual</i>
<i>APS</i>	<i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i>
<i>AR</i>	<i>Architectural Record</i>
<i>AR/WS</i>	<i>Architectural Record, Western Section</i>
<i>ASPO</i>	<i>American Society of Planning Officials, Newsletter</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Building Age</i>
<i>BHC</i>	<i>Beverly Hills Citizen</i>
<i>BW</i>	<i>Business Week</i>
<i>CS</i>	<i>California Southland</i>
<i>CSA</i>	<i>Chain Store Age</i>
<i>CSA/AE</i>	<i>Chain Store Age, Administrative Edition</i>
<i>CSA/DE</i>	<i>Chain Store Age, Druggist's Edition</i>
<i>CSA/GE</i>	<i>Chain Store Age, Grocer's Edition</i>
<i>CSA/GME</i>	<i>Chain Store Age, General Merchandise Edition</i>
<i>CSA/VS</i>	<i>Chain Store Age, Variety Store Manager's Edition</i>
<i>CSR</i>	<i>Chain Store Review</i>
<i>DGE</i>	<i>Dry Goods Economist</i>
<i>DSE</i>	<i>Department Store Economist</i>
<i>DW</i>	<i>Display World</i>
<i>EES</i>	<i>Eberle Economic Service</i>
<i>ESN</i>	<i>Culver City Evening Star News / Star News</i>
<i>GNP</i>	<i>Glendale News Press / Glendale Evening News</i>
<i>HDC</i>	<i>Hollywood Daily Citizen / Hollywood Citizen News</i>
<i>HDC/HES</i>	<i>Hollywood Daily Citizen, Home Economics Section</i>
<i>IDN</i>	<i>Inglewood Daily News</i>
<i>JAPA</i>	<i>Journal of the American Planning Association</i>
<i>JLP</i>	<i>Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics / Land Economics</i>

JSAH	<i>Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians</i>
LAEE	<i>Los Angeles Evening Express</i>
LAEEY	<i>Los Angeles Evening Express Yearbook</i>
LAEx	<i>Los Angeles Examiner</i>
LAR	<i>Los Angeles Realtor</i>
LAT	<i>Los Angeles Times</i>
LATMN	<i>Los Angeles Times, Midwinter Number</i>
MA	<i>Motor Age</i>
MSBC	<i>Monthly Summary of Business Conditions, Security-First National Bank</i>
NRB	<i>National Retail Dry Goods Association, Bulletin</i>
NREJ	<i>National Real Estate Journal</i>
PCA	<i>The Architect / Building News / Pacific Coast Architect / California Arts &amp; Architecture / Arts &amp; Architecture</i>
PI	<i>Printer's Ink</i>
PIM	<i>Printer's Ink Monthly</i>
PM	<i>Popular Mechanics</i>
PP	<i>Pencil Points / Progressive Architecture</i>
PSM	<i>Popular Science Monthly</i>
PSN	<i>Pasadena Star News</i>
PVB	<i>Palos Verdes Bulletin</i>
RE	<i>Retail Executive</i>
RM	<i>Retail Management</i>
SAR	<i>Santa Ana Register</i>
SCB	<i>Southern California Business</i>
SEP	<i>Saturday Evening Post</i>
SMEO	<i>Santa Monica Evening Outlook</i>
SMM	<i>Super Market Merchandising</i>
SN	<i>Saturday Night</i>
SWBC	<i>Southwest Builder and Contractor</i>
SWW	<i>Southwest Wave</i>
ULI	<i>Urban Land Institute Technical Bulletin</i>
VNN	<i>Van Nuys News</i>
VT	<i>Valley Times (North Hollywood)</i>
WA	<i>Western Architect</i>
WHN	<i>Westwood Hills News / Westwood Hills Press</i>
WWD	<i>Women's Wear Daily</i>

ARCHIVES / LIBRARIES

CUL	Rare and Manuscript Collections, Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell University
LAMRL	Los Angeles Municipal Research Library
LC	Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress

NOTES

Introduction

356

1

A concise debate on the subject is presented in William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock, "Bold New City or Built-Up 'Burb? Redefining Contemporary Suburbia," and responses, *American Quarterly* 46 (Mar. 1994), 1–61. Joel Garreau, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), is a supportive journalistic chronicle. A counterpoint is provided by James Howard Kunstler, *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993).

Scholarly examinations of this development include: Brian Berry and Ye-hoshua Cohen, "Decentralization of Commerce and Industry: The Restructuring of Metropolitan America," in Louis Masotti and Jeffrey Hadden, eds., *The Urbanization of the Suburbs* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1973), 431–455; Peter Muller, *The Outer City: Geographic Consequences of the Urbanization of the Suburbs* (Washington: Association of American Geographers, 1976); Thomas Baerwald, "The Emergence of a New 'Downtown,'" *Geographical Review* 68 (June 1978), 308–318; Peter Muller, *Contemporary Suburban America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1981), chap. 4; Thomas Baerwald, "Land Use Change in Suburban Clusters and Corridors," *Transportation Research Record* 861 (1982), 7–12; Rodney Erickson, "The Evolution of the Suburban Space Economy," *Urban Geography* 4 (Mar.–Apr. 1983), 95–121; Rodney Erickson and Marylyn Gentry, "Suburban Nucleations," *Geographical Review* 75 (Jan. 1985), 19–31; Truman Hartshorn and Peter Muller, "Suburban Business Centers: Employment Implications," U.S. Department of Commerce, Economic Development Administration, Technical Assistance and Research Division, Nov. 1986; Christopher Leinberger, "The Six Types of Urban Village Cores," *Urban Land* 47 (May 1988), 24–27; Robert Cervero, *America's Suburban Centers* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989); Truman Hartshorn and Peter Muller, "Suburban Downtowns and the Transformation of Metropolitan Atlanta's Business Landscape," *Urban Geography* 10 (July–Aug. 1989), 375–395; Thomas Stanbach, *The New Suburbanization: Challenge to the Central City* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991); and Robert Bruegmann and Tim Davis, "New Centers on the Periphery," *Center* 7 (1992), 25–43. Robert Bruegmann, "Schaumburg, Oak Brook, Rosemont, and the Recentering of the Chicago Metropolitan Area," in John Zukowsky, ed., *Chicago Architecture and Design, 1923–1993: Reconfiguration of an American Metropolis* (Munich: Prestel, 1993), 158–177, offers a very valuable historical perspective.

2

The decentralization of industry is also an important part of the equation. However, while certain kinds of manufacturing activities had gravitated to sites near the city center, others traditionally located some distance away. During the nineteenth century, industry as a whole never assumed a strong core configuration comparable to those of service, financial, retail, and other downtown functions.



3

For definitions of the shopping center in general and the regional center in particular, see chapters 6 and 9 below.

4

Pioneering studies include Arthur Grey, "Los Angeles: Urban Prototype," *JLP* 35 (Aug. 1959), 232–242; and Howard Nelson, "The Spread of an Artificial Landscape over Southern California," *AAG* 49 (Sep. 1959), 80–99. For recent examples, see Scott Bottles, *Los Angeles and the Automobile: The Making of the Modern City* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987); Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), chap. 6; Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), esp. chap. 8; Rob Kling et al., eds., *Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County since World War II* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991); and Greg Hise, "Home Building and Industrial Decentralization in Los Angeles: The Roots of the Postwar Urban Region," *Journal of Urban History* 19 (Feb. 1993), 95–125.

5

For a recent case study of the latter, see Arthur Krim, "Los Angeles and the Anti-Tradition of the Suburban City," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18 (Jan. 1992), 121–138.

6

Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (London and New York: Verso, 1990), 90. The subject is discussed further in chapter 1 below. Even the historian Reyner Banham departed from conventional scholarship to write his perceptive travelogue of the city, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1971).

7

Recent examples of the latter include William Kowinski, *The Mallings of America: An Inside Look at the Great Consumer Paradise* (New York: William Morrow, 1985); Edward Pawlak et al., "A View of the Mall," *Social Science Review* 59 (June 1985), 305–317; Jeffrey Jacobs, *The Mall: An Attempted Escape from Everyday Life* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1988); Jeffrey Hopkins, "West Edmonton Mall: Landscape of Myth and Elsewhereness," *Canadian Geographer* 34 (Spring 1990), 2–17; Tracy Davis, "Theatrical Antecedents of the Mall That Ate Downtown," *Journal of Popular Culture* 24 (Spring 1991), 1–15; issue on West Edmonton Mall, *Canadian Geographer* 35 (Fall 1991), 226–305; Margaret Crawford, "The World in a Shopping Mall," in Michael Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 3–30; Deborah Karasov and Judith Martin, "The Mall of Them All," *Design Quarterly* 159 (Spring 1993), 18–27; Jon Goss, "The 'Magic of the Mall': An Analysis of Form, Function, and Meaning in the Contemporary Retail Built Environment," *AAG* 83 (Mar. 1993), 18–47; and Witold Rybczynski, "The New Downtowns," *Atlantic Monthly* 271 (May 1993), 98–106.

Most accounts of the shopping center's history draw from a scattering of secondary sources and suffer from inaccuracy. See, for example, Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 257–261; and Peter Rowe, *Making a Middle Landscape* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), chap. 4, as well as passages in several of the writings cited above.

The best historical overview is Meredith Clausen, "Shopping Centers, in John Wilkes, ed., *Encyclopedia of Architecture: Design, Engineering, and Construction*, 4 vols. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1989), 4:406–421. Other histories are narrower in focus: idem, "Northgate Regional Shopping Center: Paradigm from the Provinces," *JSAH* 43 (May 1984), 144–161; Howard Gillette, "The Evolution of the Planned Shopping Center in Suburb and City," *JAPA* 51 (Autumn 1985), 449–460; Richard Longstreth, "J. C. Nichols, the Country Club Plaza, and Notions of Modernity," *Harvard Architecture Review* 5 (1986), 120–135; William Worley, *J. C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City: Innovation in Planned Residential Communities* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), chap. 8; Richard Longstreth, "The Neighborhood Shopping Center in Washington, D.C., 1930–1941," *JSAH* 51 (Mar. 1992), 5–34; and Thomas Hanchett, "U.S. Tax Policy and the Shopping Center Boom of the 1950s and 1960s," *American Historical Review*, forthcoming. See also Neil Harris, "The City That Shops: Chicago's Retailing Landscape," in Zukowsky, ed., *Chicago Architecture*, 178–199; Harold Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 2:833–837; and Robert Stern et al., *New York 1960: Architecture and Urbanism between the Second World War and the Bicentennial* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1995), 1063–1072.

## 8

Here I should state that I am personally quite partial to many forms of commercial architecture and have devoted a major portion of the past twelve years to preserving significant examples in the Washington area. Nevertheless, I have consistently sought in these endeavors to build a case on historical merit rather than on personal appreciation. See Richard Longstreth, *History on the Line: Testimony in the Cause of Preservation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: National Council for Preservation Education and National Park Service, forthcoming).

## 9

A sense of how wide-ranging the concern has become is indicated in the scope of recent literature, for example Constance Beaumont, *How Superstore Sprawl Can Harm Communities (and What Citizens Can Do about It)* (Washington: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1994); "Beyond Sprawl: New Patterns of Growth to Fit the New California," San Francisco: Bank of America et al., Jan. 1995; and Jerry Adler "Bye-Bye, Suburban Dream," *Newsweek*, 15 May 1995, 40–53.

I am not defending all that has been developed in the recent past nor opposing current strategies for change; only arguing that we should not repeat the mistake of previous generations that dismissed cities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as wastelands.

### I *The Perils of a Parkless Town*

## 1

For a detailed recent account, see Scott Bottles, *Los Angeles and the Automobile: The Making of the Modern City* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 63–91.

## 2

"The Perils of a Parkless Town," *LAT*, 29 Feb. 1920, II-1.

3

“No Parking Law . . .,” *LAT*, 25 Apr. 1920, VI-1, 6.

4

Bottles, *Los Angeles*, emphasizes the point; however, detailed comparative study of the subject has yet to be undertaken. For a sampling of contemporary sources, see John Gillespie, “The Automobile and Traffic,” in National Conference on City Planning, *Proceedings* 1916, 57–90; Robert Whitten, “Unchoking Our Congested Streets,” *ACi* 23 (Oct. 1920), 351–354; Ernest Goodrich, “The Urban Auto Problem,” National Conference on City Planning, *Proceedings* 1920, 76–105; Herbert Swan, “Our City Thoroughfares—Shall They Be Highways or Garages?,” *ACi* 27 (Dec. 1922), 496–500; Walter White, “How the Modern City Traffic Problem Is Affecting Your Business,” *PIM* 13 (Apr. 1927), 21–22, 134, 137–138, 141–142; Floyd Parsons, “Everybody’s Business,” *Eastern States Building Developer* 1 (Dec. 1927), 46–47; John Miller, Jr., “The Chariots That Rage in the Streets,” *ACi* 39 (July 1928), 111–114; and Robert Nau, “No Parking—a Year and More of It,” *ACi* 40 (Mar. 1929), 85–88.

5

Bottles, *Los Angeles*, 32; Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 115; James Elliott, “Los Angeles Leads . . .,” *LAT*, 17 June 1928, V-5; “Metropolitan Los Angeles,” *LATMN*, 3 Jan. 1928, V-5.

6

The strategic importance of the aqueduct in the city’s growth is emphasized in Steven Erie, “How the Urban West Was Won . . .,” *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 27 (June 1992), 519–554.

7

Mark Foster, “The Decentralization of Los Angeles during the 1920’s,” Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1971, 2; idem, “The Model-T, the Hard Sell, and Los Angeles’s Urban Growth . . .,” *Pacific Historical Review* 44 (Nov. 1975), 461.

8

Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*, 115–134; Bottles, *Los Angeles*, 198–200; *Los Angeles County: Some Facts and Figures* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, 1926), 6–15; Foster, “Decentralization,” 36–37; L. M. Benton, *A Study of 81 Principal American Markets* (Chicago: The 100,000 Group of American Cities, 1925), 141.

9

Los Angeles’s nonwhite population in 1930 (14.2 percent) was the second highest among major cities in the nation. For a good account of the general subject, see Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*, 75–84. Numerous insights are also afforded by writings of the period; see especially Albert Atwood, “Money from Everywhere,” *SEP* 195 (12 May 1923), 10–11, 134, 137, 140–141, 144, 147.

10

Walter Woehlke, “How Long Los Angeles?,” *Sunset* 52 (Apr. 1924), 10; Louis Adamic, “Los Angeles! There She Blows!,” *Outlook and Independent* 155 (13 Aug. 1930), 594. See also Gareth Garrett, “Los Angeles in Fact and Dream,” *SEP* 203 (18 Oct. 1930), 138.

11

The quotations are from Woehlke, "How Long?," 10; and Joseph Lilly, "Metropolis of the West," *North American Review* 232 (Sep. 1931), 240–241, 242. See also James Collins, "Los Angeles: Ex-Crossroads Town," *World's Work* 59 (Aug. 1930), 54; Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*, 81; Foster, "Decentralization," 23, 35.

12

Marrow Mayo, *Los Angeles* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933), 327–328.

13

Lilian Symes, "The Beautiful and the Dumb," *Harper's Monthly* 163 (June 1931), 32.

14

Lilly, "Metropolis," 240; Sarah Comstock, "The Great American Mirror," *Harper's* 156 (May 1928), 723, 715.

15

Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 12–13.

16

Cecil B. DeMille, "The Birth of a Giant," *SCB* 2 (Dec. 1923), 19; "Subdivision Situation . . .," *EES* 8 (2 Mar. 1931), 37; Charles Clark, "Penalties of Excess Subdividing," *City Planning* 10 (Apr. 1934), 52, 54; Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*, 92, 142–143; Bottles, *Los Angeles*, 32, 189; Martin Wachs, "Autos, Transit, and the Sprawl of Los Angeles . . .," *JAPA* 50 (Summer 1984), 298–301; Authur Grey, "Los Angeles: Urban Prototype," *JLP* 35 (Aug. 1959), 233.

17

For a sampling of period accounts, see "Fact and Comment," *LAT*, 1 May 1910, V-1; "Fact and Comment," *LAT*, 5 June 1910, V-1; "Great Growth . . .," *LAT*, 19 June 1910, VI-1; "Southern California . . .," *LATMN*, 1 Jan. 1912, 162; and "Tremendous Activity . . .," *LAT*, 14 July 1912, VI-1.

18

Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*, 146; Bottles, *Los Angeles*, 187, 189; "Building in Los Angeles . . .," *EES* 5 (July 1928), 167–170; "Economic and Sociological Aspects . . .," *EES* 4(18 July 1927), 173–175. Between 1919 and 1930, 117,340 "family capacities" were provided in the new construction of single houses, 45,563 in duplexes, and 79,833 in multiunit buildings. By 1933 apartments afforded 109,026 "family capacities," single houses 231,956; see "The Housing Situation," *MSBC*, 2 Jan. 1934, n.p.

19

To my knowledge, no detailed comparative survey exists of the spatial order found in such precincts of the 1920s. The observations made in this paragraph and the one below are based on firsthand study, covering several thousand miles in the Los Angeles area and many times that elsewhere. A number of cities, particularly those in the south-central and southwestern states, acquired much the same ambience as Los Angeles, albeit on a smaller scale. The influence on places such as Phoenix and Houston exerted by practices in southern California, or vice versa, deserves further study.

20

For a contemporary account, see Marc Goodnow, "Be It Ever So Humble . . .," *SCB* 7 (Jan. 1929), 20–21, 47, 49.

21

Bottles, *Los Angeles*, 40.

22

*Ibid.*, 34–39.

23

*Ibid.*, 58–59.

24

"Automobile Is Now a Necessity," *LAT*, 20 Mar. 1921, VI-3; Howard Nelson and William Clark, *Los Angeles Metropolitan Experience: Uniqueness, Generality, and the Goal of the Good Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1976), 277; Bottles, *Los Angeles*, 93; Benton, *81 Principal American Markets*, 141; "Traffic Proves City's Noose," *LAT*, 12 June 1938, II-1. See also Ashleigh Brilliant, *The Great Car Craze* (Santa Barbara: Woodbridge Press, 1989); Ernest McGaffey, "The Automobile Transforms Business," *SCB* 2 (Aug. 1923), 17, 39–40; Edward Hungerford, "California Takes to the Road," *SEP* 196 (22 Sep. 1923), 27, 108, 113–114; "California Stands . . .," *LAT*, 4 Mar. 1928, VI-1; "Golden State Wealth . . .," *LAT*, 9 Feb. 1930, VI-1, 3; and Frank Snook, "Growth of Motoring in California," *California Real Estate* 10 (June 1930), 1.

25

Used cars appear to have been sold primarily direct from their owners. Numerous advertisements appeared in *LAT* encouraging two-car families and the use of the paper's own want ads section as a source for purchases. See, for example, 7 July 1925, I-6; 21 Nov. 1926, IV-12; 10 Mar. 1929, I-8.

26

Comstock, "Great American Mirror," 718, 720.

27

McWilliams, *Southern California*, 135.

28

Los Angeles Board of Public Works, *Annual Report 1927–1928*, 27; "Streets Here . . .," *LAT*, 18 Dec. 1927, V-8. For analysis of local street improvements generally, see Bottles, *Los Angeles*, chap. 4. This and other recent accounts emphasize the inadequacies of the street system downtown and the problems with street improvement elsewhere in the city without emphasizing the enormous amount of work that was accomplished and its effect on driving habits.

29

Interviews with the late Regula Fybel, Los Angeles, 25 June 1987, and Albert Frey, Palm Springs, 27 June 1987. Both recounted their own experiences driving in the city during the late 1920s and/or 1930s.

30

Gordon Whitnall, *Municipal League of Los Angeles Bulletin* 5 (30 Nov. 1928), 3.

31

A. J. Gries, "Measuring Los Angeles Purchasing Power by Motor Car Statistics," *LAR* 2 (Oct. 1922), 23.

32

"Finding Out . . .," *LAT*, 31 Oct. 1920, V-1; Clarence Snethen, "Los Angeles Activity Reflected . . .," *LAR* 4 (June 1924), 31; Frederick Law Olmsted et al., *A Major Traffic Street Plan for Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Committee on Los Angeles Plan of Major Highways and Traffic Commission of the City and County of Los Angeles, May 1924). For a sampling of period accounts of traffic problems see David Edstrom, "Congestion as Fatal . . .," *LAT*, 13 Mar. 1921, II-2; "Los Angeles and Its Motor-Jam," *Literary Digest* 81 (26 Apr. 1924), 68-71; and Walter Woehlke, "Traffic Jams . . .," *Sunset* 56 (Mar. 1926), 38-41, 92-93.

## II The Problems Solved

1

The project is discussed in the text below. See note 64 for references.

2

Howard Nelson and William Clark, *Los Angeles Metropolitan Experience: Uniqueness, Generality, and the Goal of the Good Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1976), 191-193; Lee Phillips, "The Retail Business Section of Los Angeles," *LAR* 1 (Nov. 1921), 1; John Cooper, "Spring Street's . . .," *LAT*, 1 June 1930, V-2; Earle Crowe, "Wall Street of the West," *LATMN*, 2 Jan. 1930, II-6.

3

"Permits for Height Limit Buildings," typescript, LAMRL, n.p.; P. R. Kent, "Los Angeles," *The Skyscraper* 1 (Feb.-Mar. 1925), 56; "The Office Building Situation . . .," *EES* 3 (14 June 1926), 128; "City Takes High Rank . . .," *LAT*, 1 June 1930, V-2. Readily available statistics of office space in Los Angeles are not broken down by district; nevertheless, period accounts, maps, and photographs, coupled with fieldwork in the core and counterparts across the country, leaves no doubt as to the Los Angeles core's magnitude and importance.

4

"Twenty-five Years Hence," *LATMN*, 1 Jan. 1913, 131-132. See also Heber Waters, "Hillside Life . . .," *LAEx*, 30 Apr. 1925, IV-1; Charles Sloan, "No Prophecies . . .," *LAT*, 6 Dec. 1925, III-26; *LAT*, 3 Apr. 1929, I-4; *LAEEY* 1930, cover; and *LAT* Fiftieth Anniversary Ed., 4 Dec. 1931, I-3.

5

Irving Hellman, "The Skyscraper's Influence on Municipal Progress," *The Skyscraper* 1 (Feb.-Mar. 1925), 6.

6

Concerning Boston, see Douglass Shand Tucci, *Built in Boston: City and Suburb 1800-1950* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1978), 186; concerning Washington, see U. S. Congress, House, *Building Height Limitations*, S. Report, Committee on the District of Columbia, 94th Cong., 2nd sess., 1976; concerning Chicago, see Carol Willis, "Light, Height, and Site: The Skyscraper in Chicago," in John Zukowsky, ed., *Chicago Architecture and Design 1923-1993: Reconfiguration of an American Metropolis* (Munich: Prestel, 1993), 119.

Department of City Planning, City of Los Angeles, "Preliminary Report, Proposed City Charter Amendment, Building Height Limits," typescript, Feb. 1956, LAMRL, 1–3; Gordon Whitnall, "Many Advantages Possessed . . .," *LAR* 1 (Apr. 1922), 5, 24; "Building Height . . .," *LAT*, 21 Sep. 1923, II-1, 3; "Height Limit . . .," *LAT*, 30 Sep. 1923, V-2; Lawrence McNeil, "Should Los Angeles Maintain . . .?," *LAR* 6 (Jan. 1927), 15, 26; Gordon Whitnall, "Building Height Limitation," *California Real Estate* 7 (Apr. 1927), 18; "Building Owners Association Oppose . . .," *SWBC* 73 (21 June 1929), 35; "City's Skyline Plans . . .," *LAT*, 11 Mar. 1931, II-1.

Concerning Hamburger's, see Alice Mary Phillips, *Los Angeles: A Guide Book* (Los Angeles: Neuner Co., 1907), 44–47; "Four Great Buildings . . .," *LAT*, 3 Aug. 1919, V-1; and advertisements in *LAT*, 21 June 1896, 30; 26 July 1896, 30; and 1 June 1899, 9. The Broadway opened in 1895 under the proprietorship of J. A. Williams & Co. (*LAT*, 29 Aug. 1895, 9), but closed shortly thereafter. The store's lease and stock were purchased by Arthur Letts, who established a new operation but retained its predecessor's name. Much useful material on the Broadway can be gleaned from a biography of its owner, written by a chief lieutenant; see William Kilner, *Arthur Letts 1862–1923* (Los Angeles: privately published, Young & McCallister, Inc., 1927). See also advertisements in *LAT*, 8 July 1900, II-3; 2 July 1904, VI-8; and 6 Feb. 1916, II-16.

Most square footage figures given in the text here are approximations calculated from 1906 Sanborn fire insurance atlases. The estimates represent gross floor area. Space devoted to sales tended to be considerably less.

Illustrations of many early Los Angeles business buildings appear in the Sunday *LAT* from 14 June to 20 Sep. 1896. See also "Our Business Blocks," *LAT*, 1 Jan. 1896, 9.

Neil Harris, "Museums, Merchandising, and Popular Taste: The Struggle for Influence," in Ian Quimby, ed., *Material Culture and the Study of American Life* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), 149–154, and William Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890–1925," *Journal of American History* 71 (Sep. 1984), 319–342, provide introductory cultural analyses of this phase in the department store's development. Little has been written on the buildings. The most insightful overview is Meredith Clausen, "Department Stores," in Joseph Wilkes, ed., *Encyclopedia of Architecture: Design, Engineering & Construction*, 4 vols. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1988), 2:204–222. See also her "The Department Store: Development of the Type," *Journal of Architectural Education* 39 (Fall 1985), 20–29. For a case study of a prototypical example, see Ann Van Zanten, "The Marshall Field Annex and the New Urban Order of Daniel Burnham's Chicago," *Chicago History* 11 (Fall–Winter 1982), 130–141. Important background studies of the ascendancy of the department store as a phenomenon during the second half of the nineteenth century include Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), chap. 4; Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890–1940* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), chap. 1; and William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Pantheon, 1993). See also H. Pasdermadjian, *The Department Store: Its Origins, Evolution and Economics* (London: Newman Books, 1954), esp. chap. 2.

The best period account of the subject is Paul Nystrom, *Economics of Retailing*, 2 vols. (rev. ed., New York: Ronald Press, 1930), chap. 6. See also J. Russell Doubman and John Whitaker, *The Organization and Opertaion of Department Stores* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1927), esp. 9–21.

10

“Unique Ideas in Big Store,” *LAT*, 14 Apr. 1906, I-6; Phillips, *Los Angeles*, 45–47; “Public Library . . .,” *LAT*, 9 Feb. 1908, V-1; “Imposing and Practical,” *DGE*, 28 Nov. 1908, 111, 113, 115; *WA* 16 (Sep. 1910), 94. See also “Four Great Buildings.” Hamburger’s and other west coast department stores are illustrated in *PCA* 10 (Nov. 1915), pls.

NOTES

364

11

This site and that of Bullock’s, discussed in the text below, are illustrated in J. E. Scott, “Los Angeles, the Old and the New,” supplement to *Western Insurance News* 8 (Nov. 1911), 54 and 50, respectively.

12

Concerning the movement of downtown retail districts, see Martyn Bowden, “Growth of the Central District in Large Cities,” in Leo Schnore, ed., *The New Urban History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 75–109; and idem, “Persistence, Failure, and Mobility in the Inner City: Preliminary Notes,” in Ralph Ehrenberg, *Pattern and Process: Research in Historical Geography* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1975), 169–192.

Concerning mid-nineteenth-century developments in New York, see Mona Domosh, *Invented Cities: The Creation of Landscape in Nineteenth-Century New York and Boston* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), chap. 2. M. Christine Boyer, *Manhattan Manners: Architecture and Style 1850–1900* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), chap. 3; Charles Lockwood, *Manhattan Moves Uptown* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), chap. 8; and Edgar Hoover and Raymond Vernon, *Anatomy of a Metropolis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 113–116.

13

Robert Twyman, *History of Marshall Field & Co. 1852–1906* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954), 21–24; Joseph Siry, *Carson Pirie Scott: Louis Sullivan and the Chicago Department Store* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), chap. 1; Miles Berger, *They Built Chicago: Entrepreneurs Who Shaped a Great City’s Architecture* (Chicago: Bonus Books, 1992), 7–11, 77–84.

14

*LAT*, 29 July 1906, II-19. Different full-page advertisements appeared with some frequency in *LAT* during the months of June, July, and August. See also “Hamburgers Sell Broadway Frontage,” *LAT*, 10 May 1908, V-1. Hamburger established a separate organization for the purpose, Hamburger Realty & Trust Company, which collaborated with another real estate firm, Robert Marsh & Company.

15

According to Kilner, *Arthur Letts*, 182–183, Letts financed the new establishment but did not review Bullock’s plans while the project was under way. The two stores retained separate identities; the public did not become aware that they were under single ownership until years later. Concerning the facility itself, see “Tehama Building . . .,” *LAT*, 29 Apr. 1906, V-1.



16

Sherley Hunter, "Nine Acres of Service . . .," *WWD*, Retail Merch. Sect., 8 Oct. 1915, 5; "Greater Bullock's . . .," *LAT*, 15 Jan. 1911, V-24; "Bullock's Acquires . . .," *LAT*, 29 June 1919, V-1. The last addition was made in 1928; see "New Six Floor . . .," *WWD*, 28 July 1928, 6; and "Formally Open . . .," *WWD*, 11 Sep. 1928, I-11.

17

*LAT*, 1 Apr. 1900, IV-5; 25 Mar. 1900, IV-5; 11 Mar. 1900, IV-3; 6 Feb. 1916, II-16.

18

"Plans for Mammoth Store," *LAT*, 29 Dec. 1912, V-1; *PCA* 10 (Nov. 1915), 154.

19

"Feels Pulse of Broadway," *LAT*, 7 June 1914, V-1.

20

"Plans Shaping . . .," *LAT*, 24 May 1914, VI-1; H. A. Stebbins, "Splendid New Building . . .," *WWD*, 5 June 1914, Merch. Ed., 1, 16; "Rush Work . . .," *LAT*, 6 June 1915, V-1; "Great Palace . . .," *LAT*, 5 Sep. 1915, V-1; Hunter, "Nine Acres of Service," 5, 12; "Architectural Treatment of a Modern Store," *PCA* 10 (Nov. 1915), 225, 234, 238. The site was proposed for this use by others as early as 1912; see "Seventh and Grand . . .," *LAT*, 28 Jan. 1912, V-1. Concerning the earlier Robinson's store, see *LAT*, 22 Sep. 1895, 27; and *LATMN*, 1 Jan. 1897, 39.

21

Harvey Westgate, "Swarms of Jitneys . . .," *LAT*, 3 Dec. 1916, VI-1, and sequential articles on pp. 2–3. See also idem, "L. A. Man Asks . . .," *LAT*, 17 Dec. 1916, VI-2; and "High Above Traffic Eddy," *LAT*, 13 Sep. 1914, VI-1, 2. Earlier moves by retailers to Broadway may also have been influenced by growing streetcar congestion on Main Street, which had become so acute by 1905 that a proposal to construct elevated tracks was made. See "Streetcar Congestion . . .," *LAT*, 10 Dec. 1905, II-1.

22

Stebbins, "Splendid New Building," 1; Hunter, "Nine Acres of Service," 5.

23

"Fact and Comment," *LAT*, 3 May 1914, V-1.

24

"Fact and Comment," *LAT*, 10 May 1914, V-1.

25

"New Block for West Seventh," *LAT*, 1 July 1917, V-1, 12; "Two Big Projects . . .," *LAT*, 15 July 1917, V-1; "Association to Back . . .," *LAT*, 16 Sep. 1917, V-1, 12; "New Store Ready," *LAT*, 7 Oct. 1917, V-1. The street's potential was recognized as early as 1907 when Bullock's was still under construction; see "Seventh Street . . .," *LAT*, 24 Feb. 1907, V-22.

26

For a sampling of accounts of large Broadway stores, see "Rushing Work . . .," *LAT*, 18 Apr. 1909, V-1; *LAT*, 18 Jan. 1914, Barker Brothers extra issue; "Contract Let . . .," *LAT*, 10 Dec. 1916, V-1; "Millions Go . . .," *LAT*, 22 Apr. 1917, V-1, 13.

27

These, and the general observations in the text below, are based on numerous period accounts, maps, directories, and photograph as well as on-site study.

28

“Hamburger Store Sold,” *LAT*, 1 Apr. 1923, I-1, 2; “Buildings Announced,” *LAT*, 29 July 1923, V-1; *LAT*, 22 June 1924, II-15; “May Co. Open . . .,” *WWD*, 10 Mar. 1925, 55; “Plan 10-Story . . .,” *WWD*, 20 Feb. 1929, 1; *LAT*, 24 Mar. 1929, III-33; *LAT*, 7 May 1929, II-8 (May Co.); “Bullock’s Acquires . . .,” *LAT*, 29 June 1919, V-1; “Bullock’s Plan . . .,” *WWD*, 13 Apr. 1923, 1; *LAT*, 28 July 1924, I-7; “Bullock’s Open . . .,” *WWD*, 20 Nov. 1924, 41; *LAT*, Mar. 1926, II-3; “Trio of Major Units . . .,” *LAT*, 2 Oct. 1927, V-1, 2; “Bullock’s Will Build . . .,” *LAT*, 26 Feb. 1928, II-1; “New Sixth Floor . . .,” *WWD*, 28 July 1928, 8; “Formally Open . . .,” *WWD*, 11 Sep. 1928, I-11; *LAT*, 6 Mar. 1932, III-1 (Bullock’s).

NOTES

366

29

“Shopping District . . .,” *LAT*, 11 Jan. 1923, II-1; *WWD*, 23 Jan. 1923, 57 (Robinson’s); “Will Add . . .,” *LAT*, 9 July 1922, V-1; “Millions for New Buildings,” *LAT*, 22 Apr. 1923, V-1, 19; “Work to Start . . .,” *WWD*, 1 May 1923, 42; *WWD*, 7 May 1923, 27; “Store Unveils . . .,” *LAT*, 9 Nov. 1924, II-2; “Sale at Opening . . .,” *WWD*, 17 Nov. 1924, 33; “New Floor Opened . . .,” *WWD*, 10 Feb. 1925, 65; “The Broadway Plans . . .,” *WWD*, 3 June 1929, I-13 (the Broadway); “Fifth Street Store . . .,” *LAT*, 14 Aug. 1921, V-1; “Fifth Street Store . . .,” *WWD*, 6 Feb. 1923, 55; “Seven Taken . . .,” *LAT*, 10 Mar. 1924, II-1, 2 (Fifth Street Store). Soon after the Fifth Street Store’s new building was completed the name was changed to Walker’s, after the company president, but reverted to Fifth Street Store in 1937. Nine years later, the name was changed once again to Milliron’s. Gimbel Brothers anticipated building a large store as well; see “Hear Gimbel’s Plan . . .,” *WWD*, 28 Apr. 1923, 1, 3.

30

“Will Open New Store,” *LAT*, 31 Aug. 1920, I-9 (Silverwood’s). Desmond’s management initially planned to expand the existing facility on Spring Street (“Prepare Plans . . .,” *LAT*, 9 Jan. 1921, V-1), but soon decided to relocate in larger new quarters in the heart of the shopping district on Broadway; see “Store and Mills . . .,” *LAT*, 10 June 1923, V-1; “New Desmond . . .,” *LAT*, 16 Sep. 1924, II-3; *LAT*, 23 Sep. 1924, I-7; and *LAT*, 3 Oct. 1924, I-9. Harris & Frank’s executives contemplated building a large new store as early as 1917 (“Association to Back . . .,” *LAT*, 16 Sep. 1917, V-1, 12) but completely revised the building program after World War I; see “Five Major Projects . . .,” *LAT*, 11 Jan. 1925, V-1, 2; *LAT*, 2 Nov. 1925, I-5; Olive Gray, “Years Bridged . . .,” *LAT*, 3 Nov. 1925, II-22; and *LAT*, 13 Dec. 1925, I-15. Concerning Myer Siegel, see “Six-Story Building . . .,” *LAT*, 10 Jan. 1926, V-1; “Projected Myer-Siegel . . .,” *WWD*, 19 Jan. 1926, 4; “New Block on Flower . . .,” *LAT*, 9 Jan. 1927, V-2; and *LAT*, 6 Feb. 1927, III-3.

31

*LAT*, 4 Jan. 1920, I-9; “Fine Buildings . . .,” *LAT*, 5 Feb. 1922, V-1, 2; *LAT*, 12 Aug. 1923, II-2; “Wurlitzer Building,” *LAT*, 30 Sep. 1923, V-1; *LAT*, 6 Mar. 1927, V-2; *LAT*, 3 Jan. 1928, I-5.

32

*LAT*, 7 Dec. 1897, 11; *LAT*, 10 July 1898, 14; *LAT*, 6 Nov. 1903, II-7; *LAT*, 25 Feb. 1906, II-8; *LAT*, 2 Jan. 1910, III-21; *LAT*, 2 Jan. 1910, II-5; *LAT*, 13 Mar. 1910, II-11; *LAT*, 11 Apr. 1915, III-13.

33

“Rushing Work . . .,” *LAT*, 18 Apr. 1909, V-1; *LAT*, 18 Jan. 1914, I-4; *LAT*, 11 Sep. 1921, V-1; *LAT*, 21 Aug. 1921, II-7; “Big Firm . . .,” *LAT*, 11 Sep. 1921, V-1; *LAT*, 9 Oct. 1922, II-11.

34

“Sixty Million . . .,” *LAT*, 31 Oct. 1924, II-1, 2; “Los Angeles Sets . . .,” *LAT*, 13 Dec. 1924, I-13, 14; *LAT*, 28 Dec. 1924, III-32; “Rush Work . . .,” *LAT*, 8 Nov. 1925, V-1; Olive Gray, “Hospitality . . .,” *LAT*, 24 Jan. 1926, II-3; *PCA* 30 (July 1926), 20.

35

“Firm Plans . . .,” *LAT*, 14 Jan. 1924, I-4; *LAT*, 3 May 1923, I-4; “Begin Soon . . .,” *WWD*, 25 Mar. 1927, 47; *LAT*, 25 May 1927, I-7; Olive Gray, “Genius Honors . . .,” *LAT*, 4 Dec. 1927, II-9; “Skyline Buildings Rise,” *LAT*, 15 Apr. 1928, V-1; *LAT*, 15 May 1928, I-9; *LAT*, 5 Oct. 1928, I-14; *AB* 45 (June 1928), 58–59 (Alexander & Oviatt); “Skyscraper Job . . .,” *LAT*, 15 Jan. 1928, V-1; *LAT*, 11 Oct. 1928, I-6, 7; Olive Gray, “New Store . . .,” *LAT*, 12 Oct. 1928, II-5; *LAT*, 12 Dec. 1928, II-20 (Foreman & Clark).

36

For a sampling of small stores in much larger office buildings, see *LAT*, 20 Oct. 1920, I-5; *LAT*, 7 Nov. 1920, III-36; *LAT*, 1 May 1921, II-3; *LAT*, 18 Nov. 1921, III-2; *LAT*, 24 May 1921, II-11; *LAT*, 10 Feb. 1922, I-5; *LAT*, 17 Oct. 1923, II-14; *LAT*, 14 Oct. 1924, II-9; *LAT*, 8 Jan. 1925, I-9; *LAT*, 13 Sep. 1925, III-13; *LAT*, 16 Sep. 1925, II-6; *LAT*, 11 Oct. 1925, III-8; *LAT*, 14 Mar. 1926, III-6; *LAT*, 16 May 1926, I-4; *LAT*, 3 Jan. 1928, III-5; *LAT*, 19 Aug. 1929, I-8; *LAT*, 15 Sep. 1929, III-9; and *LAT*, 27 Nov. 1929, III-10.

For examples of small, purpose-built retail facilities, see *LAT*, 8 Sep. 1921, III-42; “New Stores . . .,” *LAT*, 5 June 1921, V-1; *LAT*, 8 Sep. 1921, III-42; *LAT*, 13 Nov. 1921, III-1; “Big Lease . . .,” *LAT*, 27 Nov. 1921, V-1; *LAT*, 6 Nov. 1922, II-12; *LAT*, 3 Dec. 1922, II-6; “Will Open . . .,” *LAT*, 25 June 1924, V-7; *LAT*, 14 Nov. 1926, I-8; and *LAT*, 12 Dec. 1928, I-5.

37

“Downtown Congestion . . .,” *LAT*, 16 Sep. 1923, V-16; Bernard Rosenthal, “Outlook for Flower Good,” *LAT*, 24 Sep. 1924, V-3.

38

*LAT*, 5 June 1921, III-11; “New Buildings . . .,” *LAT*, 3 July 1921, V-1.

39

“To Build on Flower,” *LAT*, 7 May 1922, V-1; “To Build on Flower,” *LAT*, 20 Aug. 1922, V-1; *LAT*, 19 Nov. 1922, III-19; “Valuable Addition . . .,” *LAT*, 15 Apr. 1923, V-15; *LAT*, 5 June 1923, II-7; “Shoe Store . . .,” *LAT*, 6 Dec. 1925, II-2; “Store Unit . . .,” *LAT*, 14 Nov. 1926, V-1; “Ransohoff’s Unit . . .,” *WWD*, 26 Nov. 1926, 8, 53; “New Store . . .,” *LAT*, 2 Jan. 1927, III-17; *LAT*, 2 Oct. 1927, III-11; *LAT*, 30 Mar. 1930, V-2; “Tailors Pick . . .,” *LAT*, 4 Jan. 1931, II-7.

40

“Exclusive Shop . . .,” *LAT*, 25 Apr. 1926, V-11; “Building Height Extended,” *LAT*, 27 Mar. 1927, V-1; Olive Gray, “Great Store . . .,” *LAT*, 11 June 1927, I-7; Olive Gray, “New Store . . .,” *LAT*, 12 June 1927, III-30. Concerning Myer Siegel, see note 30 above.

41

“Downtown Congestion . . .,” *LAT*, 16 Sep. 1923, V-16; “Flower-Street . . .,” *LAT*, 25 Nov. 1923, V-7; “Outlook . . . Good,” *LAT*, 24 Sep. 1924, V-3; “Exclusive Shop Area . . .,” *LAT*, 25 Apr. 1926, V-11; “Established District . . .,” *WWD*, 15 Oct. 1926, 26. For background on N. Michigan Avenue, see John Stamper, *Chicago's North Michigan Avenue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). Comparable precincts in other cities include Chestnut and Walnut streets west of Broad in Philadelphia and Boylston Street in Boston's Back Bay. Most smaller cities did not have such precincts tangent to the business center. Washington's Connecticut Avenue was an exception; see Richard Longstreth, “Building for Business: A Century of Commercial Architecture in the Washington Metropolitan Area,” in C. Ford Peatross, ed., *Washingtoniana: 200 Years of Architectural, Design and Engineering Drawings in the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress*, forthcoming.

42

Harris & Frank, for example, was founded in 1856, Desmond's in 1862, Barker Brothers in 1875, Parmelee-Dohrmann in 1883, and Myer Siegel ca. 1886. Leading department and dry goods stores were, on the average, somewhat newer. Jacoby Brothers was founded in 1875, Coulter's in 1878, Hamburger's in 1881, Robinson's in 1883, the Ville de Paris in 1893, the Broadway in 1895, and N. B. Blackstone in 1896.

43

The dominance of locally owned firms is noted in Ned Johnson, “Creating New Shopping . . .,” *WWD*, 14 Oct. 1927, IV-15.

44

F. W. Woolworth stores were located at 431 and 719 S. Broadway (1912), 113 N. Spring (1912; replaced by unit at 524 S. Main in 1924) and 131–135 S. Broadway (1924). The S. H. Kress store was at 621 S. Broadway (1920); the two J. J. Newberry units at 141 and 445–447 S. Broadway (1927); and those of F. W. Grand at 337 and 537 S. Broadway (1928, 1931). For general discussion of five-and-dime chain store locational practices, see Henry Wolfson, “Real Estate from the Chain Store Viewpoint,” *Annals of Real Estate Practice* (Chicago: National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1929), 296–311. The chain store phenomenon is discussed further in chapter 3 below.

45

See, for example, W. Ross Campbell, “The Effect of Congestion . . .,” *LAR* 9 (May 1930), 8–9, 34; (June 1930), 8–9, 33–35; (July 1930), 9, 25–26; (Aug. 1930), 12–13, 32–34. Campbell headed one of the region's leading commercial real estate firms. Like many of his contemporaries, he did not offer a concrete solution to the problem.

Historical studies focusing on physical change in the city center due to heavy automobile traffic are few. For two exceptions, see R. Stephen Sennott, “Chicago Architects and the Automobile . . .,” in Jan Jennings, ed., *Roadside America: The Automobile in Design and Culture* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990), 157–

169; and idem, “Forever Inadequate to the Rising Stream’ . . .,” in Zukowsky, ed., *Chicago Architecture*, 52–73.

46

C. A. Cooper, “Street Traffic and Parking,” *LAR*, 7 (28 Mar. 1928), 44.

47

Estimates are based on a correlation of listings in city directories and in Sanborn fire insurance atlases. The boundaries chosen are somewhat arbitrary, based on walking distances averaging two to three blocks from densely developed parcels of land devoted to major downtown functions (including professional offices, theaters, financial institutions, hotels, restaurants, and stores) as of 1930.

I have established these boundaries and made independent calculations of parking lot capacity to attain a consistent comparative base from the 1920s to the early 1950s. The geographic area used in period accounts varies to a considerable degree, being often much larger and sometimes markedly smaller. Lot capacity was calculated using standard per-square-foot ratios of the period, which assumes all available space was occupied on demand. Self-service parking in such places did not become general practice until well after World War II.

Detailed information on downtown parking lot capacity prior to 1930 has yet to be found in period sources. That year, W. Ross Campbell claimed that downtown parking lots and structures could hold 25,753 cars at a time and that curbside space could accommodate another 3,200 (Campbell, “Effect of Congestion” [May 1930], 8). These tabulations were probably based on a larger area than that used in this study. For accounts of the parking lot business of the period locally, see “Develops Million Dollar Parking Business,” *MA* 46 (10 July 1924), 16; and L. B. Millard, “Auto Parks,” *LAR* 11 (Apr. 1931), 11, 21. For general discussion, see Charles LeCraw and Wilbur Smith, *Parking Lot Operation* (Saugatuck, Conn.: Eno Foundation, 1948).

48

According to Millard, “Auto Parks,” 11, most Los Angeles car lot operators did not have definite-term leases; property owners could break the agreement with a sixty to ninety-day notice.

49

Campbell, “Effect of Congestion” (May 1930), 8–9, 34.

50

As in other cities, a number of small garages were erected in downtown Los Angeles during the 1920s, typically in peripheral locations. The buildings were seldom more than one story; most of them contained between thirty and sixty cars at a time. Many of them may have been constructed primarily for repair and maintenance services rather than for storage. Their collective impact on the downtown parking situation was never great. By 1930, the total number of cars thus housed within the 102-block core area was probably 1,500 at most.

Multistory garage construction outside downtown Los Angeles was almost nonexistent during the interwar decades due to the high cost relative to the availability of land. One facility holding up to 500 cars was constructed in the Westlake district in 1924–1925 at Sixth and Carondelet streets, principally to serve nearby apartment houses and apartment hotels; see *LAT*, 9 Nov. 1924, V-1; *LAT*, 19 Dec. 1925, I-8; and “An Eight-Story Concrete Garage,” *Concrete* 30 (Feb. 1927), 45–46. A residential clientele was also the target for the Chapman Park Garage (1927) at Sixth between Normandie and Mariposa avenues, several blocks to the west; see

“Commercial Garage . . .,” *SWBC* 78 (4 Nov. 1927), 37; and *AD* 6:4 (1928), 54. A six-story garage holding 300 cars was planned but never built in downtown Beverly Hills; see “Plan Unit . . .,” *LAT*, 14 Feb. 1926, V-13.

51

“New Garage . . .,” *LAT*, 15 Feb. 1920, V-2; “Some Sidelights . . .,” *MA* 42 (12 Oct. 1922), 13. The type has yet to be the subject of detailed scholarly study. For a sampling of period accounts, see “Traffic Relief Requires More Motor Hotels,” *Building Investment and Maintenance* 1 (Jan. 1926), 21–22; “Big Garage . . .,” *Building Magazine* 6 (Dec. 1926), 14; Robert Derrick, “The City Parking Garage,” *AF* 46 (Mar. 1927), 233–240; “Unusual Six-Story Garage . . .,” *Building Magazine* 7 (Nov. 1927), 13; Lee Eastman, “The Parking Garage . . .,” *ACi* 40 (Jan. 1929), 156–157; “Garages,” *AR* 65 (Feb. 1929), 177–196; A. E. Parmelee, “Multi-Story Garages for Mid-City Lots,” *NREJ* 38 (18 Feb. 1929), 23–25; Fay Leone Faurote, “Garage Chains Excel in Personal Service,” *CSR* 2 (Apr. 1929), 15–16, 30–31; “Leasehold Requirements . . .,” *WA* 38 (July 1929), 125–126; Fred Moe, “Downtown Parking Garages,” *Building Investment and Maintenance* 10 (Sep. 1930), 5–7; and *AR* 69 (Apr. 1931), 309.

52

Namely, the 350-car Savoy Garage at 402–410 S. Olive (1923), the 600-car Mutual Garage at 363 S. Olive (1923–1924), a garage at 531–535 S. Maple (1924), the 500-car Auto Cleaning Company Garage at 814–820 S. Grand (1924), the 500-car Auto Center Garage at 742–744 S. Hope (1925), and the 1,000-car Hill’s Garage at 413 S. Spring (1927–1928). For contemporary accounts, see *LAT*, 12 Jan. 1924, I-8; “Ramp Garage . . .,” *LAT*, 13 Jan. 1924, VI-14; *LAT*, 24 Sep. 1924, II-3; “New Garage . . .,” *LAT*, 13 Sep. 1925, VI-4; “Hugh Auto Park . . .,” *LAT*, 27 June 1926, V-7; “Downtown Section . . .,” *LAT*, 4 Mar. 1928, VI-1, 2; “New Garage . . .,” *LAT*, 7 Mar. 1928, II-9; “Solving the Parking Problem . . .,” *SN* 8 (3 Mar. 1928), 2; *AA* 133 (5 Apr. 1928), 480; Harris Allen, “Industrial Architecture in California,” *PCA* 33 (Sep. 1928), 14, 25; *WA* 38 (June 1929), pls. 94–95. Sanborn atlases document the location of these structures and, in most cases, their capacity.

Soon after construction began on the Grand Central Garage, plans were developed for a much larger structure of similar configuration at Hill and First streets. Capacity was projected at a whopping 4,300 cars. Both the size and location, well removed from principal downtown growth areas, probably prevented the project’s realization; see “Block of Many Grades . . .,” *PM* 34 (Sep. 1920), 439. Two other garages, built by downtown stores for their patrons, are discussed in the text below.

53

Documentation on parking fees of the period is difficult to find. Rates advertised by the Auto Cleaning Company Garage—\$.50 minimum, \$.75 over five hours, \$12.50 monthly (*LAT*, 24 Sep. 1924, II-3)—were probably competitive with other garages at that time. Car lot fees appear to have been much less, with \$.25 a standard charge for several hours. Garage rates dropped as the number of off-street parking facilities grew and as economic conditions worsened. By 1931, Guasti-Giulli (Auto Center Garage) charged a \$.25 minimum for up to three hours and \$6.00 monthly (*LAT*, 15 Oct. 1931, I-8).

54

“Solving the Parking Problem.” Total construction cost of Hill’s, including land and equipment, was given as \$1,250,000. The figure cited for the Grand Central Garage was \$650,000, but this may have been for building construction alone. Even so, Hill’s clearly was the more expensive of the two.

NOTES

370

55

An ambitious scheme for a series of fifteen-level garages was being pursued by Merchants Parking Company, a major car lot operator in the city, during the mid-months of 1929, but it never materialized. See “New Parking Plan . . .,” *LAT*, 7 July 1929, V-3.

56

*LAT*, 2 Feb. 1919, VI-1; P. G. Morriss, “The Hotel Garage,” *Pacific Coast Record* 28 (Aug. 1937), 8–9.

57

“Store’s Garage Solves . . .,” *WWD*, 8 Mar. 1924, 14; Arthur Einstein, “Shall the Store Provide Parking Facilities?,” *NRB* 6 (Jan. 1925), 36–37, 40; “Three Stores’ Experiences . . .,” *WWD*, 23 May 1925, 18; A. E. Parmelee, “Should Stores Give Customers Free Parking Space?,” *DGE* 83 (19 Jan. 1929), 60–61.

58

“Store-Garage . . .,” *LAT*, 10 Oct. 1926, V-5; “May’s to Build . . .,” *WWD*, 8 Dec. 1926, 1, 2; “Three Projects . . .,” *LAT*, 12 Dec. 1926, V-1; *WWD*, 22 Dec. 1926, 8; “Garage Opening . . .,” *LAT*, 4 Sep. 1927, II-10; “Garage Aids . . .,” *LAT*, 6 Nov. 1927, VI-2; “On Trial Eighteen Months . . .,” *DGE* 84 (3 Aug. 1929), 67, 78.

The May Company had already built a garage for its Cleveland store; see *WWD*, 1 July 1925, 32. For other early examples, see “Plan \$500,000. . .,” *WWD*, 10 Apr. 1924, 34; “4 Seattle Stores . . .,” *WWD*, 11 Nov. 1924, 41; “Four Stores . . .,” *WWD*, 14 Mar. 1925, 15; “Sanger’s, Dallas . . .,” *WWD*, 18 Apr. 1925, 23; “Store’s Service . . .,” *WWD*, 20 Mar. 1926, 9; and “Garage Service . . .,” *WWD*, 28 Aug. 1926, 7.

59

“New Parking Plan Announced”; Millard, “Auto Parks,” 11. For general discussion, see William Nelson Taft, “Is the Downtown Shopping District Losing Out?,” *NRB* 8 (July 1926), 30–31.

60

“Big Structure Completed . . .,” *LAT*, 31 July 1921, V-1, 4; *LAT*, 22 Jan. 1922, VI-8; “Basement Garage. . .,” *PM* 37 (June 1922), 921–922; “Sixth and Olive’s . . .,” *SN* 10 (30 Nov. 1929), 7. Several years later, a three-story above-ground structure was added to house company dining rooms and other support facilities; see “Down-Town Building . . .,” *SWBC* 69 (21 Jan. 1927), 44.

For general discussion, see Harvey Wiley Corbett, “Skyscraper Garages and Congestion,” *AF* 52 (June 1930), 825–828; and Owen Owens, “Incorporating a Parking Garage in the Office Building,” *AF* 52 (June 1930), 897–902.

61

These projects included the Standard Oil Building at 605 W. Tenth (Olympic Boulevard) of 1923–1924; Los Angeles Gas & Electric Company Building at 810–816 S. Flower of 1923–1924; West Seventh Street Building at 643–659 S. Main of 1924–1925 (125 cars); Pacific Finance Building at 621–623 S. Hope of 1924–1925; Roosevelt Building at 727 W. Seventh of 1926–1927 (350 cars); Title Insurance Building at 421–443 S. Spring of 1927–1928 (200 cars); Ninth and Broadway Building at 850–860 S. Broadway of 1928–1929 (125 cars); and Richfield Building at 555–557 S. Flower of 1929–1930.

For period accounts, see “Construction Begins Soon,” *LAT*, 5 May 1923, II-1 (Standard Oil); “Parking in Basement . . .,” *HDC*, 12 Oct. 1923, 7 (Los Angeles Gas & Electric); “Announce Huge Structure,” *LAT*, 4 Apr. 1926, V-1; *LAT*, 10 May 1927, I-9; “Roosevelt One of Los Angeles . . .,” *SWBC* 70 (15 July 1927), 36–37 (Roosevelt); “Splendid New Title Insurance . . .,” *SWBC* 69 (11 Feb. 1927), 36; “New Title Insurance . . .,” *California Real Estate* 7 (June 1927), 22–23; “New Height-Limit . . .,” *SN* 8 (9 June 1928), 2; *SCB* 7 (Sep. 1928), end cover; “Title Insurance Building . . .,” *PCA* 33 (Dec. 1928), 27–33 (Title Insurance); “Downtown Structure . . .,” *LAT*, 25 Aug. 1929, V-2; Harris Allen, “Terra Cotta versus Terra Firma,” *PCA* 30 (Feb. 1930), 33–35, 72; and David Gebhard, *The Richfield Building 1928–1968* ([Los Angeles]: Atlantic-Richfield Co., 1970).

62

Concerning the building itself, see “Demolition of Old . . .,” *LAT*, 10 May 1908, V-1; “Modern Structure . . .,” *LAT*, 21 Feb. 1909, V-1; and *WA* 16 (Sep. 1910), 91, pl. The garage entrance is illustrated in Gebhard, *Richfield Building*, 2; however, it was constructed ca. 1930, not 1934 as stated there. Similar conversions were made to two other vintage piles, the Herman W. Hellman Building (1903) and the Alexandria Hotel Annex (1910), but their dates are uncertain.

63

*LAT*, 17 May 1927, I-11; *LAT*, 8 Aug. 1927, II-2; “‘X’ Marks Spot . . .,” *LAT*, 1 Sep. 1930, II-2; *LAT*, 11 June 1931, I-19; *LAT*, 3 Nov. 1927, V-8.

64

“Launch Local Improvements,” *LAT*, 23 Mar. 1924, V-1; *LAT*, 27 Mar. 1924, I-11.

65

Patrons left their cars at the garage portal of the Jewelers Building; storage was accomplished through an automatic elevator system operated by attendants at ground level. See “Skyscraper Garage . . .,” *PSM* 105 (June 1924), 42; “Autos Parked . . .,” *PM* 46 (July 1926), 438–439; Sennott, “Chicago Architects,” 164–168; and Sennott, “Forever Inadequate,” 62.

In 1923 an architect, Harry H. Hill, proposed an internal ramp system for core parking in skyscrapers, but the scheme possessed so many unrealistic attributes that it is doubtful whether any client had commissioned the study; see “Parking Space . . .,” *PM* 40 (Aug. 1923), 226.

66

I know of only two instances where this concept was realized. Both were by Washington developer Morris Cafritz, for the Cafritz Building (1948–1950) and Universal Building (1952–1954). Given the dates and location, it is doubtful whether these designs were directly inspired by any pre-1930 proposals. The configuration appears to have had little influence because its advantages failed to outweigh the high cost. See “Cafritz Plans . . .,” *Washington Post*, 29 Aug. 1948, R-1; *AF* 89 (Oct. 1948), 13; “Solving the Parking Problem,” *Buildings* 49 (June 1949), 49; “Integrated Parking . . .,” *AR* 106 (Dec. 1949), 12; “26-Million-Dollar . . .,” *Washington Post*, 23 Nov. 1952, 1R; “Integral Parking,” *Parking* 1 (Winter 1954), 49; and Geoffrey Baker and Bruno Funaro, *Parking* (New York: Reinhold, 1958), 90–91.

67

“Fifteen Floors . . .,” *SWBC* 67 (30 Apr. 1924), 43; “Downtown Garage . . .,” *LAE*x, 19 Sep. 1926, IV-3. Yet another scheme, identified only as for a Pacific



coast city, was devised the previous year; see "Office Building with . . .," *PM* 43 (June 1925), 947.

### *III Westward Ho for Business*

1

Ralph Ford, "Remarkable Development of One Outlying Business District," *LAR* 1 (Apr. 1922), 23; "Lilly-Fletcher Company," *LATMN*, 1 Jan. 1921, III-24. Both accounts focus on the development of Western Avenue, discussed in the text below.

2

Material presented in the text is derived from the classified section of city directories for 1900, 1910, and 1920 as well as that in Sanborn fire insurance atlases issued in 1906 for the city center and its environs, and between 1919 and 1923 for areas further afield.

Several factors make the figures cited approximate. First, precise boundaries for the central business district are difficult to draw since geographic overlap always occurred between functions oriented to the city population as a whole and those serving a localized clientele. Automobile facilities were among several types that tended to congregate on the fringe of downtown, where they were interspersed with neighborhood outlets such as groceries and barber shops. As a result, I include businesses as part of outlying areas only when they lie beyond a radius of about ten blocks from the core as it was then identified.

Second, it is likely that not all businesses were cited in the classified section of city directories, a discrepancy that comes to light when listings are compared to stores shown on Sanborn atlases, even when allowing for a predictable number of vacancies. I have assumed, however, that the large majority of businesses of any consequence are listed and thus that the classified section affords a relatively accurate picture.

Third, directory listings include only those businesses lying within the Los Angeles city limits for the years in question, and thus encompass a progressively larger area each decade. Yet, with the exception of Hollywood, most of the land was sparsely developed when annexed by the city and thus had few or no business activities. I have included most businesses listed, even those in places such as Owensmouth and Van Nuys that were then isolated from the rest of the city. On the other hand, I have excluded those in San Pedro and Wilmington, which had their own employment bases and continued to function as more or less independent communities during this period.

3

Namely the 2200–2400 blocks of N. Broadway, 4200–4600 blocks of S. Broadway (then Moneta Avenue), 2500–2600 blocks of S. Central, 1800–2100 blocks of E. First, Hollywood Boulevard around Highland and Cahuenga avenues, 2200–2400 blocks of S. Hoover, and 2500–2600 blocks of W. Pico Boulevard. The estimate of the number of businesses in these precincts is rough owing to the absence of Sanborn or comparable maps for this time frame. An extensive search has failed to uncover street address directories published before 1935.

4

Namely the 2100–2600 blocks of N. Broadway, 4200–4900 and 5800–6200 blocks of S. Broadway, 1900–2800 and 4200–4700 blocks of S. Central, 1800–

2100 blocks of E. First, 6200–6800 blocks of Hollywood Boulevard, 2200–2500 blocks of S. Hoover, 2500–3000 blocks of W. Pico Boulevard, and 3100–3500 blocks of S. Vermont. At least six centers containing between forty and sixty businesses included a substantial range of goods and services: 5200–5500 blocks of S. Central, 1200–1500 and 3600–4000 blocks of E. First, 5400–5500 blocks of Hollywood Boulevard, 5600–5800 blocks of Pasadena Avenue, and 4600–4900 blocks of S. Vermont. Others with roughly the same number of businesses were more limited in scope. These findings are based on correlating directory listings with information in Sanborn fire insurance maps published between 1919 and 1923.

A sharp decline in residential construction occurred after 1913, from which it did not recover until after World War I. However, commercial development in outlying areas often continued in the wake of house-building booms and thus probably was sustained for a longer time in this instance.

5

Function is much more useful than density in delineating what constitutes an outlying center for Los Angeles during this period. I have defined “outlying center” as a more or less unbroken sequence of blocks where a variety of nonconvenience goods and a comparable variety of services can be procured, interspersed with other goods and services used on a routine basis. Defining a center by the concentration of businesses alone, irrespective of function, would exclude many key outlets and also fail to differentiate between major centers and ones of less importance. It is equally misleading to characterize this arterial development as an unbroken strip, since considerable variation was found in both the kinds and number of business activities along the length of a given thoroughfare.

6

Good period photographs documenting this genre of commercial development are extremely hard to find, especially ones taken before the mid-1920s. Figure 35 and several others I have used from the Whittington collection (figs. 36, 209) were shot for insurance purposes at the scene of an automobile accident. Though taken several years later, fig. 35 shows development that for the most part occurred prior to 1923. This commercial center was at the small end of the scale discussed in the text (about forty businesses in 1923), but its buildings and their arrangement exhibit the same characteristics as those of a core zone for a center with twice to three times as many businesses. For further discussion, see Richard Longstreth, “The Forgotten Arterial Landscape: Photographic Documentation of Commercial Development along Los Angeles Boulevards during the Interwar Decades,” *Journal of Urban History*, forthcoming.

7

Some stretches of S. Vermont and S. Western avenues still contained exclusively residential development, affording a clear break in the pattern; however, such changes were exceptional.

8

These observations must remain tentative since so little research has been done on the subject. The one detailed historical analysis of outlying business center development in the United States prior to 1900 is Michael Conzen and Kathleen Neils Conzen, “Geographical Structure in Nineteenth-Century Urban Retailing: Milwaukee, 1836–90,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 5 (Jan. 1979), 45–66. Fieldwork I have done over the past twenty-five years in a number of cities, especially Philadelphia, reinforces the Conzen’s hypothesis that patterns found in Milwaukee are

typical for the period. Useful information on the subject can also be found in several studies of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Chicago done during the 1930s: I. K. Rolph, *The Local Structure of Retail Trade*, U.S. Department of Commerce, Domestic Commerce Series No. 80 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933), which appears in condensed form in R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933), chap. 19; Malcolm Proudfoot, *Intra-City Business Census Statistics for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1935, the findings of which are presented in idem, "City Retail Structure," *JLP* 13 (Oct. 1937), 425–428; and idem, *The Major Outlying Business Centers of Chicago* (Chicago: private ed., distributed by the University of Chicago Libraries, 1938).

A good sense of the density that outlying centers oriented toward middle-income consumers could reach in the largest U.S. cities prior to World War I is afforded by Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), 191–192, 225–227. The extent to which counterparts differed in a relatively small city such as Washington, D.C., is conveyed by a series of contemporary articles published weekly in the *Washington Post* between 21 August and 20 November 1910. Regrettably nothing approaching this level of detail can be found for Los Angeles.

9

"Valuable Sites . . .," *LAT*, 14 Apr. 1912, V-1; "Fine Improvement . . .," *LAT*, 22 Sep. 1912, V-1; "South Main . . .," *LAT*, 16 Mar. 1913, V-1. Later accounts include "Half Million Paid . . .," *LAT*, 26 Mar. 1922, V-2; "Store Alterations Rushed," *LAT*, 20 July 1930, V-3; and "Store Leases Announced," *LAT*, 12 Oct. 1930, V-3. Much of the Prager Park tract remained undeveloped for some years (*LAT*, 24 June 1928, V-6).

10

"Developments in South End," *LAT*, 17 Jan. 1909, V-21. The equivalent monthly expense of homeownership and rent was stressed in numerous real estate advertisements during the 1910s and 1920s. Concerning the popularity of apartment buildings for close-in locations, see "New Stores . . .," *LAT*, 30 Oct. 1910, VI-1; and "Idle Lots . . .," *LAT*, 13 Nov. 1910, VI-1.

11

"Idle Lots."

12

"Important Projects . . .," *LAT*, 3 Oct. 1915, V-1. The size of Braun's building, with a 240-foot frontage on Vermont Avenue, also was unusual for the period.

13

Albert Fribourg, "Taxpayers Offer Profitable . . .," *Building Investment* 4 (Mar. 1929), 27–29, provides a detailed account of economic aspects of the type's development. See also Tyler Stewart Rogers, "Good Possibilities for Profit . . .," *Building Investment* 4 (July 1929), 27–29. Both address work in the New York metropolitan area. Accounts written almost twenty years earlier in Washington, D.C., indicate that the taxpayer's profitability was widely recognized by that time; see "One-Story Stores . . .," *Evening Star* [Washington], 14 Jan. 1911, II-2; "Row of One-Story Stores . . .," *Evening Star*, 22 July 1911, II-2; and "Interesting Development . . .," *Evening Star*, 9 Nov. 1912, II-3. Comparable pieces for Los Angeles have yet to be found.

General characteristics noted in the text are based upon a random sample taken from 1928 issues of *SWBC*, analysis of historic photographs, and on-site study.

14

Fribourg, "Taxpayers," 27.

15

Otto G. Wildey, *An Approach to Business Real Estate* (Los Angeles: Otto G. Wildey Co., 1930), 6, 8; "Changes in Neighborhood Business . . .," *EES* 4 (30 May 1927), 128. See also Leonard Hammel and S. Charles Lee, *Los Angeles Blue Book of Land Values* (Los Angeles: Land Value Book Publishing Co., 1932), 7.

NOTES

376

16

Detailed discussion of the city's zoning ordinance and its creation as a means to enhance real estate development is found in Marc Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), chap. 4.

17

Hoyt, *One Hundred Years, 191–192*, 225–227; Proudfoot, *Major Outlying Business Centers*, 7–9.

18

A map of the municipal railway system in 1898 is contained in Robert Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles 1850–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 88. For the system as it existed in December 1910, see Robert Cowan, *On the Rails of Los Angeles: A Pictorial History of Its Streetcars* (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1917), n.p. For the post–World War I period, I used the 1924 edition of *Chadwick's Standard Los Angeles Street Guide*.

Transfers between the Los Angeles Municipal Railway and the interurban line, the Pacific Electric Railway, were not high in volume. Rather the two systems functioned more or less independently of one another. This relationship was quite different from that of the subway and elevated lines of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, where stations often served as major transfer points to surface rail lines.

19

See, for example, Ford, "Remarkable Development," 23; and "Western Avenue Proves Popular," *HDC*, 22 Oct. 1927, 10.

20

"Fact and Comment," *LAT*, 10 Mar. 1913, V-1; Ford, "Remarkable Development," 7, 23. See also Walter Woehlke, "How Long Los Angeles?," *Sunset* 52 (Apr. 1924), 11, 100.

21

Accounts of buildings include *LAT*, 31 Oct. 1920, V-1; "Plans Nearing Completion . . .," *LAT*, 5 Dec. 1920, V-1; "Four-Story Building . . .," *LAT*, 30 Jan. 1921, V-1; "Will Soon Erect . . .," *LAT*, 5 Mar. 1922, V-1; *LAT*, 1 July 1922, II-3; "Plan New Business . . .," *LAT*, 3 Sep. 1922, V-1; "Start Hollywood Store," *LAT*, 15 Oct. 1922, V-15; *LAT*, 18 Jan. 1923, V-4; "New Projects . . .," *LAT*, 26 Apr. 1925, V-1; and *LAT*, 25 Jan. 1931, V-2.

22

Mason Case, "Outlying Business Districts," *NREJ* 31 (15 Sep. 1930), 30.

23

"Lilly-Fletcher Company," *LATMN*, 1 Jan. 1921, 24. The firm was building apartment houses on Western Avenue for at least one investor as early as 1917; see "New District . . .," *LAT*, 5 Aug. 1917, V-1. Not everyone was optimistic about such business districts; see, for example, Ned Johnson, "Creating New Shopping Zones . . .," *WWD*, 14 Oct. 1927, IV-15.

Detailed accounts of the development of medium-sized outlying commercial centers are extremely hard to find. "Neighborhood" newspapers provide one of the best, albeit elusive, sources. A number of areas within the City of Los Angeles were never covered, or at least not covered in detail, by such papers. In some cases, too, publication began after the formative period of development. Finally, important periods of the paper's run may be missing from collections, as is the case with *SWW*, which covered an extensive area south of Pico Boulevard and west of Figueroa Street, prior to the 1930s. Finally, the paper itself may be lost—the apparent fate of the *Uptown Journal*, which covered much of the Wilshire district, including those blocks of Western Avenue discussed in the text above.

24

For biographical information, see *Men of California . . .* (San Francisco and Los Angeles: Western Press Register, 1925), 38. See also *LATMN*, 1 Jan. 1920, VI-13. Taft's role in the development of Hollywood Boulevard is noted in chapter 4 below.

25

"New District"; "Taft Corner . . .," *HDC*, 6 June 1925, 7. During the early 1920s, Taft added another two-story building and two one-story buildings to the site.

26

General accounts include: "New Center . . .," *LAT*, 17 July 1921, V-1; "Santa Monica and Western . . .," *HDC*, 15 Apr. 1922, 1; "Western Avenue . . .," *HDC*, 13 Oct. 1922, 1; "Rapid Growth . . .," *HDC*, 24 July 1925, 10; M. L. Garrigue, "Santa Monica and Western Site," *HDC*, 9 July 1927, 12; and "Western Avenue . . .," *HDC*, 22 Oct. 1927, 10. For good illustrations, see *HDC*, 8 June 1926, Hollywood Today Sect., III-n.p.

For accounts of individual projects, see *LAT*, 12 Oct. 1919, V-1; "Fine Theater . . .," *LAT*, 24 Apr. 1921, V-3; "New Stores . . .," *LAT*, 1 May 1921, V-3; "Pasadena Merchant . . .," *HDC*, 6 June 1921, I-2; "New Robinson Building . . .," *HDC*, 17 June 1921, I-4; *HDC*, 17 June 1921, I-8; *LAT*, 25 Dec. 1921, I-4; "Large Building . . .," *HDC*, 10 May 1922, 1; "Big New Building . . .," *HDC*, 9 Feb. 1924, 10; "Western Avenue . . .," *HDC*, 16 June 1924, 5; *LAT*, 21 Dec. 1924, V-1; "Pioneer Realtors . . .," *HDC*, 24 July 1925, 9; "New Ries Building," *HDC*, 7 Nov. 1925, 2; and "Ready for Opening," *HDC*, 1 May 1926, 2.

27

"Owl Drug Re-opens . . .," *HDC*, 15 June 1928, 13; *LAT*, 13 Aug. 1922, V-3; "Santa Monica and Western Site"; "Santa Monica–Western Bank . . .," *HDC*, 2 Mar. 1923, 1; "Finish One Bank . . .," *HDC*, 5 July 1923, 9. The Seelig store was one of thirty-nine he operated by 1920; see *LAT*, 19 Dec. 1920, II-10. For illustrations of other Security branches, see *LAT*, 3 Jan. 1922, I-6.

Godfrey Lebhar, *Chain Stores in America 1859–1950* (New York: Chain Store Pub. Corp., 1952), 63, and Paul Nystrom, *Economics of Retailing*, 2 vols., rev. ed. (New York: Ronald Press, Co., 1930), 1:229, stand among the most useful period accounts of the subject. See also William Baxter, *Chain Store Distribution and Management*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1931); M. M. Zimmerman, *The Challenge of Chain Store Distribution* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1931); and John Nichols, *The Chain Store Tells Its Story* (New York: Institute of Distribution, 1940).

## NOTES

378

Contemporary periodical literature on the subject is vast. CSA and the short-lived CSR are among the most informative sources. For a sampling of other accounts, see James Palmer, “Economic and Social Aspects of Chain Stores,” *Journal of Business of the University of Chicago* 2 (July 1929), 272–290; H. M. Foster, “Have the Chain Stores Reached Their Peak?,” *PIM* 20 (June 1930), 29–30, 128, 131–132, 134, 137; 21 (July 1930), 39–40, 76, 79–80, 82, 85, 114, 117; and Hugh Foster, “The Chain Store Comes of Age,” *PIM* 34 (Apr. 1937), 79–94. For a recent overview, see Susan Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market* (New York: Pantheon, 1989), 222–229.

29

Nystrom, *Economics of Retailing*, 1:213. Zimmerman, *Chain Store Distribution*, 23–24, considered ten units the threshold.

30

Some chain companies such as Sears, Roebuck did have two or more gradations of store, which determined the range and sometimes the quantity of stock carried. Chain outlets should not be confused with branch stores, most of which, during the period under study, were operated as extensions of the main, downtown emporium and subsidiary to it.

31

Carl Schmalz, “Independent Stores versus Chains in the Grocery Field,” *Harvard Business Review* 9 (July 1931), 439.

32

See, for example, Ruth Leigh, “Mrs. Housewife, May We Present Mr. Chain Store,” *Chain Store Progress* 3 (Jan. 1931), 5; and Malcolm Sweeney, “Chains Raise Standards of Store Appearance,” *Chain Store Progress* 3 (Aug. 1931), 5.

33

For a sampling of accounts, see Ira Lurie, “What’s the Best Location?,” *System* 42 (Oct. 1922), 401–403, 446, 448, 450; “Scarcity of Chain Store Locations . . .,” *WWD*, 21 Nov. 1924, 35; Jesse Bell, “How to Determine the Comparative Rental Value . . .,” *Real Estate Brokerage* (Chicago: National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1927), 237–241; Bernard Rosenthal, “Surveys Prove Their Worth,” *LAR* 6 (Sep. 1927), 14–15, 39; Frank Slosson, “Chain Store Locations,” *Chicago Realtor* 40 (Nov. 1927), 9–12, 28–29; Meyer Eiseman, “Chain Store Operation . . .,” *Annals of Real Estate Practice* (Chicago: National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1928), 344–348; “Location Expert . . .,” *WWD*, 28 July 1928, 13; Henry Wolfson, “Traffic-Location-Trends . . .,” *NREJ* 30 (8 July 1929), 39–41; William Junglas, “Accessibility Is Richman’s Location Key,” *CSA/GME* 5 (Dec. 1929), 41–42, 66; Robert Moore, “The Relation of the Real Estate Broker to the Chain Store,” *Annals of Real Estate Practice* (Chicago: National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1930), 74–81; Case, “Outlying Business Districts,” 27–30; Stanley McMichael, “Chain Stores—Their Influence on Real Estate,” *LAR* 10 (June

1931), 7–9, 32; Richard Ratcliff, “The Problem of Retail Site Selection,” *Michigan Business Studies* 9 (1939), 77–88; and Joseph Laronge, “Traffic Counts,” *AJ* 6 (Apr. 1938), 146–154.

34

“Note Invasion . . . ,” *WWD*, 5 Oct. 1928, IV-5. For background, see Glen White, “Picking Sites for Penney Stores,” *CSA* 1 (July 1925), 5–7, 24; H. S. Wright, “Locating Grocery Stores,” *CSA* 1 (Aug. 1925), 10–11, 54–57; M. G. Gibbs, “How a Prominent Chain Picks Store Locations,” *PI* 141 (10 Nov. 1927), 108–109; J. J. Witherspoon, “The Future of the Neighborhood Store,” *PIM* 15 (Dec. 1927), 34–35, 88, 91–92; Eiseman, “Chain Store Operation,” 347; Irving Williams, Jr., “Selecting Store Locations in Rural Districts,” *CSA/GME* 4 (June 1928), 27–28; and Henry Wolfson, “Real Estate from the Chain Store Viewpoint,” *Annals of Real Estate Practice* (Chicago: National Association of Real Estate Boards, 1929), 296–311.

35

For most of the 1920s, Los Angeles directories do not list chain store units, only the main office and, sometimes, the warehouse. According to contemporary accounts, in 1925 Daley’s (first store 1916) had 169 units; Chaffee’s (first store 1902) had 87; E. A. Morrison (first store 1909) had 50. One year later (1926) Von’s had 58. No figure is given for Piggly Wiggly except statewide: 130 stores. See *LAT*, 30 Apr. 1924, I-9; Joseph Daley, “Turnover Is King,” *CSA* 1 (Sep. 1925), 9–10, 42; Frank Williams, “How Joe Daley ‘Makes a Hit’ . . . ,” *CSR* 1 (Dec. 1928), 27–30; Dorothea Howard, “‘Chaffee’s’ Pioneer Grocers . . . ,” *HDC/HES*, 8 Jan. 1926, 1; “E. A. Morrison Co. . . . ,” *HDC/HES*, 16 Oct. 1925, 1; Charles von der Ahe, “Some Things to Avoid in Operating a Small Chain,” *CSA* 2 (Aug. 1926), 25–26, 59; “7 Piggly Wiggly Stores . . . ,” *HDC/HES*, 25 Sep. 1925, 1; A. C. Jones, “An Analysis of Piggly Wiggly Progress,” *CSA* 1 (Jan. 1926), 6–7, 38–39, 44; *LAT*, 13 Feb. 1927, I-11; *LAT*, 15 Mar. 1927, II-9; and *LAT*, 12 Apr. 1929, II-3.

Concerning the largest grocery store chain in 1925, see note 36 below. One other important local chain, Ralphs Grocery Company, built a comparatively small number of large stores.

36

Concerning Seelig, see J. Gordon Wright, “Attention to Details Spell Success for Seelig,” *SMM* 3 (Jan. 1938), 30. See also his advertisements in *LAT*, 24 Oct. 1920, II-7; 19 Dec. 1920, II-10; 2 Jan. 1921, II-11; 19 Jan. 1921, II-13; 23 June 1922, I-9; 24 Sep. 1922, II-9; 1 Oct. 1922, II-6; 10 June 1924, II-9; and 19 Aug. 1924, II-9. Concerning Safeway, see Wright, “Locating Grocery Stores”; “Sixteen Safeway Stores . . . ,” *HDC/HES*, 11 Sep. 1925, 1; *LAT*, 9 Nov. 1926, II-9; “West Hollywood Has . . . ,” *HDC/HES*, 10 June 1927, 1; *LAT*, 28 June 1927, II-9; and *LAT*, 17 July 1928, II-7. Concerning MacMarr, see “Stores Acquired . . . ,” *Oregonian* [Portland], 1 Apr. 1929, 12; “Nine Chain Store . . . ,” *Oregon Daily Journal* [Portland], 1 Apr. 1929, 9; and *HDC*, 24 May 1929, 15.

37

Wright, “Locating Grocery Stores.”

38

Baxter, *Chain Store Distribution*, 78.

39

Concerning Owl, see “California’s Finest . . . ,” *HDC*, 3 Feb. 1928, Owl Drug Sect.; “Owl Drug Stores’ . . . ,” *HDC*, 31 July 1930, 9. Concerning Liggett, see

“How Liggett’s Opened Up the West,” *CSA* 1 (May 1926), 24–25, 54–56; and “Liggett Stores . . .,” *HDC/HES*, 25 June 1926, 1.

40

Zimmerman, *Chain Store Distribution*, 40.

41

Howard Preston, “Branch Banking with Special Reference to California Conditions,” *Journal of Political Economy* 30 (Aug. 1922), 494, 503–507; John Chapman and Ray Westerfield, *Branch Banking: Its Historical and Theoretical Position in America and Abroad* (New York: Harper, 1942), 84–92; John Farnham, “Making a Tour of Hollywood Banks,” *Burroughs Clearing House* 23 (Sep. 1939), 31.

NOTES

380

42

Hale Huggins, “Decentralization of Shopping,” *LAR* 3 (Apr. 1924), 39; Preston, “Branch Banking,” 506–512. Many early branches in Los Angeles did not provide loan services. The leader in changing this practice was Security Trust, which established as policy to have all its branches offer full banking services by 1922.

43

Quoted in “Branch Banks of Southern California,” *Shapes of Clay* 2 (Jan. 1926), 2.

44

*LAT*, 29 Apr. 1923, V-11; *LAT*, 28 Oct. 1923, V-18; *LAT*, 24 Oct. 1926, V-7; *LAT*, 12 Dec. 1923, V-16. For a sampling of similar advertisements, see *LAT*, 8 Apr. 1923, V-8; 18 Nov. 1923, V-12; 29 Nov. 1927, I-10; and 12 May 1929, V-5.

45

Charles Cohan, “Los Angeles in 2035 . . .,” *LAT*, 2 June 1935, V-1, 2.

#### *IV Hollywood—Los Angeles’s Other Half*

1

“Hollywood—Los Angeles Other Half,” *LAR* 7 (Nov. 1927), 35.

2

Contemporary accounts of this phenomenon are cited in chapter 3, note 8. For a recent popular case study, see Jean Fahey Eberle, *Midtown, a Grand Place to Be!* (St. Louis: Mercantile Commerce Trust Co., 1980). Detailed historical analyses of the subject have yet to be written; however, some worthwhile background material is found in broader local studies, such as Harold Mayer and Richard Wade, *Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 342–348.

3

For background, see Wm. McGarry, “Creating a Chain Community . . .,” *CSR* 2 (Sep. 1929), 9–11, 62, 64; and “69th St. Growing . . .,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 19 Feb. 1928, B16.

4

Basic information on Hollywood’s development can be found in Edwin Palmer, *History of Hollywood*, 2 vols. (Hollywood: Arthur H. Cawston, 1937). Much of this material is repeated in Bruce Torrence, *Hollywood: The First Hundred Years* (New



York: Zoetrope, 1982). Contemporary accounts include Jerome Sengel, "Hollywood," *LAR* 5 (Oct. 1925), 13–14; George Coffin, "From Pasture to Metropolis," *LAR* 5 (Oct. 1925), 15; Hollywood Today Ed. of *HDC*, 8 June 1926; Hollywood issue of *LAR* 6 (Nov. 1926); and Thomas Barnett, "Hollywood—A City Within a City," *LAR* 8 (Nov. 1928), 23, 55–56.

5

As early as 1921, a promotional column in *HDC* stated that "Hollywood seems be a step from New York, if one judges distance by the styles seen in Hollywood shops" ("Helen Hollywood A-Shopping Goes," 1 Apr. 1921, II-11). By the end of the decade, the newly formed Hollywood Boulevard Association boasted that its precinct was the "style center of the world" (*HDC*, 6 Apr. 1922, 1).

Other useful accounts of the district's commercial development during the 1920s include: "Retail District . . .," *HDC*, 4 Aug. 1922, 1, 2; "More Business . . .," *HDC*, 16 Nov. 1922, 1; "Bigger Business . . .," *HDC*, 2 Dec. 1922, 9; "Great Hollywood Growth . . .," *HDC*, 2 Dec. 1922, 9, 15; "Boulevard Faces . . .," *HDC*, 1 June 1925, 7; "Westward Trend . . .," *HDC*, 20 Aug. 1927, 11; "Shopping Area . . .," *WWD*, 4 Aug. 1928, 1, 16; and "Hollywood Business . . ." *LAT*, 15 Sep. 1929, V-2.

Accounts of new stores include: "Marie Company . . .," *HDC*, 27 Feb. 1925, 2; "New Store Opens," *HDC*, 17 Apr. 1926, 2; "Movie Mode . . .," *HDC*, 23 July 1926, 9; "Beauty and Convenience . . .," *HDC*, 2 Sep. 1926, 7; "Bess Schlank Secures . . .," *HDC*, 6 Aug. 1927, 17; "New Trousseau . . .," *HDC/HES*, 18 Nov. 1927, 1; "Stoner's to Open . . .," *HDC*, 29 Sep. 1928, 3; and "2 Hollywood Stores . . .," *WWD*, 14 May 1929, I-7.

6

*HDC*, 4 Oct. 1921, 8; *HDC*, 6 Oct. 1921, 8; "English Room . . .," *HDC*, 21 July 1925, 2; "New Clothing Firm . . .," *HDC*, 2 Nov. 1921, 1; *HDC*, 16 May 1922, 8; "New Store . . .," *HDC*, 18 May 1922, 5; *HDC*, 3 Oct. 1924, Guaranty Souvenir Ed., n.p.; "Meyer, [sic] Siegel . . .," *HDC*, 6 Nov. 1925, 6; *HDC*, 26 Aug. 1921, I-5; "Innes' Dream . . .," *HDC*, 22 Sep. 1921, I-2; "New Business Block . . .," *HDC*, 28 Oct. 1922, 1; "Wetherby-Kayser . . .," *HDC*, 9 Mar. 1923, 1; "New Shoe Store . . .," *HDC*, 2 Aug. 1923, 7; "Hollywood Branch," *HDC*, 1 June 1925, 10; "C. H. Baker . . .," *HDC*, 28 Sep. 1928, 13; and *HDC*, 26 Sep. 1924, 2.

7

"Magnins [sic] Buy Site . . .," *LAT*, 19 Nov. 1922, V-1; "Interior Architecture . . .," *AA* 129 (5 Feb. 1926), 229–232; "Typical of . . . Hollywood," *HDC*, 3 Aug. 1926, 3; "Hollywood Shop . . .," *LAT*, 13 Nov. 1927, V-1; "Magnin's Plan . . .," *WWD*, 15 Nov. 1927, I-14; "Open Addition . . .," *WWD*, 27 Mar. 1928, I-1, 2; "Plans for Roos' . . .," *WWD*, 5 Sep. 1928, I-12; *HDC*, 8 Dec. 1928, 11; "Roos' Opens . . .," *WWD*, 19 Feb. 1929, I-11; *HDC*, 13 Feb. 1929, 4; "Roos Brothers . . .," *HDC*, 15 Feb. 1929, 5; "Throngs at New . . .," *LAT*, 16 Feb. 1929, II-6; and *CSA* 5 (Sep. 1929), 59.

8

*LAT*, 20 Feb. 1921, V-2; "W. P. Fuller . . .," *HDC*, 12 August 1921, 1; Harriet Burdsal, "Gold Rush Saw . . .," *HDC/HES*, 7 Oct. 1927, 1; "Barker Brothers . . .," *HDC*, 13 Aug. 1927, 1, 8; *HDC*, 7 Oct. 1927, Barker Bros. Ed.; "Frigidaire Opens . . .," *HDC/HES*, 5 Aug. 1927, 1; "Hollywood Has General Electric . . .," *HDC/HES*, 17 Feb. 1928, 1. For other examples, see *HDC*,

27 Sep. 1927, I-9; "Milnor Opens . . .," *HDC*, 12 Nov. 1927, 9; and Harriet Burdsal, "Milnor's Inc. . . .," *HDC/HES*, 28 Oct. 1927, 1.

9

"Platt Formal Re-Opening . . .," *HDC*, 12 Sep. 1925, 2; "Many Buildings Planned," *LAT*, 15 July 1923, V-1, 8; "Paulais to Open . . .," *HDC*, 22 Sep. 1924, 5; "Completion of Beautiful . . .," *LAT*, 8 Oct. 1924, I-9 to 11; "Film Stars . . .," *HDC*, 11 Oct. 1924, 3; "All World May Dine . . .," *HDC/HES*, 15 Oct. 1926, 1; "Restaurant Men . . .," *HDC/HES*, 21 July 1927, 1, 3; "F. & W. Grand . . .," *HDC*, 27 July 1928, 11; "Crowds at Opening . . .," *HDC*, 30 July 1928, 12; "Newberry to Build . . .," *LAT*, 16 June 1929, V-1; "Newberry Store . . .," *HDC*, 28 Mar. 1930, 12.

NOTES

382

For general accounts, see "Great Local Shopping Center Predicted," *HDC*, 20 Aug. 1927, 11; "Westward Trend . . .," *HDC*, 27 Nov. 1926, 10; and "The Shopping District of Northwest Los Angeles," *LAR* 6 (Nov. 1926), 28, 45.

10

"Bigger Business . . .," *HDC*, 2 Dec. 1922, 9; "Boulevard Faces . . .," *HDC*, 17 May 1924, 9; "Hollywood Shops . . .," *HDC*, 7 Oct. 1927, II-2.

11

References to new buildings not cited in the notes above include: *LAT*, 31 Mar. 1918, V-1; "Rebuild Picture House," *LAT*, 19 Sep. 1920, V-1; "New Store Building . . .," *HDC*, 8 Oct. 1920, 13; *HDC*, 18 Feb. 1921, II-6; "New Stores . . .," *LAT*, 27 Mar. 1921, V-1, 2; "New Building . . .," *LAT*, 10 Apr. 1921, V-2; "Automobile Club . . .," *HDC*, 10 May 1921, I-1; *HDC*, 29 July 1921, I-7; "Fine Improvements . . .," *HDC*, 2 Sep. 1921, I-4; "William O. Jackson . . .," *HDC*, 5 Dec. 1921, 1; *LAT*, 8 Jan. 1922, V-9; "New Business Block," *HDC*, 20 Dec. 1922, 9; *PCA* 22 (Oct. 1922), pl. 51; "New Building . . .," *HDC*, 18 Sep. 1924, 2; "New Projects . . .," *LAT*, 25 Jan. 1925, V-1, 2; "Boulevard Clubhouse . . .," *LAT*, 19 Apr. 1925, V-1; "Announce Hollywood . . .," *LAT*, 14 Feb. 1926, V-3; *LAT*, 9 Jan. 1927, V-3; *LAT*, 3 Apr. 1927, V-9; "New Shop . . .," *LAT*, 31 July 1927, V-2; "Hollywood Store . . .," *LAT*, 3 Mar. 1929, V-3; "Structure Designed . . .," *LAT*, 30 June 1929, V-3.

12

"Toberman Proves . . .," *HDC*, 11 Aug. 1922, II-1. See also Robert Smith, "Boulevard Will Be . . .," *HDC*, 7 Oct. 1927, II-2. Among Toberman's many other projects was the Barker Brothers building noted in the text above.

Originally the emporium was to be called Rippe's Department Store, run by Walter Rippe, who had worked for Hamburger's and the Broadway department stores; see "Break Ground . . .," *HDC*, 3 Oct. 1921, 1. For subsequent accounts, see "Center of Big Development," *LAT*, 15 Jan. 1922, V-1, 3; "Department Store . . .," *HDC*, 24 May 1922, 1, 2; "Wonders to Be Revealed . . .," *HDC*, 11 Aug. 1922, II-1; *LAT*, 24 Feb. 1924, III-17; and *LAT*, 16 Mar. 1924, III-16.

13

The only other large enterprise proposed in the immediate wake of the C.R.S. store was for a facility of about the same size, situated several blocks to the east at Hollywood and Vine. The bid came not from a downtown company but from Boadway Brothers, which already operated department stores in Long Beach, Pasadena, and San Bernardino. The project never materialized, apparently due to a lack of sufficient capital. See "Big Department Store . . .," *HDC*, 17 June 1922, 1. An advertisement run one month later (*HDC*, 20 July 1922, II-4) depicts a larger

building (six versus four stories) carrying the headline “Do You Want This Store in Hollywood?” Its purpose was to solicit investors, suggesting that attempts to date had been unsuccessful. The project seemed finalized by mid-August but never progressed further; see “Lease for Big Store . . .,” *LAT*, 13 Aug. 1922, V-1; and “Start Hollywood Store,” *LAT*, 15 Oct. 1922, V-15.

14

“Report Dyas’ Plans . . .,” *WWD*, 6 July 1927, 1, 23; “New Hollywood Store . . .,” *HDC*, 9 July 1927, 1, 10; “Height-Limit Unit . . .,” *LAT*, 10 July 1927, V-1; “How New Dyas Branch . . .,” *WWD*, 13 July 1927, I-6. Both Bullock’s and the May Company made preliminary plans to establish large branches on Wilshire Boulevard as early as 1924, however. See chapter 5 below.

15

“New Hollywood Store.” For subsequent accounts, see “Work to Begin . . .,” *HDC*, 23 July 1927, 9, 11; “Dyas Store Building . . .,” *HDC*, 8 Oct. 1927, 2; “Dyas Structure . . .,” *LAT*, 3 Jan. 1928, V-6; *HDC*, 2 March 1928, B. H. Dyas Co. Opening Ed.; and “Shop Idea Carried . . .,” *WWD*, 7 Apr. 1928, I-15.

16

“Filene’s to Open . . .,” *Boston Herald*, 27 Nov. 1927, 27; “Filene’s Plan Branch . . .,” *WWD*, 28 Nov. 1927, I-1; “Remodeling to Begin . . .,” *WWD*, 12 Jan. 1928, I-7; *WWD*, 12 March 1928, I-9; “Saks-Fifth Ave. . . .,” *WWD*, 13 Nov. 1925, 1, 12; “Best’s to Enlarge . . .,” *WWD*, 19 Mar. 1929, I-2; Maxwell Fox, “Filene’s Wellesley Shop . . .,” *WWD*, 21 June 1928, 8.

17

“Nugent’s Opens Store . . .,” *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 13 Apr. 1913, 12. For illustration, see *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 23 Nov. 1929, 7. Located at Vandeventer Avenue and Olive Street, the building appears to have been erected not long before its acquisition by Nugent’s. The precinct was originally referred to as being uptown, and the store was always known by that appellation. Concerning the district itself, see note 2 above.

18

“Germantown Store . . .,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 17 Apr. 1927, 12W; “New Store Planned . . .,” *WWD*, 20 Apr. 1927, 5; “Two Chestnut Street . . .,” *Building Magazine* 7 (May 1927), 15; *WWD*, 25 May 1927, I-6; “30,000 Attend . . .,” *WWD*, 16 Nov. 1927, I-2; “Allen’s Open . . .,” *WWD*, 15 Nov. 1927, I-11; “George Allen . . .,” *Building Magazine* 7 (Dec. 1927), 19; “Modernity in Every . . .,” *WWD*, 7 Jan. 1928, I-7.

19

R. C. Markley, “Hollywood Now . . .,” *HDC*, 2 Mar. 1928, 5.

20

“The Broadway Buys . . .,” *WWD*, 2 Mar. 1931, 1, 36; “Broadway Buys . . .,” *LAT*, 3 Mar. 1931, II-1, 2; “Broadway-Hollywood . . .,” *HDC*, 9 Mar. 1931, II-13, 14.

21

“Store All Set . . .,” *HDC*, 22 June 1933, 13; “New Elevators . . .,” *HDC*, 25 Oct. 1934, 14; “Broadway-Hollywood . . .,” *WWD*, 1 June 1937, I-1; “Broadway Will Build . . .,” *HDC*, 31 Dec. 1937, 9, 14; “Broadway-Hollywood . . .,”

*WWD*, 7 Jan. 1938, I-9; *HDC*, 12 Feb. 1938, 9; “Broadway-Hollywood . . .,” *WWD*, 26 July 1938, 8; Patricia Killoran, “Steady Increase . . .,” *HDC*, 15 Nov. 1938, 13; “New Broadway-Hollywood . . .,” *LAT*, 15 Nov. 1938, I-16; “Broadway-Hollywood . . .,” *WWD*, 21 Nov. 1938, 1, 4; “New Broadway-Hollywood . . .,” *WWD*, 2 Dec. 1938, III-4; Patricia Killoran, “The Broadway-Hollywood’s . . .,” *HDC*, 6 Mar. 1941, 10.

22

“2 Coast Stores . . .,” *WWD*, 29 Sep. 1927, I-1, 20. Bullock’s Wilshire store is discussed in chapter 5 below.

NOTES

23

384

“Report May Store . . .,” *WWD*, 24 Feb. 1931, 1; “Hollywood Unit . . .,” *WWD*, 25 Feb. 1931, I-1; “Tom May Confirms . . .,” *WWD*, 2 Mar. 1931, 36. Fourteen years later the May Company again announced plans for a Hollywood store, which likewise never saw realization; see chapter 8 below.

24

“New Buildings . . .,” *LAT*, 25 Jan. 1930, II-2; “Announcements Tell . . .,” *LAT*, 26 Jan. 1930, V-1, 2. Laemmle apparently was in final negotiations with the retailer. The store’s identity remains unknown. Frustratingly, too, no clue is given as to Laemmle’s architect or the collaborating Los Angeles architect. The latter could have been Richard Neutra, who Laemmle subsequently commissioned to design a taxpayer block on the site. See Thomas Hines, *Richard Neutra and the Search for Modern Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 160–162. Neutra’s own work was considerably more sophisticated by 1930, as is evident in *ibid.*, 62–75. I am grateful to Thomas Hines and Isbelle Gournay for examining material on the 1930 project in what proved a futile attempt to gain more specific information.

25

“Hollywood Establishes . . .,” *LAT*, 11 Aug. 1929, V-1; “Five-Year . . .,” *LAT*, 22 Dec. 1929, V-2; “The Hollywood-Vine . . .,” *LATMN*, 2 Jan. 1930, VI-15; “New World Record . . .,” *LAEEY* 1930, 30. See also “Hollywood Catches Up . . .,” *LAT*, 19 July 1925, V-7; and Gaylord Elliott, “Office Buildings of Hollywood,” *LAR* 6 (Nov. 1926), 23, 53.

26

“Toberman Proves Great Confidence.” Initial plans for the bank called for a four-story building; see “Security Trust & Savings . . .,” *HDC*, 23 July 1920, 1; and “Big Building . . .,” *LAT*, 25 July 1920, V-2. Revised plans increased the size; see “Security Bank . . .,” *HDC*, 8 Dec. 1920, 1; “Security Bank . . .,” *HDC*, 8 Apr. 1921, 1; and *HDC*, 3 June 1922, Security Sect. See also “Hollywood Has Banking Center,” *LAT*, 21 Oct. 1923, V-3.

27

“Start \$1,000,000 Structure,” *HDC*, 29 Oct. 1923, 1; *HDC*, 3 Oct. 1924, Guaranty Building Sect.; “Flood of Lights . . .,” *HDC*, 6 Oct. 1924, 3; “New Bank . . .,” *HDC*, 23 July 1927, 11; “Bank Announces . . .,” *LAT*, 24 July 1927, V-3; *LAT*, 1 July 1928, V-3; “First National Bank . . .,” *HDC*, 16 Nov. 1928, 7. Equally ambitious was the unrealized project for the Hellman Commercial Trust & Savings Bank; see “Tallest Hollywood Building . . .,” *HDC*, 12 Oct. 1923, 1; and *HDC*, 11 Oct. 1924, 12. Another unrealized scheme was the Federal Trust & Savings Bank; see “Trust Company . . .,” *LAT*, 4 Mar. 1923, V-1.

"Buy Boulevard Site . . .," *HDC*, 14 Oct. 1921, 1; "Big Hollywood Building," *LAT*, 1 July 1923, V-1; "Taft to Build . . .," *HDC*, 7 Sep. 1923, 9; "Taft Building . . .," *LAT*, 17 Aug. 1924, V-2; "New Taft Building . . .," *HDC*, 20 Aug. 1924, 7, 9; *HDC*, 14 June 1928, 2; "New Skyscraper . . .," *HDC*, 29 Sep. 1929, 2; "Structure to Rise . . .," *LAT*, 30 Sep. 1928, V-1; "Bank of Hollywood . . .," *HDC*, 17 May 1929, 8, 9; "Hollywood Bank . . .," *LAT*, 19 May 1929, V-3; "Annex for Bank Building," *HDC*, 9 Apr. 1930, 11; and "Bank Annex . . .," *LAT*, 13 Apr. 1930, V-2.

Hollywood also became the home of the Mountain States Life Insurance Company, which was founded in Denver and moved into its nine-story building just north of Hollywood Boulevard in 1929. See "Ground Broken . . .," *HDC*, 17 Oct. 1928, 2; "Ground Broken . . .," *LAT*, 28 Oct. 1928, V-3; "Suburban Building . . .," *LAT*, 28 July 1929, V-1; and "New Mt. States . . .," *HDC*, 31 July 1929, 9, 10.

Many other tall office building projects were proposed but unrealized; see "Height-Limit Buildings," *LAT*, 16 March 1924, V-1; "Great 13-Story Building . . .," *HDC*, 3 January 1927, 2; "Plan Height-Limit Edifice," *LAT*, 27 February 1927, V-1; "Three-Story Addition . . .," *LAT*, 20 January 1929, V-2; "Skyscraper Projected . . .," *LAT*, 5 January 1930, V-1; "Medical Building . . .," *LAT*, 31 August 1930, V-1; "New Height-Limit Building . . .," *HDC*, 16 January 1931, 1; and "Hollywood Skyscraper . . .," *LAT*, 18 January 1931, V-3.

The image was introduced during the 1927 Christmas season; see "Mary Pickford . . .," *HDC*, 17 Nov. 1927, II-1. See also *HDC*, 10 Nov. 1928, 11; 15 Nov. 1928, 1; 17 Nov. 1928, I-4; and 23 March 1929, 7.

"Business Conditions in Hollywood," *EES*, 30 Apr. 1928, 108.

"New Roosevelt Hotel," *HDC*, 24 Oct. 1925, 25; "Begin Hotel . . .," *LAT*, 25 Oct. 1925, V-1; "Fine Hollywood Hotel . . .," *LAT*, 4 Aug. 1927, II-10; "Expect Five Thousand . . .," *HDC*, 27 Oct. 1927, 13. The first tall building planned for Hollywood Boulevard was the Christie Hotel (1919–1921); see "Plans for Eight Story . . .," *HDC*, 5 Dec. 1919, 1; "Million Dollar Hotel . . .," *HDC*, 13 Aug. 1920, 1; and "Native Sons . . .," *LAT*, 14 May 1922, V-1. Another major facility was the ten-story Hollywood Plaza Hotel (1924–1925); see *HDC*, 22 Sep. 1924, 10, and 15 Oct. 1925, 7; and "Many Difficulties . . .," *LAT*, 15 Oct. 1925, II-10 to 12.

An even larger facility was proposed for the one corner of the Hollywood and Vine intersection that remains unoccupied by a tall building. Initially proposed in 1924 (*HDC*, 19 July 1924, 9; *LAT*, 20 July 1924, V-5), the scheme resurfaced from time to time until the depression.

For a sampling of accounts, see "Work Is Started . . .," *HDC*, 7 Sep. 1923, 9; *HDC*, 8 Sep. 1923, 11; "Plan Several . . .," *LAT*, 9 Dec. 1923, V-1, 3; *HDC*, 19 Jan. 1924, 13; *HDC*, 26 April 1924, 11; "7,500,000 Project . . .," *HDC*, 17 May 1924, 9; "Skyscraper to Rise," *LAT*, 7 Oct. 1928, V-1; *LAT*, 5 Oct. 1929, I-8; "Hollywood Hotel . . .," *LAT*, 2 Feb. 1930, V-1; and "Apartment Skyscraper Announced," *LAT*, 7 Sep. 1930, V-4.

33

"Plans for Athletic Club . . .," *HDC*, 28 Aug. 1922, 1; "New Athletic Club . . .," *HDC*, 27 Jan. 1923, 1; "New Athletic Club . . .," *HDC*, 12 Jan. 1924, 12. Extensive coverage of Hollywood's automobile row can be found in *HDC*, particularly in the automobile sections.

34

For background on the large neighborhood movie houses of the 1920s, see Douglas Gomery, "The Picture Palace: Economic Sense or Hollywood Nonsense?," *Quarterly Review of Film Studies* 3 (Winter 1978), 23–36; and idem, *Shared Pleasures: A History of Movie Presentation in the United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 44–47.

35

"Will Erect Theater . . .," *HDC*, 6 Feb. 1920, 1; "Grand Grauman Ground-Breaking . . .," *HDC*, 6 May 1921, 1, 12; *HDC*, 14 Oct. 1922, 9; "Grauman Egyptian . . .," *HDC*, 19 Oct. 1922, 1, 2; "Old Egypt . . .," *LAT*, 19 Oct. 1922, II-1, 2; "Chinese Theater . . .," *HDC*, 23 Apr. 1927, 7; "Hollywood Merchants . . .," *HDC*, 14 May 1927, 4; "Great Premiere . . .," *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, 17 May 1927, A-18; "Grauman's Chinese . . .," *HDC*, 18 May 1927, 5; "Portland Cement Products Enrich . . .," *Concrete* 32 (Jan. 1928), 49–50; Terry Helgesen, *Grauman's Chinese Theatre, Hollywood*, supplement to *Console*, Journal of the American Theatre Organ Society, n.d. See also Charles Beardsley, *Hollywood's Master Showman: The Legendary Sid Grauman* (New York: Cornwall Books, 1983), 80, 82, 90–92, 110, 112.

36

"Home of Premiere," *HDC*, 8 July 1925, 6; "New Warner Brothers' . . .," *LAT*, 22 Apr. 1928, III-11, 17; "Largest Auditorium . . .," *HDC*, 26 Apr. 1928, 5; *LAT*, 1 Oct. 1924, I-9; "Hollywood Units Planned," *LAT*, 3 May 1925, V-1, 3; "El Capitan . . .," *HDC*, 20 Mar. 1926, 6–7; "Hollywood's First . . .," *LAT*, 21 Mar. 1926, III-33, 34, 35; "Thrilling Opening . . .," *LAT*, 2 May 1926, III-23; "Theater Skyscraper . . .," *LAT*, 23 Dec. 1928, V-1; Terry Helgesen, *The Hollywood Pan-tages*, Theatre Historical Society Annual, 1973.

37

"Hollywood Slated . . .," *HDC*, 13 Aug. 1927, 9; "Hollywood Fast Becoming . . .," *HDC*, 15 Oct. 1927, 9; and Robert Smith, "Is Hollywood . . .," *LAR* 7 (Nov. 1927), 16–18. For other examples, see "Plans Completed . . .," *LAT*, 18 July 1920, V-1; "Fine Theater . . .," *LAT*, 3 Sep. 1922, V-1; "Theater Cost . . .," *LAT*, 29 May 1923, II-1; "Hollywood's Second . . .," *LAT*, 17 Oct. 1926, III-23; "New Theater . . .," *LAT*, 13 Sep. 1929, V-3; and "New Playhouse . . .," *LAT*, 1 June 1930, II-1.

38

"Mary Pickford."

39

Downtown Los Angeles's promotional pageants seem to have followed Hollywood's lead and did not occur until some years later; see chapter 7 below.

40

"Boulevard Group Forms," *LAT*, 22 Apr. 1928, V-4.

41

*HDC*, 23 Mar. 1929, 7; "70 Hollywood Stores . . .," *WWD*, 26 Mar. 1929, I-2. The association advertised extensively in *LAT*; see, for example, 1 June 1928, I-9; 17 Sep. 1928, I-9; 15 Oct. 1928, I-9; 24 Oct. 1928, I-5; 12 Dec. 1928, I-14; 4 June 1929, I-11; and 20 Nov. 1929, I-7.

42

*HDC*, 6 June 1932, 3; *HDC*, 26 Apr. 1934, 18.

43

"Valley Traffic . . .," *LAT*, 26 Feb. 1928, V-8; "Auto Traffic . . .," *LAT*, 8 Dec. 1929, V-3; "Two-Year Program . . .," *LAT*, 13 Apr. 1930, V-3; "City Embarks . . .," *LAT*, 7 Sep. 1930, V-1, 2; "Street Concrete . . .," *LAT*, 28 Sep. 1930, V-2; "Avenue Rezoning . . .," *LAT*, 18 Jan. 1931, V-2; "Hollywood to Celebrate . . .," *HDC*, 14 Mar. 1931, 13; "Fete to Complete . . .," *LAT*, 15 Mar. 1931, V-1, 3. The routes were Yucca, Ivar, Cole, and Wilcox streets and Cahuenga Boulevard. A concurrent project entailed the widening of Sunset Boulevard.

44

"New Nisley Shop . . .," *HDC*, 13 Nov. 1930, 11; "Two New Shops . . .," *HDC*, 1 Dec. 1930, 9; "Chain Store Locations . . .," *LAT*, 31 May 1931, V-2; "Sontag Drug Store . . .," *HDC*, 16 Oct. 1931, 15; *HDC*, 27 Nov. 1931, 9; *LAT*, 3 Dec. 1931, I-8; "Style Salon . . .," *HDC*, 31 Mar. 1932, 11; "New Hollywood Cafe . . .," *LAT*, 10 July 1932, I-15; "Unique Hollywood . . .," *LAT*, 23 July 1933, I-20; *HDC*, 29 Sep. 1933, 2; "New Achievement . . .," *HDC*, 8 Nov. 1934, 17; *HDC*, 13 Apr. 1935, 11; "New Owl Drug . . .," *HDC*, 8 Nov. 1935, 17; "Thrifty Drug . . .," *HDC*, 21 Nov. 1935, 17; "Women's New Hat . . .," *HDC*, 15 Feb. 1936, 11; "Modern Setting . . .," *HDC*, 3 Apr. 1936, 5; "Pinnell of Paris . . .," *WWD*, 28 Aug. 1936, II-66; "Los Angeles Music . . .," *HDC*, 14 Jan. 1938, 10; "Thrifty Opens . . .," *LAT*, 10 Dec. 1939, V-3; Patricia Killoran, "Famous Names . . .," *HDC*, 13 Mar. 1940, Foreman & Clark Premiere Ed., 1; "Foreman & Clark's . . .," *LAT*, 14 Mar. 1940, I-6, 7; *HDC*, 24 Sep. 1940, 5; "Shoe Store's . . .," *HDC*, 18 Oct. 1940, 13; "Store Wins Popularity," *HDC*, 21 Apr. 1941, 14.

45

For discussion of remodeling programs, see "Local Leaders to Meet . . .," *HDC*, 15 Feb. 1930, 2; "Boulevard Sees Activity," *LAT*, 18 Jan. 1931, V-2; "Hollywood Work Brisk," *LAT*, 11 Nov. 1934, V-1; "Boulevard Acquiring . . .," *HDC*, 22 Jan. 1940, 9; "Boulevard Gets 'Facial' . . .," *HDC*, 2 Mar. 1940, 9.

Concerning remodeled and new stores of established merchants, see "Matthes Opening . . .," *HDC*, 13 Mar. 1931, 10; "Columbia Outfitting . . .," *HDC*, 14 May 1931, 17; *HDC*, 1 June 1934, 5; "Firm Takes . . .," *HDC*, 7 June 1934, 16; *HDC*, 22 June 1934, 2; "Renovated Boulevard . . .," *HDC*, 5 Mar. 1935, 11; "Anderson's Knit Shop . . .," *HDC*, 22 Mar. 1935, 11; *HDC*, 14 Dec. 1935, 7; "Opening of Mandel's . . .," *HDC*, 18 Mar. 1938, 8; "Apparel Shop . . .," *HDC*, 8 Apr. 1938, 13; *HDC*, 24 Mar. 1939, 7; "Leed's Shoes . . .," *HDC*, 7 Apr. 1939, 7; "New Quarters . . .," *LAT*, 30 July 1939, I-14; *HDC*, 24 Oct. 1939, 16; "Maison Gaston . . .," *HDC*, 7 Dec. 1939, 16; *HDC*, 12 Mar. 1940, 12; *HDC*, 24 July 1940, 13; "Mayfair Riding . . .," *HDC*, 9 Aug. 1940, 4.

46

Mullen & Bluett closed all its branch stores (the other two were in Pasadena and on Wilshire Boulevard) in an effort to consolidate its assets, and did not reestablish branches until after World War II. See *HDC*, 6 Apr. 1932, 5. I. Magnin expanded its Hollywood store in 1934 and undertook further alterations two years later, but closed the facility when its much larger building on Wilshire Boulevard (discussed in chapter 5) was completed in 1939. See “Boulevard Store . . .,” *HDC*, 16 June 1934, 9; “Store’s Growth . . .,” *LAT*, 17 June 1934, I-21; “Shop Marks . . .,” *LAT*, 18 Nov. 1934, I-8; “Informal Opening . . .,” *HDC*, 19 Nov. 1934, 6; and “I. Magnin’s New Store . . .,” *HDC*, 22 Aug. 1936, 6.

The largest store to close was Robertson’s. Indicative of the shift in the district’s retail complexion, the building became quarters for the J. C. Penney Company in 1936; see: “J. C. Penney Store . . .,” *HDC*, 10 Sep. 1936, 1, 18; and “Nationally Known . . .,” *HDC*, 18 Nov. 1936, 1, 2.

47

“New Building Plan . . .,” *HDC*, 13 Feb. 1932, 13; “S. H. Kress . . .,” *LAT*, 14 Feb. 1932, V-1; “Kress Speeds . . .,” *HDC*, 3 Apr. 1934, 7; *HDC*, 27 Nov. 1934, 5; “Plans Slated . . .,” *LAT*, 18 Mar. 1934, II-1; “Preview Slated . . .,” *HDC*, 21 Nov. 1935, 15. The existing Max Factor store was only seven years old, but much more pedestrian in character; see “Max Factor . . .,” *HDC*, 16 Nov. 1928, 7, 10.

48

“Here’s Architect’s . . .,” *HDC*, 19 May 1939, 9, 14; “New Nancy’s . . .,” *WWD*, 2 June 1939, 34; “Modernistic Shopping . . .,” *HDC*, 28 July 1939, 12; “Nancy’s . . .,” *HDC*, 19 Sep. 1939, 9, 14; “Hollywood Store . . .,” *LAT*, 24 Sep. 1939, V-2.

49

See note 7 on page 383.

50

*A Comprehensive Report on the Master Plan of Highways . . .* (Los Angeles: Regional Planning Commission, 1941), 29; *Traffic Survey, Los Angeles Metropolitan Area* (Los Angeles: Automobile Club of Southern California, 1938), 8–9.

51

Coverage of the subject in the pro-business *HDC* is slim throughout the period, affording a marked contrast to that in *BHC* from the mid-1930s on, as discussed in chapter 7 below.

52

“New Parking Spaces . . .,” *HDC*, 19 Jan. 1932, 27. Concurrently, Taft’s brother was pursuing a more intense development of retailing along adjacent blocks of Vine Street. See “Vine Street . . .,” *LAT*, 17 May 1931, V-4; “Many Seek Locations . . .,” *LAT*, 21 June 1931, V-3; “Shopping Area . . .,” *LAT*, 26 July 1931, V-2; “Vine Street . . .,” *LAT*, 10 Apr. 1932, V-3; and “Vine Street . . .,” *LAT*, 31 July 1932, I-17.

53

“Business Men Signing Up . . .,” *HDC*, 30 Mar. 1939, 9; “Free Parking . . .,” *HDC*, 21 Mar. 1939, 11.

54

Charles Cohan, “Hollywood Tackles . . .,” *LAT*, 19 May 1940, V-1, 4; “New



Hollywood Plan . . . ,” *LAT*, 10 Nov. 1940, V-1; “Hollywood Tackles the Parking Problem,” *AR* 88 (Dec. 1940), 45–48.

55

I have yet to find an account giving the scheme’s total capacity, but on the basis of available information I estimate that it was between 2,000 and 3,000 cars, an enormous number for a single plan of the prewar period. Most contemporary projects were for municipal systems, discussed more fully in chapter 7, and entailed space for fewer than 1,000 cars.

56

“Hollywood to Start . . . ,” *HDC*, 6 Feb. 1941, 11; *HDC*, 7 Feb. 1941, 4; “Three Hours . . . ,” *WWD*, 19 May 1941, 22–23.

## V *Fabulous Boulevard*

1

*Wilshire Topics*, November 1930, as quoted in Ralph Hancock, *Fabulous Boulevard* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1949), xii; and idem, 5, 13. While it lacks notes and bibliography, the text appears to have been based on a search through period sources (many now lost) and interviews with key figures in the corridor’s development. A scholarly overview of the street’s history is given in Thomas Hines, “The Linear City: Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, 1895–1945,” in Jan Cigliano, ed., *The Grand American Avenue 1850–1920* (San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1994), 307–337. See also Douglas Suisman, *Los Angeles Boulevard: Eight X-Rays of the Body Public* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Forum for Architecture and Urban Design, 1989), esp. chap. 3; Arthur Krim, “Los Angeles and the Anti-tradition of the Suburban City,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 18 (Jan. 1992), 121–138; and Esther McCoy, “Faces of the City: Wilshire Boulevard,” *A&E* 222 (Sep. 1961), 24–51.

2

Concerning the development of single-family houses in the area, see “From Barley Fields . . . ,” *LAT*, 29 Mar. 1914, VI-1, 2; “City’s Amazing . . . ,” *LAT*, 20 Dec. 1914, V-1; and “Wilshire Tract . . . ,” *LAT*, 9 Nov. 1914, V-4, 5. For a sampling of early multiunit residential products, see “For Wilshire Boulevard,” *LAT*, 8 Mar. 1907, V-1; “Fine Hotel . . . ,” *LAT*, 1 Oct. 1911, V-1; “Large Apartment House . . . ,” *LAT*, 19 May 1912, VI-1; “Fact and Comment,” *LAT*, 26 May 1912, V-1; “Wilshire Holding . . . ,” *LAT*, 18 May 1913, V-1; “Seek Site . . . ,” *LAT*, 22 Mar. 1914, V-22; “Notable Improvement . . . ,” *LAT*, 2 Sep. 1917, V-1; “Hotel Plans . . . ,” *LAT*, 15 Dec. 1918, V-1; “Great Hotel . . . ,” *LAT*, 23 Feb. 1919, V-1; “Proposed to Build . . . ,” *LAT*, 3 Apr. 1921, V-1; “To Start Work . . . ,” *LAT*, 7 Jan. 1923, V-1, 2; “Plan Made . . . ,” *LAT*, 4 Feb. 1923, V-1; “Many Buildings . . . ,” *LAT*, 17 June 1923, V-1, 4; *LAT*, 21 Feb. 1924, I-11; *LAT*, 26 Mar. 1924, I-12; “Thousands Will Inspect . . . ,” *LAT*, 9 Apr. 1924, I-10, 11; *LAT*, 6 Dec. 1925, II-5; “New Projects . . . ,” *LAT*, 15 Aug. 1926, V-1; *LAT*, 19 Oct. 1926, I-4; *LAT*, 19 Jan. 1928, I-5; and *LAT*, 18 Sep. 1929, Rotogravure sect., n.p.

3

Hancock, *Fabulous Boulevard*, 156–158; “From the City . . . ,” *LAT*, 7 June 1922, II-2; “Fact and Comment,” *LAT*, 16 July 1922, V-1; “Save Wilshire Boulevard,” *LAT*, 13 Aug. 1922, V-7, 27; and “Plan of Magnificent . . . ,” *LAT*, 21 Jan. 1923, V-1, 6.

4

“‘Rosy’ Does the Work,” *LAT*, 25 June 1922, VI-1; “Reserves Strip . . .,” *LAT*, 20 Aug. 1922, I-4; “Traffic Lanes Proposed . . .,” *LAT*, 6 Nov. 1927, V-1, 2; “Projects Aid . . .,” *LAT*, 29 Jan. 1928, V-1; “Traffic Capacity . . .,” *ACi* 38 (June 1928), 98; “Boulevard Completion Near,” *LAT*, 13 Jan. 1929, V-3; “Lanes Needed . . .,” *LAT*, 24 Nov. 1929, VI-1; “Wilshire Plan . . .,” *LAT*, 27 Oct. 1929, VI-1, 4; “Step Taken . . .,” *LAT*, 7 Sep. 1930, V-1; R. T. Dorsey, “Protecting Lives on World’s Busiest Boulevard,” *Western City* 6 (Oct. 1930), 37–38; Walter Lindersmith, “Ironing Out the Traffic Wrinkles . . .,” *Western City* 7 (Nov. 1931), 7–8; “Heavy Traffic Stream . . .,” *ACi* 46 (Feb. 1932), 106; R. T. Dorsey, “Extra Center Signal . . .,” *ACi* 53 (Apr. 1938), 125; “Three Lanes West . . .,” *ACi* 53 (Sep. 1938), 107.

5

“Values Mount . . .,” *LAT*, 30 Nov. 1924, V-1; “Wilshire Zoning Urged,” *LAT*, 11 Apr. 1926, V-1; “Urges Wilshire Zoning,” *LAT*, 18 Apr. 1926, V-11; “Wilshire Boulevard . . .,” *LAT*, 25 Apr. 1926, V-1; *LAT*, 29 Apr. 1926, II-11; Harland Bartholomew, “Wilshire Boulevard . . .,” *LAT*, 27 June 1926, V-3; “Traffic Lanes Proposed,” 1, 2; “Cooperative Improvements . . .,” *SWBC* 70 (25 Nov. 1927), 43; “Projects Aid . . .,” *LAT*, 29 Jan. 1928, V-1.

6

Concerning the latter, see John Stamper, *Chicago’s North Michigan Avenue: Planning and Development, 1900–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

7

For examples, see “Artistic Edifice . . .,” *LAT*, 12 Apr. 1925, V-1; “Plan Block . . .,” *LAT*, 28 Nov. 1925, V-4; “Plan Shops . . .,” *LAT*, 22 Nov. 1925, V-4; *LAT*, 6 Feb. 1927, V-5; *LAT*, 26 Feb. 1928, V-2; “New Step . . .,” *LAT*, 1 Mar. 1928, II-1; “Wilshire Unit . . .,” *LAT*, 29 July 1928, V-4; “New Buildings . . .,” *LAT*, 13 Jan. 1929, V-1, 2; “Wilshire Project . . .,” *LAT*, 23 Feb. 1930, V-3; “Manor Type . . .,” *LAT*, 27 July 1930, V-10; *LAT*, 14 Sep. 1930, V-2; “Boulevard Structure . . .,” *LAT*, 5 Oct. 1930, V-2; *WA* 39 (Dec. 1930), 210; *WA* 40 (Feb. 1931), 21. See also note 8 below.

8

“Soaring Wilshire Values . . .,” *LAT*, 8 Apr. 1928, V-7; “Wilshire Section Leads,” *LAT*, 24 Mar. 1929, V-2; “Survey Discloses . . .,” *LAT*, 2 Feb. 1930, V-3; “Wilshire Paces . . .,” *LAT*, 20 Jan. 1929, V-1, 2; “Wilshire Boulevard . . .,” *LAT*, 24 Nov. 1929, V-2; “Wilshire Boulevard . . .,” *LAEx*, 28 Sep. 1929, III-1, 7; “Wilshire Building . . .,” *LAT*, 1 Dec. 1929, V-1.

Concerning the two buildings, see “Boulevard Structure Announced,” *LAT*, 17 Feb. 1929, V-1; *LAT*, 7 Apr. 1929, V-2; “Theater Work Planned,” *LAT*, 4 May 1930, V-1; “Theater Work Started,” *LAT*, 2 Nov. 1930, V-1; “A Western ‘Broadway’ and ‘Fifth Avenue’ Combined,” *PCA* 40 (Dec. 1931), 36; and F. B. Nightingale, “Castles in the Air,” *A&E* 108 (Mar. 1932), 59–60. A considerably larger project was planned nearby; see “Theater–Office Plan . . .,” *LAT*, 9 Feb. 1930, V-1. See also “Fine Office Unit . . .,” *LAT*, 17 Apr. 1932, V-2.

9

The local origins of this form for commercial buildings are discussed later in this chapter.

10

One corner of Wilshire and Vermont was among the very first along the street to be developed for commercial purposes, but this project remained the exception for some years. See “To Improve Corner,” *LAT*, 11 Feb. 1923, V-5, and also “Film Star to Erect . . .,” *LAT*, 16 Mar. 1924, V-5. The management of Bullock’s department store purposefully avoided a site at that intersection because of anticipated traffic congestion, as noted in the text below.

11

A large building was planned for a site adjacent to Bullock’s that would house a number of national chain specialty stores catering to women, but the project appears to have been shelved due to the depression; see “New Wilshire . . .,” *LAT*, 1 Sep. 1929, V-1, 2. Branches of two downtown clothing stores, Halbriter’s and Mullen & Bluett, did open in the precinct; see *LAT*, 7 Oct. 1929, I-10; “Mullen, Bluett . . .,” *HDC*, 26 Apr. 1930, 7; “Clothiers to Build . . .,” *LAT*, 27 Apr. 1930, V-2; and “Fifth Mullen . . .,” *HDC*, 24 Oct. 1930, 17. For other examples, see *LAT*, 31 Mar. 1930, I-3; “Actress to Enter . . .,” *LAT*, 6 July 1930, V-3; and “Milestone Marks . . .,” *LAT*, 9 Aug. 1931, III-26.

12

This pattern, well established by the mid-1930s and strengthened over subsequent years, is clearly documented by correlating street address listings published in the Southern California Telephone Company’s *Los Angeles Street Address Directory* for January 1935 and January 1942 with information on Sanborn fire insurance maps.

13

J. C. Nichols, “Planning Shopping Centers,” *NREJ* 8 (22 Mar. 1926), 47.

14

Donald Marquis, “The Spanish Stores of Morgan, Walls & Clements,” *AF* 50 (June 1929), 901; Harold Donaldson Eberlein, “Shop Fronts in Country Towns and Smaller Cities,” *AF* 50 (June 1929), 878; M. S. C. Wood, “Shop Fronts Must Advertise,” *BA* 52 (Jan. 1930), 39. See also Frank Hawkins, “Attracting Trade to the ‘Neighborhood’ Store,” *CSA/GME* 6 (Jan. 1930), 43; W. A. Edwards, “Sales Appeal in Store Fronts,” *CSR* 3 (July 1930) 37; R. W. Sexton, *American Commercial Buildings of Today* (New York: Architectural Book Pub. Co., 1928), 153–208; James Edsall, “Attractive Store Buildings . . .,” *BA* 52 (Sep. 1929), 50–52; Marc Goodnow, “Architecture for the Merchant,” *A&E* 97 (June 1929), 35–40; and Harwood Hewitt, “Is Good Architectural Design a Paying Investment . . .?,” *PCA* 25 (Mar. 1924), 5–17.

15

Recognition of such factors in Los Angeles is indicated in William Garner, “City Adopts Modernism . . .,” *LAT*, 5 June 1927, V-10; and “‘Moderne’ Architecture . . .,” *SWBC* 74 (17 Sep. 1929), 31. See also note 14 above.

16

Recent scholarly writing on the subject includes David Gebhard, *George Washington Smith, 1876–1930: The Spanish Colonial Revival in California* (Santa Barbara: Art Gallery, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1964); idem, “The Spanish Colonial Revival in Southern California (1895–1930),” *JSAH* 26 (May 1967), 131–147; and idem, *Santa Barbara—The Creation of a New Spain in America* (Santa Barbara: University Art Museum, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1982).

## 17

Newness was not often explicitly addressed in accounts of the period. For exceptions, see Edward Leaf, "Southern California Architecture," *LAR* 5 (Dec. 1924), 11; Harris Allen, "Industrial Architecture in California," *PCA* 33 (Sep. 1928), 14; Harris Allen, "This California Architecture," *PCA* 33 (Oct. 1928), 11; Marquis, "Spanish Stores," 901–903, 916; and Sheldon Cheney, *The New World Architecture* (New York: Tudor Pub. Co., 1930), 268–272.

Motion picture sets may have been influential as well; see Wharton Clay, "California, the Movies and Beauty," *SCB* 2 (Nov. 1925), 17, 30. On the other hand, architectural examples may well have had a catalytic effect on cinematography. The relationship between the two demands careful study before generalizations can be made.

## 18

"For Commercial Uses," *LAT*, 17 Sept. 1922, V-1; "An Attractive Group . . .," *SWBC* 62 (12 Oct. 1923), 36; "West Seventh St. Store . . .," *SWBC* 62 (16 Nov. 1923), 36; "Center for Shopping . . .," *LAT*, 18 Nov. 1923, V-8; "Seventh Street Store . . .," *LAT*, 3 Feb. 1924, V-9; Hewitt, "Is Good Architectural Design," 7, 9–10, 14, 17; "Shop Building . . .," *LAT*, 20 Apr. 1924, V-3; "Shops in Los Angeles," *PCA* 25 (Apr. 1924), 11, 13, 17; "Spanish Style Business Building . . .," *SWBC* 63 (30 May 1924), 42–43; Arthur Duncombe, "Beautiful Architecture . . .," *CS* 6 (Sep. 1924), 7–8; M. Urmy Seares, "The Expert Is Worthy of His Hire," *CS* 6 (Sep. 1924), 9–10; *LAT*, 14 Jan. 1925, I-10, 11; *PCA* 27 (Apr. 1925), 29, 31; Goodnow, "Architecture," 36–37; *LAT*, 19 Aug. 1926, II-6.

## 19

For examples, see note 7 above; also Marquis, "Spanish Stores," 907–909; *LAT*, 3 May 1931, V-2; and *PCA* 40 (Nov. 1931), 34.

## 20

A number of comparable examples were built in the Hollywood district during the same period, but relatively few of them were located along Hollywood Boulevard.

## 21

"Expansion of Bullock Store," *LAT*, 28 Apr. 1928, I-1, 2. No square footage figure for the scheme was given. The very tall second-story zone probably would have included a mezzanine, if not a full third story. Assuming, too, that the store had a full basement, the total floor area would probably have been around 100,000 square feet. This was still a very large store of its kind for the period, as discussed in the text below.

## 22

"Million-Dollar Class A . . .," *LAT*, 8 Jan. 1925, II-2; "Report Dyas' Plans . . .," *WWD*, 6 July 1927, 23. Soon after Bullock's and May's Wilshire plan was announced in January 1925, another project, the Southern California Athletic and Country Club, was unveiled as a prototype for other buildings in the precinct; see "Structure to Be Model," *LAT*, 18 Feb. 1925, I-4; and "Club's Plans . . .," *LAT*, 18 Oct. 1925, V-5. See also "Parking Plan Favored," *LAT*, 11 Jan. 1925, V-5; and figure 95.

## 23

"J. C. Haggerty Leases . . .," *WWD*, 23 June 1928, 21; "Plans Ready . . .," *LAT*, 1 July 1928, II-2.

"Bullock's Will Add . . .," *LAT*, 13 Nov. 1928, II-9; "Revised Sketch . . .," *WWD*, 22 Nov. 1928, I-2P; "Outlying Shops Popular . . .," *WWD*, 11 Oct. 1929, IV-19.

Contemporary accounts include "New Bullock Store . . .," *WWD*, 25 Sep. 1929, I-9; "Bullock's Branch Store Ready Next December," *DGE* 83 (19 Jan. 1929), 68; "Bullock's-Wilshire Ultra Modern Store," *SN* 9 (21 Sep. 1929), 7, 11; "New Bullock Store . . .," *WWD*, 25 Sep. 1929, I-9; "Bullock's Temple . . .," *LAEE*, 25 Sep. 1929, 3; George Douglas, "Bullock's Wilshire . . .," *LAEx*, 26 Sep. 1929, I-8; Alma May Cook, "Art and Business . . .," *LAEE*, 26 Sep. 1929, 16; Edith Bristol, "So. Cal. Spirit . . .," *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, 26 Sep. 1929, B1, B4; Winifred Aydelotte, "Bullock's Wilshire . . .," *Los Angeles Record*, 26 Sep. 1929, 9; Alma Whitaker, "Bullock's in Debut Today," *LAT*, 26 Sep. 1929, II-1, 5; Olive Gray, "Store Weds Art to Beauty," *LAT*, 26 Sep. 1929, II-6; "Bullock's Wilshire . . .," *WWD*, 26 Sep. 1929, I-1, 18; *LAT*, 14 Oct. 1929, I-8; "Modern—Beautiful—Unique! . . .," *DGE* 84 (26 Oct. 1929), 45–49; "Art in Business," *LATMN*, 2 Jan. 1930, IV-15; Harris Allen, "A Building Designed for Today," and Pauline G. Schindler, "A Significant Contribution to Culture," *PCA* 37 (Jan. 1930), 20–28, 74; "Bullock's Wilshire . . .," *AR* 67 (Jan. 1930), 54–64; "Bullock's Wilshire," *DGE* 85 (Sep. 1930), 192–193; and "Eight Modern Department Stores," *AF* 58 (May 1933), 357–358. An indication of the building's significance for the development of the type is given in Meredith Clausen, "Department Stores," in Joseph Wilkes, ed., *Encyclopedia of Architecture: Design, Engineering and Construction*, 4 vols. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1988), 2:215–216. Bullock's Wilshire is noted in many writings on Los Angeles architecture, but generally only in passing. For a recent popular account, see Pauletta Finkelstein, "Bullock's Wilshire," *Antique Showcase* 31 (Sep. 1989), 35–40. I am grateful to Shirley Wilson of I. Magnin Company for supplying me with additional information. In a 1963 interview, Robert Field stated that he had been the principal designer of Bullock's Wilshire while in the employ of the Parkinsons; see Donald Shippers, "Walker & Eisen: Twenty Years of Los Angeles Architecture, 1920–1940," *Southern California Quarterly* 46 (Dec. 1964), 387.

*LAT*, 28 Sep. 1932, II-8. No figures for the parking lot's capacity were given at the time of opening, and the full area may not have been used at first. If expansion did take place, however, it probably occurred within the first decade of operation. By the early 1950s the 375-space area was well below demand, justifying a raised deck for an additional 300 spaces; see "Store Increases . . .," *LAT*, 16 Apr. 1953, II-2.

Compilations of the period include "The Growth of Branch Stores," *NRB* 12 (Oct. 1930), 546–547; Clinton Simpson, "How Are Department Store Branches Operated?," *Advertising & Selling* 16 (7 Jan. 1931), 26; and Edwin D. Dibrell, "The Effects of Branch Store Expansion," *NRB* 28 (Apr. 1946), 16–17, 54.

The earliest account I have found arguing for branch development among department stores is by John Ihlder of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce; see "Department Store of Future . . .," *WWD*, 13 Feb. 1926, 7. Charles Mears, "Outlying Shops Cited . . .," *WWD*, 2 July 1927, 6, suggests some of the doubts many department store executives may have had on the matter. See also John Guernsey, *Retailing Tomorrow: Practical Retailer's View of the Future of His Profession* (New York:

Dry Goods Economist, 1929), chap. 13; “Mrs. Jones Changes Her Shopping Habits,” *BW*, 5 Oct. 1929, 28–30; and “Department Store Branches in Suburbs Succeed, Multiply,” *BW*, 1 Oct. 1930, 10–11. Retrospective accounts of this pivotal period are often inaccurate in detail. See, for example, John Guernsey, “Suburban Branches,” *DSE* 14 (July 1951), 42; and Dero Saunders, “Department Stores: Race for the Suburbs,” *Fortune* 44 (Dec. 1951), 101.

28

Concerning the Fair stores, see “The Fair to Enter . . .,” *WWD*, 7 Dec. 1928, I-1; “Fair, Chicago, Plans . . .,” *WWD*, 13 Dec. 1928, I-1, 20; and *WWD*, 30 Apr. 1929, I-13.

NOTES

394

In 1928, Marshall Field & Company opened small stores in Lake Forest and Evanston prior to embarking on plans for major outlying facilities. See “Marshall Field’s Plan . . .,” *WWD*, 14 Sep. 1928, I-5; “Field’s Will Have Oak Park Branch,” *DGE* 83 (Sep. 1928), 67; *WWD*, 27 Nov. 1928, I-24; “Marshall Field Unit . . .,” *WWD*, 22 Jan. 1929, I-13; “Marshall Field to Build . . .,” *WWD*, 1 Mar. 1929, I-1, 15; *CSR* 2 (June 1929), 16; “Marshall Field . . .,” *Chicago Daily News*, 18 Oct. 1929, 71; “Oak Park Opens . . .,” *Chicago Daily News*, 19 Oct. 1929, 18; “Field’s First Permanent . . .,” *WWD*, 21 Oct. 1929, I-1; “Evanston Branch . . .,” *Chicago Daily News*, 21 Nov. 1929, 34; “Fields Adapt French Renaissance . . .,” *DGE* 84 (23 Nov. 1929), 50–51; “35,000 at New Field . . .,” *WWD*, 25 Nov. 1929, I-2; “Similarity of Design Identifies Marshall Field Branches,” *CSA/AE* 6 (May 1930) 60, 62–63; and Sally Kitt Chappell, *Architecture and Planning of Graham, Anderson, Probst and White, 1912–1936: Transforming Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 233–235.

29

Concerning the Bailey Company, see Victor Sincere, “Why We’re Opening Branch Department Stores,” *CSA/GME* 6 (Feb. 1930), 5–6, 81; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 10 Apr. 1930, 7; “Bailey Co. Opens . . .,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 11 Apr. 1930, 11; and “Thousands at New Bailey . . .,” *WWD*, 15 Apr. 1930, I-11, 14. Concerning Strawbridge & Clothier’s store, see “Strawbridge Plans Branch . . .,” *WWD*, 23 Sep. 1929, I-1, 2; “New Store Opens . . .,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 12 May 1930, 7; “2,000 Attend . . .,” *WWD*, 13 May 1930, I-13; “Store Building of Modern Design Completed on Ardmore Site,” *Building Magazine* 10 (May 1930), 25–26; *AR* 68 (Dec. 1930), 465–466; and Alfred Lief, *Family Business: A Century in the Life and Times of Strawbridge & Clothier* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), 183–186.

30

“Branch Store Growth . . .,” *WWD*, 19 Feb. 1941, 31; interview with Eaton Ballard, retired first vice president of the Broadway Company, Pasadena, 14 Nov. 1989. For a synopsis of the then prevailing attitude toward the function of branches, see “Growth of Branch Stores,” 546–547.

31

“Outlying Shops Popular,” IV-19.

32

See also *LAT*, 23 Jan. 1920, II-7. The company moved to new quarters more centrally located in Pasadena in 1925. I am grateful to Mary Jo Winder for additional information on the building.

33

Quoted in James Worthy, *Shaping an American Institution: Robert E. Wood and Sears, Roebuck* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 83. Worthy's account and that found in Boris Emet and John Jeuck, *Catalogues and Counters: A History of Sears, Roebuck and Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), chap. 21, provide valuable background on Sears's entry into the retail trade. See also General R. E. Wood, "Our Part in Chain Store Progress," *CSA/GME* 5 (Apr. 1929), 41–43, 66; and idem, "Long-Time Trends and the Retail Merchant," *CSA/VS* 13 (Dec. 1937), 20, 66.

34

"Sears-Roebuck's 2 Chicago Retail . . .," *WWD*, 2 Nov. 1925, 2, 55; "Sears, Roebuck Says . . .," *WWD*, 3 Nov. 1925, 34. See also "Two More Sears-Roebuck Stores Open in Chicago," *Sales Management* 9 (14 Nov. 1925), 682–683; George Nimmons, "The New Renaissance in Architecture . . .," *AA* 134 (5 Aug. 1928), 141–148; "Decentralization in Retail . . .," *WWD*, 27 Jan. 1930, I-10; "Class A," *Tide* 6 (Dec. 1932), 7–8; and "Sears, Roebuck and Co. . . .," *CSA/GME* 9 (Sep. 1933), 21, 46.

35

See, for example, Leslie Janes, "Sales, Not Appearance Is Our Display Aim," *CSA/GME* 7 (Aug. 1931), 5–6, 25. Such an approach was considered heretical among leading department store executives.

36

Concerning department store executives' attitude toward Sears at that time, see Guernsey, *Retailing Tomorrow*, 61–74. Views had begun to change a decade later; see, for example, J. M. Baskin, "Leading the Field," *Retail Executive* 9 (Aug. 1939), 2, 10, which summarizes what were considered to be the most important characteristics of Sears's approach to merchandising during the interwar decades. Most post-war chronicles of the then rapid expansion of department store branches and large shopping centers credit Sears, together with the supermarket, as pioneers in the retail decentralization trend.

37

See, for example, "Sears-Roebuck Retail Stores . . .," *WWD*, 21 Nov. 1925, 1, 5; "Sears, Roebuck New Profit . . .," *WWD*, 23 Jan. 1928, I-1, 6. The former article noted that some of the major Chicago department stores were already planning branch stores as a result of Sears's initiative.

38

"Sears-Roebuck Plan . . .," *WWD*, 7 Dec. 1926, 1, 63; *LAT*, 9 Jan. 1927, V-1; "New Sears-Roebuck . . .," *WWD*, 4 Feb. 1927, 10; "Sears, Roebuck . . .," *LAT*, 3 Apr. 1927, V-1; "Record Speed . . .," *SWBC* 69 (17 June 1927), 36–37; *LAT*, 17 June 1927, I-8; *LAEE*, 24 June 1927, 23; "Mail-Order Plant . . .," *LAT*, 22 July 1927, II-3; *LAT*, 31 July 1927, I-14; *LATMN*, 3 Jan. 1928, V-2; "A Mail Order Building in Los Angeles, California," *AR* 64 (July 1928), 65–69; "Sears, Roebuck Uses Futuristic Billboard Advertising," *CSA/AE* 4 (Dec. 1928), 46; "Sears, Roebuck . . .," *LAT*, 27 June 1931, II-6; and "Free Parking Space Another Chain Store Service," *Chain Store Progress* 3 (July 1931), 5. Two additional stores were opened in Hollywood and Long Beach the following year, and a six-story addition was made to the Olympic Boulevard facility in 1929.

39

Many smaller retail operations in the metropolitan area, notably automobile service facilities and markets, included off-street parking as an integral part of the design at an earlier date.

40

Louis Bromfield, "California," *Vogue* 76 (8 Dec. 1930), 150.

41

"Beauties and Future of Wilshire Boulevard," *SN* 10 (11 Jan. 1930), 7.

NOTES

396

42

Vague reference is made to this provision in several contemporary accounts cited in note 25 above. Blueprints of load calculation studies, dated 18 September 1928, document the extent to which vertical expansion was calculated. These materials are on file at the successor architectural firm, Parkinson Field Associates. I am grateful to William Scott Field for giving me access to this and other valuable material on the project.

43

"Suburban Branch Plan . . .," *WWD*, 15 Jan. 1927, 1, 15; "Heavy Traffic Seen . . .," *WWD*, 29 Nov. 1929, I-7. See also "Suburban Branches . . .," *WWD*, 21 Mar. 1932, I-24.

44

"Best's Opens . . .," *WWD*, 15 Jan. 1930, I-1; "Best Store to Open . . .," *Standard Star* [New Rochelle], 15 Jan. 1930, II-1; "Best & Co.'s New Store . . .," *Standard Star*, 25 Feb. 1930, 2; Milton Lowenthal, "The Suburban Branch Department Store," *AR* 72 (July 1932), 3, 5. The store was apparently the first branch of a major New York retailer to open in Westchester County, but was soon followed by one of B. Altman & Company in White Plains. Best's president was quite aware of both accessibility and parking as key factors; see "Parking Question . . .," *WWD*, 14 Mar. 1930, I-7; and Philip LeBoutillier, "The Parking Question," *NRB* 12 (Apr. 1930), 199–200. Best's two other nonseasonal branches of the period, in Garden City, Long Island (1929), and East Orange, New Jersey (1930), were situated on the edge of their respective town centers.

45

"Franklin Simon Greenwich . . .," *WWD*, 3 Sep. 1931, I-1; "Franklin Simon Announces . . .," *Greenwich Press*, 3 Sep. 1931, 1, 8; "Franklin Simon's . . .," *WWD*, 15 March 1932; *Greenwich Press*, 17 March 1932, fourth sect.; *Greenwich News and Graphic*, 18 Mar. 1932, Franklin Simon & Co. sect.; Lowenthal, "Suburban Branch," 9. Off-street parking of this nature was extremely rare for New York-area branch stores at that time. The only comparable instance of which I am aware was at B. Altman & Company, East Orange (1930–1931), which had a lot holding twenty-four cars off the rear alley.

46

The shopping complex was begun in 1928; Strawbridge's became involved in the development at a later date. For background, see "Now They Stop and Shop in Ardmore," *Integrity Spokesman*, Nov. 1930, [1–9]; "Shopping Center Accepts . . .," *Evening Star* [Washington], 9 Dec. 1939, B-4; Bernard J. Birnbaum, "Shoppers' Heaven," *Liberty* 19 (19 Jan. 1946), 20–21, 75–76; and Geoffrey Baker and Bruno Funaro, *Shopping Centers: Design and Operation* (New York: Reinhold, 1951), 191–193. Concerning the store, see note 29 above.



47

The defining characteristics of a shopping center are discussed in chapter 6 below. Concerning examples in which a large department store served as anchor, see chapter 11.

48

"Another Branch for Strawbridge," *WWD*, 20 Nov. 1930, I-1; "The New Strawbridge & Clothier . . .," *Main Line Times* [Ardmore], 4 Dec. 1930, 2; *WWD*, 8 Dec. 1930, I-6; "To Start Work . . .," *Times-Chronicle* [Jenkintown], 4 Dec. 1930, 1, 2; "Philadelphia Store to Open Second Branch," *DGE* 85 (Feb. 1931), 161; "Strawbridge's Takes . . .," *WWD*, 9 Sep. 1931, I-1, 5; "Strawbridge Opens . . .," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 10 Sep. 1931, 4; "Thousands View . . .," *Times-Chronicle*, 10 Sep. 1931, 1, 4; "Strawbridge & Clothier's . . .," *Times-Chronicle*, 17 Sep. 1931, 6. The store had a basement automobile service and parking facility; see *Times-Chronicle*, 4 Feb. 1932, 5.

49

Samuel Feinberg, "From Where I Sit . . .," *WWD*, 9 Feb. 1960, 17; and 10 Feb. 1960, 10. See also Ralph Jones, "Wanamaker, Phila . . .," *WWD*, 9 Feb. 1949, 80.

50

"Magnin Plans Big Expansion . . .," *WWD*, 14 Feb. 1938, 1; "Magnin's Minds . . .," *WWD*, 24 Oct. 1938, 4; "New I. Magnin . . .," *WWD*, 10 Feb. 1939, 1, 8-9; "\$3,000,000 Magnin Home . . .," *HDC*, 11 Feb. 1939, 1, 13; "Leaders Visit . . .," *LAT*, 11 Feb. 1938, I-7; "Thousands Greet . . .," *WWD*, 13 Feb. 1939, 1, 23; "Beverly-Wilshire Area . . .," *BHC*, 17 Feb. 1939, 5; "Old and New . . .," *DSE* 2 (25 Apr. 1939), 26.

51

For accounts of the name's origins, see J. Edward Tufft, "The Miracle Mile," *NREJ* 39 (May 1938), 40; Hancock, *Fabulous Boulevard*, 154; and W. W. Robinson, *History of the Miracle Mile* (Los Angeles: Columbia Savings & Loan, 1965), 1-2. For other useful accounts, see "Wilshire Boulevard Business . . .," *LAT*, 24 Nov. 1929, V-2; "'Miracle Mile' Noted . . .," *LAT*, 7 Dec. 1934, I-7; "Wilshire Boulevard . . .," *BHC*, 8 Sep. 1939, 9; "Back Door Parking for Shoppers in Los Angeles," *Freehold* 6 (15 Mar. 1940), 198-204; and Charles Cohan, "Advance of Famous 'Mile' . . .," *LAT*, 2 Mar. 1952, V-1.

The development was called Wilshire Boulevard Center until ca. 1928.

Names similar to Miracle Mile were not uncommon in real estate advertisements at that time. One company called Western Avenue the "Miracle Street" (*LAT*, 19 Mar. 1922, V-11); another referred to Downey Boulevard near the Union Pacific Railroad crossing as the "Magic Mile" (*LAT*, 28 Jan. 1923, V-10). What was unusual was that such a term would enter common parlance. Before World War II, the term was given to blocks slated for arterial development elsewhere; see, for example, E. V. Miller, "Divided Highway Enters Tucson, Arizona," *ACi* 53 (Jan. 1938), 37-38. Perhaps the best-known Miracle Mile aside from the original was that along the North Hempstead Turnpike in Manhasset, Long Island; see Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 162-163.

52

As late as 1930, Ross's precinct was only twelve blocks long, extending west to Stanley Avenue. It is uncertain when the area was enlarged, but the process may have occurred due to the May Company's desire to locate at the Wilshire-Fairfax intersection, as discussed in the text below.

53

Hancock, *Fabulous Boulevard*, 152. In this account, which appears to be based on conversations with Ross himself, four miles is given as the determining radius; however, a number of the target areas identified lie closer to five or six miles from the development.

54

Kenneth Crist, "Miracle Mile . . .," *LAT*, 2 Apr. 1939, V-3.

55

The practice of spot zoning was nevertheless widespread in Los Angeles by the late 1920s; see Edward Bassett, "Spot Zoning," *City Planning* 6 (July 1930), 229.

NOTES

398

56

For a sampling of early projects, see *LAT*, 16 May 1926, V-12; *LAT*, 21 Jan. 1927, I-8; *AR* 63 (Apr. 1928), 302–303; *LAT*, 20 Aug. 1929, I-8; and "Building to Be Erected . . .," *LAT*, 25 Aug. 1929, V-2. Another leading real estate firm, Burton & Company, held some acreage around the Wilshire–La Brea intersection; see "Wilshire Unit . . .," *LAT*, 12 Apr. 1925, V-4; and "Wilshire Properties Sold," *LAT*, 17 May 1925, V-3.

57

"Wilshire Boulevard Wins . . .," *LAT*, 10 Oct. 1928, II-1; "Desmond's Plan . . .," *WWD*, 16 Oct. 1928, I-9; "Desmond's Extends . . .," *LAT*, 15 Mar. 1929, I-7; "Desmond's Opens . . .," *WWD*, 18 Mar. 1929, I-10; "Desmond's Extends Service . . .," *DGE* 83 (31 May 1929), 67, 81–82. Circumstantial evidence indicates that the building was designed specifically to meet Desmond's needs, but it is unclear whether Ross first persuaded investors to underwrite the project, then secured the retailer, or vice versa.

58

For background, see "New City Hall," *LAT*, 26 Sep. 1925, II-1, 3; "Preliminary Plans . . .," *SWBC* 66 (2 Oct. 1925), 44; "Quandary on Height . . .," *LAT*, 12 Oct. 1925, II-1, 2; "New Hall . . .," *LAT*, 11 Apr. 1926, II-3; "Moving Begun . . .," *LAT*, 22 Apr. 1928, II-2; George Hales, "The Los Angeles City Hall," *PCA* 33 (May 1928), 13–37, 42–43. See also *LAT*, 6 Sep. 1921, II-4; *LAT*, 1 Jan. 1928, II-1; and *LAT*, 24 May 1931, II-9. As a municipal building, the City Hall was not subject to the height ordinance.

59

Concerning the stores, see "Firm Observes New Expansion," *LAT*, 8 Sep. 1929, V-7; "Silverwood's New Wilshire Boulevard Store," *SN* 9 (14 Sep. 1929), 7; "Merchants to Locate . . .," *LAT*, 26 July 1931, V-3; "Myer Siegel . . .," *HDC*, 24 Oct. 1931, 5; "New Wilshire Store . . .," *LAT*, 25 Oct. 1931, III-17; and "Myer Siegel's . . .," *WWD*, 2 Nov. 1931, I-7. Later, Silverwood's opened a smaller branch in Hollywood, which was closed in 1937; see *HDC*, 26 Feb. 1937, 7.

Concerning the office towers, see "Skyscraper Reveals . . .," *LAT*, 28 July 1929, V-1, 3; "Building to Rise . . .," *LAT*, 26 Mar. 1930, II-1; "Three Structures . . .," *LAT*, 30 Mar. 1930, V-1; *PCA* 37 (Apr. 1930), 2; "Two Limit-Height Buildings . . .," *LAT*, 20 Apr. 1930, V-2; "Skyscraper Completion . . .," *LAT*, 25 May 1930, V-2; "Height-Limit Construction . . .," *LAT*, 8 June 1930, V-1, 4; "Wings or No Wings?," *AA* 137 (Oct. 1930), 36–37; "New Wilshire Store . . .," *SWBC* 77 (1 May 1931), 42–43; and "E. Clem Wilson Building . . .," *HDC*, 24 Oct. 1931, 7.

60

For a good example of Ross's promotional efforts at this stage, see *LATMN*, 2 Jan. 1930, III-2. Later examples include *LATMN*, 1 Jan. 1938, I-14; *LATMN*, 2 Jan. 1939, I-17; and *HDC*, 18 Sep. 1941, 19.

61

"Skyscraper Hotel Sketched," *LAT*, 16 Aug. 1929, II-1. The building could rise to such heights because the site lay just outside what were then the city limits, probably on a large, contiguous tract of land to the north owned by Earl Gilmore. The rendering suggests the building was to be set back some distance from the street, and the accompanying text indicates Ross's plans to develop a golf course and gardens on the property. Ross was still advancing the proposal in January 1930, but deteriorating economic conditions no doubt brought its demise soon thereafter.

At least two other tall buildings were proposed for the Miracle Mile prior to World War II. One is discussed in the text below. Concerning the other, see *LAT*, 24 Mar. 1940, V-1; and David Gebhard and Harriette Von Breton, *Los Angeles in the Thirties 1931–1941*, rev. ed. (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1989), 56.

62

*BHC*, 17 Oct. 1929, 6. This was one of a series in the paper illustrating the lavishly furnished store.

63

Citations for the Carthay Theatre are in chapter 10, note 6. Concerning the Fox Wilshire, see "Playhouse Plans . . ." *LAT*, 2 June 1929, V-1; and Maggie Valentine, *The Show Starts on the Sidewalk: An Architectural History of the Movie Theatre, Starring S. Charles Lee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 78–81. Beverly Hills is discussed in chapter 7 below.

64

Tufft, "Miracle Mile," 38; "Back Door Parking," 199; "Wilshire Boulevard World Wide Exemplar."

65

However, the treatment of the parking entrance here and at the Dominguez-Wilshire Building was not nearly as elaborate as could be found at Bullock's or I. Magnin; see figure 75.

66

See note 22 above.

67

After World War II, however, the precinct's parking capacity dropped well below demand; see "Off-Street Parking Facilities," *ASPO* 15 (July 1949), 59.

68

*LAT*, 29 Apr. 1928, V-1; Harriet Burdsal, "Thousands Enjoy . . .," *HDC*, 21 Sep. 1928, 9; "Unit to Rise . . .," *LAT*, 9 Aug. 1931, V-1; "Newberry Store Opens New Unit" and "Brooks Clothing . . .," *HDC*, 24 Oct. 1931, 7.

69

"Miracle Mile of Chain Stores," *CSA/GE* [14] (Sep. 1938), 82–83, 100; "Sontag Drug Building . . .," *HDC*, 6 Nov. 1935, 19; "Largest and Finest . . .," *HDC*, 30 Apr. 1936, Advertising Sect. Announcements of other stores include *LAT*, 10 Mar. 1934, I-3; "Wilshire Store . . .," *HDC*, 12 Mar. 1934, 7; *LAT*, 29 Mar. 1935,

III-sect.; *LAT*, 20 Aug. 1937, I-7; "Chandler's Wilshire Blvd. . . ." *HDC*, 1 Apr. 1938, 7; *LAT*, 1 Apr. 1938, I-7. One national chain, Nisley's shoe store, replaced its Hollywood unit with one in the precinct; see "Wilshire Blvd. Store Opens," *HDC*, 4 Nov. 1940, 11. A downtown emporium, the Eastern furniture store, also established a branch on the Miracle Mile; see "Eastern to Open . . ." *HDC*, 8 Aug. 1935, 13; and *LAT*, 11 Aug. 1935, I-2.

70

"'Moderne' Architecture Meets Demand . . ." *SWBC* 74 (17 Sep. 1929), 31. This and other accounts of the period indicate that flexibility in design was seen as encompassing capacity for change in expression over time as well as options available at any given point. For this reason, among others, it is misleading to consider Art Deco a short-lived mode that was employed during the late 1920s and early 1930s. Rather, the phenomenon should be viewed as a popular thrust in modernism that lasted for some two decades and encompassed a variety of expressive forms, including streamlining, that were allied in intent. For a good analysis of the subject, see Richard Striner, "Art Deco: Polemics and Synthesis," *Winterthur Portfolio* 25 (Spring 1990), 21–34.

71

"Latest Skyscraper Announced . . ." *LAT*, 2 Mar. 1930, V-1.

72

"Modern Structure Planned . . ." *LAT*, 14 Nov. 1937, V-1, 2; "Coulter's to Quit . . ." *HDC*, 15 Nov. 1937, 15; "New Structure . . ." *WWD*, 16 Nov. 1937, 15; *LAT*, 11 June 1938, II-3; "Coulter's to Occupy . . ." *BHC*, 24 June 1938, 5; "Coulter's Wilshire Opens," *BHC*, 9 Sep. 1938, 5; "New \$1,000,000 Home . . ." *WWD*, 12 Sep. 1938, 1; "Los Angeles: New Store Provides for Motorized Patrons," *AR* 84 (Nov. 1938), 42–46; "Glass Tower . . ." *HDC*, 13 Dec. 1938, 18; "The New Building . . ." *California Plasterer* 15 (Feb. 1939), 14; "Behind the Counter," *BHC*, 28 July 1939, II-1; "Coulter's Modern Building . . ." *RM* 37 (August 1942), 12–13, 32; Louis Parnes, *Planning Stores That Pay* (New York: F. W. Dodge, 1948), 66, 72, 122, 202–203, 250.

73

Glass block did not enter commercial production until the latter months of 1935; see Richard Longstreth, "Hecht's Warehouse: Why It Should Be Saved," *Trans-Lux*, newsletter of the Art Deco Society of Washington, 10 (June 1992), 5. For accounts of the period, see A. E. Marshall, "Future of Glass in the Building Field," *Civil Engineering* 7 (Aug. 1937), 566–567; *AF* 68 (Feb. 1938), 13–33; and "Products and Practice: Glass Block," *AF* 72 (May 1940), 327–330.

74

For example, see "Burdine's to Spend . . ." *WWD*, 14 Mar. 1938, 1, 4, 32; "15,000 at Formal Opening," *WWD*, 29 Nov. 1938, 1, 87; "Pomeroy's after . . ." *WWD*, 24 Jan. 1939, 10; "New Remodeled, and Future Store . . ." *AR* 85 (May 1939), 36–39; and "New Pomeroy Home . . ." *WWD*, 16 Nov. 1939, 1, 8, 35.

75

"May Co. to Establish . . ." *LAT*, 20 Oct. 1938, II-1; "May Co. to Build . . ." *WWD*, 21 Oct. 1938, I-1; "Work to Start . . ." *LAT*, 13 Nov. 1938, V-1; "May Co. Granted . . ." *LAT*, 1 Dec. 1938, I-8; "Putting Final Touches . . ." *WWD*, 4 Aug. 1939, 9; "May Co. to Open . . ." *LAT*, 3 Sep. 1939, II-2; "May Co. Chief . . ." *HDC*, 7 Sep. 1939, 12; "May's New Coast . . ." *WWD*, 7 Sep.

NOTES

400

1939, 1, 32; "New May Co. Store . . ." *LAT*, 8 Sep. 1939, I-13; *BHC*, 8 Sep. 1939, I-1, 9, II-2 to 9; "New Steps in Design," *RE*, 20 Sep. 1939, 3; "New Two-Million Dollar Store . . ." *SWBC* 95 (20 Oct. 1939), 12–13; "May Co. Opens . . ." *DSE* 2 (10 Jan. 1940), 34; "Department Store . . ." *AF* 72 (May 1940), 353–357; "Store Modernization . . ." *RM* 35 (15 May 1940), 15–17; Emrich Nicholson, *Contemporary Shops in the United States* (New York: Architectural Book Pub. Co., 1945), 142–147; Parnes, *Planning Stores*, 72, 127, 200, 203, 249. Albert C. Martin, Jr., provided me with a number of additional insights on the project (interview, Los Angeles, 7 November 1989).

76

As at Bullock's, parking was initially done by attendants who met customers at a porte-cochere on the rear side. By the postwar era, most if not all parking on the site had become self-service; see "Controlling Parking Lot Traffic," *CSA/AE* [23] (Feb. 1947), 13. A major addition was made in 1947–1948; see "May's Wilshire . . ." *WWD*, 4 Mar. 1948, 6.

77

For background, see Meredith Clausen, *Frantz Jourdain and the Samaritaine* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), 198–203; Joseph Siry, *Carson Pirie Scott: Louis Sullivan and the Chicago Department Store* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 88, 101–104; Clausen, "Department Stores," 209–210; idem, "The Department Store—Development of the Type," *Journal of Architecture Education* 39 (Fall 1985), 25. See also Bruno Zevi, *Erich Mendelsohn: opera completa* (Milan: Etas Kompass, 1970), esp. 124–125, 142–151, 165–167.

78

Outside the Miracle Mile, two of the largest branches built prior to World War II were located in the Los Angeles area: I. Magnin Wilshire, discussed in the text above, and the Broadway Pasadena (1940, 95,000 sq. ft.), noted in chapter 9 below.

Outside Los Angeles, by far the most active region for branch store development was New York. For general discussion, see "Branch Stores Best . . ." *New York Times*, 19 Oct. 1930, II-18; "Plans for Expansion . . ." *New York Times*, 2 Aug. 1936, III-8; John Wingate, "Trends in the Department Store Field," *Journal of Retailing* 17 (Feb. 1941), 2–3; Selma Ruttenberg, "Branch-Store Developments among New York City Stores," *Journal of Retailing* 17 (Feb. 1941), 4–6; and Di-brell, "The Effect of Branch Store Expansion," 16–17, 54, 56–57. The five largest branches in the New York area were Macy's Parkchester (1940–1941, approx. 90,000 sq. ft.); Arnold Constable, Hempstead (1939–1940, approx. 62,000 sq. ft.); Lord & Taylor, Manhasset (1940–1941, 58,000 sq. ft.); Arnold Constable, New Rochelle (1937–1938, 51,000 sq. ft.); and Frederick Loeser, Garden City (1937, 40,000 sq. ft.).

79

Most of the new downtown stores that were built were the size of Coulter's or smaller. For examples, see *WWD*, 4 May 1937, 9; *DSE* 4 (10 Apr. 1938), 44; *WWD*, 2 Aug. 1940, 8; *WWD*, 17 Sep. 1940, 8; *WWD*, 6 Dec. 1940, 7; and "White House Takes New Home," *DSE* 4 (25 Mar. 1941), 27. Another scheme was overtly derived from the May Company exterior; see "Lichenstein's Leads . . ." *WWD*, 9 Apr. 1941, 32.

The largest development on the Miracle Mile to be realized during the decade after World War II was the ten-story Prudential Building (1947–1948), occupying a seventeen-acre site that included a bank and several shops as well as a 150,000-square-foot branch of Ohrbach's, a New York-based clothing store, then just entering the West Coast market. See "Prudential Will Erect . . .," *LAT*, 20 Mar. 1947, II-1, 8; "Ohrbach's New . . .," *WWD*, 29 May 1947, I-4; "Prudential Opens . . .," *LAT*, 15 Nov. 1948, II-1; "Ohrbach's Is Well Stocked . . .," *WWD*, 26 Nov. 1948, 1, 7; "Ohrbach's Opens . . .," *LAT*, 1 Dec. 1948, II-1; "Ohrbach's Store . . .," *LAT*, 2 Dec. 1948, II-1; "Shoppers by Thousands . . .," *LAT*, 3 Dec. 1948, II-1, 3; "Ohrbach's Meets Los Angeles—Head On," *Stores* 30 (Dec. 1948), 13, 32–33; Leonard Miller, "Prudential Insurance Building . . .," *A&E* 176 (Mar. 1949), 14–20, 34; "Two Office Buildings . . .," *AF* 90 (May 1949), 42–45; "Trends in Department Store Construction," *Stores* 31 (July 1949), 22–23; "Miracle Mile Shoe Store . . .," *LAT*, 7 Sep. 1949, II-6; and Prudential Square . . .," *LAT*, 8 Mar. 1950, I-11.

Several other branch and chain units were built for major clothing companies; see "Mullen & Bluett Plan . . .," *LAT*, 12 Jan. 1948, I-7; "Young's New Shoe Store . . .," *LAT*, 16 Dec. 1948, II-6; "Mullen & Bluett . . .," *LAT*, 24 Feb. 1949, I-14; "Mullen & Bluett . . .," *LAT*, 25 Feb. 1949, II-3; "New Store Stresses Informal Atmosphere," *AR/WS* 103 (Mar. 1948), 32-A to 32-C; "Clothing Store Leases . . .," *LAT*, 17 Mar. 1949, I-9; "Remodeled Mandel Store . . .," *LAT*, 28 Apr. 1949, II-6; "Leed's Chain Opens . . .," *LAT*, 2 Sep. 1949, II-2; "Thrifty to Open . . .," *LAT*, 10 May 1950, II-7; "Wilshire Store . . .," *LAT*, 27 Apr. 1952; and *LAT*, 14 Oct. 1956, VI-7.

## NOTES

402

VI A *Guaranteed Neighborhood*

1

"Lunada Bay Plaza . . .," *LAEx*, 13 Jan. 1924, IV-17.

2

*LAT*, 6 Apr. 1924, V-16.

3

The more precise later definition of "shopping center" owes much to the work of Kansas City real estate developer J. C. Nichols; see note 53 below.

4

Definitions did not begin to be advanced for the shopping center as an integrated business until after World War II. For early examples, see Geoffrey Baker and Bruno Funaro, *Shopping Centers: Design and Operation* (New York: Reinhold, 1951), 10; Victor Gruen and Lawrence Smith, "Shopping Centers: The New Building Type," *PP* 33 (June 1952), 71; J. Ross McKeever, "Shopping Centers: Principles and Policies," *ULI* 20 (June 1953), 6; Gordon Stedman, "The Rise of Shopping Centers," *Journal of Retailing* 31 (Spring 1955), 13–15; Jack Hyman, "Shopping Center . . .," *WWD*, 27 Dec. 1955, II-6; and Paul Smith, *Shopping Centers: Planning and Management* (New York: National Retail Merchants Assoc., 1956), 12.

5

The displeasure residents expressed over makeshift buildings, generally located near the railroad depot, is discussed in John Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1920–1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 212–217. For illustrations, see Michael Ebner, *Creating Chicago's North Shore: A Suburban History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 115, 204–205, 232. The importance of having basic goods and services available nearby is suggested in contemporary accounts. See, for example, Sidney Maxwell, *The Suburbs of Cincinnati . . .* (Cincinnati: Geo. E. Stevens & Co., 1870), 96; and Richard Nelson, *Suburban Homes for Business Men . . .* (Cincinnati: Nelson & Bolles, 1874), 34, 43–44, 53, 72, 79, 94, 126.

6

Concerning the Riverside store block, see Richard Longstreth, “The Neighborhood Shopping Center in Washington, D.C., 1930–1941,” *JSAH* 51 (Mar. 1992), 7–8, and references cited therein. Several other communities that were planned with an unusual degree of thoroughness for the period are discussed in Mary Corbin Sies, “American Country House Architecture in Context: The Suburban Ideal of Living in the East and Midwest, 1877–1917” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1987). See also her “The City Transformed: Nature, Technology, and the Suburban Ideal, 1877–1917,” *Journal of Urban History* 14 (Nov. 1987), 81–111. Often these places had no commercial facilities because they lay closer to settled areas where services were available than did Riverside.

7

For general discussion, see Marc Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Planning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 40–48, 53–72. Case studies include Gary Molyneaux, “Planned Land Use Change in an Urban Setting: The J. C. Nichols Company and the Country Club District in Kansas City” (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1979); William Worley, *J. C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City: Innovation in Planned Residential Communities* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990); Roberta Moudry, “Gardens, Houses and People: The Planning of Roland Park, Baltimore” (M.A. thesis, Cornell University, 1990); Roderick French, “Chevy Chase Village in the Context of the National Suburban Movement, 1870–1900,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C.* 73–74 (1973–1974), 300–329; Margaret Marsh, “Suburbanization and the Search for Community: Residential Decentralization in Philadelphia, 1880–1900,” *Pennsylvania History* 44 (Apr. 1977), 99–116; Patricia Stach, “Deed Restrictions and Subdivision Development in Columbus, Ohio, 1900–1970,” *Journal of Urban History* 15 (Nov. 1988), 42–68; and Stilgoe, *Borderland*, chap 19.

8

Correspondence to and from Bouton, preserved in the Roland Park Company Records, CUL, provides the best source of information yet found on this building. For citations, see Longstreth, “Neighborhood Shopping Center,” nn. 9–10.

9

For examples of the coverage Roland Park received, see W. Fawcett, “Roland Park . . . A Representative American Suburb,” *House and Garden* 3 (Apr. 1903), 175–196; E. Otis Williams, “The Homebuilders’ Suburb of New Baltimore: Roland Park,” *Indoors and Out* 3 (Mar. 1907), 259–267; and Arthur Cranford, “A Suburb Conforming to Architectural Standards . . .,” *AF* 23 (Aug. 1914), 191–194.

Tuxedo Park, New York, originally laid out in 1886, was a much praised example of residential planning of the period, but its remote, mountainous site and role as a millionaires' resort limited the applicability of its plan to most metropolitan endeavors. Furthermore, the store block serving this community lay outside the entrance gates, through which only property holders, guests, and staff were admitted.

A more analogous case to Roland Park was the well-known Westchester County development of Lawrence Park (begun 1892); see Frederick Partington, "A Unique Suburb," *Indoors and Out* 2 (July 1906), 153–155. Recent English work also may have influenced American practice, especially the small, ornate store blocks at the model company towns of Port Sunlight (begun 1888) and Bournville (begun 1895), which were beginning to receive coverage in U.S. journals. See, for example, "Port Sunlight," *Architecture and Building* 30 (4 Feb. 1899, plate); and Lona Bartlett, "The Bournville Village Trust," *House and Garden* 4 (Dec. 1903), 305.

The considerably earlier commercial building at the London suburb of Bedford Park may not have been as well known by the early twentieth century. Designed in 1880 by Richard Norman Shaw, the complex included a tavern, row houses, and stores, and was far more evocative of its postmedieval prototypes than was work in the United States. The concept of commercial service it embodied, however, may have been known to the English investors who originally financed the Roland Park Company and thus may have influenced the store block there.

## 11

For background, see the company's own publications, including *Practical Bungalows of Southern California* (1911), *Inexpensive Bungalows . . .* (1912), and *Modern Homes of California* (1913). See also *Los Angeles, the Old and the New* (Los Angeles: J. E. Scott, 1911), 55. On the College Tract, see "Transformation in Southwest," *LAT*, 6 Dec. 1908, V-24.

## 12

"Growth of Southwest," *LAT*, 1 Sep. 1907, V-1; "Building-Up . . .," *LAT*, 3 May 1908, V-18; "Attractive Southwest . . .," *LAT*, 12 Apr. 1914, VI-13. A somewhat similar project was undertaken in 1912 by another major developer of the Southwest district, the Angeles Mesa Land Company, at Sixth Avenue and Fifty-fourth Street; see "Store Is Attractive," *LAT*, 5 May 1912, VI-17. See also *LAT*, 16 Dec. 1923, V-4.

## 13

"A Village Street—Before and After," *House Beautiful* 27 (April 1910), 127.

## 14

Ibid.

## 15

Peter Wight, "The New Market Square at Lake Forest . . .," *WA* 26 (Oct. 1917), 27. This article (pp. 27–31, pls. 1–15) remains the most informative on the project. See also "Market Square and Community Center . . .," *NREJ* 17 (Jan. 1918), 31. The importance of this undertaking for members of the real estate field is suggested in "A Pioneer Shopping Center Has 25th Birthday," *Freehold* 7 (15 Aug. 1940), 122–125. See also note 18 below. The complex is the subject of a short popular history: Susan Dart, *Market Square, Lake Forest, Illinois* (Lake Forest: Lake Forest–Lake Bluff Historical Society, 1984). See also Ebner, *Chicago's North Shore*, 203–209, although it mistakenly suggests that financial gain was a primary motivation for the venture.



16

Aldis's firm was associated with the development of some of Chicago's most celebrated late nineteenth-century office buildings. His older brother, Owen, served as agent for constructing the Montauk (1881–1882), Monadnock (1889–1892), and Marquette (1891–1895) buildings. Specializing in property management, Aldis & Co. was formed with Owen and Arthur Aldis and Anayas Northcote in 1889. See Miles Berger, *They Built Chicago: Entrepreneurs Who Shaped a Great City's Architecture* (Chicago: Bonus Books, 1992), 39–48.

The total raised through subscription was approximately \$300,000. The remaining funds were secured through the bond issue. It is not certain whether the trust retained control over Market Square primarily because the enterprise became more profitable with the passage of time, or because there was fear that an outside owner might not be as good a steward of the property, or because no potential purchaser was interested in assuming title with the restrictive covenants it carried.

17

Within the first year of operation, tenants in the complex included a delicatessen, two restaurants, a market, a drug store, a millinery shop, an automobile supply store, a bank, a real estate office, public service company offices, a post office, a plumber's office, a barber shop, an American Express office, a nursery, a bakery, a confectionery, a women's apparel store, a tobacco store, and a sewing machine and music store (Wight, "New Market Square," 30–31).

18

Albert Farr, "A Plea for Better Business Centers in Our Suburban Towns," *A&E* 55 (Dec. 1918), 81–85. See also Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets, *The American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art* (New York: Architectural Book Pub. Co., 1922), 279.

19

For background, see Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (London: Verso, 1995). See also idem, "Earle S. Draper and the Company Town in the American South," in John Garner, ed., *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 139–172; Richard Candee and Greer Hardwicke, "Early Twentieth-Century Reform Housing by Kilham and Hopkins, Architects of Boston," *Winterthur Portfolio* 22 (Spring 1987), 47–80; and Richard Candee, *Atlantic Heights: A World War I Shipbuilder's Community* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Portsmouth Marine Society, 1985). Much was published on the subject at that time. See, for example, William Phillips Comstock, *The Housing Book* (New York: William H. Comstock Co., 1919); U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation, *Report of the United States Housing Corporation*, 2 vols. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1919); and Morris Knowles, *Industrial Housing* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1920).

20

Shaw himself used Market Square as a model for an industrial community; see Ralph Warner, "The Town of Mark, Indiana," *Architectural Review* [Boston] 24 (Nov. 1918), 97–100.

21

For an overview, see Crawford, *Building*, chap. 7; and Leland Roth, "Company Towns in the Western United States," in Garner, *Company Town*, 173–205. See

also Irving Morrow, "Two Town Planning Projects in Arizona . . .," *A&E* 63 (Dec. 1920), 46–87.

22

The best account of Tyrone is Crawford, *Building*, chap. 7. See also "Tyrone, New Mexico . . .," *AF* 28 (Apr. 1918), 130–134; "The New Mining Community . . .," *Architectural Review* [Boston], n.s. 6 (Apr. 1918), 59–62; Richard Oliver, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue* (New York and Cambridge: Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1983), 151–154; and Roth, "Company Towns," 184–187. The extent to which the scheme attracted attention in Los Angeles is suggested in "Best Known Examples . . .," *LAT*, 25 Dec. 1921, V-1. Oliver, *Goodhue*, 109–119 and 151–158, provides an overview of the architect's contribution to California work. See also David Gebhard, "The Spanish Colonial Revival in Southern California (1895–1930)," *JSAH* 26 (May 1967), 136–138; and *Caltech 1910–1950: An Urban Architecture for Southern California* (Pasadena: Baxter Art Gallery, California Institute of Technology, 1983).

NOTES

406

23

For background, see "Palos Verdes Carries Its Town Plan into Execution," *ACi* 33 (Dec. 1925), 666–669; "Palos Verdes Ideals . . .," *PVB* 3 (June–July 1927), 1, 6–8; J. F. Dawson, "The Placing of Houses . . .," *PVB* 3 (Aug. 1927), 6–8; Charles Cheney, "Where Poor Architecture Cannot Come," *WA* 37 (Apr. 1928), 75–77; Rexford Newcomb, "Palos Verdes Estates: An Ideal Residential Community," *WA* 37 (Apr. 1928), 79–82; "Californian Architecture," *PVB* 4 (Oct. 1928), 2–4; "Estate Acres . . .," *LAT*, 11 Nov. 1928, V-4; Frederick Law Olmsted, "How We Planned Palos Verdes Hills," *APC* (1929), 227–231; "Palos Verdes Estates . . .," *NREJ* 30 (15 Apr. 1929), 64–71; "Shore Project . . .," *LAT*, 5 Jan. 1930, V-4; and collections of articles in *PCA* 31 (Apr. 1927), 9–20, and *A&E* 100 (Jan. 1930), 35–83.

24

By 1925, Palos Verdes was among the sites proposed for the new campus of what became the University of California, Los Angeles. In 1926, the Westwood area was chosen instead, as noted later in this chapter. Had Palos Verdes been selected, the economic base of the tract would have been considerable. To my knowledge, this was the only instance of interest in securing a major employer within the development.

25

The target audience certainly included, and may well have principally included, persons working in or near downtown Los Angeles. See, for example, *LAT*, 10 Jan. 1926, V-5. The main sales office was downtown. Others were in Hollywood, Long Beach, San Pedro, and on site.

26

"Palos Verdes Ranch . . .," *LAT*, 4 Jan. 1914, V-1; "Palos Verdes Ranch . . .," *LAT*, 8 Feb. 1914, VI-1; "Coast Boulevard . . .," *LAT*, 22 Feb. 1914, V-1, 14.

27

"Coast Boulevard," 14.

28

There are few quantitative projections for Palos Verdes in the sources I have found. The first four subdivisions were to occupy about a fifth of the total area,

which was planned for a population of 160,000. If this population were divided evenly, each tract would hold 8,000 people. Period accounts suggest, however, that variation in size and density between subdivisions was anticipated. Lunada Bay was to be the most populous at 30,000.

The total projected number of stores is not given in any contemporary descriptions of the business centers. The original plan of Malaga Cove Plaza (figure 112) shows forty-three units plus a theater at ground level. This complex was somewhat smaller than the other two for which preliminary designs were prepared. Published illustrations indicate that these might have contained between fifty and seventy units.

Calculations made for shopping centers some years later estimated that a minimal population of 5,000 families was needed to sustain a complex of between twenty and forty units, and a population of between 100,000 and 250,000 people to support one having between fifty and a hundred units (J. Ross McKeever, "Shopping Centers: Principles and Policies," *ULI* 20 [July 1953], 6). However, such figures were based on the assumption that the complexes would be competing with at least some other facilities.

29

Three of the four centers envisioned for the initial developments—Malaga Cove Plaza, Lunada Bay Plaza, and Valmonte Plaza—were discussed in advertisements. See *LAT*, 16 Dec. 1923, V-18; 13 Jan. 1924, V-2; 10 Feb. 1924, V-22; and *CS* 6 (Feb. 1924), back cover. The schemes are also illustrated in *A&E* 100 (Jan. 1930), 38, 82, 83. Further references to Malaga Cove Plaza are cited in note 31 below.

30

*LAT*, 26 Feb. 1922, V-10.

31

The first section (four stores) was built in 1924–1925; the second (seven units) was built in 1929–1930. For background, see *LAT*, 16 Dec. 1923, V-18; "A Town by Webber, Staunton & Spaulding, Architects," *CS* 6 (Feb. 1924), 23; "Four Projects . . .," *LAT*, 27 July 1924, V-1; "Malaga Cove . . .," *PVB* 1 (Dec. 1924), 1; "Dedication of First . . .," *PVB* 1 (June 1925), 1; *PVB* 1 (Sep. 1925), 2; "Dedicate Malaga Plaza," *LAT*, 13 Sep. 1925, V-6; "Malaga Cove . . .," *PVB* 1 (Oct. 1925), 1, 4–5; "A New Year's . . .," *PVB* 5 (Jan. 1929), 2; "Malaga Cove . . .," *PVB* 5 (July 1929), 1; "Community Office and Shops . . .," *NREJ* 30 (14 Oct. 1929), 62; "The Dedication," *PVB* 6 (Mar. 1930), 1, 3–7.

32

Examples include Girard (platted 1923), a San Fernando Valley subdivision that soon gained notoriety for its isolated site ("New Townsite . . .," *LAT*, 4 Feb. 1923, V-4; *LAT*, 18 Feb. 1923, V-16; *LAT*, 9 May 1925, I-5; *LAT*, 15 July 1923, V-10; "Girard Is Center . . .," *LAT*, 5 Aug. 1923, V-6); Beverly Park (1923) and Hollywood Knolls (1923), two foothill tracts developed by the Taft Realty Company for the well-to-do (*LAT*, 28 Oct. 1923, V-4; "Wonders of Hollywood . . .," *HDC*, 18 Oct. 1923, 3; "Third Unit Opened," *HDC*, 8 Mar. 1924, 9; "Purchasers Protected . . .," *HDC*, 29 Mar. 1929, 9); and Benmar Hills (1927), near Burbank ("Tract Follows . . .," *LAT*, 18 Sep. 1927, V-14; "Groundbreaking . . .," *HDC*, 24 Sep. 1927, 9).

Isolated locations developed for resort purposes were sometimes more successful, although they did not spawn innovations in the commercial sphere. The most notable examples were Rancho Santa Fe (1923) (Lee Shippey, "Rancho Santa Fe . . .," *A&E* 76 [Feb. 1924], 55–63; Hazel Boyer, "Men Who Build for the Fu-

ture," *CS* 6 [Nov. 1923], 26–27; Lee Shippey, "Spanish Grant . . .," *LAT*, 20 June 1926, V-4; William Pollard, "Santa Fe Rancho," *Community Builder* 1 [May 1928], 40–45; M. Urmy Seares, "The Village of Rancho Santa Fe," *PCA* 38 [Sep. 1930], 28, 35, 66); and San Clemente (1925) ("Village Keeps . . .," *LAT*, 27 Mar. 1927, V-6; "The Young Architect and the New Town," *CS* 10 [Dec. 1928], 16–19; Frank Williams, "On the Pacific Shore . . .," *Building Developer* 4 [May 1929], 26–43; Christine Emery, "A New Town DeLuxe," *ACi* 42 [Feb. 1930], 118).

33

NOTES

408

Although it promoted its landholdings with a vigor remarkable even by southern California standards, the Janss company revealed relatively little about its operations, including the ambitious plans prepared for the Letts tract. Among the best sources are the thousands of advertisements Janss published weekly in *LAT* and other newspapers. Advertisements for Westwood began in 1922 and continued into the next decade. Other useful accounts include William Kilner, *Arthur Letts* . . . (Los Angeles: privately printed by Young & McCallister, Inc., 1927), 172–178; "Janss Investment Corporation Success," *SN* 9 (2 Feb. 1929), 7; and Kenneth Crist, "Transformed Barley Field . . .," *LAT*, 30 Apr. 1939, V-2. *WHN* provides many details of the developments.

34

*LAT*, 9 Sep. 1923, V-6; 2 Dec. 1923, V-8.

35

In 1919, the regents acquired the twenty-nine-acre campus of the Los Angeles State Normal School on Vermont Avenue south of Sunset Boulevard. The official name of the new institution was the University of California, Southern Branch. Rapid population growth soon rendered this campus, built in 1914, a temporary staging ground. Numerous real estate interests lobbied to secure a commitment from the regents to locate near their tracts; the Jansses' success was not easily won. Along with the move, the institution changed its name to the University of California, Los Angeles. The relationship between campus and residential development during the early twentieth century, an important one for many metropolitan areas, awaits focused study.

36

Useful general accounts of the complex and its development include "Fine New Plan . . .," *BHC*, 12 Dec. 1927, 2; "Start Work . . .," *WHN*, 13 Apr. 1928, 1; "Business Village . . .," *LAT*, 6 May 1928, V-5; "Univ. Business District . . .," *WHN*, 8 June 1928, 1, 8; "Business Section . . .," *BHC*, 14 Mar. 1929, 1; "Start Village . . .," *WHN*, 29 Mar. 1929, 1; "Ideal Westwood Center . . .," *SN* 9 (6 July 1929), 10; L. B. Snell, "Westwood Village Is Unique Center," *WHN*, 22 Nov. 1929, 8; Katherine Doyle, "The Town Made for the Gown," *SCB* 9 (Mar. 1930), 16, 27, 35; M. Urmy Seares, "Westwood Village . . .," *PCA* 38 (July 1930), 41–43, 70; John Steven McGroarty, "Westwood Village: A Year and a Day to Build," *A&E* 102 (Aug. 1930), 29–41; "Westwood Village . . .," *WHN*, 6 Apr. 1934, 1, 5; Rowe Rader, "Westwood Village the Heroic Achievement . . .," *WHN*, 8 Apr. 1938, 3, 5; "Westwood Village . . .," *BHC*, 21 Apr. 1939, 15, 24; "From Zero to \$11,000,000 . . .," *WHN*, 19 Apr. 1940, 3A; "Village Story . . .," *WHN*, 19 Apr. 1940, 3A, 5A.

37

The company claimed that as part of the research done for the Westwood Village plan "a survey of practically every unique business center in the nation" was under-

taken (“Two Business Blocks . . .,” *WHN*, 22 Mar. 1929, 8). What was meant by “unique” is unclear, but in all likelihood it included early examples of integrated complexes and perhaps other cases where an individual or firm played the dominant role in advancing development. See note 54 below. I am grateful to the late David Gebhard for supplying me with useful background information on Tilton.

38

“Univ. Business District,” 1; “Fine New Plan”; “Westwood Village the Heroic Achievement.”

39

“Westwood Village Is Unique Center.”

40

No community’s commercial architecture received so much coverage by the west coast architectural press during the 1920s. See Winsor Soule, “Santa Barbara Architecture,” *A&E* 79 (Dec. 1924), 51–73; H. C. Nickerson, “The Rise of Santa Barbara,” *CS* 7 (Aug. 1925), 9–11; Ralph Urmey, “Results of the Work of the Community,” *CS* 7 (Nov. 1925), 14; Harris Allen, “The Jewel of Architectural Consistency,” *PCA* 28 (Nov. 1925), 5, 27, 35, 37, 43; T. Mitchell Hastings, “The Rebuilding of Santa Barbara,” *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 13 (Nov. 1925), 408–409; “Santa Barbara Gains . . .,” *LAT*, 21 Mar. 1926, V-6; “The Santa Barbara Plan,” *CS* 8 (June 1926), 26; Winsor Soule, “The New Santa Barbara,” *AA* 130 (5 Jul. 1926), 1–10; Irving Morrow, “New Santa Barbara,” *A&E* 86 (July 1926), 43–65; Marshall Selover, “Santa Barbara . . .,” *LAT*, 19 Sep. 1926, V-8; and M. Urmey Seares, “A Community Approaches Its Ideal,” *PCA* 37 (June 1930), 19–21, 70–71. For a retrospective account, see David Gebhard, *Santa Barbara—The Creation of a New Spain in America* (Santa Barbara: University Art Museum, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1982), 20–21, 51–55.

41

“Business Section . . .,” *WHN*, 15 Mar. 1929, 2; “Construction . . . Started,” *LAT*, 17 Mar. 1929, V-9; “Two Business Blocks . . .,” *WHN*, 22 Mar. 1929, 1, 8; “First Unit . . .,” *BHC*, 24 Mar. 1929, 17; “Start Village.” Concerning the Allisons, see Robert Judson Clark and Thomas Hines, *Los Angeles Transfer: Architecture in Southern California 1880–1980* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, Los Angeles, 1983), 36–41. Concerning Kaufmann, see Alson Clark et al., *Johnson Kaufmann Coate: Partners in the California Style* (Claremont, Calif.: Galleries of Pomona and Scripps Colleges, 1992).

42

The principal task of the Palos Verdes Art Jury was reviewing plans for houses and for institutional and recreational buildings. The exterior of the commercial centers was designed as part of the overall plan for each precinct. At Westwood Village, much greater latitude was apparently given to the designers of commercial work. Among all the material publicized on the center, I have yet to find indication that drawings were prepared before the fact to suggest the appearance of Westwood Village when completed.

43

“Fine New Plan”; “Desmond’s Will Open . . .,” *WHN*, 1 Nov. 1929, 1; *WHN*, 22 Nov. 1929, 12; “New Desmond . . .,” *LAT*, 24 Nov. 1929, V-2; *WHN*, 14 Mar. 1930, 1; “Nine Shops . . .,” *LAT*, 16 Mar. 1930, V-4; *AD* 8:4 (1931), 47; Bullock’s to Erect . . .,” *WHN*, 8 Jan. 1932, 1; “Branch Store . . .,” *LAT*, 10 Jan.

1932, V-2; "Bullock's Store . . .," *WHN*, 15 Jan. 1932, 1; "Bullock's Opens . . .," *LAT*, 15 Mar. 1932, V-3; "Bullock's Westwood . . .," *WHN*, 13 May 1932; "Westwood Village . . .," *LAT*, 1 Aug. 1937, V-2; "Myer Siegel . . .," *WHN*, 6 Aug. 1937, 1; *WWD*, 13 Aug. 1937, I-13; "Distinguished New . . .," *WHN*, 10 Dec. 1937, 1, 3.

## 44

"Newberry Store . . .," *WHN*, 13 Mar. 1931, 1; *WHN*, 27 Mar. 1931, 1; "Sears, Roebuck . . .," *WHN*, 3 Jan. 1936, 1; "Community Welcomes . . .," *WHN*, 10 July 1936, sect. II; "New Building . . .," *LAT*, 27 Dec. 1936, V-3; "Village Growth . . .," *WHN*, 1 Jan. 1937, 1; "J. C. Penney . . .," *WHN*, 8 Jan. 1937, 1; "New J. C. Penney . . .," *WHN*, 15 Jan. 1937, 5.

## 45

"Market Structure . . .," *LAT*, 14 July 1929, V-5; "Business Units . . .," *LAT*, 17 Nov. 1929, V-6; *LAT*, 14 Dec. 1930, V-2; "A. & P. Tea Co. . . .," *WHN*, 20 Feb. 1931, 1, 4; "New Building . . .," *WHN*, 21 Sep. 1934, 1; "Build Briskly . . .," *WHN*, 16 Nov. 1934, 1; "Gala Opening . . .," *WHN*, 11 Jan. 1935, 1; "A&P Village Store . . .," *WHN*, 3 May 1935, 1; "Westwood Hills . . .," *BHC*, 10 Mar. 1936, suppl.; "A. & P. Food Stores' . . .," *WHN*, 10 July 1936, 3; "Reinforced Concrete . . .," *WHN*, 12 Nov. 1937, 1; "Smart New Westwood . . .," *WHN*, 13 May 1938, 3; "Model Safeway . . .," *WHN*, 30 Sep. 1938, 4.

## 46

"Many New Stores . . .," *WHN*, 18 July 1929, 15. Periodic collective advertisements in *WHN* are invaluable in documenting the businesses established in the complex at a given time; see 17 Jan. 1930, 8; 1 May 1931, 13; 26 May 1939, 16. See also "120 Business Firms . . .," *WHN*, 9 Oct. 1931, 1, 8; and "Village Rivals . . .," *WHN*, 11 Dec. 1936, 7.

Accounts in *WHN* of individual stores are too numerous to cite. Among the useful descriptions of buildings erected in the center, besides those cited in notes 44–45, are: "New Westwood . . .," *WHN*, 13 Dec. 1929, 17; "Kelly Music . . .," *HDC*, 14 Mar. 1930, Kelly Music Sect.; "New Studio Shop . . .," *WHN*, 21 Mar. 1930, 6; "Tea-Room Building . . .," *LAT*, 5 Apr. 1931, V-3; "Two \$40,000 Buildings . . .," *WHN*, 12 June 1931, 1; "Building Spurt . . .," *LAT*, 12 July 1931, V-3; "Construction Started . . .," *WHN*, 17 July 1931, 1; "Construction Well Underway . . .," *WHN*, 31 July 1931, 1; "Westwood Adds . . .," *LAT*, 20 Aug. 1933, I-22; "Business Houses . . .," *LAT*, 25 Oct. 1931, V-2; "El Encanto . . .," *WHN*, 30 Oct. 1931, 5; "Craftsmen Open . . .," *LAT*, 8 Oct. 1933, I-17; "Structure to Be . . .," *LAT*, 24 Dec. 1933, I-12; "La Ronda . . . Unique," *WHN*, 29 Dec. 1933, 1; "Westwood Store . . .," *LAT*, 30 Sep. 1934, I-20; "New Structure . . .," *WHN*, 6 Dec. 1935, 1; "Nationally Famous . . .," *WHN*, 5 June 1936, 1; "New Business . . .," *WHN*, 10 July 1936, 1; "Three New Units . . .," *WHN*, 31 July 1936, 7; "Important New Income . . .," *WHN*, 7 Aug. 1936, 1, 7; "Twelve New Projects . . .," *LAT*, 23 Aug. 1936, V-3; "Important Village Building . . .," *WHN*, 11 Sep. 1936, 3; "Geophysicist Erects . . .," *WHN*, 2 Oct. 1936, 1, 3; "Five Businesses . . .," *WHN*, 11 Dec. 1936, 1; "Associated to Open . . .," *WHN*, 14 May 1937, 1; "Modern Business Building . . .," *WHN*, 18 Mar. 1938, 1; "Potter's Open . . .," *WHN*, 5 Aug. 1938, 4; "New Structure . . .," *WHN*, 6 Sep. 1940, 1; "Chandler Boot Shop . . .," *WHN*, 10 Oct. 1940, 5.

## 47

Concerning banks, see "Opening Date Set . . .," *WHN*, 13 Dec. 1929, 1; "Westwood Village . . .," *WHN*, 20 June 1930, 7; "Citizen's Nat'l Bank . . .," *WHN*,

31 Oct. 1930, 1, 5; and "Bank of America . . .," *WHN*, 18 Mar. 1938, 1, 14. Concerning recreational facilities: "Fox Will Build . . .," *WHN*, 13 Sep. 1929, 1; "Proposed Theatre . . .," *WHN*, 4 Oct. 1929, 19; "Theatre Plans . . .," *WHN*, 18 Apr. 1930, 1; "Recreation Center . . .," *WHN*, 4 July 1930, 1; "Recreation Center . . .," *WHN*, 26 Sep. 1930, 1; "Building Projects . . .," *WHN*, 31 Oct. 1930, 1; "Construction of Fox . . .," *WHN*, 14 Nov. 1930, 1; "Ground Broken . . .," *WHN*, 21 Nov. 1930, 1; "Fox Westwood . . .," *WHN*, 13 Aug. 1931, 5, 7; "Village Theatre . . .," *WHN*, 14 Aug. 1931, 1, 8; and "Westwood Hills' . . .," *WHN*, 12 Mar. 1937, 1. Concerning other buildings: *WHN*, 5 Sep. 1930, 1; "Redman Warehouse . . .," *WHN*, 16 Jan. 1931, 1; *WHN*, 28 Feb. 1936, 1; "Southern California Gas . . .," *WHN*, 20 Nov. 1936, 1; "Ground Broken . . .," *WHN*, 29 Apr. 1938, 1; "\$75,000 Professional Building . . .," *WHN*, 3 June 1938, 1, 2; "Large Professional . . .," *LAT*, 23 Oct. 1938, V-2; "New Medical Building . . .," *WHN*, 9 Dec. 1938, 2; and "Associated Telephone . . .," *WHN*, 18 Apr. 1941, 3.

48

"First Gas Station . . .," *BHC*, 3 Oct. 1929, 16-D; "The West's Most Unique . . .," *WHN*, 22 Nov. 1929, 1; "Big Garage . . .," *WHN*, 10 Jan. 1930, 1; *LAT*, 25 May 1930, V-5; "Work Speeded . . .," *WHN*, 27 June 1930, 1; "Union Oil Adds . . .," *LAT*, 19 Feb. 1933, I-18; "Architecture of New Station . . .," *WHN*, 24 Feb. 1933, 13; "Massey & Keating . . .," *WHN*, 9 Mar. 1934, 1; "Massey Inaugurates . . .," *WHN*, 14 Oct. 1938, 6, 7.

49

"Bullock's Westwood . . .," *WWD*, 11 Oct. 1935, I-1; "Expansion for Store . . .," *LAT*, 22 Oct. 1933, I-20; "Bullock's-Westwood . . .," *WHN*, 24 May 1935, 1; "Bullock's Enlarged . . .," *WHN*, 4 Oct. 1935, 1; "Prominent Dept. Store . . .," *WHN*, 20 Jan. 1939, 1; "Bullock's Westwood . . .," *LAT*, 22 Jan. 1939, V-2; "Bullock's Unit . . .," *WWD*, 23 Jan. 1939, 6; "Sears, Roebuck . . .," *LAT*, 19 Feb. 1939, I-4; "Plan Extensive . . .," *WHN*, 24 Feb. 1939, 1; "Westwood Store's . . .," *LAT*, 20 Aug. 1939, V-2; "Capacity of Prominent . . .," *WHN*, 25 Aug. 1939, 2; *WWD*, 1 Sep. 1939, 12; "New Expansion . . .," *WHN*, 1 Sep. 1939, 2; "New Bullock's . . .," *WHN*, 1 Mar. 1940, 1; "Bright Note . . .," *HDC*, 1 Mar. 1940, 12; "New Bullock's . . .," *WHN*, 1 Mar. 1940, 1, 2; "Store Addition . . .," *LAT*, 12 May 1940, V-2; "Desmond's Westwood . . .," *LAT*, 15 Sep. 1940, V-3; "Desmond's Hold . . .," *WWD*, 20 Sep. 1940, 9.

50

*WHN*, 10 Apr. 1936, 7th Annual Village Birthday Ed., 45; Crist, "Transformed Barley Field."

51

Originally called Westwood Village Business Men's Association, the group was formed out of a Janss initiative. See "Westwood Village . . .," *WHN*, 10 Jan. 1930, 1; "Westwood Village . . .," *WHN*, 10 Apr. 1936, 1; "Westwood Village . . .," *WHN*, 9 Apr. 1937, 1; "W.V.B.A.'s Fine Leadership . . .," *WHN*, 8 Apr. 1938, 3. For a sampling of the organization's promotional activities in *WHN*, see "Plans Complete . . .," 6 Sep. 1929, 1; 31 Jan. 1930, 10; "Village Leaders . . .," 21 Mar. 1930, 1; 11 Apr. 1930, 6-7; "Carnival Will Draw . . .," 11 Apr. 1930, 1; "Village Dons . . .," 12 Dec. 1930, 1; "The Village Has It . . .," 10 Apr. 1931, 1; 8 May 1931, 9; 22 May 1931, 9; 26 June 1931, 11; "Plan for Gay . . .," 30 Oct. 1931, 1; "Big Contest . . .," 15 Dec. 1933, 1; "Village Awaits . . .," 29 Oct. 1937, 1.

52

“New Home . . .,” *LAT*, 12 Apr. 1931, V-2; “Janss’ Main Office . . .,” *WHN*, 1 May 1931, 1, 8.

53

Concerning Nichols and the Country Club District, see Molyneaux, “Planned Land Use Change”; and Worley, *J. C. Nichols*. Concerning the Plaza, see Richard Longstreth, “J. C. Nichols, the Country Club Plaza, and Notions of Modernity,” *Harvard Architecture Review* 5 (1986), 120–135; and Worley, *J. C. Nichols*, chap. 8.

NOTES

412

Nichols wrote two important articles on the subject in which he introduced “shopping center” as a synonym for integrated business development at a time when the term was still loosely used in common parlance. See “The Planning and Control of Outlying Shopping Centers,” *JLP* 2 (Jan. 1926), 17–22, reprinted as “Planning Shopping Centers,” *NREJ* 8 (Mar. 1926), 47–49; and “The Development of Outlying Shopping Centers,” in National Conference on City Planning, *Planning Problems of Town, City and Region* (Philadelphia: Wm. F. Fell, 1929), 16–36, reprinted in abbreviated form as “Developing Outlying Shopping Centers,” *ACi* 41 (July 1929), 98–101.

54

The Country Club Plaza is known to have influenced the planning of at least several other sizable, integrated business developments of the period, even though their respective designs were markedly different. Among these, the only one under way at the time the Janss study was conducted was Shaker Heights in Cleveland (1927–1929). For background, see “Van’s to Make . . .,” *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 20 Aug. 1928, 1-A, 12-A; “All-Chain Shopping Area . . .,” *CSA/GME* 6 (Dec. 1930), 56, 58, 60, 62; “Model Business Center,” *NREJ* 31 (22 Dec. 1930), 35, 36; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 184–185; and Eric Johannesen, *Cleveland Architecture 1876–1976* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1979), 172–174.

55

The best record of tenants during the early stages of the Plaza’s development are the listings of and features on stores that appeared regularly in the *Country Club District Bulletin*. A check through city directories reveals that the tenant profile did not change much during the 1930s. Not until after World War II did the complex get a branch of a major downtown department store (Emery, Bird, Thayer) and a large Sears unit.

56

An immediate justification for developing the parking stations was the need to accommodate patrons of the Plaza Theatre (1928), but the scope of the project clearly extended beyond that single purpose. For background, see “A Day in Spain: An Interpretation of Plaza Theatre . . .,” brochure printed for the J. C. Nichols Companies, n.d. [1928]; M. S. Munson, “Parking Space Added Convenience of Suburban Movie Theatre,” *BA* 51 (Feb. 1929), 88–91; and Nichols, “Development of Outlying Shopping Centers,” 27, 29.

57

“Univ. Business District,” 8; “Approve Auto Parking . . .,” *WHN*, 12 Dec. 1930, 1; “Members Rap . . .,” *WHN*, 25 Mar. 1932, 1, 8; “Angle Parking . . .,” *WHN*, 26 June 1937, 1; “Two Hour . . .,” *WHN*, 13 Sep. 1940, 1; “Parking Lots . . .,” *WHN*, 27 Sep. 1940, 1.



“New Parking Plan . . . ,” *WHN*, 28 Sep. 1945, 1; “Parking System . . . ,” *WHN*, 31 Dec. 1946, 1; “Angle Parking . . . ,” *WHN*, 24 Aug. 1948, 1; “Business Men Get . . . ,” *WHN*, 14 Sep. 1948, 1.

## VII A Hindrance to Business

1

E. E. East, “Los Angeles’ Street Traffic Problem,” *Civil Engineering* 12 (Aug. 1942), 437. See also E. B. Lefferts, “Should Business Provide Off-Street Parking for Patrons,” *1938 Proceedings* (New York: Institute of Traffic Engineers, 1939), 22.

2

“Off-Street Parking Practices,” *ASPO* 15 (July 1949), 59.

3

“Petition Against . . . ,” *BHC*, 17 June 1926, 1.

4

George Hall, “Beverly Hills, California—A Subdivision That Grew into a City,” *American Landscape Architect* 3 (Aug. 1930), 21–26. See also J. C. Albers, “Beverly Hills, California . . . ,” *Concrete Highways and Public Improvements Magazine* 12 (June 1928), 123–125; and Bryant Hall, “Beverly Hills Acquires Unique Park . . . ,” *Western City* 7 (Sep. 1931), 9–12. Coverage in *LAT* affords useful insight on the plan as a central part of the developer’s marketing strategy; see “Building Up Beverly,” 8 Sep. 1907, V-1; “A Beauty Spot,” 26 June 1910, VI-8; “Magnificent Tourist Hostelry . . . ,” 14 May 1911, V-1; “Between Ocean . . . ,” 12 Apr. 1914, VI-4; and a sampling of advertisements: 21 Oct. 1906, II-20; 11 Nov. 1906, II-23; 18 Nov. 1906, V-2; 20 Apr. 1907, II-8; 22 Sep. 1907, V-15; 13 Nov. 1910, VI-3; 4 Dec. 1910, V-3; 11 Dec. 1910, VI-3. See also “Beverly Hills . . . ,” *LAT*, 29 Nov. 1931, V-1, 3. Two general accounts are Pierce Benedict and Don Kennedy, eds., *History of Beverly Hills* (Beverly Hills: A. W. Cawston and H. M. Meier, 1934), 60–82; and Genevieve Davis, *Beverly Hills: An Illustrated History* (Northridge, Calif.: Windsor Pubs., 1988), 45–52. Fred Basten, *Beverly Hills: Portrait of a Fabled City* (Los Angeles: Douglas-West, 1975) contains numerous period photographs.

5

“Building Up Beverly.”

6

Initial plans for the bank called for a two-story building that could be expanded to the height limit when demand warranted; see *BHC*, 12 Jan. 1928, II-1. The fast growth of the Business Triangle prompted two sets of revisions, each substantially increasing the size; see “Bank Building . . . ,” *BHC*, 14 June 1928, 1; “California Bank . . . ,” *BHC*, 29 Nov. 1928, 1, 6; and “Bank Will Construct . . . ,” *LAT*, 9 Dec. 1928, V-6. See also “Open House . . . ,” *BHC*, 31 Oct. 1929, 1; and “Brilliant Opening . . . ,” *BHC*, 17 Nov. 1929, 16B. Much denser development might have occurred in the immediate area without the depression. At least two other large, multistory projects were announced but never begun. One was for a facility housing a theater, stores, a hotel, and apartments (“New Theatre . . . ,” *BHC*, 16 Jan. 1930, 1). The other scheme was for a department store branch for an unnamed company, which would have been almost as large as Bullock’s; see *LAEx*,

7 Aug. 1931; "Trade Palace Projected," *LAT*, 7 Aug. 1931, II-1; and *LAT*, 9 Aug. 1931, V-1. Additional retail development of consequence did not occur along these blocks until the mid-1930s, as discussed in the text below.

7

The best sense of business development during this period is gleaned from coverage of individual projects in *BHC*. General accounts include: "Beverly Hills . . .," *LAT*, 20 Dec. 1925, V-6; "Beverly Hills . . .," *LAT*, 4 Sep. 1927, V-7; R. Ellis Wales, "Commercial Body . . .," *BHC*, 3 Jan. 1929, I-1; Charles Robinson, "Trading Center . . .," *BHC*, 3 Jan. 1929, I-4; "Many Firms Locating . . .," *LAT*, 23 Feb. 1930, V-3; and "Development of West End . . .," *BHC*, 17 Jan. 1936, 8. Unfortunately, several microfilm reels of the early volumes of *BHC* are missing, one of which includes installments of a serial on business streets. Those installments still available are "See Big Business . . .," 11 Nov. 1926, 1, 4; and "Camden Seen . . .," 18 Nov. 1926, 1, 4.

NOTES

414

8

"Propose Novel Solution . . .," *BHC*, 19 Mar. 1937, 1.

9

Orin Nolting and Paul Opperman, *The Parking Problem in Central Business Districts* (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1938), 4. This report and Clarence Ridley and Orin Nolting, *The Municipal Year Book* (Chicago: International City Managers' Assoc., 1942), 515–521, provide two of the most detailed accounts of municipal parking lot development prior to World War II. Coverage of individual projects can be found in *ACi* and *PM*.

10

T. T. McCrosky, "Yonkers Planning Commission Recommends Municipal Parking Space," *ACi* 46 (Feb. 1932), 108–109. See also "Eliminate the Parking Toll," *ACi* 53 (Apr. 1938), 117.

11

For a sampling of accounts beyond those cited in note 9 above, see: Thomas Henry, "Strangled Cities," *Toledo Business* 17 (May 1939), 11–12; Burton Marsh, "Solving the Automobile Parking Problem," *Public Management* 23 (Jan. 1941), 10–14; Wilfred Owen, "Financing Off-Street Parking Facilities," *Public Management* 23 (Apr. 1941), 107–111; Theodore McCrosky, "Decentralization and Parking," *1941 Proceedings* (New York: Institute of Traffic Engineers, 1942), 59–63; *The Parking Problem: A Library Research* (Saugatuck, Conn.: Eno Foundation, 1942); D. Grant Mickle, "Providing Off-Street Parking and Terminal Facilities," National Safety Council, National Safety Congress, *Transactions* 1943, 60–64; D. Grant Mickle, "Local Parking Problem Solutions," University of Michigan, Annual Highway Conference, *Proceedings*, 1944, 93–117; Wilbur Smith and Charles LeCraw, *Parking* (Saugatuck, Conn.: Eno Foundation, 1946); and *Parking for Smaller Cities* (Indianapolis: Associated Retailers of Indiana, 1948).

12

Written by Carlos Valle-Riestra, one of the traffic engineers who prepared the report, the series appeared weekly in *BHC* from 15 July to 28 Oct. 1938, each installment with its own title.

13

Pertinent articles in the series include "Necessary to Find . . .," 23 Sep. 1938, 1,

20; "Off-Street Parking . . .," 30 Sep. 1938, 1, 18; "Best Method . . .," 7 Oct. 1938, 1, 19; "Attractiveness of Parking . . .," 14 Oct. 1938, 1, 12; and "Parking Solution . . .," 21 Oct. 1938, 1, 13.

14

"Major Business Block . . .," *BHC*, 16 May 1935, 2; "Building Boom . . .," *BHC*, 16 May 1935, 1; "Sloane Company . . .," *LAT*, 19 May 1935, I-12; "Store to Build . . .," *LAT*, 13 Aug. 1935, I-37; "Sloane's to Add . . .," *BHC*, 15 Aug. 1935, 1; "New Sloane Store . . .," *BHC*, 28 Feb. 1936, 1; Helen King, "An Old Firm with Young Ideas," *PCA* 49 (Mar. 1936), 15–16; "New Building Project . . .," *LAT*, 24 May 1936, V-4; *AR* 80 (Aug. 1936), 130; "Building Permits . . .," *BHC*, 4 Sep. 1936, II-1; "Levy and Son . . .," *BHC*, 27 Aug. 1937, 10; "To Begin Work . . .," *WWD*, 15 Nov. 1937, 1, 12; "New York Shop . . .," *LAT*, 16 Nov. 1937, I-9; "Saks Fifth Avenue . . .," *BHC*, 19 Nov. 1937, 1; "Saks-Fifth Ave. . . .," *WWD*, 10 Mar. 1938, 28; "Firm's Opening . . .," *LAT*, 17 Apr. 1938, II-8; "New Saks Fifth-Ave. . . .," *WWD*, 29 Apr. 1938, I-12.

15

"Beverly Hills Business . . .," *BHC*, 12 July 1934, 1. Concerning Saks, see *PCA* 53 (June 1938), 20–21; "Saks Expansion . . .," *WWD*, 22 Dec. 1938, 1, 28; "Plans Are Ready . . .," *BHC*, 23 Dec. 1938, 1, 10; "New Unit . . .," *LAT*, 1 Jan. 1939, V-1; "Saks, Beverly Hills . . .," *WWD*, 17 Aug. 1939, 28; "Saks Largest . . .," *BHC*, 18 Aug. 1939, 1, 2; "Saks-Fifth Ave. . . .," *HDC*, 19 Aug. 1939, 7; "Extensive New Store . . .," *LAT*, 20 Aug. 1939, V-2; and "New York Comes . . .," *WWD*, 1 Sep. 1939, II-1. The Levi branch did not last long; however, the building was quickly leased by J. J. Haggerty, another prominent downtown clothier: see "New Store . . .," *LAT*, 26 June 1938, II-3; *WWD*, 1 July 1938, 5; "September 1 Opening . . .," *BHC*, 1 July 1938, 4; "Haggerty in New Store . . .," *BHC*, 9 Sep. 1938, 3; and "J. J. Haggerty . . .," *WWD*, 12 Sep. 1938, 7.

16

"Parking for Business . . .," *BHC*, 18 Nov. 1938, 1; "Parking Lots . . .," *BHC*, 2 Dec. 1938, 1; "First Steps . . .," *BHC*, 9 Dec. 1938, 1; "The Parking Problem," *BHC*, 9 Dec. 1938, 36; "Solution to Parking . . .," *BHC*, 16 Dec. 1938, 17; "City to Grade . . .," *BHC*, 20 Jan. 1939, 1, 12.

17

"Interest Is Displayed . . .," *BHC*, 27 Jan. 1939, 1; "New Parking Areas . . .," *BHC*, 31 Mar. 1939, 1; "Work Nearly Completed . . .," *BHC*, 14 Apr. 1939, 1; "Parking Plan . . .," *BHC*, 26 May 1939, 1, 18; "Permanent Parking . . .," *BHC*, 9 June 1939, 1; "Adequate Parking . . .," *BHC*, 23 June 1939, 8; "Parking Plan . . .," *BHC*, 14 July 1939, 1; "Permanent Parking . . .," *BHC*, 21 July 1939, 1; "Parking Plan . . .," *BHC*, 24 Nov. 1939, 1; "That Map . . .," *BHC*, 24 Nov. 1939, 10.

18

"Parking Bill . . .," *BHC*, 10 Jan. 1941, 1, 6; "Parking Bill . . .," *BHC*, 20 Feb. 1941, 1; "Assembly Bill 1207," *BHC*, 28 Feb. 1941, 8; "Shall We Wait . . .?" *BHC*, 28 Feb. 1941, 8; "Patterson in Accord . . .," *BHC*, 21 Mar. 1941, 1, 15; "Parking Solution . . .," *BHC*, 16 May 1941, 1, 8.

19

"Work Is Pushed . . .," *BHC*, 8 Aug. 1941, 1, 6; "City Council Gets . . .," *BHC*, 15 Aug. 1941, 1; "Officials Study . . .," *BHC*, 29 Aug. 1941, 1, 7; "Beverly Hills

Considers . . . ,” *Western City* 18 (Mar. 1942), 37; “Plan Utilizing Rear Alley Spaces for Car Parking,” *Engineering-News Record* 128 (16 Apr. 1942), 11; “Beverly Hills Plans Rear Lot Parking . . . ,” *ASPO* 8 (May 1942), 42.

20

“Traffic and Parking in Beverly Hills,” *AR* 104 (Dec. 1948), 94–99.

21

For background, see Richard Longstreth, “The Neighborhood Shopping Center in Washington, D.C., 1930–1941,” *JSAH* 51 (Mar. 1992), 6–7.

22

For discussion, see chapter 6 above.

23

For background, see Richard Longstreth, *Drive-Ins, Supermarkets, and Reorganization of Commercial Space in Los Angeles*, forthcoming. General studies include James Mayo, *The American Grocery Store: The Business Evolution of an Architectural Space* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993), chaps. 4–5; and Chester Liebs, *Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1985), 124–135.

24

A. E. Holden, “Super-Markets on Coast Set Modernization Pace,” *CSA/GE* 11 (May 1935), 58; Walter Leimert, “The Super Markets of Los Angeles,” *Freehold* 4 (15 Mar. 1939), 200–201.

25

For background, see James Turnbull, “The Supermarket,” *AJ* 7 (Oct. 1939), 352–353.

26

For background, see “New Surv-al Market . . . ,” *HDC*, 16 May 1931, 11; “New Surv-All Food . . . ,” *HDC*, 21 May 1931, 13; Charles Gormack, “Enter New Locality and Develop It . . . ,” *SMM* 3 (May 1938), 6–7; J. Gordon Wright, “Belvedere Gardens Offers Best in Low Income Section,” *SMM* 3 (Sep. 1938), 14, 53; and M. M. Zimmerman, “A Cross Country Impression,” *SMM* 5 (Apr. 1940), 41. The reputation of Wisstein Bros. & Surval as respected innovators in the field was underscored by veteran Los Angeles food marketer Ben Schwartz (interview, Commerce, Calif., 13 Nov. 1989).

27

Interviews with a number of persons involved with commercial real estate development in the region prior to World War II revealed that such complexes were not thought of as shopping centers, at least as that term came to be used in later years. California examples were ignored by national trade journals. Neither *LAT* nor more localized papers gave these complexes much coverage either, in contrast to the attention paid by newspapers to counterparts in cities such as Houston, Detroit, and Washington. I could find no account of the Broadway and Eighty-seventh Street complex as a whole in *SWW*, which covered that area of the city. Some space was given to several individual stores, but without mention of the project in its entirety. See *SWW*, 9 Oct. 1936, S23; 22 Dec. 1936, 24; 2 Mar. 1937, 6; and 5 Mar. 1937, 2.

Quoted in Gormack, "Enter New Locality," 6.

The original tenants in the section completed in 1937 included Thrifty Drug Co., J. J. Newberry, Bud's department store, Owl Drugs, and the Foodtown supermarket. Tenants for the additional units, completed in 1939, were Lee Ann's children's clothes, Janet's Women's Clothes, and F. W. Woolworth. Directory listings for the adjacent blocks in 1938 indicate a standard range for nodes of this size. Among the outlets were four beauty shops, three furniture stores, three paint stores, two markets, four clothing stores, two cleaners, two drug stores, and a restaurant, variety store, bank, hardware store, theater, department store, shoe store, radio store, auto supply store, bakery, and jewelry store. Among these competing services, however, only one was operated by a large chain company, S. H. Kress.

City directory listings from which these figures were compiled also indicate how these major chain companies tended to cluster their stores. Outside of centers on Hollywood and Wilshire boulevards, nine other concentrations are distinct: the 4400–4600 and 8600–8700 blocks of S. Broadway, 5300–5400 blocks of Crenshaw Boulevard, 5700–5800 blocks of N. Figueroa, 8700–8800 blocks of W. Pico Boulevard, 5500 block of W. Santa Monica Boulevard, 5800 and 8400–8500 blocks of S. Vermont, and 4700–4800 and 5200 blocks of Whittier Boulevard. Among these, only the 4400–4500 blocks of S. Broadway, the 5500 block of Santa Monica (at its intersection with Western Ave.), and the 5700–5800 blocks of S. Vermont had a concentration of forty or more businesses in the early 1920s. Most of the others, however, had some significant grouping by the end of that decade. Not until after World War II would the convention emerge locally of developing a cluster of chain outlets within a short period on a previously isolated site.

For a sampling of coverage of new drug outlets, see *Tide* 7 (Aug. 1933), 20–21; "Katz's Super," *Tide* 8 (Sep. 1934), 56–57; "Makes Most of Strategic Location," *CSA/DE* [15] (Dec. 1939), 13; *CSA/DE* [16] (Mar. 1940), 109; Willis Parker, "From Pine Board to Streamlined Stores," *CSA/DE* [16] (Sep. 1940), 26–27, 72; "Drug Firm Enters Self-Service Field," *SMM* 6 (Aug. 1941), 24; "New Drive-In Store Is Semi-Self-Service," *CSA/DE* [17] (Sep. 1941), 42, 77; "New Self-Serve Stores . . .," *CSA/DE* [17] (Dec. 1941), 14–15, 50; and "Open Display Keynotes New Store," *CSA/DE* [18] (May 1942), 32–33.

For Los Angeles area examples, see "Drug Company . . .," *LAT*, 2 Sep. 1934, I-14; *HDC*, 20 Dec. 1935, 15; "Beach City Store . . .," *LAT*, 28 June 1936, V-5; "Personnel of Owl Stores . . .," *PSN*, 28 Nov. 1936, 2; "Drug Store Organization's . . .," *LAT*, 26 Dec. 1937, V-2; "New Business Unit . . .," *LAT*, 10 July 1938, I-14; "New Stores for 'Thrifty,'" *AC* 6:1 [1940], 34–35; "Thrifty Opens . . .," *LAT*, 9 June 1940, V-2; "Thrifty Opens . . .," *LAT*, 11 Aug. 1940, V-2; "Store Added . . .," *LAT*, 22 Sep. 1940, V-3; *CSA/DE* [16] (Dec. 1940), 25; "Drug Chain . . .," *LAT*, 22 June 1941, V-3; "Drugstore Chain Launches . . .," *LAT*, 29 June 1941, II-2; and *SWW*, 11 July 1941, 13.

For a sampling of variety stores, see "Present Trend for Better Stores," *Chain Store Progress* 3 (Mar. 1931), 3; "1939 Store Design . . .," *CSA/DE* [15] (Nov. 1939), 65–67; *CSA/VS* [16] (Nov. 1940), 83; "Woolworth's Largest," *CSA/VS* [16] (Dec. 1940), 22–23; "New Unit Is Woolworth's Largest Single-Floor Store," *CSA/VS* [17] (Aug. 1941), 78b–78c; *WWD*, 26 Nov. 1941, 25; and Murray Winn, "Women Like Self-Service in Variety Stores," *CSA/VS* [18] (June 1942),

26, 64, 66. For local examples, see “Chain Store Leases . . .,” *LAT*, 16 Oct. 1932, I-17; and “Ventura Blvd. . . .,” *LAT*, 31 Mar. 1940, V-4.

32

For background, see R. C. Erskine, “Valuing Business Subcenter Property,” *AJ* 6 (Oct. 1938), 340–342; Joseph Hall, “What Makes the Hot Spot ‘Hot?’,” *AJ* 7 (Oct. 1939), 343–347; and idem, “Business Districts in Motion,” *AJ* 9 (Jan. 1941), 35–40.

NOTES

418

33

“Shopping Centers: An Analysis,” *ULI* 11 (July 1949), 9–11. Concerning the market, see “Super-Market Rises . . .,” *LAT*, 6 Oct. 1940, V-4; “Super Pledges Community Aid,” *SMM* 6 (July 1941), 6, 8; and “Super Markets: The Office of Stiles Clements, Architect,” *AR* 90 (Oct. 1941), 72. Concerning Windsor Hills, see *SWW*, 7 Feb. 1939, 12; and “Marlow-Burns Company . . .,” *SWW*, 11 Aug. 1939, 20. One of the project’s developers, Fred Marlow, kindly supplied me with additional insights (interview, Los Angeles, 16 Nov. 1989).

34

Letter from the late S. Charles Lee to author, 15 July 1988; interviews with Philip Lyon (Los Angeles, 7 Apr. 1988), Fred Marlow, and William McAdam (Newport Beach, 8 Apr. 1988). All persons interviewed agreed that the great majority of such work occurred after World War II. The estimate, however, is my own.

Documenting these complexes is a difficult task at best, given the often fragmentary nature of their ownership, construction, and management. Besides those discussed in the text, there was one on Wilshire Boulevard in Santa Monica where a Von’s supermarket served as anchor; see *LAT*, 17 Aug. 1939, IV-whole sect.; and J. Gordon Wright, “75,000 Help Celebrate Von’s New Opening,” *SMM* 4 (Nov. 1939), 12, 38–39, 59. Another example is illustrated in *SMM* 6 (Apr. 1941), 62.

Lee could not recall the location or developer of the project illustrated in figure 136, but believed that only a small portion was built and that no off-street parking was included in the scheme (letter to author). The scheme may be for the center he designed in Van Nuys; see “Neighborhood Center Planned,” *LAT*, 24 Sep. 1939, V-2.

35

“Sontag Opens . . .,” *LAT*, 27 Oct. 1940, V-2; “Store Units . . .,” *LAT*, 17 Aug. 1941, V-3; “New Shopping Area . . .,” *WWD*, 5 Sep. 1941, 11; “Latest Store . . .,” *LAT*, 2 Nov. 1941, V-3.

36

A complex built about the same time further south on Crenshaw had a much more limited tenancy, with neither a supermarket nor a chain variety store. On the other hand, it did include units for all three of the region’s leading drug store chains. The project was intended to complement another in the same precinct, which included a Woolworth unit and at least one market; see “Chain Store Deals . . .,” *LAT*, 10 Aug. 1930, V-1.

Yet another form of development occurred at Valley Village in North Hollywood, representing some of the methods used by A. W. Ross for the Miracle Mile but applied at a scale more akin to Windsor Hills. The area’s principal developer, H. W. Moon, collaborated with real estate broker Bob Symonds in creating the retail node at the intersection of Magnolia and Laurel Canyon boulevards by selling to individual parties whom they believed would contribute to a strong tenant mix. Most, if not all, of the stores that opened before World War II were independently

operated, not major chain units. See “New Market to Open . . .,” *HDC*, Valley ed., 27 Aug. 1937, 11; “‘Live and Shop’ . . .,” *HDC*, Valley ed., 24 Aug. 1939, 9; and “Plans Completed . . .,” *HDC*, Valley ed., 15 Apr. 1941, 9. I am grateful to Bill Symonds for supplying me with additional information (interview, North Hollywood, 4 June 1992).

37

Interviews with Philip Lyon (who was one of the Main Streeters) and William McAdam (who was not an “official” member, but was invited to join many of the group’s meetings).

38

The group of Crenshaw Boulevard stores discussed in the text above and cited in note 35 was used as an example of “what Beverly Hills might eventually have in every business block”; see *BHC*, 8 Aug. 1941, 6.

39

“Master Development Plan . . .,” *LAT*, 9 Feb. 1941, V-1, 3. The Westchester development is discussed in chapter 9 below.

## VIII Hold On!

1

R. F. White, “‘Hold On for Profits!’ . . .,” *LAT*, 1 Jan. 1933, I-6.

2

“May Co., Los Angeles . . .,” *WWD*, 19 Aug. 1928, 15.

3

This shift was recognized early on in some circles. See, for example, “Shopping Area . . .,” *WWD*, 4 Aug. 1928, 1, 16; and “Los Angeles . . .,” *WWD*, 20 Oct. 1930, IV-2.

4

Trade literature on the subject is vast. See, for example, Kenneth Kingsley Stowell, *Modernizing Buildings for Profit* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1935); and *52 Designs to Modernize Main Street with Glass* (Toledo: Libby Owens Ford Glass Co., ca. 1935).

5

Egerton Shore, “Downtown: A Study of the Central Business District of Los Angeles,” printed report, March 1935, 2 (LAMRL). A systematic updating of storefronts in some of the oldest blocks of the city center was called for early on; see “Modernization Idea . . .,” *LAT*, 13 Apr. 1930, V-2. The sentiment became widespread among retailers nationally; see, for example, Earl Burke, “Oakland Keeps Shoppers Coming Downtown,” *RE*, 21 Feb. 1940, 2–3; “St. Louis Is Aroused about Decentralization,” *RE*, 24 July 1940, 12; J. M. Baskin, “Downtown Chicago Decentralization Tide,” *RE*, 20 Nov. 1940, 2, 6; and Earl Elhart, “Diagnosing the Dread . . .,” *WWD*, 26 Dec. 1940, II-20, 52.

6

*LAT*, 17 Mar. 1933, II-5; *LAT*, 23 Mar. 1933, II-3; “Bullock’s Will Erect . . .,” *LAT*, 15 July 1933, II-1; *LAT*, 3 Apr. 1934, II-3; “New Store . . .,” *LAT*, 3 Apr. 1934, II-1; *LAT*, 18 Apr. 1934, I-10; *LAT*, 28 Apr. 1934, I-12.

7

"Robinson's Store . . .," *LAT*, 6 Aug. 1933, I-19; "Store Building . . .," *LAT*, 4 Feb. 1934, I-15; *LAT*, 1 Mar. 1934, I-11; "Modernization Permits . . .," *LAT*, 27 May 1934, I-13; "Store Repeats . . .," *LAT*, 3 Sep. 1934, II-8. See also "Robinson Floor . . .," *WWD*, 13 July 1931, I-6; *LAT*, 7 Jan. 1937, II-5.

8

*LAT*, 4 Nov. 1934, I-11; "The Broadway's . . .," *WWD*, 14 Feb. 1936, I-10D; and "The Broadway . . .," *WWD*, 21 Oct. 1939, I-13 (the Broadway); "May Co. Caters . . .," *WWD*, 26 Oct. 1934, I-10; *LAT*, 31 Oct. 1935, I-8; *LAT*, 23 July 1936, I-12; "May Company Store . . .," *LAT*, 3 Oct. 1937, V-3; *LAT*, 16 Jan. 1938, II-2; *LAT*, 4 Oct. 1940, I-14; and *LAT*, 15 Oct. 1940, I-10 (May Co.).

NOTES

420

9

"Store Repeats."

10

Concerning Desmond's, see *LAT*, 27 Aug. 1933, I-20. Concerning Mullen & Bluett, see "Store Work Completed," *LAT*, 11 Oct. 1934, I-8. Subsequently, Desmond's expanded its other store, on Seventh and Hope streets, which had opened in 1928; see "Expansion of Desmond . . .," *LAT*, 27 Dec. 1936, V-3; and "Desmond's Opens . . .," *LAT*, 21 Oct. 1937, I-6 to 9. Mullen & Bluett likewise undertook further work: "Women's Sportswear Shop . . .," *LAT*, 10 Aug. 1941, V-3. General discussions of such work include "Downtown Area Leads . . .," *LAT*, 12 Aug. 1934, I-22; "Downtown Los Angeles . . .," *LAT*, 7 Oct. 1934, I-21, 23; and "Extensive Projects . . .," *LAT*, 23 June 1935, I-21, 23.

11

*LAT*, 25 Sep. 1938, IV-5, 6-8 (Barker Brothers); *LAT*, 15 Sep. 1940, I-12; "Store Fashion . . .," *LAT*, 22 Sep. 1940, V-3; "Department Store Acquires . . .," *LAT*, 25 May 1941, V-1 (Eastern-Columbia); "Store to Have . . .," *LAT*, 11 Aug. 1940, V-2; *LAT*, 18 Sep. 1940, I-14; "Harris & Frank Unveils . . .," *LAT*, 22 Sep. 1940, V-2 (Harris & Frank); "Jacoby Bros. . . .," *WWD*, 11 Nov. 1935, I-1, 20; "Jacoby Brothers . . .," *LAT*, 31 Jan. 1936, I-11; *WWD*, 14 Feb. 1936, I-10C (Jacoby Brothers); "Silverwood's Latest . . .," *WWD*, 28 Aug. 1936, II-6A, 6D; *LAT*, 2 Nov. 1936, I-7; and *LAT*, 9 Mar. 1939, V-8 (Silverwood's).

For a sampling of accounts of smaller establishments, see "Store Modernizing . . .," *LAT*, 26 Feb. 1939, V-2; *LAT*, 15 Nov. 1938, I-11; *LAT*, 26 Apr. 1931, III-5; *LAT*, 11 June 1939, I-5; "Innes Store . . .," *LAT*, 30 July 1939, I-14; *LAT*, 13 June 1937, I-5; *LAT*, 19 Oct. 1937, I-5; and "Enlarged Wetherby-Kayser . . .," *LAT*, 20 Sep. 1937, I-18.

12

Concerning national chains, see "Self-Service Store . . .," *WWD*, 13 July 1931, I-6; "Grayson's Opens . . .," *WWD*, 11 Oct. 1932, 10; "Modern New Shoe . . .," *LAT*, 8 Mar. 1936, IV-4; "Stevens Shops . . .," *WWD*, 25 Sep. 1936, III-4; *LAT*, 14 Oct. 1938, I-7; "Elaborate Quarters . . .," *LAT*, 1 Oct. 1939, V-2; "Bond Clothes . . .," *LAT*, 4 Oct. 1939, I-12; "Chain Leases . . .," *LAT*, 1 Sep. 1940, V-3; "Eastern Shoe Firm . . .," *LAT*, 20 Oct. 1940, V-2; and "Latest Store Architecture . . .," *LAT*, 2 Nov. 1941, V-3.

Concerning regional chains, see "Modernization Job . . .," *LAT*, 1 Sep. 1940, V-2; "Todd's Modernizing . . .," *LAT*, 10 Nov. 1940, V-2. See also "Downtown Properties . . .," *LAT*, 30 July 1939, I-14; and Lucius Flint, "How Chains Are Selecting Locations," *CSA/AE* [22] (March 1946), 10-11.



13

The major expansion downtown among variety chains was by F. W. Woolworth; see "Hill Street Structure . . .," *LAT*, 23 Aug. 1936, V-1; "New Business Building . . .," *LAT*, 11 Oct. 1936, V-5; "Completion of \$300,000 . . .," *LAT*, 12 Sep. 1937, V-1; and "Huge Lease . . .," *LAT*, 27 Oct. 1940, V-2. Concerning drug stores, see "Downtown Lease Deal . . .," *LAT*, 23 Jan. 1938, V-1; "Extensive Unit . . .," *LAT*, 8 May 1938, I-14; "Large New Business . . .," *LAT*, 10 July 1938, I-14; "Broadway Lease . . .," *LAT*, 20 Aug. 1939, V-1; "Thrifty Makes . . .," *LAT*, 14 Apr. 1940, V-2; and "Broadway Corner . . .," *LAT*, 4 June 1939, V-2.

14

*LAT*, 14 Mar. 1930, I-7 (Blackstone's); "Two Bedell Stores . . .," *WWD*, 5 Feb. 1931, I-1, 36; *LAT*, 8 Nov. 1931, II-3 (Bedell's); *LAT*, 16 July 1932, I-2; "New Capital . . .," *WWD*, 18 Jan. 1933, 1 (Dyas); *LAT*, 6 Feb. 1933, V-5; *LAT*, 9 Mar. 1933, I-5 (Parmelee-Dohrmann); *LAT*, 14 Feb. 1933, I-5 (Alexander & Oviatt). Three large furniture retailers—Los Angeles, Birch-Smith, and Goodman-Jenkins—merged in 1933 under the name of the first concern in order to maintain operations; see "Three Pioneer . . .," *LAT*, 15 Jan. 1933, I-21.

15

*LAT*, 17 Aug. 1933, I-5 (Oviatt's); "Myer Siegel Takes . . .," *LAT*, 24 June 1934, I-14; "Store to Open . . .," *LAT*, 2 Sep. 1934, I-15; "Innes Store . . .," *LAT*, 2 June 1940, V-2 (Dyas building); "New Hirsch Unit . . .," *WWD*, 10 Oct. 1939, 31; "Famous Department Store . . .," *LAT*, 1 Dec. 1939, I-8; "New Famous Store . . .," *WWD*, 5 Dec. 1939, 1, 28; and *WWD*, 27 Dec. 1939, II-39 (Blackstone's building).

16

Concerning Coulter's and Magnin's, see chapter 5 above; concerning Sloane's and Saks Fifth Avenue, see chapter 7.

17

William Bowden and Ralph Cassady, "Decentralization of Retail Trade in the Metropolitan Market Area," *Journal of Marketing* 5 (Jan. 1941), 270–275; Ralph Cassady and W. K. Bowden, "Shifting Retail Trade within the Los Angeles Metropolitan Market," *Journal of Marketing* 8 (Apr. 1944), 398–404; "The Pattern of Retail Trade . . .," *MSBC* 31 (Nov. 1952), n.p.; "Department Store Sales . . .," *MSBC* 27 (13 May 1948), n.p. See also J. George Robinson, "Suburbanization of Retailing in the Los Angeles Market," *New York Retailer* 7 (Mar. 1954), 5–6; Arthur Grey, "Los Angeles: Urban Prototype," *JLP* 35 (Aug. 1959), 235; and Scott Bottles, *Los Angeles and the Automobile: The Making of the Modern City* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 194–196. For a useful national comparison, see "Local Business Measured by Department Store Sales," *Real Estate Analyst* 15 (30 Aug. 1946), 249–261.

18

George Eberle, "The Business District," in George Robbins and L. Deming Tilton, eds., *Los Angeles: Preface to a Master Plan* (Los Angeles: Pacific Southwest Academy, 1941), 129, 131–132. Similar views continued to be expressed after the war, particularly among analysts who studied retail development extensively during the 1920s and 1930s. See, for example, "The Decentralization of Downtown Districts," *Real Estate Analyst* 14 (July 1945), 187–190; Miller McClintock, "Toward Traffic-Trade Balance," *WWD*, 25 July 1946, 44; George Eberle, "Metropolitan

Decentralization and the Retailer,” *Journal of Retailing* 22 (Dec. 1946), 91–94; Robert Armstrong, “What and Where to Build,” *Retail Control* 20 (Mar. 1952), 7–16; and C. T. Jonassen, *The Shopping Center versus Downtown* (Columbus: Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University, 1955), esp. 94–100.

19

“Pattern of Retail Trade”; “Department Store Sales”; “1955 Retail Sales . . .” *MSBC* 34 (Dec. 1955), n.p; Edward Staniford, “Business Decentralization in Metropolitan Los Angeles,” [Los Angeles County?] Bureau of Government Research, June 1960, typescript (LAMRL). See also “Suburbanization . . . ,” *WWD*, 4 Oct. 1950, I-54.

NOTES

4 2 2

20

The initial thrust of department store expansion during the postwar era, including the Fifth Street Store’s (Milliron’s) branch, is discussed in chapter 9. Robinson’s was not only the last of the city’s major department stores to undertake branch development, but it experienced long delays in seeing that branch realized; see “Robinson Co. to Build . . . ,” *LAT*, 25 July 1947, II-2; “J. W. Robinson . . . ,” *WWD*, 25 July 1947, 1, 30; “Robinson Co. . . . ,” *LAT*, 16 Dec. 1948, I-4; “Robinson’s Branch . . . ,” *WWD*, 2 Mar. 1950, 1, 46; “Beverly Hills . . . ,” *LAT*, 2 Mar. 1950, II-1, 2; “Work Well Advanced . . . ,” *LAT*, 1 July 1951, V-2; and “Department Store,” *PP* 33 (Aug. 1952), 79–86.

21

*LAT*, 14 Feb. 1949, I-13; “Bond Clothing . . . ,” *LAT*, 15 Feb. 1949, II-2; “New Boot Shop . . . ,” *LAT*, 27 Mar. 1949, V-4; “French Consul . . . ,” *LAT*, 22 May 1949, II-2; *LAT*, 27 Mar. 1949, V-6; “Thousands at Opening . . . ,” *LAT*, 4 Aug. 1949, I-12; “Newberry’s Opening . . . ,” *LAT*, 16 Oct. 1949, I-24; “Shoe Chain Opens . . . ,” *LAT*, 12 May 1949, II-6; “Richman Bros. . . . ,” *LAT*, 24 Feb. 1950, II-3; “Richman Bros. . . . ,” *LAT*, 12 Mar. 1950, V-3; “Store Installs . . . ,” *LAT*, 2 Apr. 1950, V-6.

For accounts of remodelings by locally owned stores, see “Newly Improved . . . ,” *LAT*, 25 Aug. 1946, II-2; *LAT*, 31 Oct. 1946, I-8; *LAT*, 20 Jan. 1949, III-9; *LAT*, 6 Feb. 1949, V-5; and “Silverwood’s Store . . . ,” *LAT*, 14 Apr. 1949, I-14.

22

“Downtown Group Names . . . ,” *LAT*, 6 Apr. 1950, I-20; “City Beauty Plan . . . ,” *LAT*, 13 Apr. 1950, I-2; Lester Gilbert, “Drive on to Modernize . . . ,” *WWD*, 12 July 1950, 86.

23

*LAT*, 24 Nov. 1929, I-13; “Pageant to Thrill . . . ,” *LAT*, 27 Nov. 1929, II-9, 10, 16. The event was sponsored by a consortium of organizations and individuals under the name of the Christmas Festival Committee of Los Angeles. For discussion of Hollywood, see chapter 4.

24

“Downtown Yule Decorations . . . ,” *LAT*, 20 Nov. 1939, II-1; “Downtown Christmas Season . . . ,” *LAT*, 23 Nov. 1939, II-1. For a sampling of *LAT* advertisements sponsored by the association, see 18 May 1935, I-5; 2 Dec. 1937, I-6; 23 Dec. 1937, II-3; 22 Nov. 1939, II-2; 5 Dec. 1939, I-8; 10 Dec. 1939, I-14; and 19 Dec. 1939, II-3. The Christmas parade appears to have become more elaborate in subsequent years; see, for example *LAT*, 19 Nov. 1940, I-9; *LAT*, 8 Dec. 1940, II-7; *LAT*, 18 Nov. 1941, I-8; “Santa’s Parade . . . ,” *LAT*, 19 Nov. 1941, II-1, 2; and

"Thousands Jam Streets . . .," *LAT*, 20 Nov. 1941, II-1, 2. For a sampling of other prewar association promotions, see "Downtown Stores Thronged . . .," *LAT*, 18 Feb. 1940, II-1; *LAT*, 31 Dec. 1940, II-3; "Dollar Days . . .," *LAT*, 16 Feb. 1941, II-1; and "Dollar Day Shoppers . . .," *LAT*, 14 Sep. 1941, II-1. Concerning the DBMA's reorganization, see "Downtown Business . . .," *LAT*, 21 Aug. 1941, II-2; and "Downtown Awakens," *WWD*, 18 Dec. 1941, 35.

25

"Night Shopping Rush," *LAT*, 1 Sep. 1948, I-15; "Transit Ready . . .," *LAT*, 5 Sep. 1948, II-6; "Stores Ready . . .," *LAT*, 12 Sep. 1948, II-1; "Downtown Stores . . .," *LAT*, 13 Sep. 1948, I-12; "Monday Night . . .," *LAT*, 14 Sep. 1948, II-1, 2. For a sampling of other association promotional activities, see "Downtown Stores . . .," *LAT*, 14 Oct. 1947, II-1; *LAT*, 13 Oct. 1947, II-10; "Home Festival Week . . .," *LAT*, 27 Sep. 1948, II-2; "Downtown Home Festival . . .," *LAT*, 28 Sep. 1948, I-11; "Spring Fashion . . .," *LAT*, 15 Feb. 1949, II-1; "Father's Day . . .," *LAT*, 6 June 1949, II-8; *LAT*, 11 Sep. 1949, I-14; "History of 'Downtown' . . .," *LAT*, 22 Sep. 1949, I-29; "Stores Continue . . .," *LAT*, 25 Sep. 1949, II-6; "Downtown Stores . . .," *LAT*, 13 Feb. 1950, II-1; "Downtown Stores . . .," *LAT*, 21 Feb. 1950, II-1; "Downtown Visited . . .," *LAT*, 4 Apr. 1950, II-1; "Downtown Business Group . . .," *LAT*, 21 May 1950, I-30; and "Father's Day . . .," *LAT*, 4 June 1950, I-50.

26

Concerning the association's leaders, see "Downtown Business"; "Downtown Businessmen Elect . . .," *LAT*, 26 June 1947, II-1; and "Corrin Re-elected . . .," *LAT*, 1 July 1950, II-1, 5.

27

For a sampling of the numerous accounts of the subject, see John Miller, "They're All Afraid to Mention It," *Review of Reviews* 9 (Aug. 1936), 54–56; Robert Weinberg, "For Better Places to Park," *ACi* 52 (June 1937), 99–101; "But Where'll We Park?" *PIM* 35 (Oct. 1937), 12–13; Miller McClintock, "Break That Traffic Jam!" *WWD*, 28 Dec. 1937, II-60; Orin Nolting and Paul Oppermann, *The Parking Problem in Central Business Districts* (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1938); Thomas Henry, "Strangled Cities," *Toledo Business* 17 (May 1939), 11–12; "Car Parking," *Tide* 13 (15 Aug. 1939), 36; Fred Fisch, "Should Cities Provide Off-Street Facilities for Citizens," *1938 Proceedings* (New York: Institute of Traffic Engineers, 1939), 24–26; George Becker, "Parking Lots and Garages in the Central Business District," *AJ* 8 (Jan. 1940), 62–67; Harry Koch, "Parking Facilities for the Detroit Central Business District," *1939 Proceedings* (New York: Institute of Traffic Engineers, 1940), 73–76; "Traffic Jams Business Out," *AF* 72 (Jan. 1940), 64–65; Burton Marsh, "Solving the Automobile Parking Problem," *Public Management* 23 (Jan. 1941), 10–14; John Marr, "The Parking Problem in the Business District," *Civil Engineering* 12 (Jan. 1942), 21–23; Thomas Willier, "Parking Needs of the Modern City," *1944 Proceedings* (New York: Institute of Traffic Engineers, 1945), 28–38; "Parking Jam," *AF* 85; and Jay Runkle, "Downtown Merchant Looks at the Future . . .," *Stores* 29 (Nov. 1947), 13, 68, 70.

28

"Store Building to Be Changed"; see also *LAT*, 3 Mar. 1938, I-7. Prior to this plan, the store had validated customer tickets from the Auto Center Garage nearby on Hope Street. After the war, the company added a remote car lot four blocks away on Francisco Street between Eighth and Ninth, providing patrons with limousine service to the store; see *LAT*, 7 Sep. 1948, 6.

29

Concerning the May Company garage, see chapter 2.

30

For background, see Bottles, *Los Angeles*, chap. 9, esp. 222–223, 226–227.

31

For discussion, see chapters 4 and 7 above.

32

NOTES

“Huge Parking Plan . . .,” *LAT*, 17 Jan. 1941, II-1. The spokesman for the scheme was Hayden Jones, who chaired the taxation committee of the California Real Estate Association.

424

33

*Downtown Los Angeles Parking Study* (Los Angeles: Downtown Business Men’s Assoc., 1945); Seward Mott and Max Wehrly, eds., “Automobile Parking in Central Business Districts,” *ULI* 6 (July 1946), 8–10.

34

“Levy for Downtown Chain . . .,” *LAT*, 15 Jan. 1946, I-2; “New Parking Plan . . .,” *LAT*, 21 Mar. 1946, II-1; *Parking and Parkway Lighting in the Los Angeles Area* (Los Angeles: Central Business District Assoc., 1946); “Los Angeles Takes Step . . .,” *WWD*, 28 May 1946, 51; “Four-Front Attack . . .,” *LAT*, 20 Aug. 1946, II-1; “Off-Street Parking in California,” *Western City* 24 (May 1948), 19. An important background document is *Interregional Highways* (Washington: National Interregional Highway Committee, Jan. 1944).

35

Later accounts indicate that a proposal for underground parking on the site was advanced as early as 1928 and that three were made in 1931 and 1932 (“Work Starts on Underground Pershing Square Garage . . .,” *A&E* 184 [Mar. 1951], 14). I have found descriptions of only one of these schemes; see “Pershing Park . . .,” *LAT*, 11 Mar. 1931, II-1, 2; and “Square Proposed as Traffic Aid,” *Western City* 7 (Apr. 1931), 25, 47. The late S. Charles Lee informed me that he had devised a plan for such a project at that time (interview, Beverly Hills, 26 June 1987). A somewhat similar scheme was more or less concurrently advanced for downtown Detroit; see *ACi* 44 (Jan. 1931), 133; “Underground Garage . . .,” *PM* 55 (Feb. 1931), 180; and “A Sub-Surface Parking Plan,” *NREJ* 32 (30 Mar. 1931), 32–34. Another was proposed for Cleveland as early as 1924; see “City Plans Underground . . .,” *PSM* 102 (Feb. 1923), 57. Earlier proposals included using Pershing Square for the city library (“Where Shall We Put . . .?” *LAT*, 21 Aug. 1921, II-1) and as an interurban railway terminal (“Pacific Electric . . .,” *LAT*, 17 Mar. 1923, II-1, 18; “Diagram of Subway . . .,” *LAT*, 22 July 1923, II-1, 2).

36

For background, see “Pershing Park Garage . . .,” *LAT*, 21 Jan. 1947, II-1; “Pershing Square . . .,” *LAT*, 27 Jan. 1947, I-3, II-1; “Subterranean Garage . . .,” *LAT*, 28 July 1948, II-1; “Problem of the Garage . . .,” *LAT*, 20 Aug. 1948, II-4; “Pershing Square Garage . . .,” *LAT*, 23 Aug. 1948, II-2; “Pershing Square Bids . . .,” *LAT*, 21 Oct. 1949, II-7; *LAT*, 23 Jan. 1950, I-3; “Pershing Square . . .,” *LAT*, 2 Feb. 1951, II-1, 2; “Huge Garage . . .,” *LAT*, 25 May 1952, V-1, 5; *Parking—How It Is Financed* (New York: National Retail Dry Goods Assoc., 1952), 23–24; “Work Starts . . .,” 12, 15, 26; and Dietrich Klose, *Metropolitan Parking Structures:*

*A Survey of Architectural Problems and Solutions* (New York: Praeger, 1965), 190–191. The primary model for the scheme was acknowledged to be the underground garage at Union Square in San Francisco, which opened in 1941; see Geoffrey Baker and Bruno Funaro, *Parking* (New York: Reinhold, 1958), 60–61.

37

Sanborn atlases reveal three such structures standing in 1953: a private garage for the Southern California Edison Co. at 432 S. Hope holding 180 cars, a two-level garage at 432 S. Olive (both built 1931), and a garage at 537 S. Grand holding 100 cars (1939). Others may have been constructed during the 1930s and dismantled by the early 1950s; however, the dearth of new construction downtown during the period renders such instances unlikely.

38

For discussion, see “Parking ‘Decks’ Urged . . .,” *Detroit News*, 10 Jan. 1937, I-8; Hunley Abbott, “Low Cost Off-Street Parking,” *AC* 4:1 [1938], 6–8; W. S. Wolfe, “Shoppers Parking Deck—Detroit,” *AC* 5:2 [1939], 24–26; *AR* 85 (May 1939), 46–47; Hunley Abbott, “Metropolitan Store Parking—Philadelphia,” *AC* 7:3 [1941], 32–34; “How Stores in Seven Cities Help Customers Park Their Cars,” *RM* 36 (15 Mar. 1941), 8, 44; *AR* 87 (Oct. 1941), 68–69; *The Parking Problem: A Library Research* (Saugatuck, Conn.: Eno Foundation, 1942), 18–20; Wilbur Smith and Charles LeCraw, *Parking* (Saugatuck, Conn.: Eno Foundation, 1946), 99–101; and “Evolution . . .,” *Parking* 1 (Winter 1954), 19. The type grew in popularity after the war. For a sampling of accounts, see “Logical Relief of Downtown Congestion,” *ACi* 63 (Mar. 1948), 133–134; Fred Moe, “What Is a Practical Parking Facility?” *ACi* 63 (Dec. 1948), 139, 141, 143; “Mid-town Parking Garages,” *AC*, no. 49 [1949], 12–13; “Stop Fooling with the Parking Problem,” *ACi* 64 (Dec. 1949), 133, 135; and “What’s Being Done about the Parking Problem?” *NREJ* 51 (Nov. 1950), 30–31. The increase in scale of such structures by the 1950s is well documented in Baker and Funaro, *Parking*, 64–71, 78–80, 86–89, 136–141, 148–151, 154–163.

39

I have not included in this tally underground garages constructed as integral parts of commercial buildings. For background on the General Petroleum project, see “‘Spiral’ Garage . . .,” *LAT*, 13 Feb. 1948, II-8; *AR/WS* 104 (Jul. 1948), 32–12, 32–13; “Spiral Garage . . .,” *LAT*, 3 Oct. 1948, V-1; “Two Office Buildings in Los Angeles,” *AF* 90 (May 1949), 92; *Off-Street Parking* (Washington: Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1949), 6; *Parking—How It Is Financed*, 10; and Baker and Funaro, *Parking*, 152–153. A 1,000-car structure designed in 1952 for a site at Sixth Street and Grand Avenue was never realized; see “Plans Are Completed . . .,” *LAT*, 13 Apr. 1952, V-3. The first executed scheme after General Petroleum’s was built by the Standard Oil Company of California at Wilshire Boulevard and Flower Street in 1953; see “Pigeon Hole Parking . . .,” *LAT*, 24 May 1953, V-5.

40

Located at Eighth and Flower streets, the site lay adjacent to the former quarters of Parmelee-Dohrmann, an apt reflection of Flower’s demise as a fashionable shopping corridor.

41

“Model of Los Angeles Statler . . .,” *LAT*, 15 June 1946, II-1; “Statler Hotel . . .,” *LAT*, 17 Sep. 1946, I-6; “Statler Bids . . .,” *LAT*, 1 Jan. 1948, II-1; “Hotel Statler . . .,” *LAT*, 9 Oct. 1949, II-5; “Statler’s June Start . . .,” *LAT*,

16 Apr. 1950, V-1, 6; "Statler Center . . .," *AR* 97 (June 1951), 89–104; and "Statler Center . . .," *AR* 99 (May 1953), 127–136.

42

See chapter 2 for discussion of boundaries and sources that provide the basis for estimates cited in the text.

43

One account noted that in 1937 at least half a dozen new car lots had been created in the core area; see "Los Angeles Parking . . .," *LAT*, 12 Dec. 1937, V-1. A detailed study of parking conditions downtown was made that same year; see *Traffic Survey, Los Angeles Metropolitan Area . . .* (Los Angeles: Automobile Club of Southern California, 1938), 21–22. By that point the land devoted to parking in the central business district was said to equal that devoted to buildings. See also E. B. Lefferts, "Should Business Provide Off-Street Parking for Patrons," *1938 Proceedings* (New York: Institute of Traffic Engineers, 1939), 19–23. For accounts of old buildings demolished for car lots, see "Downtown Los Angeles . . .," *LAT*, 27 Aug. 1939, V-3; Edwin Schallert, "Old Lyceum Theater . . .," *LAT*, 17 Mar. 1941, II-1, 3. Not all buildings demolished were of modest size or dated from the nineteenth century. The Telephone Exchange Building at 622 S. Hill Street was constructed in 1898 but completely reconfigured as a ten-story office block in 1921; see "Wreck First Building . . .," *SWBC* 79 (11 Mar. 1932), 36. Another new facility, at 122–134 S. Broadway, replaced the six-story Southwest Building, which was constructed in the early twentieth century. Known as Walt's Auto Park, the project had a basement garage as well as the surface area, the latter fronted by a small block of store units; see *LAT*, 9 Feb. 1936, V-1; and *LAT*, 16 July 1936, I-6. The scope of the development made it an exception locally.

44

See chapter 7.

45

Grey, "Los Angeles: Urban Prototype," 234, 242.

46

For additional illustrations, see Los Angeles City Planning Commission, *Accomplishments* 1943, n.p.

## IX Markets in the Meadows

1

Charles Cohan, "Advance of Famous . . .," *LAT*, 2 Mar. 1952, V-1.

2

No two definitions developed for shopping centers during this period were precisely the same. The characteristics noted in the text above are derived from several sources: Geoffrey Baker and Bruno Funaro, *Shopping Centers: Design and Operation* (New York: Reinhold, 1951), 10; J. Ross McKeever, "Shopping Centers: Principles and Policies," *ULI* 20 (July 1953), 6; Gordon Stedman, "The Rise of Shopping Centers," *Journal of Retailing* 31 (Spring 1955), 14–15; Jack Hyman, "Shopping Center Here to Stay," *WWD*, 27 Dec. 1955, II-6; Paul Smith, *Shopping Centers: Planning and Management* (New York: National Retail Merchants

NOTES

426

Assoc., 1956), 12; Eugene Kelley, *Shopping Centers: Locating Controlled Regional Centers* (Saugatuck, Conn.: Eno Foundation, 1956), 5–7; and J. Ross McKeever, “Shopping Centers Re-Studied: Emerging Patterns and Practical Experiences,” *ULI* 30 (Feb. 1957), I: 9–10. Not surprisingly, definitions based on both size and scope of services were created after a number of examples of the new types could be found. Accounts written prior to the 1950s do not make such distinctions. See, for example, John Mertes, “The Shopping Center—A New Trend in Retailing,” *Journal of Marketing* 13 (Jan. 1949), 375–376; and *The Community Builders Handbook* (Washington: Urban Land Institute, 1950), pt. IV.

3

“Shopping Center Boom . . .,” *WWD*, 28 Dec. 1953, II-32–34; Hyman, “Shopping Center,” II-6, 34, 40. The prewar estimate is low.

4

“Markets in the Meadows,” *AF* 90 (Mar. 1949), 114; S. O. Kaylin, “The Planned Shopping Center,” *CSA/AE* [30] (May 1954), 13. Contemporary literature on the subject is extensive. Besides sources cited in notes 2 and 3 above and writings cited in chapter 11, see Joseph Reiss, “Shopping Centers . . .,” *PI* 220 (12 Nov. 1947), 31–33, 85, 88, 90, 93; Harry Fawcett, “Your Key to a Profitable Shopping Center,” *NREJ* 49 (Sep. 1948), 14–18; Kenneth Welch, “Regional Shopping Centers: Some Projects in the Northwest,” *JAPA* 14 (Fall 1948), 4–9; Seward Mott, “Recent Developments in Suburban Shopping Centers,” *AJ* 17 (Jan. 1949), 39–44; Henry Gallagher, “Merchandising Moves to the Suburbs,” *American Business* 19 (Feb. 1949), 30, 32, 56–57; Bob Fawcett, “How to Develop a Profitable Shopping Center,” *NREJ* 50 (Nov. 1949), 14–17; Howard Fisher, “The Impact of New Shopping Centers upon Established Business Districts,” *APC* 1950, 144–155; “What’s Needed in a Shopping Center,” *BW*, 4 Mar. 1950, 66, 68; “Shopping Centers . . .,” *PI* 230 (9 June 1950), 23–25, 44, 47; “Shopping Center Round-Up,” *CSA/AE* [26] (July 1950), 26–29; “Easy Comparative Shopping . . .,” *WWD*, 24 July 1950, 40; Tom McReynolds, “Planning Suburban Shopping Centers,” *Appraisal Bulletin* 20 (28 Feb. 1951), 85–122; Kenneth Welch, “Regional Shopping Centers,” *AR* 109 (Mar. 1951), 121–131; Myron Heidingsfield, “The Suburban Shopping Center,” *Economic and Business Bulletin*, School of Business and Public Administration, Temple University, 3 (Mar. 1951), 3–12; Howard Fisher, “Shopping Centers Lure Customers . . .,” *American Business* 22 (Mar. 1952), 16–17, 50; “The Marketing Revolution III . . .,” *Tide* 26 (26 Sep. 1952), 36–39; “Planned Postwar Shopping Centers . . .,” *BW*, 11 Oct. 1952, 124–125; Arthur Rubloff, “Regional Shopping Centers and Their Effect on the Future of Our Cities,” *APC* 1953, 45–49; S. O. Kaylin, “The Impact of Recent Development in Retailing,” *25th Annual Boston Conference on Distribution*, 1953, 76–78; “Will Today’s Shopping Centers Succeed?” *NREJ* 54 (Feb. 1953), 22–29; Karl Van Leuven, “From Joe’s Hot Dog Stand to a Regional Shopping Center,” *ACi* 68 (Apr. 1953), 98–99; “Shopping Centers,” *AR* 114 (Oct. 1953), 178–201; C. R. Palmer, “The Shopping Center Goes to the Shopper,” *New York Times Magazine*, 29 Nov. 1953, 14–15, 37, 39–40, 42, 49; Genevieve Smith, “Regional Shopping Grows Fast,” *PI* 247 (14 May 1954), 37–40, 74–75. A detailed account that includes views of the then recent past as well as of current tendencies is the 110-entry series by Samuel Feinberg in his column, “From Where I Sit . . .,” *WWD*, 19 Oct. 1959 to 25 Mar. 1960.

The development of postwar shopping centers has been the subject of several recent scholarly accounts, most notable among them: Meredith Clausen, “Northgate Regional Shopping Center—Paradigm from the Provinces,” *JSAH* 43 (May

1984), 144–161; Howard Gillette, Jr., “The Evolution of the Planned Shopping Center in Suburb and City,” *JAPA* 51 (Autumn 1985), 449–460; and Meredith Clausen, “Shopping Centers,” in Joseph Wilkes, ed., *Encyclopedia of Architecture: Design, Engineering and Construction*, 4 vols. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1989), 4: 412–415. A valuable study of the context in which this phenomenon occurred is James Vance, “Emerging Patterns of Commercial Structure in American Cities,” in Knut Norborg, ed., *Proceedings of the IGU Symposium in Urban Geography, Lund, 1960* (Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1962), 485–518.

#### NOTES

428

5

Four of these, the Broadway–Crenshaw Center, Westchester Center, Panorama City Shopping Center, and Valley Plaza, are discussed in this chapter. They were planned in the 1940s, but the latter three were in large part developed during the next decade. Lakewood Center and Olympic Shopping Circle are discussed in chapter 11. They were planned in 1950; the Olympic center was never built. The only two metropolitan areas then to approach Los Angeles’s scale of shopping center development were New York and Chicago, which had four and three comparably sized complexes, respectively, operating by 1957.

6

R. W. Welch, “Convenience Is King in the New Shopping Centers . . .,” *PI* 241 (12 Dec. 1952), 51.

7

Much discussion of this shift occurred in trade journals of the period. See, for example, William Snaith, “Redistribution of Shopping Areas,” *WWD*, 22 Nov. 1950, 53, as well as references cited in notes 4 and 8. The difficulties in identifying market demands as a result of this shift were also frequently noted; see, for example, Eldridge Peterson, ed., “Retailing in Ferment,” *PI* 241 (12 Dec. 1952), 41–54; and “Shopping Centers . . .,” *Tide* 28 (24 Apr. 1954), 21–23.

8

Among the most useful contemporary analyses of the subject are Snaith, “Redistribution”; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 4–6; Stedman, “Rise of Shopping Centers,” 11–12; “Shopping Spreads Out . . .,” *U.S. News & World Report* 33 (7 Nov. 1952), 58, 60, 62–63; Peterson, ed., “Retailing in Ferment”; Malcolm McNair, “Improving the Dynamics of Retailing . . .,” *25th Annual Boston Conference on Distribution*, 1953, 57–61; “The Lush New Suburban Market,” *Fortune* 48 (Nov. 1953), 128–131, 230–232, 234, 237; Samuel McMillan, “Decentralization of Retail Trade,” *Traffic Quarterly* 8 (Apr. 1954), 213–223; and Feinberg, “From Where I Sit . . .,” 2 Nov. 1959, 12; 3 Nov. 1959, 12, 17.

9

John Parke Young, “Industrial Background,” in George Robbins and L. Deming Tilton, eds., *Los Angeles: Preface to a Master Plan* (Los Angeles: Pacific Southwest Academy, 1941), 69; *MSBC* 27 (10 Feb. 1948), n.p.

10

Edwin Cottrell and Helen Jones, *Metropolitan Los Angeles: A Study in Integration, I. Characteristics of the Metropolis* (Los Angeles: Haynes Foundation, 1952), 58–59; B. Marchand, *The Emergence of Los Angeles: Population and Housing in the City of Dreams 1940–1970* (London: Pion, 1976), 70.



11

For background, see Mel Scott, *Metropolitan Los Angeles: One Community* (Los Angeles: Haynes Foundation, 1949), 45–50; Howard Nelson, “The Spread of the Artificial Landscape over Southern California,” *AAG* 49 (Sep. 1959), 80; Marchand, *Emergence*, 42, 69–70; and Constantine Panunzio, “Growth and Character of the Population,” in Robbins and Tilton, eds., *Los Angeles*, 30–34.

12

J. George Robinson, “Suburbanization of Retailing in the Los Angeles Market,” *New York Retailer* 7 (Mar. 1954), 5.

13

Articles by Charles Cohan, real estate editor of the *LAT*, present numerous revealing insights as well as statistics on the subject. See, for example, “New Population Gain . . .,” 2 Aug. 1936, V-1; “Review Shows . . .,” 31 Jan. 1937, V-1; “This City Leads . . .,” 17 Oct. 1937, V-1; “Nation Learns . . .,” 24 Oct. 1937, V-1; “This Region Sets . . .,” 12 Dec. 1937, V-1; “City Tops Detroit . . .,” 26 Feb. 1939, V-1; “City Gains . . .,” 2 April 1939, V-1, 3; “Los Angeles Building . . .,” 31 Dec. 1939, I-10; “Residence Building . . .,” 2 July 1940, V-1, 4; and “Southlands Building . . .,” 10 Aug. 1941, V-1. For comparisons nationally, see “Residential Construction in 140 Metropolitan Areas,” *Real Estate Analyst* 17 (28 Feb. 1948), 37–52.

14

Writings by Cohan are again a useful source; for example: “The Boom in Home Building,” *LATMN*, 2 Jan. 1947, I-13; “Construction Climbs . . .,” *LATMN*, 3 Jan. 1948, IV-3; “Dawn of 1950 . . .,” *LAT*, 1 Jan. 1950, II-8; “Surge of Building . . .,” *LAT*, 25 Feb. 1951, V-1; “Construction Here . . .,” *LAT*, 1 Apr. 1951, V-1; “L.A. Building . . .,” *LAT*, 2 Dec. 1951, V-1; “Los Angeles Building . . .,” *LAT*, 3 May 1953, V-1; “Building of Homes . . .,” *LAT*, 9 Aug. 1953, V-1, 5; and “L. A. Retains Leadership,” *LAT*, 3 Jan. 1954, I-22. Marchand, *Emergence*, affords a detailed analysis of relationships between housing stock and population between 1940 and 1970. Greg Hise, “Home Building and Industrial Decentralization in Los Angeles . . .,” *Journal of Urban History* 19 (Feb. 1993), 95–125, provides an important historical perspective.

15

For discussion, see chapters 4, 5, and 6.

16

A useful overview of the subject from an operational perspective is Clinton Lewis Oaks, “A Critical Analysis of Selected Problems in the Development, Organization, and Control of Large Suburban Branches of Pacific Coast Department Stores,” Ph.D. diss., Stanford Univ., 1955. Contemporary accounts are numerous, including Kenneth Welch, “Where Are Department Stores Going?” *AR* 96 (Nov. 1944), 91–96; “Stores to Expand,” *BW*, 23 Mar. 1946, 80–81, 84; “Department Stores Hurrying to Suburbs,” *BW*, 4 Oct. 1947, 24–26; E. B. Weiss, “How to Sell to and through the New Department Store,” *PI* 221 (28 Nov. 1947), 31–34, 72, 76, 78; idem, “Department Stores Are Becoming Chain Stores,” *PI* 221 (5 Dec. 1947), 39–40, 62, 66, 68; “Business Firms Following Suburban Trend,” *Automobile Facts* 6 (Dec. 1947), 8; E. B. Weiss, “The Importance to Department Stores of Strong Resources,” *PI* 222 (2 Jan. 1948), 36–37, 58–59; E. Paul Behles, “Branch Stores,” *RM* 43 (Feb. 1948), 21–22, 45; E. B. Weiss, “Self-Service, Self-Selection and Robot Selling,” *PI* 224 (11 June 1948), 42–43, 72, 74; “Big Department

Stores Are Threatened," *Changing Times* 3 (Aug. 1949), 19–21; Isadore Barmash, "Depreciation Factors Minimized . . .," *WWD*, 1 Mar. 1950, 58; Faye Henle, "Branches Broaden Department Store Scope," *Barron's* 30 (17 Apr. 1950), 19; Malcolm McNair, "The Future of the Department Store," *Stores* 32 (May 1950), 15–19, 81; Paul Mazur, "The Department Store . . .," *Stores* 32 (Nov. 1950), 22–26; Dero Saunders, "Department Stores: Rush for the Suburbs," *Fortune* 44 (Dec. 1951), 98–102, 164, 166, 168, 170, 173; John Guernsey, "Suburban Branches," *DSE* 14 (June 1951), 30–31, 114, 120; (July 1951), 42–43, 78, 111; (Aug. 1951), 32–34, 52, 112; (Sep. 1951), 41–43, 100, 102; Milton Brown, "The Trend in Branch Stores," *Twenty-Fourth Annual Conference on Distribution*, 1952, 77–81; Milton Brown, *Operating Results of Department and Specialty Store Branches . . .*, Bureau of Business Research, Bull. no. 136, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, 1952; E. B. Weiss, "The Revolution in Retailing," *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* 176 (16 Oct. 1952), 4–5; and E. H. Gault, "Suburban Branches: A New Trend in Retailing," *Michigan Business Review* 4 (Nov. 1952), 9–13. For useful lists of branch department and specialty stores, see "Main Plants Sprout . . .," *WWD*, 7 Sep. 1948, I-70, 71; and "Branch Store Bonanza . . .," *WWD*, 27 Dec. 1955, II: 14, 35, 41. For a recent case study, see Richard Longstreth, "The Mixed Blessings of Success: The Hecht Company and Department Store Branch Development after World War II," in Elizabeth Cromley and Carter Hudgins, eds., *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VI* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, forthcoming).

## 17

Los Angeles examples were frequently cited in a number of the articles listed in note 16 above. See also "Branch Store Growth in Los Angeles . . .," *WWD*, 19 Feb. 1941, 31; and D. L. W., "Park Here," *WWD*, 2 Nov. 1950, 1.

## 18

Concerning Bullock's, see note 71 below. Concerning the May Company, see "May Co., to Build . . .," *LAT*, 7 June 1945, I-6; "The May Company's Expansion Program," *DSE* 8 (July 1945), 62–63, 67; "May Co. Starts . . .," *LAT*, 2 Nov. 1945, II-2; "Store Modernization," *RM* 40 (Dec. 1945), 29; "Retail Rush," *AF* 85 (Oct. 1946), 10–11; "6 Acres to Shop In," *RM* 43 (Jan. 1948), 32–34; and Edwin Wooten, "How Service and Delivery Are Expedited at the May Co.," *RM* 43 (Feb. 1948), 16–19.

## 19

As is too often the case, company records of the period are either destroyed or lost. I am grateful to Eaton Ballard, retired senior vice president of the parent company, Carter Hawley Hale Stores, who joined the Broadway in 1947, for a wealth of insights concerning the business from the 1930s to the 1950s (interview, Pasadena, 14 Nov. 1989).

Concerning the Pasadena store, see "The Broadway to Open . . ." *WWD*, 14 May 1940, 1, 28; "New Broadway-Pasadena . . .," *WWD*, 2 Aug. 1940, 27; "Bright New Store . . .," *PSN*, 13 Nov. 1940, 3; "Broadway-Pasadena Ready . . .," *PSN*, 14 Nov. 1940, 8; "Store to Open . . .," *LAT*, 14 Nov. 1940, II-2; *WWD*, 25 Nov. 1940, 6; *WWD*, 28 Nov. 1940, 9; *WWD*, 29 Nov. 1940, 29; "\$1,000,000 Baby," *DSE* 3 (25 Dec. 1940), 28, 31; "Access by Autos . . .," *WWD*, 9 Jan. 1941, 55; "New Merchandising Center," *PCA* 58 (Feb. 1941), 26–27; Albert Gardner, "Broadway Store for Pasadena," *AC* 7:3 [1941], 12–14; and "Broadway Gets . . .," *WWD*, 25 July 1946, 1, 8.

20

One account, probably based upon information supplied by the company, noted that the latter instituted “a series of exhaustive surveys of the Crenshaw section” in 1938, two years before building the Pasadena store; see Carl Jackson, “Modern Display Facilities Mark the Broadway-Crenshaw,” *DW* 52 (Feb. 1948), 26. See also “Broadway-Crenshaw: A Combination of Beauty and Functionalism,” *RM* 43 (Mar. 1948), 24–27, 30.

21

Although the census itself is not cited, contemporary accounts suggest that it was an important source of information. See “One-Stop Centers Continue Growth,” *CSA/AE* [22] (Sep. 1946), 24; Jackson, “Modern Display Facilities,” 26; Albert Gardner, “Broadway-Crenshaw Sponsors . . .,” *SWBC* 111 (26 Mar. 1948), 8; and Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 176. The uncertainty of siting these complexes due to a lack of precedent is emphasized in S. O. Kaylin, “The Impact of Recent Developments in Retailing,” *25th Annual Boston Conference on Distribution*, 1953, 76–78.

22

Two period accounts that underscore the importance of detailed market analysis for major developments in outlying areas are Homer Hoyt, “Market Analysis of Shopping Centers,” *ULI* 12 (Oct. 1949), whole issue; and Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 17–19. See also chapter 11 below.

23

Accounts of site selection methods during the interwar years are numerous. See, for example, Ira Lurie, “What’s the Best Location?” *System* 42 (Oct. 1922), 401–403, 446, 448, 450; Paul Nystrom, *Retail Store Operation*, rev. ed. (New York: Roland Press Co., 1937), chap. 17; and Richard Ratcliff, “The Problem of Retail Site Selection,” *Michigan Business Studies* 9 (1939), 79–82.

24

Concerning Coldwell Banker’s role, see “New Broadway-Crenshaw Store . . .,” *SWBC* 108 (23 Aug. 1946), 8; Gardner, “Broadway-Crenshaw,” 8; and Jo Ann Levy, *Behind the Western Skyline: Coldwell Banker, the First 75 Years* (Los Angeles: Coldwell Banker and Co., 1981), 88–89. I am grateful to William McAdam, retired chairman of the board of Coldwell Banker, and Brent Howell, first vice president and national marketing director for commercial properties, for additional information (interviews, Newport Beach, 8 Apr. 1988, and Los Angeles, 21 July 1987, respectively).

25

Site selection was a principal determinant of the size of what became the nation’s first realized regional shopping mall; see Clausen, “Northgate,” 150.

26

Besides sources cited in notes 20, 21, and 24 above, contemporary accounts include “Broadway Begins Store . . .,” *LAT*, 30 Oct. 1945, I-6; Albert Gardner, “Broadway Department Store . . .,” *AC* 12:1 [1946], 21; “Shopping Centers . . .,” *WWD*, 6 Feb. 1946, 70; “Store Heads Dedicate . . .,” *LAT*, 27 Feb. 1946, I-8; “New Broadway-Crenshaw Store,” 8–12; *RM* 41 (July 1946), 32; “Tunnel to Route . . .,” *WWD*, 17 Oct. 1946, 57; *SWW*, 9 Nov. 1947, 13; *LAT*, 13 Nov. 1947, I-7; “Woolworth Unit . . .,” *WWD*, 14 Nov. 1947, 3; “Broadway Crenshaw Store . . .,” *WWD*, 19 Nov. 1947, 36; “Broadway’s New . . .,” *LAT*, 21

Nov. 1947, II-1; "Broadway-Crenshaw . . .," *LAT*, 22 Nov. 1947, II-1; "New Faces . . .," *WWD*, 26 Nov. 1947, 50; *The Broadway World* 38 (30 Nov. 1947), 1-9; *Stores* 29 (Dec. 1947), 48; *SWW*, 12 Dec. 1947, 10; *LAT*, 18 Dec. 1947, I-3; *SWW*, 29 Jan. 1948, 17; Lucius Flint, "Giant Shopping Center Takes Shape," *CSA/AE* [24] (Feb. 1948), 16-17, 40; "Shopping Is Modernized by New Stores in Los Angeles," *DSE* 11 (Feb. 1948), 118; "New Von's among Nation's Largest," *SMM* 13 (Feb. 1948), 134; "Von's New Market in Los Angeles," *SMM* 13 (Mar. 1948), 144-145; "Phone Company . . .," *LAT*, 13 Apr. 1948, I-5; *AR/WS* 103 (May 1948), 32-10, 32-12, 32-14; *LAT*, 18 Aug. 1948, I-13; "Owl-Rexall Store . . .," *LAT*, 20 Aug. 1948, II-2; "Designed to Serve 8000 Cars a Day," *AR/WS* 104 (Oct. 1948), 32-6; "Silverwood's to Open . . .," *WWD*, 4 Nov. 1948, 40; Nathan Zahm, "Functionalism and Beauty . . .," *WWD*, 23 Feb. 1949, 70; "Silverwood's to Open . . .," *LAT*, 8 Apr. 1949, II-16; *LAT*, 11 Apr. 1949, III-20; Seward Mott and Max Wehrly, eds., "Shopping Centers: An Analysis," *ULI* 11 (July 1949), 32-33; "Von's Crenshaw . . .," *LAEx*, 13 Oct. 1949, III-12; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 174-179; and "A Center's Financial Case History," *CSA/AE* [30] (May 1954), 27, 87.

Throughout, the complex is referred to as the Broadway-Crenshaw Center, while the business district of which it was a part is referred to as the Crenshaw Center.

## 27

Published figures vary; I have used the ones that appear to be the most accurate. "A Center's Financial Case History," 87, cites space used for the retail units, restaurant, and bank at 482,303 square feet, the automobile service station at 9,970 square feet, and the office building at 57,300 square feet.

The only single off-street parking area integral to a planned shopping center that I have found to be of comparable size at that time was at Hampton Village (begun 1939) in St. Louis. There, space was originally created for 1,000 cars, but parcels were added for another 1,500 by mid-1947; see *Building: The National News Review* 3 (14 Apr. 1939), 12; Robert Latimer, "St. Louis Launches Shopping Center," *SMM* 5 (Feb. 1940), 14, 33-34; "Forum: Hampton Village," *Freehold* 6 (15 June 1940), 412-413; "\$11,000,000 St. Louis . . .," *WWD*, 29 Jan. 1947, 54; "Hampton Village . . .," *RM* 42 (June 1947), 14-15, 41; "Shopping Center in St. Louis," *DSE* 10 (Sep. 1947), 30-31; and Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 188-190.

## 28

Market Square is discussed in chapter 6, Marshall Field and Strawbridge & Clothier in chapter 5.

## 29

"Shopping Center," *AF* 83 (Dec. 1945), 107-110; "Frederick & Nelson . . .," *RM* 41 (Aug. 1946), 28; "First Suburban Store," *DSE* 9 (Oct. 1946), 28-29; "Shopping Center in Bellevue . . .," *AF* 86 (Apr. 1947), 76-78; "Remedy for a Common Commercial Ailment," *AR* 102 (Dec. 1947), 112-114; Mott and Wehrly, "Shopping Centers," 22-23; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 130-133, 222-231; and Pietro Belluschi, "Shopping Centers," in Talbot Hamlin, ed., *Forms and Functions of Twentieth-Century Architecture*, 4 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 4: 116-117, 122-123. A department store, though not a branch of a major downtown concern, was also included in the much heralded wartime shopping center at Linda Vista near San Diego; see chapter 10.

30

For discussion, see chapter 7.

31

“A Center’s Financial Case History,” 27, 87.

32

Ibid.; Saunders, “Department Stores,” 166; Stedman, “Rise of Shopping Centers,” 16; “The Broadway Sells . . .,” *WWD*, 22 Apr. 1947, 1, 47.

33

The extent to which the Broadway planned to control tenancy and operations was apparently not as great in the initial program. Soon after Edward Carter became president of the company in the spring of 1946, he worked with Coldwell Banker to make the scheme more fully integrated. He also demanded modifications to the department store interior. Both initiatives delayed completion of the center for about six months (Ballard interview).

34

Ballard interview.

35

Interview with Albert C. Martin, Jr., Los Angeles, 7 Nov. 1989. Martin did extensive work for the May Company, including its Wilshire Boulevard store and that on Crenshaw Boulevard described in the text below.

36

See, for example, “Romance of Gown Design . . .,” *LAT*, 27 Mar. 1932, V-2; “Country Has Come . . .,” *WWD*, 21 Mar. 1937, III-2, 3, 4, 5; Charles Cohan, “Los Angeles Fast . . .,” *LAT*, 18 June 1938, V-1; Carlyle Roberts, “Why California Display Is Different,” *DW* 53 (Oct. 1948), 42–43, 74, 76, 78. Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago were the three cities from which storefront displays were regularly featured in *DW*, the principal organ of the field.

37

Periodical literature on the subject is vast. A number of books also were published, including Emrich Nicholson, *Contemporary Shops in the United States* (New York: Architectural Book Pub. Co., 1945); Morris Ketchum, *Shops & Stores* (New York: Reinhold, 1948), esp. chap. 4; Louis Parnes, *Planning Stores That Pay* (New York: F. W. Dodge, 1948), esp. chap. 6; and Jose Fernandez, *The Specialty Shop* (New York: Architectural Book Pub. Co., 1950).

38

Grayson’s Santa Monica store (1940) was probably Gruen’s first work in southern California; see “Grayson’s ‘Most Unique Store’ . . .,” *SMEO*, 29 Nov. 1940, 17; and “Novel Design . . .,” *WWD*, 24 Feb. 1941, 26. Gruen continued to design in much the same vein for at least several years after the war even when stores were in isolated locations and targeted mostly to a motorist trade. See “Furniture Store in Los Angeles . . .,” *AF* 86 (Apr. 1947), 88; and “Store Designed to Draw . . .,” *SWBC* 109 (27 June 1947), 24, 26.

39

The tunnel proved to be a financial burden to the smaller tenants. Each unit had a service elevator that was costly to operate and consumed valuable space (Martin interview). In most later examples, only the large stores had this feature.

40

Such was the case with downtown Los Angeles department stores, as discussed in chapter 2. In other cities, these emporia were sometimes directly across the street from one another, but then they were generally somewhat different in customer orientation, as was the case with Strawbridge & Clothier, Gimbel's, and Lit Brothers in Philadelphia. John Wanamaker, which came closest to Strawbridge & Clothier in the nature of its goods, was situated several blocks away.

41

NOTES

434

See note 18 for references to the announcement. The big Hollywood store was never built and the remodeling downtown was less extensive than planned. For accounts of the Crenshaw project, see "May Co.'s Crenshaw Store . . .," *SWBC* 102 (23 Aug. 1946), 13; "May Crenshaw Branch . . .," *WWD*, 9 Oct. 1947, 4; "Opening Set . . .," *LAT*, 9 Oct. 1947, I-7; "May Crenshaw . . .," *WWD*, 9 Oct. 1947, 4; "New May Co. . . .," *LAT*, 10 Oct. 1947, II-1, 3; "Residential Community . . .," *WWD*, 15 Oct. 1947, 61; "May Co. Branch . . .," *WWD*, 20 Oct. 1947, 10; "Modern Design . . .," *SWBC* 110 (24 Oct. 1947), 22, 24; "Architect and Contractor Unite . . .," *SWBC* 110 (28 Oct. 1947), 38, 40, 42, 44; *Stores* 29 (Dec. 1947), 48; Albert Martin, "Department Store in Suburban Los Angeles . . .," *AC* 14:1 [1948], 2-5; "6 Acres to Shop . . .," *RM* 43 (Jan. 1948), 32-34; Carl Jackson, "May Company-Crenshaw Geared to Sell," *DW* 52 (May 1948), 68-69, 176; and "A Department Store . . .," *AF* 88 (May 1948), 108-109.

42

Interviews with Joseph Eichenbaum, codeveloper of Lakewood Center (Los Angeles, 11 Apr. 1988), Eaton Ballard, and Albert C. Martin, Jr., confirmed the extent to which the layout of the entire complex was considered a poor one. Passing references to the subject are also made in a number of accounts published during the late 1940s and early 1950s. A good synopsis can be found in Clausen, "Northgate," 153; however, she addresses the Broadway-Crenshaw Center exclusively, without indicating that some problems stemmed from the larger ensemble.

43

"May Co. Branch"; Ballard interview.

44

Barker Brothers purchased a parcel on the tract well before plans were unveiled for a multiunit development; see "Formal Opening . . .," *LAT*, 22 Mar. 1948, I-9; and "Ground Broken . . .," *LAT*, 23 Mar. 1948, II-1. For a preliminary design of the overall project, see "Baldwin Hills Work . . .," *LATMN*, 3 Jan. 1949, IV-10. Concerning the final scheme, see "Greater Crenshaw Hub . . .," *LAEx*, 21 May 1950, VII-4; "New Business Development . . .," *SWW*, 21 May 1950, 16; and "Four Business Blocks . . .," *LAT*, 21 May 1950, V-5. The company's advertisement in the same section of *LAT* (V-7) reads in part:

In little more than 3 years, Crenshaw Center . . . has out-miracled the world-famous Miracle Mile. It has shattered just about every growth and business record known to merchandising history for any comparable sub-business center in the nation. . . . This is why the Capital Company has planned its new shopping center directly adjoining. . . . MERCHANTS, INVESTORS, BUILDERS are all invited to join the expansion of Greater Crenshaw Center through purchases of business frontage NOW. . . . Every lot buyer receives a stock interest in the parking corporation owning and operating a 9-acre free parking area.

45

Concerning Barker Brothers, see note 44 above. Concerning Desmond's, see "Desmond's Crenshaw . . .," *LAEx*, 13 Mar. 1953, II-5; and "Desmond's Tells . . .,"

*SWW*, 15 Mar. 1953, 6. Richman Brothers clothing store opened a unit in the group adjoining the May Company (“Clothing Chain . . .,” *LAT*, 10 Sep. 1948, I-24), as did J. J. Newberry. See also “Pep Boys . . .,” *LAT*, 29 Sep. 1949, I-28; and *LAT*, 20 Apr. 1950, I-40.

46

Hise, “Home Building,” 108–110, and idem, “The Airplane and the Garden City: Regional Transformations during World War II,” in Donald Albrecht, ed., *World War II and the American Dream: How Wartime Building Changed a Nation* (Washington: National Building Museum, and Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 154–159, provide useful background on the community.

47

Gordon Whitnall, “Disintegrating Commercial Centers,” *AJ* 9 (Jan. 1941), 14–15. See also chapter 7, note 39.

48

The most useful piece on the intentions behind the scheme is a prospectus, “Westchester, the *Planned Business Development*,” printed ca. 1945–1946 by Frank H. Ayres & Son, brokers for the project. I am grateful to Bill Symonds of Symonds Real Estate, Inc., in North Hollywood for sharing his copy of this rare surviving document of the period. Westchester is discussed in Mott and Wehrly, “Shopping Centers,” 34–36; and *Community Builders Handbook*, 124–128. Additional insights were provided by Howard B. Drollinger, president of H. B. Drollinger Co., whose mother was the first to develop commercial property at Westchester and who himself has been involved in the center for over half a century (interview, Los Angeles, 19 June 1992); and also by Fred Marlow, one of the house developers at Westchester (interviews, Los Angeles, 20 July 1987 and 16 Nov. 1989). Whitnall did not see his hope for streets unimpeded by parking realized; space for 460 cars was available curbside.

49

Drollinger interview; Helen Holmes, “Ground Broken . . .,” *Los Angeles Downtown Shopping News*, 15 Aug. 1942, 12. I have yet to locate a run of this important paper, and am grateful to Greg Hise for sharing his copy of this article with me.

50

*IDN*, 17 Apr. 1947, 5; “Sears to Open . . .,” *IDN*, 30 Apr. 1947, 1; “Sears Post-war Expansion . . .,” *WWD*, 30 Apr. 1947, 102; “Sears Plans . . .,” *LAEx*, 4 Oct. 1949, I-1; “Sears-Inglewood . . .,” *AR/WS* 103 (June 1948), 32-2, 32-4.

51

The name was changed with the idea of establishing branches in mind; see “Milliron’s New Name . . .,” *WWD*, 25 Apr. 1946, 1, 45. The building was among the most publicized commercial projects of the period; see “Suburban Unit . . .,” *WWD*, 23 Dec. 1946, 1, 32; “Future Westchester Development . . .,” *SWBC* 109 (23 May 1947), 16–17; Abbot Kinney, “Shape of Suburban . . .,” *WWD*, 30 July 1947, 49; Victor Gruen, “Problem of Store Design,” *SWBC* 111 (23 Jan. 1948), 14–18; “Modelled for Traffic Flow,” *CSA/AE* [24] (Mar. 1948), 17; “Ground Broken . . .,” *LAT*, 16 Mar. 1948, II-1; “Milliron’s New Store . . .,” *AR/WS* 104 (Aug. 1948), 32-1, 32-2; “New Milliron’s Branch . . .,” *WWD*, 22 Dec. 1948, 1, 10; *WWD*, 5 Jan. 1949, I-13; “Milliron’s to Open . . .,” *IDN*, 4 Feb. 1949, 3; “Milliron’s Westchester . . .,” *IDN*, 3 Mar. 1949, 9; “Milliron’s Westchester . . .,” *IDN*, 16 Mar. 1949, 3; “Milliron’s New Store . . .,” *LAT*, 16 Mar. 1949, I-9;

“Milliron’s Opens . . .,” *IDN*, 17 Mar. 1949, 2; “Store Design,” *Stores* 31 (Mar. 1949), 20–21; *WWD*, 5 Apr. 1949, 50; *WWD*, 20 Apr. 1949, 64; Victor Gruen, “Architect’s Complete Control . . .,” *SWBC* 113 (22 Apr. 1949), 8–9; “New L.A. Store . . .,” *BW*, 23 Apr. 1949, 86–87; “Something New in Stores,” *AF* 90 (June 1949), 105–111; “A New Suburban Department Store,” *PCA* 75 (June 1949), 39–41; Carl Jackson, “New Milliron’s Designed with Display in Mind,” *DW* 54 (June 1949), 34–35, 90; Victor Gruen, “Triple Target for Economy,” *CSA/AE* [25] (July 1949), 18–19, 63–64; “Suburban Store Solves Parking Problem,” *NREJ* 50 (Aug. 1949), 51; “Department Store of Tomorrow . . .,” *Interiors* 109 (Oct. 1949), 112–119; “Milliron’s Department Store . . .,” *A&E* 179 (Nov. 1949), 20–27; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 168–170; and idem, *Parking* (New York: Reinhold, 1958), 133–135.

Milliron’s soon found itself overextended and sold the store to the Broadway; see “Broadway Dept. Store . . .,” *Westchester World*, 6 July 1950, 1; “Westchester Unit . . .,” *WWD*, 10 July 1950, 2; “Broadway to Open . . .,” *Westchester World*, 17 Aug. 1950, 1; *WWD*, 21 Aug. 1950, 9; and “New Broadway Unit . . .,” *WWD*, 21 Aug. 1950, 1, 36. Apparently the plan possessed significant flaws, yet market demand in the area was sufficiently strong to render the store profitable (Ballard interview).

52

Accounts of other buildings in the development include *IDN*, 27 Feb. 1947, 3, 14; “Building Rising . . .,” *LAT*, 9 Oct. 1949, V-1; “Ralphs Purchases . . .,” *LAT*, 9 Apr. 1950, V-3; “New Theater . . .,” *LAT*, 16 Apr. 1950, V-4; “Western Auto Supply . . .,” *Westchester World*, 13 July 1950, 4; “Westchester Theater . . .,” *LAT*, 18 Aug. 1950, I-28; “New Paradise . . .,” *Westchester World*, 24 Aug. 1950, 1; *LAEx*, 12 Dec. 1954, III-12; and *LAT*, 8 June 1958, VI-8.

53

*Community Builders Handbook*, 127. The authors proceed on the next page with the general recommendation of front parking for most, if not all, cars, intimating that Westchester was no longer considered part of mainstream practice.

54

Rooftop parking was only undertaken for a store when available land was so limited that no other option was prudent. Locally, the approach was pioneered at the Sears Pico Boulevard store discussed in the text below. Sears repeated the arrangement in its Wisconsin Avenue store in Washington, D.C. (1940–1941), and a postwar San Francisco store; see “Retail Store in Washington D.C.,” *AF* 76 (Apr. 1942), 213–216; “Shopping Conveniences . . .,” *CSA/AE* [18] (June 1942), 8–9; John Stokes Redden, “Sears’ Store for Washington . . .,” *AC* 8:4 [1942], 10–13; and “Selecting the Surface Texture . . .,” *Concrete* 51 (Feb. 1943), 5–6. Parking for customers of the Marshall Field Evanston store was placed atop the nearby Firestone auto service center in 1937 (“Parking on the Roof,” *Engineering News Record* 119 [9 Dec. 1937], 939–941). As the Milliron’s scheme was being designed, much publicity was given to the rooftop feature at Macy’s Jamaica store (1946–1947), which became a well-known symbol of postwar retail expansion; see “Macy’s Opens . . .,” *DSE* 10 (Oct. 1947), 85; “Macy’s Jamaica . . .,” *RM* 42 (Oct. 1947), 13; “Macy’s Jamaica . . .,” *AF* 88 (Feb. 1948), 100–104; and Parnes, *Planning Stores*, 75, 128. No other scheme approached the theatricality of Gruen’s design.



55

According to Howard Drollinger, members of the architectural review committee consisted of Donald Ayres, president of the company; Hayden Worthington, head of Ayres's commercial property division and the key figure attracting well-known retailers to Westchester; Martin Hausman, a financial officer at Security Bank who subsequently joined the Ayres firm; and Charles Crawford, secretary to the Los Angeles Extension Company.

56

Drollinger interview.

57

Several examples are discussed in the text and/or notes below. For others, see *LATMN*, 1 Jan. 1949, 31; *VNN*, 24 Mar. 1949, II-1; "John Kurkjian . . .," *VNN*, 2 May 1949, 7; "Roxbury Center . . .," *LAT*, 7 Aug. 1949, V-4; "Community Shopping Center . . .," *ESN*, 30 Aug. 1949, Progress Ed., 8; "Huge Community . . .," *ESN*, 8 Aug. 1949, 2; "Encino Park Shopping . . .," *LAT*, 16 Oct. 1949, V-2; "Construction Under Way . . .," *VNN*, 6 Apr. 1950, I-4; "Extensive New Apartment . . .," *LAT*, 9 Apr. 1950, V-1; "Business Center . . .," *LAT*, 14 Oct. 1951, V-5; *LAT*, 8 June 1952, V-6; and "New Shopping Center . . .," *LAT*, 2 Oct. 1952, V-6.

58

Hise, "Home Building," 95–96, 115–117, provides a good overview of the development. For period accounts, see "Built-in Salesmanship . . .," *AF* 90 (Apr. 1949), 118–122; "Panorama City . . .," *LAT*, 16 Oct. 1949, V-3; Frederick Faulkner, "Panorama City . . .," *HDC*, 15 Sep. 1950; Ada Banks, "Infant of the Valley . . .," *VT*, n.d. (ca. 1960), clipping in the collection of Bill Symonds, North Hollywood. For background on Kaiser Homes, see "Greatest House-Building Show on Earth," *AF* 86 (Mar. 1947), 105–113, 152, 154, 156.

59

The supermarket operation was owned by Morris Wisstein, co-owner of the facility at Windsor Hills. For discussion, see chapter 7. Burns's approach to shopping center development is discussed in "Greatest House-Building," 154.

For accounts of early businesses, see "Distinctive New Panorama . . .," *VNN*, 11 July 1949, 5; *LAT*, 5 Nov. 1949, I-7; "New Panorama Theater . . .," *VNN*, 14 Nov. 1949, 2; "Work Starts . . .," *VNN*, 27 Oct. 1949, II-2; "Panorama Theater . . .," *VNN*, 26 Nov. 1949, I-2; "Panorama Cleaners . . .," *VNN*, 15 Dec. 1949, 8; "Distinctive Panorama Theater . . .," *VNN*, 19 Dec. 1949, I-1, 2, 4; "Panorama City . . .," *LAT*, 8 Jan. 1950, V-2; *PCA* 77 (June 1950), 2; "Thrifty to Have . . .," *LAT*, 17 Sep. 1950, V-3; "Thrifty Opening . . .," *VNN*, 12 Mar. 1951, 7A; "Open New Stores . . .," *VNN*, 7 May 1951, 1; *VNN*, 18 Mar. 1951, 1C; "Panorama Furniture Mart . . .," *VNN*, 6 May 1953, 27; and "Security Bank . . .," *VNN*, 8 May 1954, 1.

60

"Plans for \$6,000,000 . . .," *LAT*, 18 Apr. 1954, I-25; "Broadway Plans . . .," *VNN*, 18 Apr. 1954, 1, 5; "Property Approved . . .," *VNN*, 23 May 1954, 1; *LAT*, 9 Sep. 1955, I-29; "New Valley Development . . .," *LAT*, 11 Sep. 1955, V-20; "Mandel Shoe Salon . . .," *VNN*, 5 Oct. 1955, 17; "New Broadway Store . . .," *LAT*, 5 Oct. 1955, I-18; "\$6 Million Broadway-Valley . . .," *VT*, 8 Oct. 1955, 3; "Silverwood's-Valley . . .," *VT*, 8 Oct. 1955, 3; *LAT*, 10 Oct. 1955,

I-13; and McKeever, "Shopping Centers Re-Studied," 66–68. Later, a Robinson's branch was added; see "Opening of Robinsons . . .," *VNN*, 25 June 1961, 22A.

61

Ballard interview. A more or less identical Broadway store opened concurrently at Anaheim that was more reflective of contemporary planning, though, since it was part of a regional mall; see chapter 11. The eastern part of the San Fernando Valley had a strategically located branch of the May Company, built at the same time, which precluded the Broadway from a site too far afield of Panorama City. The May Company store is discussed in the text below.

NOTES

438

62

"New Shopping Center . . .," *LAT*, 17 Oct. 1948, II-1; "\$5,000,000 Shopping Center . . .," *LAEx*, 17 Dec. 1948, I-9; "New Culver Center . . .," *ESN*, 18 Dec. 1948, 2, 3; "Ground Broken . . .," *ESN*, 12 Jan. 1949, 1; *ESN*, 30 Aug. 1949, 14; "First Stores . . .," *ESN*, 30 Aug. 1949, 16; "New \$5,000,000 . . .," *ESN*, 28 Sep. 1949, 1; "Culver Center . . .," *ESN*, 5 Oct. 1949, sect. 1; "Culver Center Opens . . .," *LAEx*, 6 Oct. 1949, II-5; "Hordes of Culver Center . . .," *ESN*, 6 Oct. 1949, 1; "Culver Center . . .," *ESN*, 7 Oct. 1949, 1; "Six New Stores . . .," *ESN*, 8 May 1950, 1; "Huge Grant Store . . .," *ESN*, 10 May 1950, Culver Center Sect.; *LAT*, 12 May 1950, III-20.

63

Good examples include: the Bixby Knolls Shopping Center on Atlantic Avenue in Long Beach (begun 1948; see "New Bixby Knolls . . .," *LAT*, 31 Oct. 1948, V-4; "\$1,000,000 Store . . .," *Long Beach Press Telegraph*, *Southland Magazine*, 21 May 1950, 12; and "Bixby Knolls . . .," *Long Beach Independent*, 21 May 1950, 19-A); Pico-Westwood Shopping Center at Pico and Westwood boulevards in Los Angeles (1948–1950; see "Large Pico Shopping . . .," *WHN*, 1 July 1947, 1; "New \$5,000,000 . . .," *LAT*, 14 Nov. 1948, V-1, 2; "Work to Start . . .," *WHN*, 18 Nov. 1948, 1, 6; and "New Shopping Center . . .," *SWBC* 114 [25 Nov. 1949], 30); and Rancho Santa Anita Shopping Center on W. Huntington Drive in Arcadia (1948–1950; see "Rancho Santa Anita . . .," *LAT*, 14 Mar. 1948, 6; "Shopping Center Gives . . .," *LAT*, 20 May 1950, I-14; *LAT*, 21 May 1950, V-7; and Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 140–141).

64

This shift was more a matter of degree than of a fundamental change in thinking, and was seldom, if ever, stated explicitly in trade literature. The idea of the exterior as a neutral container is nonetheless intimated in numerous articles on the subject by the mid-1950s and often is overtly revealed in accompanying illustrations. In one handbook, Parnes, *Planning Stores*, the building exterior is not included among the topical categories of the text. Instead, the discussion addresses "zones," technics, and the "show window." Albert C. Martin, Jr., emphasized to me the change that occurred in the demands of many of his retail clients during the post-war years for as little expenditure as possible for building materials and far more attention on creating effective displays.

65

Concise synopses of this subject are Meredith Clausen, "Department Stores" and "Shopping Centers," in Wilkes, ed., *Encyclopedia*, 2: 217–218 and 4: 411, resp.

66

For contemporary accounts, see “Sears Store . . .,” *LAT*, 18 Oct. 1939, I-10; *LAT*, 19 Oct. 1939, IV-whole sect.; “Sears Largest . . .,” *BHC*, 20 Oct. 1939, 8; “Upside Down Has Parking On Roof,” *CSA/AE* [16] (Jan. 1940), 16–17; “Store Building for Sears . . .,” *AF* 72 (Feb. 1940), 70–76; *A&E* 140 (Feb. 1940), 10; “Sears, Roebuck . . .,” *RM* 35 (15 Apr. 1940), 15–16; and Oliver Bowen, “Store for Sears in Los Angeles,” *AC* 6:2 [1940], 7–9. The store was featured as a landmark of modernism in Elizabeth Mock, ed., *Built in U.S.A., 1932–1944* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1944), 110.

67

I am grateful to David Cameron for bringing to my attention the system used to facilitate rooftop parking at peak hours. The May Company’s Wilshire Boulevard store also had a public address system—and uniform attendants stationed in each lane of the parking lot—to help customers find spaces; see “Controlling Parking Lot Traffic,” *CSA/AE* [23] (Feb. 1947), 13.

68

An overview of the department’s work during the prewar years is given in Boris Emet and John Jeuck, *Catalogues and Counters: A History of Sears, Roebuck and Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), chap. 28. Concerning the Englewood store, see “Chain Stores Set the Pace . . .,” *CSA/GME* 10 (April 1934), 96; “Sears Builds Windowless Store,” *CSA/GME* 10 (July 1934), 22–23, 54; “No Windows,” *A&E* 120 (Feb. 1935), 35–38; and “Without Windows,” *AF* 62 (Mar. 1935), 206–211. Albert C. Martin, Jr., noted that, in his office, windows were considered a nuisance in department store planning by the 1930s. His firm’s approach for the May Company Wilshire store was to use peripheral areas for storage, dressing rooms, and other spaces that did not require natural light (interview). Stiles Clements used much the same technique in his design for Coulter’s.

69

“Store Building for Sears,” 74. Raben was given credit in contemporary accounts for the design concept of the store. He had worked in the department almost from its inception. Previously he worked for Jock Peters on the interiors of Bullock’s Wilshire and for Universal Studios; see “Sears’ Own Designers . . .,” *LAT*, 19 Oct. 1939, IV-7.

External appearance seems to have been considered more than the designers would later admit. At the time of announcement, not long before construction began, the elevations were far more conventional in nature. Since the configuration was essentially the same in the executed scheme, formal design concerns probably had a decisive effect on the outcome. See “New Sears Unit . . .,” *WWD*, 2 Dec. 1938, 1, 20; and “Store Project . . .,” *LAT*, 4 Dec. 1938, V-2.

70

Coverage in postwar books includes Ketchum, *Shops & Stores*, 262–265; and Parnes, *Planning Stores*, 75, 114–155, 190–191.

71

“Bullock’s Pasadena . . .,” *SWBC* 105 (5 Jan. 1945), 33–34; “Store of the Future,” *DSE* 8 (Mar. 1945), 43; “Bullock’s-Pasadena . . .,” *WWD*, 22 Aug. 1947, 7; “Bullock’s New Pasadena Store . . .,” *LAT*, 10 Sep. 1947, II-1; *AD* 12 (Sep. 1947), 103–124; “Bullock’s Pasadena . . .,” *SWBC* 110 (26 Sep. 1947), 8–11, 22; “A Store for the Carriage Trade . . .,” *AF* 88 (May 1948), 102–105; Ketchum,

*Shops & Stores*, 260–263; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 164–167; idem, *Parking*, 128–129.

72

Another important design in this regard was the considerably smaller facility erected by Lord & Taylor near White Plains, New York; see “Lord & Taylor’s Westchester Store,” *AR* 103 (Apr. 1943), 111–122; “Parking Area Determines Store Location,” *DSE* 11 (May 1948), 74–75; and Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 167.

#### NOTES

440

73

For background, see Richard Longstreth, “The Perils of a Parkless Town,” in Martin Wachs and Margaret Crawford, eds., *The Car and the City: The Automobile, the Built Environment, and Daily Urban Life* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 141–153, 310–313; idem, “Innovation without Paradigm: The Many Creators of the Drive-In Market,” in Thomas Carter, ed., *Images of an American Land: Vernacular Architecture Studies in the Western United States* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, forthcoming); and idem, *Drive-Ins, Supermarkets, and Reorganization of Commercial Space in Los Angeles*, forthcoming).

74

Some background is given in Jackson Mayers, “Development of Valley Plaza . . .,” *VT*, 1 May 1956, 5. I am grateful to Bill Symonds for providing many additional insights on his father’s career and on the development of Valley Plaza (interviews, Los Angeles, 4 and 11 June 1992). As part of the Symonds Real Estate company records, Bill Symonds and his brothers have saved a large collection of plans, photographs, promotional materials, and texts of presentations related to the first decade of Valley Plaza’s development. This material affords a rare view of both the design’s evolution and its developer’s concerns. Mr. Symonds generously gave me free access to the contents.

Bob Symonds visited the Country Club Plaza (discussed in chapter 6), but no evidence has surfaced indicating when. His presentation texts confirm a veneration of the Kansas City shopping center. He could have learned about the complex prior to a visit from the extensive coverage it received in national real estate and building magazines.

A portfolio, ca. 1947, entitled “A Major Trend in Merchandising and Distribution Casts Its Shadow,” which Symonds assembled to help persuade retailers and others to participate in the Valley Plaza project, discusses a number of examples, including the North Shore Center near Beverly, Massachusetts (discussed in chapter 11); Bellevue Square, near Seattle; the Broadway-Crenshaw Center; Ridgeway Shopping Center in Stamford, Connecticut; City Line Center in Philadelphia; and Hillsdale Shopping Center in San Mateo, California, among others. With the exception of Bellvue, all the examples were either in the planning or construction stages when the material was gathered.

75

To my knowledge, freeway location did not again become a central factor in siting a regional shopping center in the metropolitan area until after the Korean War, as discussed in chapter 11. One of the very few early regional centers planned elsewhere with freeway location in mind was the North Shore Center cited in note 74 above.

76

According to Bill Symonds (interviews), Hollingsworth purchased the tract from a house builder who had already started work on some dwellings. Hollingsworth had extensive real estate holdings throughout the region and considered Symonds an inferior, even though his own project would derive much of its trade from the groundwork Symonds had created. For his part, Symonds included the Hollingsworth tract in figures of Valley Plaza's acreage, stores, and car lot capacity. In 1954, Hollingsworth sold the half-block south of Kittridge Street to Philip Lyon, formerly one of the Main Streeters, who worked cooperatively with Symonds in both developing and managing the parcel. I am grateful to Philip Lyon for sharing insights on this aspect of the complex (interview, Los Angeles, 7 Apr. 1988).

For contemporary accounts of the Hollingsworth project, see "New Structure Rising . . .," *LAT*, 5 Aug. 1951, V-7; "Building Will Be . . .," *LAT*, 2 Sep. 1951, V-10; and "Thrifty Opens . . .," *LAEx*, 7 Aug. 1952, I-16. Concerning Lyon's development, see "Valley Plaza . . .," *LAT*, 13 June 1954, V-7; and "Giant Plaza . . .," *LAEx*, 13 June 1954, III-1, 8.

77

Namely the City Line Center at Philadelphia and the Shore Shopping Center at Euclid, Ohio. See Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 134–136; Harry Martin and Vincent Kling, "Shore Shopping Center . . .," *CSA/AE* [23] (May 1947), 14–17; and Ernest Payer, "Euclid's New Shopping Center," *SMM* 12 (July 1947), 60–62, 64. See also note 81 below.

78

According to Philip Lyon, Sears played a decisive role in determining Valley Plaza's layout. Bill Symonds, on the other hand, primarily recalled Sears's coy attitude toward his father's overtures for several years. The company had not agreed to build before the development of Clements's plan. Symonds had to petition for a zoning change in order to provide the front lots, a move that appears to have been closely related to Sears's final commitment to proceed. See "Zoning for \$20,000,000 . . .," *VN*, 19 Nov. 1948, 1; and "25,000,000 Store Center . . .," *VNN*, 28 Mar. 1949, 6.

79

Concerning the smaller complexes, see Richard Longstreth, "The Neighborhood Shopping Center in Washington, D.C., 1930–1941," *JSAH* 51 (March 1992), 5–34.

80

*Community Builders Handbook*; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 31–32; Smith, *Shopping Centers*, 68. Valley Plaza included "rear" lots, but the arrangement primarily served a second group of stores, not the front range.

81

For other contemporary examples, see "One-Stop Centers," 24; "Pace-Setters for Shopping," *NREJ* 52 (July 1951), 20–21; "Selling on a Curve," *CSA/AE* [26] (Oct. 1950), 49; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 118–121, 124–125; and Arthur Rubloff, "Design for Shopping," *NREJ* 53 (Mar. 1952), 26–28.

82

Concerning the Westwood store, see chapter 6. Concerning the Country Club Plaza unit, see *WWD*, 17 Apr. 1946, 47. On the Cameron Village store (1949–1950), see [Raleigh] *News and Observer*, 15 Nov. 1949, 1; *News and Observer*, 17

Nov. 1949, II-whole sect.; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 147–160; and McKeever, “Shopping Centers Re-Studied,” 90–92. Sears continued to be somewhat cautious about expanding into the shopping center arena. By December 1955, the company had stores in only a few additional centers: one in the Los Angeles area, two in the Midwest, and three in southeastern Pennsylvania. See Hyman, “Shopping Center,” II-6, 34, 40. Not until the 1960s was such development pursued aggressively; see Gordon Weil, *Sears, Roebuck, U.S.A.: The Great American Catalogue Store and How It Grew* (New York: Stein and Day, 1977), 115–116.

NOTES

442

83

Concerning the Compton store, see “Sears, Roebuck . . .,” *LAT*, 1 May 1947, I-6; *LAT*, 2 Sep. 1947, I-7; and “Sears Constructs Modern Machine for Selling” *CSA/AE* [23] (Sep. 1947), 14–17, 43. Concerning the Inglewood store, see note 50 above.

84

For contemporary accounts, see “Sears Will Build . . .,” *VNN*, 15 Jan. 1949; “Break Ground . . .,” *VNN*, 19 May 1949; “Start Work . . .,” *VT*, 17 June 1949; “Contract Let . . .,” *LAT*, 23 May 1950, II-8; “A Store and a Community,” *VT*, 25 Aug. 1951, 10; “New Structure Rising . . .,” *LAT*, 5 Aug. 1951, V-7; “Conveyor Belt Aid . . .,” *VT*, 6 Sep. 1951, 10; “Wednesday Opening . . .,” *LAT*, 9 Sep. 1951, II-8; “Preview Staged . . .,” *LAT*, 12 Sep. 1951, I-25.

85

Sears owned its front lot and gave Symonds legal assistance in establishing the Valley Plaza Improvement Association, which oversaw operation, maintenance, and improvement of all lots north of Victory Boulevard. A similar group, the Valley Plaza Triangle Association, was created for the large lot south of Victory (Symonds interviews). Retention of control over building exteriors by Symonds Real Estate, Inc., has enabled Valley Plaza to remain one of the least altered shopping centers of the period in the United States.

86

For contemporary accounts, see “Valley Plaza Expected . . .,” *Valley Advertiser*, 1 Feb. 1951, 1; “Huge Valley Plaza . . .,” *North Hollywood Chamber of Commerce News* 4 (June 1951), 1, 2; “M’Daniel’s Will Open . . .,” *LAT*, 12 Sep. 1951, I-31; “New Bank Approved . . .,” *VT*, 11 Dec. 1952, 1, 2; “Occidental Bank . . .,” *VT*, 23 June 1953, 3; “Work Starts . . .,” *LAT*, 28 June 1953, I-9; “Huge Development . . .,” *HDC*, 4 Mar. 1955, 1; and “Construction Begins . . .,” *LAT*, 1 Sep. 1957, II-18.

87

“9-Story Tower . . .,” *LAT*, 24 Jan. 1960, VI-4. Each office floor in the Valley Plaza Tower had only around 800 square feet of usable office space, rendering the scheme a latter-day version of the Wilshire Tower Building on the Miracle Mile, discussed in chapter 5. Office facilities were developed by others in the vicinity, however, as a result of Valley Plaza’s draw.

88

Symonds interviews. For accounts of the store, see “May Co. to Construct . . .,” *VNN*, 25 Feb. 1954, 1; “Commission Delays Decision . . .,” *VNN*, 7 Mar. 1954, 1; “Plan Immediate . . .,” *VNN*, 28 Mar. 1954, 1, 4B; “May Co. Starts . . .,” *VT*, 26 June 1954, 2; “May Co. Starts . . .,” *VNN*, 27 June 1954, 1, 3. Three years later, Symonds secured plans for a 100,000-square-foot J. C. Penney store on the

site once reserved for May; see “Large Structure . . .,” *LAT*, 20 Oct. 1957, VI-17; “New Store . . .,” *LAT*, 13 Apr. 1958, VI-18; and *LAEx*, 29 Jan. 1959, I-10.

89

“Parking Area Gets Approval,” *LAT*, 29 Oct. 1950, V-8. Restrictions on building materials during the Korean War probably led to a delay in the project, which began some two years later; see “Construction to Start . . .,” *LAT*, 8 Oct. 1952, V-2. Units were added to the complex ca. 1954, ca. 1956, and ca. 1964.

90

The complex has often been criticized for intruding on the estate. Wright’s plans for the property called for a range of artisans’ shops and apartments fronting Hollywood Boulevard. A theater was to be in the area later occupied by Barnsdall Square; see Kathryn Smith, *Frank Lloyd Wright, Hollyhock House and Olive Hill* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), chap. 9.

91

See, for example, “Parklarea’s Final Unit . . .,” *LAT*, 9 Mar. 1952, V-4 (also by Clements); “Contract Given . . .,” *LAT*, 16 Nov. 1952, V-1; “New Shopping Center . . .,” *LAT*, 2 Oct. 1952, V-6; “Whittier Area . . .,” *LAT*, 24 Jan. 1953, V-9; “Large Business Area . . .,” *LAT*, 12 Apr. 1953, V-5; “\$6,000,000 Shopping Center . . .,” *LAT*, 18 Oct. 1953, V-9; “New Shopping Center . . .,” *LAT*, 6 Dec. 1953, V-9; *LAT*, 13 Dec. 1953, V-7; “Large Shopping Center . . .,” *LAT*, 10 Jan. 1954, V-12; “Valley Shopping Center . . .,” *LAT*, 7 Feb. 1954, V-9; “First Unit . . .,” *LAT*, 16 May 1954, V-16; “\$2,000,000 Shopping Center . . .,” *LAT*, 20 June 1954, V-4; “Plans Prepared . . .,” *LAT*, 18 July 1954, V-13; “New \$2,000,000 Center . . .,” *LAT*, 25 July 1954, V-11; and “Further Development . . .,” *LAT*, 12 Sep. 1954, V-1, 6.

92

The interdependence of factors affecting the development of a shopping center plan as well as the importance of parking as a primary determinant are clearly indicated in trade literature of the early 1950s, such as *Community Builders Handbook*, 99–156; Baker and Funero, *Shopping Centers*, 28–54; McKeever, “Shopping Centers,” 15–23; *Home Builders Manual for Land Development*, rev. ed. (Washington: National Assoc. of Home Builders, 1953), 180–198; and Smith, *Shopping Centers*, 31–33, 50–73. Such concerns are also reflected in numerous articles, such as Davis Jackson, “Parking Needs in the Development of Shopping Centers,” *Traffic Quarterly* 5 (Jan. 1951), 32–37; McReynolds, “Planning Suburban Shopping Centers,” 90–104; Kenneth Welch, “Regional Shopping Centers,” *AR* 109 (Mar. 1951), 128–129; Victor Gruen and Lawrence Smith, “Shopping Centers: The New Building Type,” *PP* 33 (June 1952), 82–90; “Shopping Center Requires . . .,” *WWD*, 20 Nov. 1953, 42; and Harry Martin, “Parking Points That Make the Difference,” *CSA/AE* [30] (May 1954), 20–25.

## X *Grass on Main Street*

1

The quotes are drawn from two related articles: the piece focusing on Syracuse (“New Buildings for 194X,” *AF* 78 [May 1943], 70, and one focusing on a southern California complex that is discussed at length toward the end of this chapter (“‘Grass on Main Street’ Becomes a Reality; Shopping Center, Linda Vista, Cali-

formia," *AF* 81 [Sep. 1944], 83). The introductory paragraphs of the latter were clearly written as a restatement of ideas presented in the former, and thus I have taken the liberty to intersperse them.

The Syracuse plan was cosponsored by the *Forum* and *Fortune* and involved a number of national as well as local organizations; see "Syracuse Plans Its Future," *Planning 1944* (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1944), 182–194.

## 2

Gruen's plan is illustrated in Ogden Tanner, "Closed to Traffic," *AF* 110 (Feb. 1958), 93. For a useful catalogue of executed urban malls, see Roberto Branbilla et al., *American Urban Malls: A Compendium* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1977). See also chapter 11 below.

## 3

*LAT*, 31 July 1922, I-7; *LAT*, 13 Aug. 1922, V-7; *LAT*, 20 Aug. 1922, V-5; *LAT*, 10 Sep. 1922, V-4; *LAT*, 24 Sep. 1922, V-6; *LAT*, 1 Oct. 1922, V-7; *LAT*, 20 May 1923, V-6; *LAT*, 19 Aug. 1923, V-6; Ellen Leech, "Land Development—Carthay Center," *CS* 5 (Nov. 1923), 19; "Carthay Is Lauded . . .," *LAT*, 30 Sep. 1923, V-7; "Store Center . . .," *LAEx*, 30 Mar. 1924, IV-5; *LAT*, 6 Apr. 1924, V-5.

## 4

Concerning the Caltech plan, see Richard Oliver, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue* (New York and Cambridge: Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1983), 156–158; and *Caltech 1910–1950: An Urban Architecture for Southern California* (Pasadena: Baxter Art Gallery, California Institute of Technology, 1983). Winslow was associated with Goodhue on the 1915 Panama–California Exposition in San Diego and the Los Angeles Public Library (1921–1926). Winslow surely would have been familiar with the Tyrone plan discussed in chapter 6.

## 5

These precincts are discussed in chapters 2, 7, and 5, respectively.

## 6

Concerning the theater, see *LAT*, 1 June 1924, V-6; "Wilshire Gets . . .," *LAT*, 22 Feb. 1925, V-5; "New Theater . . .," *LAT*, 16 Aug. 1925, V-1; "Theater Work . . .," *LAT*, 6 Dec. 1925, V-3; "Pioneer Spirit . . .," *LAT*, 16 May 1926, III-19, 21; "Carthay Center . . .," *BHC*, 20 May 1926, I-1; Dwight Gibbs, "The Carthay Circle Theatre," *A&E* 95 (Jan. 1928), 63–66; Harris Allen, "Theatrical Theaters," *PCA* 35 (Jan. 1929), 18–20; and "Fox Carthay Circle . . .," *BHC*, 12 May 1939, 16. McCarthy vehemently opposed zoning changes on Wilshire discussed in chapter 5.

## 7

For background, see Johann Friedrich Giest, *Arcades: The History of a Building Type* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985), although the focus there is primarily on Europe. Giest lists four U.S. examples from the 1820s, in Providence, New York, Philadelphia, and Stonington, Connecticut.

## 8

Little research has been done on the subject. Giest, *Arcades*, cites seven U.S. examples: two in Cleveland, and one each in Cincinnati, Indianapolis, New York, St. Paul, and the company town of Pullman in Chicago. Other examples were built in Portland, Maine; Philadelphia; Washington, D.C.; Dayton, Ohio; Lexington, Kentucky; Aurora, Illinois; Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri; and San Fran-



cisco, in addition to the Mercantile Arcade in Los Angeles, discussed in the text below. Systematic survey would no doubt reveal many others. The Cleveland Arcade is the best known among them; see Geist, *Arcades*, 237–244; and Eric Johansen, *Cleveland Architecture 1876–1976* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1979), 32–37. Concerning others, see Geist, *Arcades*, 283–284; Edward Wolner, “Design and Civic Identity in Cincinnati’s Carew Tower Complex,” *JSAH* 51 (Mar. 1992), 44; “The Scarritt Arcade,” booklet, Landmarks Commission of Kansas City, Missouri, ca. 1980; Robert Stern et al., *New York 1900: Metropolitan Architecture and Urbanism 1890–1915* (New York: Rizzoli, 1983), 194–195; “Plan Shopping Arcade,” *Washington Post*, 21 July 1907, III-3; “Evans Building Arcade . . .,” *Evening Star* [Washington], 5 Aug. 1911, II-2; “New Four Story . . .,” *WWD*, 31 May 1924, 18; “Chapman Arcade . . .,” *WWD*, 6 Oct. 1924, 26; “Denton-Ross-Todd Co. . . .,” *WWD*, 3 Nov. 1924, 24; “3-Story Block . . .,” *WWD*, 26 Nov. 1924, 38; “New Philadelphia Arcade . . .,” *WWD*, 14 Apr. 1926, 6; “Erection of Arcade . . .,” *WWD*, 30 Oct. 1926, 3; “Walnut Street Lot . . .,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 20 Feb. 1927, 20W; “Open-Air Business . . .,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 24 Apr. 1927, 16W; *WWD*, 10 Aug. 1927, 10; and “Surplus Space . . .,” *WWD*, 23 June 1928, 13. In its revived form, the arcade seldom, if ever, attained the high status enjoyed by counterparts in cities abroad such as Milan, Prague, or Vienna.

#### 9

The quotes are taken from advertisements in *LAT*: 27 Sep. 1927, II-8; 12 Oct. 1923, II-8; 18 Oct. 1923, II-8; 24 Oct. 1923, I-7; and 1 Jan. 1924, V-32. Accounts of the scheme include “Arcade Design Received,” *LAT*, 10 Jan. 1923, II-1, 3; *LAT*, 14 Jan. 1923, V-1; “Mercantile Building . . .,” *LAT*, 21 Oct. 1923, V-3; “To Be Opened . . .,” *LAT*, 10 Feb. 1924, V-7; “Great Arcade Opens . . .,” *LAT*, 15 Feb. 1924, I-9 to 13; and “New Big Arcade . . .,” *WWD*, 25 Feb. 1924, 41.

#### 10

For discussion, see chapter 11.

#### 11

The origins of shopping facilities arranged with stalls opening onto some form of passage used principally, if not exclusively, by pedestrians can, of course, be traced to antiquity. I am unaware, however, of any permanent building complexes built in the United States prior to World War I that were designed as a whole and arranged around open spaces from which vehicles were excluded. Two projects were undertaken in the 1920s by Addison Mizner in Palm Beach; see Donald Curl, *Mizner’s Florida: American Resort Architecture* (New York and Cambridge: Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1984), 112–115. See also John Stamper, *Chicago’s North Michigan Avenue: Planning and Development, 1900–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 110–113.

#### 12

For discussions and examples, see “The Use of the Patio . . .,” *CS* 6 (Sep. 1924), 25; G. Whitecross Ritchie, “A New Type of Shops,” *AA* 129 (5 Feb. 1926), 245–249; “Studio Shops . . .,” *HDC*, 21 Mar. 1925, 8; “Arcade Building . . .,” *SWBC* 68 (16 July 1926), 43; “Shops on New Building . . .,” *BHC*, 26 May 1927, 4-B; “Studio Building . . .,” *LAT*, 3 July 1927, V-8; “Shopping Court . . .,” *HDC*, 23 July 1927, 10; “Thompson Spanish Shopping Court . . .,” *HDC*, 25 July 1927, 9; “Spanish Shopping Center . . .,” *HDC*, 6 Aug. 1927, 13; “Greer, Inc. . . .,” *WWD*, 15 Aug. 1927, I-2; “Mary Helen Tea Room . . .,” *HDC/HES*, 4 Nov. 1927, 9; Zoe Battu, “In Discussion of Shop Courts,” *PCA* 33 (July 1928), 15–22,

47; *SWBC* 72 (10 Aug. 1928), 37; Perry Newberry, "El Paseo Building at Carmel," *A&E* 95 (Oct. 1928), 99–101; Zoe Battu, "The Court 'El Paseo' of Carmel," *PCA* 33 (Oct. 1928), 35–38, 48; "The Influence of Old Spain as Reflected in Modern California Architecture," *AA* 134 (20 Dec. 1928), 811–816; Hunter Scott, "How Natives Live," *LATMN*, 1 Jan. 1929, I-19, 20; Marc Goodman, "An Architect's Studio," *A&E* 99 (Dec. 1929), 90–97; "El Paseo Shops and Studios, Palm Springs," *PCA* 39 (Feb. 1931), 45, 61; "Early California Patio . . .," *LAT*, 5 Apr. 1931, V-3; "Business Court . . .," *LAT*, 28 June 1931, V-4; "Building Spurt . . .," *LAT*, 12 July 1931, V-3; *A&E* 106 (Sep. 1931), 31; "Unique Shops . . .," *LAT*, 11 Oct. 1931, V-2; and *AF* 55 (July 1931), 27–30.

Among the earliest and most celebrated examples was El Paseo at Santa Barbara (1922–1923); see Irving Morrow, "A Step in California Architecture," *A&E* 70 (Aug. 1922), 102–103; Mrs. James Osborn Craig, "The Heritage of All California," *CS* 4 (Sep. 1922), 7–9; M. U. Seares, "Building de la Guerra Plaza . . .," *CS* 6 (Apr. 1924), 13; Harris Allen, "The 'Street in Spain,' Santa Barbara, California," *PCA* 27 (Mar. 1925), 23–29; *CS* 7 (June 1925), 7; "Santa Barbara's Street in Spain," *CS* 8 (Mar. 1926), 15–18; "Santa Barbara Realizing . . .," *LAT*, 6 Feb. 1927, II-1, 2; David Gebhard, *Santa Barbara—The Creation of a New Spain in America* (Santa Barbara: University Art Museum, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1982), 18, 42–43; and Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California through the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 282–283.

Another scheme was designed with the rather awkward combination of patio and driveway to a rear parking area; see "Arcade Brings Tenants of Character," *PSN*, 6 Dec. 1927, 30–31; "Original New Arcade Attracts Shoppers," *California Life*, 1 Jan. 1928, 22–23; V. Cahalin, "Adding Romance to Trade," *Building Age* 50 (Apr. 1928), 217–219; and R. W. Sexton, *American Commercial Buildings of Today* (New York: Architectural Book Pub. Co., 1928), 199, 202.

## 13

Variations on the shopping court idea were built in southern California through the 1940s; see, for example, "Arts and Crafts Center," *PCA* 66 (Dec. 1944), 32–33; *LAT*, 9 Jan. 1949, V-4; and Geoffrey Baker and Bruno Funaro, *Shopping Centers: Design and Operation* (New York: Reinhold, 1951), 102–103. The intimate spaces of the shopping court were combined with the larger scale and tenant mix characteristic to many postwar shopping centers in the Town & Country Village Shops at Sacramento (1945–1947); see "Making Your Shopping Center Distinctive," *NREJ* 49 (Apr. 1948), 24–25; and Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 98–101.

## 14

Locating a union station adjacent to the Plaza was proposed as early as 1911 but was not finalized until 1939; see Scott Bottles, *Los Angeles and the Automobile: The Making of the Modern City* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), chap. 5; and Bill Bradley, *The Last of the Great Stations: 40 Years of the Los Angeles Union Passenger Terminal* (Glendale, Calif.: Interurban Publications, 1979), chap. 3.

## 15

W. W. Robinson, *Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1981), 101. See also Christine Sterling, *Olvera Street, Its History and Restoration* (Los Angeles: Adobe Studios, 1933); Charles Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926–1949*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 1: 423–425; "El Paseo's

Fete . . . ,” *LAT*, 19 Apr. 1930, II-1; “Throngs Inspect . . . ,” *LAT*, 20 Apr. 1930, II-1, 3; Dorothea Oyer, “El Paseo de Los Angeles Is Restored,” *PCA* 38 (Oct. 1930), 46–47, 51, 52; “Los Angeles Reaches 150,” *National Republic* 19 (Sep. 1931), 28–29; *LAT*, 12 Dec. 1934, II-2; *LAT*, 13 Dec. 1934, II-9; and *LAT*, 14 Dec. 1934, II-12.

16

By 1935, Olvera Street was used along with a view of Seventh and Broadway as icons of Los Angeles for the *WWD* masthead in the section on regional trends. See also *LAT*, 31 July 1946, I-7.

Repeated efforts, many of them spearheaded by Sterling, were made to expand the precinct to include the other blocks around the Plaza. See “Historic Links . . . ,” *LAT*, 27 Aug. 1934, II-1, 2; “Revised Plaza . . . ,” *LAT*, 3 Feb. 1947, II-1, 3; *LAT*, 3 Mar. 1947, I-3; “Olvera Street . . . ,” *LAT*, 12 Apr. 1948, II-1, 2; *LAT*, 22 July 1949, I-3; “Romantic Adobes . . . ,” *LAT*, 22 July 1949, II-1, 2; “Historic Lugo House . . . ,” *LAT*, 26 July 1949, II-1, 6; “Many Agencies . . . ,” *LAT*, 29 July 1949, II-1; and “Saving the Los Angeles Plaza,” *LAT*, 23 Mar. 1950, II-4.

Olvera Street also provided a source of inspiration for at least two other thematically organized commercial development projects nearby, Japanese Town and China City, neither of which was realized. Sterling was involved in devising the latter, which was to rise one block from Olvera Street. See “Picturesque Japanese Town . . . ,” *LAT*, 4 Aug. 1935, I-16, 17; *LAT*, 17 Aug. 1937, II-1; and “Harry Carr Memorial . . . ,” *LAT*, 3 Oct. 1937, V-1, 3.

17

Robert Derrah, “Unique Architectural Treatment . . . ,” *SWBC* 88 (13 Nov. 1936), 13. For other contemporary accounts, see “Construction Nearing . . . ,” *HDC*, 16 Oct. 1935, 13; “‘Cross-Roads of the World’ . . . ,” *HDC*, 11 Feb. 1936, 9; “World Crossroads Project . . . ,” *LAT*, 13 Oct. 1936, V-5; “‘Crossroads of the World’ . . . ,” *HDC*, 28 Oct. 1936, 9; “Cosmopolitan Wares . . . ,” *HDC*, 29 Oct. 1936, 11; *LAT*, 29 Oct. 1936, I-6; “‘Crossroads . . . ,” *WWD*, 13 Nov. 1936, I-10A; *LATMN*, 1 Jan. 1937, IV-20; *PCA* 51 (Jan. 1937), 24–25; “First Anniversary . . . ,” *HDC*, 27 Oct. 1937, 11; and J. Edward Tufft, “A Unique and Successful Shopping Center,” *NREJ* 39 (Mar. 1938), 46–47. Among the original tenants were A. J. Mathieu Co. (wine, liqueurs, imported foods), Peasant House and Garden (imported furnishings, gift items), Jack B. Rohan (foreign and domestic newspapers and magazines), Ann Herbert (chocolates), DuLaine-Bennati (women’s clothing, fabrics), Marcy de Paris (perfume), Fashion-Fold (men’s handkerchiefs), Macdonald-Meyers (oriental art, gifts, wallpaper), Worthwhile Hand Knitting Shop, the Barber of Seville, El Fumador De Seville (tobacco), Billie’s (women’s wear), A Bit of Sweden (restaurant), Traders in Treasures (art, jewelry), Don’s Beauty Salon, Jax Secretarial Service, Pan-American Fellowship, and Burr McIntosh—“the cheerful philosopher.”

18

For illustration, see *Official Pictures of a Century of Progress Exposition* (Chicago: Reuben H. Donnelley Corp., 1933), n.p. Trade literature of the period makes clear that the Chicago exposition had a consequential impact on retail architecture of the 1930s, especially on the acceptance of streamlined imagery. The importance of earlier midway attractions for roadside commercial architecture is discussed in Barbara Rubin, “Aesthetic Ideology and Urban Design,” *AAG* 69 (Sep. 1979), 339–361; reprinted in Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture* (Athens: University of Georgia Press,

1986), 482–508. The impact that world’s fairs may have had on the shopping mall deserves further study.

The fact that Crossroads lay near to several movie studio sets may also have contributed to the design. See, for example, “Lost Glories of Filmland . . .,” and “Fox Building ‘Dream House,’” *HDC*, 3 Nov. 1932, 3, 7.

19

Tufft, “Unique and Successful,” 46.

20

For background, see William Koch, “Farmers Market Defies Tradition,” *SMM* 6 (June 1941), 8–10, 12; “A Dozen Restaurants under One Roof,” *Pacific Coast Record* 40 (Sep. 1949), 29–33; Ralph Hancock, *Fabulous Boulevard* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1949), 279–282; and Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 94–95.

21

The scheme was originally conceived as a sizable, cash-and-carry department store; see “Unique Gilmore Village . . .,” *BHC*, 29 Nov. 1940, 14; “Gilmore Area . . .,” *LAT*, 1 Dec. 1940, V-1; and “Retail Revolution?” *BW*, 21 Dec. 1940, 31–32. Over the next several months, the project was completely recast; see “Work Progressing . . .,” *BHC*, 11 July 1941, 1; and “Stores Project . . .,” *LAT*, 13 July 1941, V-2.

22

For examples, see Editorial Staff of Sunset Magazine and Books, *Western Ranch Houses by Cliff May* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Lane Pub. Co., 1958); and David Gebhard and Harriette von Breton, *L.A. in the Thirties, 1931–1941* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1975), 110–111, 125, 131, 134.

23

For examples, see “Pacific Ranch Market . . .,” *SWW*, 6 May 1938, 23; Willis Parker, “‘Farm’ Super-Markets Catch Suburban Highway Trade,” *CSA/GE* 14 (Aug. 1938), 18–19, 36, 38; *SWW*, 25 Aug. 1939, 21; and “Ranch Market Opening Lively Event,” *SMM* 4 (Dec. 1939), 12.

24

Concerning the Producers Public Market, see “Sooner or Later . . .,” *SWW*, 2 July 1937, 6, 7; *SWW*, 29 June 1937, 6; *LAT*, 19 Sep. 1937, I-5; *SWW*, 30 Nov. 1937, 7; and “Long Beach Farmers . . .,” *SWW*, 29 Apr. 1938, 161. On Marketplace, see “Huge Market Project . . .,” *BHC*, 20 Oct. 1939, 1; *BHC*, 30 May 1941, II-5; “Work Starts . . .,” *BHC*, 6 June 1941, II-6; and *BHC*, 12 Dec. 1941, 7. On the Town and Country, see *HDC*, 30 Aug. 1941, 8; “Work Will Start . . .,” *LAT*, 31 Aug. 1941, I-10; *LAT*, 7 Sep. 1941, V-3; Charles Cohan, “Fairfax Ave. . .,” *LAT*, 14 Sep. 1941, V-1; *BHC*, 1 May 1942, 58–59; “Novel New Market . . .,” *BHC*, 15 May 1942, 10; *BHC*, 22 May 1942, 5; *BHC*, 29 May 1942, 8; “Community of Markets,” *PCA* 59 (May 1942), 42–53; *BHC*, 12 June 1942, II-10; *BHC*, 26 June 1942, II-12; Will Rutledge, “100 Shops Form Cooperative Super,” *SMM* 7 (Aug. 1942), 52–53; and *LAT*, 17 Feb. 1949, I-20.

25

For other examples, see “Super Develops New Advertising Approach,” *SMM* 6 (Mar. 1941), 8, 10, 12, 14; “Market Town,” *VNN*, 6 Oct. 1947, 3; “200,000 Visitors . . .,” *VNN*, 9 Oct. 1947, I-1, 8, 18, 19; “California Does It Again,” *SMM* 13

NOTES

448

(Sep. 1948), 114, 116; "Country Mart . . .," *WHN*, 4 Nov. 1948, 6, 12; *WHN*, 11 Nov. 1948, 17; *LAT*, 5 Dec. 1948, V-2; *LAT*, 24 Feb. 1950, I-17; and Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 96–99.

26

The other scheme was for the unrealized Resettlement Administration community at Greenbrook, New Jersey, discussed in the text below.

27

Clarence Stein, *Toward New Towns for America*, reprint ed. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971), 150. The most definitive scholarly account of Greenbelt is Joseph Arnold, *The New Deal in the Suburbs: A History of the Greenbelt Town Program 1935–1954* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971). See also Leslie Gene Hunter, "Greenbelt, Maryland: A City on a Hill," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 65 (June 1968), 105–136. Stein's retrospective view in *Toward New Towns* (118–177) is of great value. Other important accounts by participants are O. Kline Fulmer, *Greenbelt* (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941); and George Warner, *Greenbelt: The Cooperative Community* (New York: Exposition Press, 1954). Some contemporary writings that shed light on the ideas that lay behind the project and how the results were received positively include: Albert Mayer, "Green-belt Towns for the Machine Age," *New York Times Magazine*, 2 Feb. 1936, 8–9, 18; Albert Mayer, "The Greenbelt Towns: What and Why," *ACi* 51 (May 1936), 59–61; Henry Churchill, "America's Town Planning Begins," *New Republic* 87 (3 June 1936), 96–98; Duncan Aikman, "'Tugwelltown' . . .," *Current History* 44 (Aug. 1936), 96–101; John Dreier, "Greenbelt Planning . . .," *PP* 17 (Aug. 1936), 400–419; "Greenbelt Towns," *AR* 79 (Sep. 1936), 215–222; Gordon Eames Brown, four-part series on Greenbelt, *Evening Star* [Washington], 13 Sep. 1936, B-1; 14 Sep. 1936, A-2; 15 Sep. 1936, A-2; and 16 Sep. 1936, A-4; *Greenbelt Towns* (Washington: Resettlement Administration, 1936); Rexford Tugwell, "The Meaning of the Greenbelt Towns," *New Republic* 90 (17 Feb. 1937), 42–43; Felix Belair, "Greenbelt—an Experimental Town—Starts Off," *New York Times Magazine*, 10 Oct. 1937, 3, 21; and John Walker, "Life in a Greenbelt Community," *Shelter* 3 (Dec. 1938), 16–23. The most useful pictorial reference is Mary Lou Williamson, ed., *Greenbelt: History of a New Town, 1937–1987* (Norfolk and Virginia Beach: Donning Co., 1987). Susan Klaus, *Links in the Chain: Greenbelt, Maryland, and the New Town Movement in America, an Annotated Bibliography . . .* (Washington: Center for Washington Area Studies, George Washington University, 1987), provides a useful survey of many pertinent sources.

28

Stein, *Toward New Towns*, 150.

29

Walker, "Technical Problems," 34–37, is the best published account of the plan from Walker's own perspective, but it does not indicate which members of the team may have been responsible for specific aspects of the design. Concerning Walker, see his obituary, *Journal of Housing* 24 (Aug. 1967), 365. I am grateful to Calvin Corell of Greenbelt, who supplied me with much additional information on him. Concerning Ellington's work, see Douglas Swaim, ed., *Cabins & Castles: The History & Architecture of Buncombe County, North Carolina* (Asheville: Historic Resources Commission of Asheville and Buncombe County, 1981), 52, 93–94, 171–172. Concerning Wadsworth, see George Koyl, ed., *American Architects Directory* (New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1955), 580.

30

K. C. Parsons, "Clarence Stein and the Greenbelt Towns: Settling for Less," *JAPA* 56 (Spring 1990), 174. See also the essays concerning his career in *AIA Journal* 65 (Dec. 1976), 17–33. I am grateful to K. C. Parsons for sharing additional findings of his research on Stein. Unless new material is found on the subject, it is doubtful whether credit for the mall idea at Greenbelt can be assigned more precisely.

31

See chapter 11. Stein's best-known writing on the subject was Clarence Stein and Catherine Bauer, "Store Buildings and Neighborhood Shopping Centers," *AR* 75 (Feb. 1934), 175–187.

32

Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 232–235. Surprisingly, however, the complex has not continued to be known for its pioneering role. The only prewar account I have found suggesting Greenbelt's importance is one by Carl Feiss, "Shopping Centers," *House and Garden* 76 (Dec. 1939), 48–49, 60. Not only is the Greenbelt center illustrated, but there is a lead illustration of a neighborhood center "specially designed by HOUSE & GARDEN" that is oriented to a landscaped park at the rear.

33

"Government Backs Cooperatives," *BW*, 11 Sep. 1937, 30–31; *Time* 30 (13 Sep. 1937), 16; "'Tolerance' . . . Urged," *WWD*, 28 Sep. 1937, 1, 43; "Greenbelt Food . . .," *WWD*, 2 Nov. 1937, 4; "Cooperative Retail . . .," *New York Times*, 26 Nov. 1937, 39; "Co-op Stores Grow in Greenbelt," *BW*, 14 May 1938, 17–18; "Greenbelt, One Year Old . . .," *Evening Star* [Washington], 9 Oct. 1938, B-7; "Co-op Transfer," *BW*, 3 Feb. 1940, 35; Victor Bennett, "Consumers and the Greenbelt Cooperative," *Journal of Marketing* 6 (July 1941), 3–10; Fulmer, *Greenbelt*, 27–31; John Norman, "Consumer Co-Op . . .," *WWD*, 6 Aug. 1947, 85; and Warner, *Greenbelt*, chap. 10. Fostering cooperatives was an important part of the Resettlement Administration's agenda; see Rexford Tugwell, "Cooperation and Resettlement . . .," *Current History* 45 (Feb. 1937), 71–76. Outlets included a market, drug store, beauty parlor, barber shop, laundry call station, shoe repair shop, movie theater, and filling station. A chronicle of the center's early stages is given by the *Greenbelt Cooperator*, a weekly news sheet published by town residents. For a sampling of the negative coverage, see Warren Bishop, "A Yardstick for Housing," *Nation's Business* 24 (Apr. 1936), 29–31, 69–70; and George Morris, "\$16,000 Homes for \$2,000 Incomes," *Nation's Business* 26 (Jan. 1938), 21–23, 93.

34

Donald Cameron and Gerard Beeckman, "Linda Vista: America's Largest Defense Housing Project," *PP* 22 (Nov. 1941), 697. See also "3000 Living Units for Defense on Kearney Mesa," *PCA* 58 (Sep. 1941), 33–36, 38, 45; and "War Housing," *AF* 76 (May 1942), 272–280.

35

Albert Mayer, "A Technique for Planning Complete Communities," *AF* 66 (Jan. 1937), 19–36; (Feb. 1937), 126–146. The late Frederick Gutheim emphasized the importance of this piece at that time as a key reference on the subject (interview, Washington, D.C., 20 Sep. 1990).

36

For background on the architect, see Joyce Zaitlin, *Gilbert Stanley Underwood, His Rustic, Art Deco, and Federal Architecture* (Malibu, Calif.: Pangloss Press, 1989).

37

Clarence Stein and Samuel Retensky, "Commercial Facilities in Defense Housing Projects: A Definition of the Problem and Proposed Method of Solution," type-script, 3 June 1942, 3, Stein Papers, CUL. For the published guidelines, see "Shopping Facilities in Wartime," *AR* 92 (Oct. 1942), 68–70.

38

Letter from the late Pietro Belluschi to author, 26 Nov. 1990. Willow Run is discussed in the text below. Concerning McLoughlin Heights, see "Shopping Facilities in Wartime," *AR* 91 (Nov. 1942), 66–67; "Vancouver . . . Solves Its Critical Housing Shortage," *PCA* 64 (August 1943), 45–63; Elizabeth Mock, *Built in U.S.A.—1932–1944* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1944), 106–107; Morris Ketchum, *Shops & Stores* (New York: Reinhold, 1948), 268–269; Pietro Belluschi, "Shopping Centers," in Talbot Hamlin, ed., *Forms and Functions in Twentieth-Century Architecture*, 4 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 4: 124, 130–131; Jo Stubblebine, ed., *The Northwest Architecture of Pietro Belluschi* (New York: F. W. Dodge, 1953), 64; and Meredith Clausen, *Pietro Belluschi, Modern American Architect* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), 115–117. For other examples, see A. D. Taylor, "Kingsford Heights," *PP* 23 (Oct. 1942), 58, 64–65; "Two Shopping Centers," *AR* 91 (May 1943), 60–61; "A Satellite Town in the Detroit Area," *AF* 79 (Oct. 1943), 94, 96–97; "Birthplace of the Atomic Bomb," *AR* 98 (Sep. 1945), 12–13; "Atom City," *AF* 83 (Oct. 1945), 103–107; and Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 129, 242–245. Not all commercial shopping complexes designed by members of the avant-garde incorporated a mall. See, for example, "Channel Heights," 66, 74, and "Public and Commercial Structures, Chabot Terrace . . .," *PP* 25 (Oct. 1944), 79–84.

39

Whitney Smith, designer of the most publicized and praised of the wartime shopping malls, discussed in the text below, stressed the breadth of planning concerns shared by many of his generation. He emphasized that the design of a shopping center as a mall was merely an application of a holistic approach to community planning. Telephone interview, 1 Feb. 1991.

40

"Planning with You," *AF* 79 (Aug. 1943), 66–67. See also Joseph Hudnut, "The Art in Housing," *AR* 93 (Jan. 1943), 57–62. Belluschi confirmed the importance of Greenbelt on his thinking (letter to author).

41

Belluschi, "Shopping Centers," 129. Concerning his mall design, see note 38 above.

42

A good sense of this design characteristic is given by competition entries for institutions of the period; see, for example, James Kornwolf, ed., *Modernism in America 1937–1941* (Williamsburg: Joseph and Margaret Muscarelle Museum of Art, College of William and Mary, 1985). By the early 1950s, the affinity between the layout of shopping malls and institutional work is quite apparent. Numerous pertinent illustrations can be found in books such as Lawrence Perkins and Walter Cocking, *Schools* (New York: Reinhold, 1949), and William Caudill, *Toward Better School Design* (New York: F. W. Dodge, 1954).

43

Historical studies addressing the physical aspects of government-sponsored housing programs of the 1930s and 1940s include: Roger Montgomery, "Mass Producing Bay Area Architecture," in Sally Woodbridge, ed., *Bay Area Houses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 231–242; Richard Pommer, "The Architecture of Urban Housing in the United States during the Early 1930s," *JSAH* 37 (Dec. 1978), 235–264; Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), chaps. 7–8; Wim de Wit, "The Rise of Public Housing in Chicago, 1930–1960," in John Zukowsky, ed., *Chicago Architecture and Design 1923–1993: Reconfiguration of the American Metropolis* (Munich: Prestel, 1993), 232–245; Greg Hise, "From Roadside Camps to Garden Homes: Housing and Community Planning for California's Migrant Work Force, 1935–1941," in Elizabeth Cromley and Carter Hudgins, eds., *Gender, Class, and Shelter: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, V* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 243–258; and Peter Reed, "Enlisting Modernism," and Greg Hise, "The Airplane and the Garden City: Regional Transformations during World War II," in Donald Albrecht, ed., *World War II and the American Dream: How Wartime Building Changed a Nation* (Washington: National Building Museum, and Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 2–41, 144–183, respectively.

44

Conversations or correspondence with the late Frederick Gutheim, Julian Whittlesey, the late Pietro Belluschi, and Whitney Smith, as well as a review of literature on World War II housing programs, indicates that there was no one person or group in the federal government that was instrumental in fostering the avant-garde's participation. On the other hand, Gutheim suggested that since a number of federal authorities in the housing field by 1942 had previously worked in the Farm Security Administration's migrant housing program, the Greenbelt towns program, or the Tennessee Valley Authority, there was probably greater receptiveness to new ideas in planning and expression during the war than there had been during the 1930s (interview).

Among the avant-garde architects involved in wartime housing projects were Pietro Belluschi; Vernon De Mars; Franklin & Kump; Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer; Howe, Stonorov & Kahn; Mayer & Whittlesey; Richard Neutra; Antonin Raymond; Eliel and Eero Saarinen; Skidmore, Owings & Merrill; Hugh Stubbins; and William Wilson Wurster. For examples, see "Low-Cost Houses," *AF* 73 (Oct. 1941), 211–241; Antonin Raymond, "Working with USHA under the Lanham Act," *PP* 22 (Nov. 1941), 690–695; William Wilson Wurster, "Carquinez Heights . . .," *PCA* 60 (Nov. 1941), 34–37; Vernon De Mars, "Duration Dormitories," *PCA* 60 (Dec. 1941), 34–35; "Defense Housing: New Construction Techniques," *PCA* 61 (Feb. 1942), 30–31; Fred Langhorst, "Experiment . . .," *PCA* 61 (Apr. 1942), 28–30; "War Housing," *AF* 76 (May 1942), 281–284, 296–298, 308–311, 328–331, 334–337; "Vallejo War Housing Case History," *PCA* 62 (Dec. 1942), 22–25; "People Make Production . . .," *PCA* 63 (June 1943), 33–50; "Housing Projects at Benecia, California," *PCA* 64 (July 1943), 36–37; "Channel Heights Housing Project," *AF* 80 (Mar. 1944), 65–74; and Mock, *Built in U.S.A.*, 64–71. Such work constituted a minority of war housing projects, yet received a major portion of the publicity given to the subject, especially in architectural journals devoted to advancing avant-garde design.

45

See, for example, Richard Neutra, "Governmental Architecture in California," *PCA* 60 (Aug. 1941), 22–23, 36–37; and idem, "People Can Gain from War's



Forced Changes,” *PP* 23 (Nov. 1942), 28–41, as well as a number of the articles cited in note 44 above.

46

Whitney Smith, “No Cars on Main Street,” *Better Homes and Gardens* 23 (Jan. 1945), 20; “Grass on Main Street,” 85. See also “Commercial Center, Linda Vista, California,” *PCA* 61 (Nov. 1944), 26–29; Dorothy Ducas, “Is Your Daily Shopping Work?” *House Beautiful* 88 (Aug. 1946), 40–41; Ketchum, *Shops & Stores*, 267–270; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 236–241; and Belluschi, “Shopping Centers,” 118. Whitney Smith graciously supplied me with additional information; letter to author, 12 Jan. 1991, telephone interview, 1 Feb. 1991.

During the mid-1930s, Smith worked for the Farm Security Administration in San Francisco and Washington; thus he had firsthand acquaintance with some of the most important avant-garde initiatives in community design of the prewar period. Smith was associated with San Diego architect Earl Gilbertson on the Linda Vista shopping center. Both contemporary accounts and the salient qualities of the scheme itself suggest that Smith was the designer, a responsibility he acknowledges (letter to author).

In his letter, Smith also emphasized the importance of general rather than specific influences on the mall concept—a referential framework that is typical of the avant-garde: “I imagine that subconsciously almost all the historical architectural material that related the pedestrian to the merchant would qualify as an influence, which basically would include the entire world before 1900.”

47

Smith indicated that he was unaware of the 1941 proposal for the shopping center at Linda Vista. Regarding the Farmers Market, he stated: “I don’t consider the L.A. Farmers Market to be basically any different than hundreds of farmers markets in Mexico” (letter to author).

48

Smith, “No Cars,” 20.

49

“Grass on Main Street,” 91; Smith, “No Cars,” 67; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 237. Baker and Funaro also lamented the utilitarian character of the street elevations: “It is unfortunate that the passer-by on the road, and the arriving automobile shopper, are both presented with a sorry spectacle of service entrances and garbage cans. This is quite a heavy price to pay for the pleasant quiet charm which suffuses the pedestrian courtyard inside.”

Smith indicated that persuading Safeway to accept the mall plan was crucial to implementing the scheme and that the enormous market demand was an important factor in the company’s decision to accept the unorthodox arrangement (letter to author).

50

“The Town of Willow Run,” *AF* 78 (Mar. 1943), 37. See also “What Housing for Willow Run?” *AR* 92 (Sep. 1942), 51–54; Alan Mather, “Backhousing for Bomber Plants,” *PP* (Dec. 1942), 69–74; Tracy Augur, “Planning Principles Applied in Wartime,” *AR* 93 (Jan. 1943), 72–77; and Mel Scott, *American City Planning since 1890* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), 394–396.

51

Architects for the initial three neighborhood units were Mayer & Whittlesey; Skidmore, Owings & Merrill; and Stonorov & Kahn. Julian Whittlesey confirmed that it was Eero Saarinen who had charge of the town center's design (interview, Wilton, Conn., 22 Sep. 1990). I am grateful to David De Long and Peter Papademetriou for additional insights on this project and its relation to Saarinen's other work of the period.

52

Ketchum, *Shops & Stores*, 271–273. Gruen's scheme is discussed in chapter 11.

NOTES

53

454

"New Buildings for 194X," 101–103. The similarities in basic layout between this scheme and Linda Vista may be more than coincidental, but Gruen could only have known about the San Diego design through direct contact with Smith or some other party involved in its planning. No evidence has been found either to confirm or deny such a connection. Gruen's store designs are discussed in chapter 9.

54

*Ibid.*, 101. Quotes cited in the paragraphs below are from the same page.

### *XI No Automobile Ever Bought a Thing*

1

This characteristic has been noted for other types of retail outlets; see Chester Liebs, *Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1985), 90–93.

2

Victor Gruen, "Retailing and the Automobile: A Romance Based upon a Case of Mistaken Identity," *AR* 127 (Mar. 1960), 199. A similar conclusion was reached by another, less well-known designer of regional centers; see Howard Fisher, "Traffic Planning Opportunities in Shopping Center Design," *Traffic Quarterly* 5 (Oct. 1951), 384–385.

3

See, for example, E. B. Weiss, "The Importance to Department Stores . . ." *PI* 222 (2 Jan. 1948), 36–37, 58–59; John Guernsey, "Suburban Branches," *DSE* 14 (July 1951), 42; Dero Saunders, "Department Stores: Race for the Suburbs," *Fortune* 44 (Dec. 1951), 102; Ed Stanton, "Parent Trees Have Divergent Opinions on Branch Locations," *WWD*, 5 Feb. 1954, 40; and Paul Smith, *Shopping Centers: Planning and Management* (New York: National Retail Merchants Assoc., 1956), 19. Among the most discussed cases in retail circles was the Hecht Company Silver Spring store (1946–1947); see Richard Longstreth, "Silver Spring: Georgia Avenue, Colesville Road, and the Creation of an Alternative 'Downtown' for Metropolitan Washington," in Zeynep Celik et al., eds., *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 253–254; and *idem*, "The Mixed Blessings of Success: The Hecht Company and Department Store Branch Development after World War II," in Elizabeth Cromley and Carter Hudgins, eds., *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VI* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, forthcoming).

4

From the start of the regional mall's development, there was considerable difference of opinion among retailers as to whether such projects should be undertaken by department stores or by real estate interests. Both courses proved successful; each had its staunch advocates; neither appears to have become dominant at an early date. The debate continued through the 1950s. See, for example, Guernsey, "Suburban Branches," 43, 100; Saunders, "Department Stores," 166, 168; Larry Smith, "Department Store Trends in the Development of Shopping Centers," *Urban Land* 11 (Mar. 1952), 1, 3–6; and Samuel Feinberg, "From Where I Sit . . .," *WWD*, 24 Nov. 1959, 12; 2 Dec. 1959, 8, 17; and 3 Dec. 1959, 14.

5

J. R. Owen, "Shopping Centers: The Boom Raises Problems," *Engineering News-Record* 153 (29 July 1954), 21.

6

For a sample of contemporary accounts of parking layout, see "Markets in the Meadows," *AF* 90 (Mar. 1949), 117–118; Geoffrey Baker and Bruno Funaro, *Shopping Centers: Design and Construction* (New York: Reinhold, 1951), 43; Betty Shapiro, "Three Traffic Requisites . . .," *WWD*, 19 Nov. 1952, I–78; *Community Builders Handbook* (Washington: Urban Land Institute, 1954), 117–180; and Smith, *Shopping Centers*, 31–32.

7

Detailed discussions of the mall's advantages are unusual save within the context of covering individual examples. For an exception, see J. Ross McKeever, "Shopping Centers: Principles and Policies," *ULI* 20 (July 1952), 24–26. The Country Club Plaza is discussed in chapter 6 above.

8

Carroll Swan, "What's New About the New Shopping Centers? . . .," *PI* 237 (9 Nov. 1951), 37. The complex referred to was Shopper's World, discussed in the text below. See also "Shopping Spreads Out . . .," *U.S. News & World Report* 33 (7 Nov. 1952), 60; and R. W. Welch, "Convenience Is King . . .," *PI* 241 (12 Dec. 1952), 51.

9

The prevention of encroaching development was an explicitly articulated objective at that time. Contemporary accounts suggest that it was often achieved, at least during the initial years of operation. See, for example, Herman Radolf, "Shopping Centers Need Protection," *WWD*, 12 Nov. 1952, 115. However, surrounding acreage often tended to see a substantial buildup of commercial facilities in later years. Today many regional centers are but one part of a much larger retail area. For a case study, see Peter Rowe, *Making a Middle Landscape* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 15–18.

10

Stein's work for the first of the projects discussed below was delineated in a letter to the client:

I will submit to you my recommendations of a basic layout for buildings and ground development for the whole of the property over a period of time, together with a report recommending types of commercial and recreational enterprises, their groupings, approximate size and general character, arrangement of facilities and space requirements for automobile parking, servicing of commercial or recreational enterprises or buildings, the type and general organiz-

tion of roads and paths, the general character and treatment of landscaping and a program of the order in which the proposed buildings might be constructed and developed.

His fee for these services was \$10,000. Letter from Clarence Stein to the Harvlan Co., Los Angeles, 27 July 1948, Stein Papers, CUL. Correspondence concerning the other two projects indicates a similar role in each. Unless otherwise noted, all material on this work has been gleaned from the Stein Papers. I am grateful to Michael Tomlan of Cornell University and to his research assistant, Anna Pehoushek, for gathering this material on my behalf.

## NOTES

456

### 11

These statistics were cited in September 1950 announcements when the project was revived; see note 32 below. Probably much the same figures were used at the time Stein was involved.

### 12

The drawings that provide the basis for the discussion in the text are not identified save for the generic “Shopping Center Diagram” and, in several cases, dates corresponding to the time when Stein was at work on the Whittier Boulevard project. The site as depicted in the first of these studies is similar to that on Whittier Boulevard. These drawings also appear to be the basis for notes taken by Stein and identified as “LA REGINAL [sic] STORE CENTER COMMENTS ON MY STUDIES SUMMER '48,” Stein Papers. This circumstantial evidence, combined with the absence of any other known project for which the drawings could have been prepared, make it likely that they were for the Whittier Boulevard site.

### 13

For illustration, see Richard Oliver, *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue* (New York and Cambridge: Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1983), 111–118, 153, 155, 157. Stein worked in Goodhue’s office from 1911 to 1917. Concerning the importance of that experience for his career, see K. C. Parsons, “Clarence Stein and the Greenbelt Towns: Settling for Less,” *JAPA* 56 (Spring 1990), 174. Carthay Center is discussed in chapter 10 above.

### 14

Planning for a regional center on the site was revived by Harvey ca. 1949–1950, this time with Victor Gruen as architect. An earlier scheme by Gruen may also have been for this complex. Both are discussed in the text below.

### 15

Draft of letter from Stein to unnamed party, presumably the Baldwin Hills Co., Nov. 1948, Stein Papers. Numerous accounts exist of Baldwin Hills Village. Stein’s own is in his *Towards New Towns in America*, reprint ed. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971), chap. 9.

### 16

Draft of letter from Lewis Wilson to unnamed party, presumably the Baldwin Hills Co., Nov. 1948, Stein Papers.

### 17

Concerning the realized complex, see chapter 9. In addition, a neighborhood center, designed by Wilson’s former partner, Robert Alexander, was constructed across the street from the original site, adjacent to Baldwin Hills Village. See “Baldwin Hills Builds a Shopping Center,” *House & Home* 1 (June 1952), 149–153. That article noted: “Present focus of regional shopping, and a large factor in considering

Baldwin Hills's retail expansion, is the giant Crenshaw Center only 1¼ mi. to the southeast. Here the big May Co. and Broadway department stores handle most of the area's demand for heavy durable goods, and a large supermarket and other outlets satisfy the immediate vicinity's lighter merchandise needs" (149).

A shopping center had been planned by the Baldwin Hills Co. on the site from the start; see "Development of Extensive . . .," *LAT*, 9 Oct. 1939, V-1, 3; and "Work Gets Under Way . . .," *LAT*, 10 Mar. 1941, V-1, 11.

18

Sources focusing on parking requirements are cited in note 6 above.

19

Lewis Mumford, "The Life, the Teaching and the Architecture of Matthew Nowicki," *AR* 114 (July 1954), 134. Mumford's four-part essay (June 1954, 139–149; July 1954, 128–135; Aug. 1954, 169–176; Sep. 1954, 153–159) remains the most insightful assessment of the architect's work. See also Bruce Harold Schafer, *The Writings and Sketches of Matthew Nowicki* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973). The Ventura shopping center is illustrated in both publications. The Stein Papers contain copies of a number of sketches by Nowicki that show that the final scheme was derived from Stein's previous studies. The date of Nowicki's design is uncertain; 1949 is given in an account prepared in conjunction with a Museum of Modern Art exhibition shortly after his death ("From the Legacy of Matthew Nowicki," *AF* 92 [Oct. 1950], 201). According to the chronology in Schafer, *Writings and Sketches*, xii, the scheme was done during the summer of 1950, right before his death.

20

For an exception, see the unrealized design for the Maybrook Shopping Center in Maywood, New Jersey: *AR* 103 (Mar. 1948), 10; and Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 30.

21

To my knowledge, nothing but the caption accompanying the drawing illustrated in figure 227 was published. I am grateful to the late Robert Alexander for details of the project (letter to author, 3 Dec. 1990).

22

For references on Gruen's store designs, see chapter 9, notes 37–38.

23

Interview with William McAdam (retired chairman of the board, Coldwell Banker), Newport Beach, 8 Apr. 1988. Gruen's early regional malls in the area include the master plan of Riverside Plaza at Riverside (1955–1956); all but the major department store at South Bay Center at Redondo Beach (1955–1958, prepared in collaboration with Jones & Emmons); and Conejo Village at Thousand Oaks (1959–1960). Gruen also was responsible for the master plan and many of the buildings at La Mirada Shopping Center in Orange County (begun 1956), which was the size of a regional center but did not include a major department store. The scheme prepared in collaboration with S. Charles Lee for the Hollypark Shopping Center in Los Angeles (1954) was never realized. See *LAEx*, 28 Aug. 1955, III-1; *CSA/AE* [31] (Sep. 1955), 62; *LAT*, 11 Sep. 1955, V-18; "\$9.5 Million . . .," *LAT*, 8 Oct. 1959, VI-17 (Riverside Plaza); "Big Shop Area . . .," *LAEx*, 6 Feb. 1955, III-1, 2; "Multipurpose Center . . .," *LAT*, 6 Feb. 1955, V-16; and "\$15 Million Shop Center . . .," *LAT*, 16 Sep. 1956, VI-1, 6 (South Bay

Center); "First Phase . . .," *LAT*, 18 Oct. 1959, VI-2; Al Johns, "West Valley Construction . . .," *LAT*, 13 Dec. 1959, VI-1, 6 (Conejo Village); "Huge Business Center . . .," *LAT*, 15 Jan. 1956, V-6; "La Mirada's Progress . . .," *LAT*, 29 July 1956, VI-12 (La Mirada); "Grading May 1 . . .," *LAEx*, 25 Apr. 1954; *LAT*, 27 June 1954, V-9; and "Work on \$100,000,000 . . .," *LAT*, 5 Dec. 1954, V-13 (Hollypark). Additional material is in Gruen's scrapbooks at LC.

24

Gruen described the scheme at length in "What to Look for in Shopping Centers," *CSA/AE* [24] (July 1948), 22, 63–66, and noted it again in "What's Wrong with Store Design?" *WWD*, 18 Oct. 1949, 62. Beyond indicating that it was to be built in Los Angeles, he gave no clue as to site or client. The amount of study and design development required for this scheme make it unlikely that the undertaking was a hypothetical one. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the project may be the same as Stein's on Whittier Boulevard. The size and scope of the proposed center, along with the shape of its site, are similar in each case. Furthermore, Gruen did prepare a design for this location two years later, which is discussed in the text below. I have yet to find any documents that would shed further light on the subject, including those in Gruen's papers at LC or in the Gruen office archives. I am grateful to Stuart Lottman of Gruen Associates for checking in the latter files.

25

Gruen, "What to Look for," 66, 64.

26

The three others I have been able to identify were redevelopment schemes for Flushing in New York (1946), Grand Haven, Michigan (1947), and Park Forest Plaza (1947–1951) at Park Forest, a planned community outside Chicago. The Flushing design may have been an important prototype for urban renewal projects of the next decade, but it had little bearing work in outlying areas. For background, see "Model Retail Center Planned for Flushing," *BIW*, 17 Aug. 1946, 20; "Unique Shopping Center Proposed," *ACi* 61 (Sep. 1946), 117; "Retail Shopping Center Deluxe," *NRB* 28 (Oct. 1946), 20; "\$50,000,000 Retail Center . . .," *AF* 85 (Nov. 1946), 100–105; and Robert Hallett, "Dream Shopping Center . . .," *Christian Science Monitor*, Magazine Sect., 2 Nov. 1946, 10–11. The Michigan design seems inspired by Ketchum's Rye plan discussed in the text below and by an earlier scheme published in *AF* discussed in chapter 10; See "Redevelopment Plan for Grand Haven," *AR* 103 (Feb. 1948), 92–97. Concerning Park Forest, see Neil Harris, "The City That Shops: Chicago's Retailing Landscape," in John Zukowsky, ed., *Chicago Architecture and Design 1923–1993: Reconfiguration of an American Metropolis* (Munich: Prestel, 1993), 183–185.

Ketchum was associated with Gruen on some of his earliest store designs. For background, see Kenneth Reid, "Perspectives—The Modernist from Wainscott: Morris Ketchum, Jr.," *PP* 25 (August 1944), 65–66; and Morris Ketchum, *Blazing a Trail* (New York: Vantage Press, 1982).

27

For background, see "Shopping Center," *AF* 85 (Aug. 1946), 76–79; Leonard Harrison, "Rye Aims at City Planning Leadership," *ACi* 61 (Oct. 1946), 88–89; "Rye Plan Approved," *ASPO* 14 (Oct. 1948), 82; and Morris Ketchum, *Shops & Stores* (New York: Reinhold 1948), 281, 284–285. The most detailed account of the scheme and of the attempt to implement it is in the *Rye Chronicle* between 28 June and 8 Nov. 1946.

NOTES

458

Gruen would indeed become recognized as the leader in using the pedestrian mall as an agent of urban renewal. His role in this capacity has been succinctly outlined in Howard Gillette, "The Evolution of the Planned Shopping Center in Suburb and City," *JAPA* 51 (Aug. 1985), 545–547. For a sampling of contemporary accounts, see Ogden Tanner, "Closed to Traffic," *AF* 110 (Feb. 1958), 88–95; "Fresno Downtown: Pedestrian Preserve," *A&E* 219 (Mar. 1960), 12–13; "Heart of Gruen's Fresno Plan," *PP* 46 (Jan. 1965), 184–185; "Upgrading Downtown," *AR* 137 (June 1965), 175–190; and Eduardo Contini, "Anatomy of the Mall," *ALA Journal* 47 (Feb. 1969), 42–50. While the shopping center was almost entirely an invention of the United States, the downtown pedestrian mall was based to a considerable extent on postwar European work. Contemporary accounts make clear that architects such as Gruen and Ketchum viewed the shopping center in outlying areas and the remaking of urban cores as two sides of the same coin.

For background, see "\$2,500,000 Business Center . . .," *WWD*, 30 Oct. 1946, 4; "For Easy Shopping . . .," *BW*, 9 Nov. 1946, 24; "'Recentralization' . . .," *WWD*, 20 Nov. 1946, 71; "Shopping Center," *AF* 86 (June 1947), 84–93; Morris Ketchum, "Regaining Advantages of Related Retailing Now Lost in Main Streets' Jungles," *CSA/AE* [23] (July 1947), 16–17; "Modern Theory Is Used in Beverly . . .," *ACi* 62 (July 1947), 124–125; "Recentralization Is Growing," *RM* 43 (Apr.–May 1948), 32–37; "Centers Planned . . .," *WWD*, 23 June 1948, I-54; Morris Ketchum, *Shops & Stores* (New York: Reinhold, 1948), 272–281; and Pietro Belluschi, "Shopping Centers," in Talbot Hamlin, ed., *Forms and Functions in Twentieth-Century Architecture*, 4 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 4: 134, 135. See also note 27.

North Shore Center was to have been the prototype for a series built by the developer. The only one realized was Shoppers' World in Framingham, Massachusetts, discussed in the text below. Other centers were to have been located in northern New Jersey; White Plains, New York; and Cleveland. See "A Mammoth New Shopping Center," *ACi* 64 (Feb. 1949), 78–79; and "Trust Rides Shopping Center Boom," *BW*, 22 July 1950, 80–81, 84.

Saunders, "Department Stores," 164.

Kenneth Welch, "Regional Shopping Centers," *AR* 109 (Mar. 1951), 121–131; idem, "Location and Design of Shopping Centers," *APC* 1951, 131–138. See also his "Convenience vs. Shopping Goods," *WWD*, 26 Dec. 1946, II-82, 96; "The Relocation of Commercial Areas," *Planning* 1948, 101–110, reprinted in *AJ* 17 (Jan. 1949), 45–52; and "More Modern Shopping Centers Needed," *WWD*, 6 Apr. 1949, 52.

"Big New Shopping District . . .," *LAT*, 22 Sep. 1950, I-8; "New Shopping Center . . .," *LAEx*, 22 Sep. 1950, III-1; "\$20 Million . . .," *Los Angeles Herald Express*, 22 Sep. 1950, B1.

This scheme was the first of Gruen's to receive much national publicity, and marked the beginning of a working relationship with Detroit's J. L. Hudson Co. that proved key to his rise as a leading designer of regional malls. For background,

see “Hudson’s First Branch . . .,” *WWD*, 5 June 1950, 1, 50; “Hudson’s Finally Goes Suburban,” *BW*, 10 June 1950, 80–81; *AF* 93 (July 1950), 13; “Suburban Retail Districts,” *AF* 93 (Aug. 1950), 106–107, 110–115; “Detroit Suburban Shopping Center,” *ASPO* 16 (Aug. 1950), 70; and Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 200–207.

A regional shopping center was never realized on the Whittier Boulevard site, probably because no department store company was willing to locate there. By the early 1950s, residential development further east for households of somewhat more means reduced the site’s value for retail uses. Eastland in West Covina (1955–1957) became the principal new shopping magnet for this part of the metropolitan area. In Detroit, the J. L. Hudson Co. postponed plans to build its Eastland Plaza until work got under way on a still larger complex, Northland, discussed in the text below. Hudson’s Eastland was completed according to a different design in 1957.

34

“Huge New Shopping Center . . .,” *Automobile Facts* 12 (Dec. 1953), 4–5; “Hudson’s Northland Shopping Center,” *WWD*, 5 Feb. 1954, 1, 39; “Northland: A Regional Shopping Center . . .,” *Michigan Society of Architects Monthly Bulletin* 28 (Mar. 1954), 33–45; Victor Gruen, “The Chain’s Stake in Planning the Center,” *CSA/AE* [30] (May 1954), 34–41; “Northland: A New Yardstick for Shopping Center Planning,” *AF* 99 (June 1954), 103–117; and “Northland Regional Shopping Center . . .,” *Bauen und Wohnen* 10 (Apr. 1956), 109–112.

35

Examples include Woodlawn Shopping Center at Wichita, Kansas (1952, project); an unnamed center for Gimbel Brothers near Philadelphia (1953, project); an early design for Bay-Fair Shopping Center at San Leandro, California (1953); Woodmar Shopping Center near Chicago (1953–1954); and Glendale Shopping Center at Indianapolis (1954–1956). Concerning Woodlawn, see “Two-Level Shopping Center,” *House and Home* 2 (Sep. 1952), 140–143; concerning Woodmar, see “Pentagon—End Mall—Bent Strip,” *AR* 117 (May 1955), 200–202. Further coverage of this work can be found in Gruen’s scrapbooks at LC. Some of the schemes are illustrated and the ideas behind them are discussed in contemporary articles by Gruen, including “Shopping Centers: The New Building Type,” *PP* 33 (June 1952), 66–92 (coauthored with Lawrence Smith); “Basic Planning Concepts . . .,” *SWBC* 121 (27 Mar. 1953), 2–6; “Planned Shopping Centers,” *Dun’s Review* 61 (May 1953), 36–37, 113–114, 116–122; “A Shopping Center Is More Than a Collection of Stores,” *Practical Builder* 18 (Oct. 1953), 64–67; and “Twelve Check Points . . .,” *WWD*, 26 Dec. 1953, II-35. Victor Gruen and Larry Smith, *Shopping Towns USA: The Planning of Shopping Centers* (New York: Reinhold, 1960), provides a valuable synopsis of the architect’s views at the decade’s end.

36

Concerning the original plan for Southdale, see “Winter or Summer . . .,” *AF* 97 (Mar. 1953), 126–133. Gruen’s first plan for an enclosed mall, albeit not one on two levels, was an unrealized design for the Montclair Shopping Center in Houston, designed in collaboration with local architect Irving R. Klein; see “First Part of \$12 Million . . .,” *Houston Post*, 17 Dec. 1950, III-10; and Mickey Jones, “109-Store Houston . . .,” *WWD*, 3 Jan. 1951, 85.

37

Gruen’s southern California projects of the 1950s are cited in note 23 above.



38

For background, see *WWD*, 12 Mar. 1948, I-46; “Break Ground . . .,” *WWD*, 27 Apr. 1949, 10; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 198–199; “‘Shoppers’ World’ at Framingham Applies New Ideas,” *AR* 110 (Nov. 1951), 12–13; Swan, “What’s New,” 37–39, 72, 74, 76, 79; “Shoppers’ World,” *AF* 95 (Dec. 1951), 180–184; Sidney Shurcliff, “Shoppers’ World: The Design and Construction of a Retail Shopping Center,” *Landscape Architecture* 42 (July 1952), 144–151; “Shopping for Tomorrow,” *Coronet* 34 (Oct. 1953), 30–33; and Samuel Feinberg, “From Where I Sit . . .,” *WWD*, 9 Dec. 1959, 1, 8, 45; 10 Dec. 1959, I-8; 11 Dec. 1959, 6.

39

Concerning Southdale as realized, see “A Controlled Climate for Shopping,” *AR* 120 (Dec. 1956), 193–195; and “Brisk Business for a Bright Shopping Center,” *Fortune* 55 (Feb. 1957), 141–144.

40

The complex is the subject of a pathbreaking study: Meredith Clausen, “Northgate Regional Shopping Center—Paradigm from the Provinces,” *JSAH* 43 (May 1984), 144–161. Additional information can be found in contemporary accounts, including “Bon Marche to Build . . .,” *WWD*, 24 Feb. 1948, 1, 63; “Bon Marche to Start . . .,” *WWD*, 24 Dec. 1948, 1, 24; “Shopping Center: 1949 Model,” *BW*, 22 July 1949, 47, 49–50; “Northgate Shopping Center, Seattle, Washington,” *AR/WS* 106 (Nov. 1949), 36–1 to 36–3; “Expect Seattle Store Center . . .,” *WWD*, 18 Jan. 1950, 5; *Time*, 8 May 1950, 83–84; Howard Jackson, “Display Is Different at the Bon Marche–Northgate,” *DW* 57 (July 1950), 26–27, 84; Millie Proctor, “New Bon Marche . . .,” *WWD*, 9 Aug. 1950, 54; “Suburban Retail Districts,” *AF* 93 (Aug. 1950), 116–117; Arthur Priaulx, “Northgate—Suburban Shopping Center . . .,” *A&E* 182 (Sep. 1950), 14–20; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 218–221; Constance Patterson, “Northgate . . .,” *WWD*, 23 Jan. 1953, 52; and McKeever, “Shopping Centers,” 43–45, 47.

41

Clausen, “Northgate,” 151.

42

As quoted in “Shopping Centers: A Way to More Sales . . .,” *Tide* 28 (24 Apr. 1954), 21.

43

Concerning the Bon Marche, see “Suburban Retail Districts,” 116; Saunders, “Department Stores,” 101; and Patterson, “Northgate.” Concerning Shoppers’ World, see “Center in a Fix,” *BW*, 23 Jan. 1954, 51–52; Maurice Sagoff, “Other Centers Can Learn . . .,” *WWD*, 10 Feb. 1954, 71; and Meredith Clausen, “Shopping Centers,” in Joseph Wilkes, ed., *Encyclopedia of Architecture: Design, Engineering and Construction*, 4 vols. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1989), 4: 415.

44

For background, see “Stonestown Shopping Center . . .,” *AR* 109 (Mar. 1951), 132–136; “The Big ‘E’ Flies . . .,” *Stores* 32 (Apr. 1952), 55, 79; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 210–211; “New Shopping Magnets . . .,” *AF* 97 (Mar. 1953), 143–145; McKeever, “Shopping Centers,” 50–51, 59–61, 63; and Gruen and Smith, *Shopping Towns*, 228–229. Both schemes had significantly different preliminary designs; see “Shopping Center Round-Up,” *CSA/AE* [26] (July 1950),

29; and McKeever, "Shopping Centers," 60. Northgate's influence on these centers is noted in Clausen, "Northgate," 160.

45

The other examples I have been able to document are the four envisioned by Suburban Centers Trust, Stonestown, the Olympic Shopping Circle in Los Angeles, and Eastland in Detroit, all cited in the text and/or notes above; and the Cross County Shopping Center in Yonkers, New York. Several more years would elapse before the type began to proliferate.

#### NOTES

462

46

For background, see "May Co. Signs . . ." *LAT*, 29 June 1950, II-1, 8; "Coast May Co. . . ." *WWD*, 29 June 1950, 1, 48; "Begin Saturday . . ." *WWD*, 12 Oct. 1950, 8; "Work Started . . ." *LAT*, 9 Nov. 1950, V-13; "Market Chains . . ." *LAT*, 19 Nov. 1950, V-13; *Stores* 32 (Nov. 1950), 17-19; "4 New Coast Units . . ." *WWD*, 1 Dec. 1950, 2; "Opening of Extensive . . ." *LAT*, 4 Nov. 1951, V-4; "Butler's Opens . . ." *WWD*, 8 Nov. 1951, I-47; "Accent on Parking . . ." *WWD*, 2 Jan. 1952, 35; "May Co.'s Lakewood Store . . ." *LAT*, 17 Feb. 1952, II-1; "New Shop Leases . . ." *LAT*, 28 June 1953, V-1; *LAEx*, 4 Oct. 1952, I-6; and McKeever, "Shopping Centers," 78-80. Many additional insights were gleaned from interviews with Joseph Eichenbaum (Los Angeles, 11 Apr. 1988) and Albert C. Martin, Jr. (Los Angeles, 7 Nov. 1989). I am also grateful to Kenneth Caldwell, who in his former capacity as Communication Manager of Albert C. Martin & Assocs. gave me access to material remaining in the office files.

The master plan for Lakewood Center called for numerous freestanding buildings to occupy the eastern half of the site. These facilities were planned to address a wide range of community needs and included a motel, sports arena, bowling alley, automobile showrooms, and club buildings. This aspect of the scheme was the most modified in later years. See "Big Development . . ." *LAT*, 3 Jan. 1960, VI-1, 3.

47

Concerning Lakewood Park, see "Foundations Placed . . ." *LAT*, 26 Mar. 1950, V-4; "Large New Lakewood . . ." *LAT*, 9 Apr. 1950, V-1, 2; "Lakewood Development . . ." *LAT*, 16 Apr. 1950, V-2; "Lakewood Dwellings . . ." *LAT*, 23 Apr. 1950, V-2; "Lakewood Homes . . ." *LAT*, 30 Apr. 1950, V-2; "Sales Total . . ." *LAT*, 7 May 1950, V-2; "Lakewood Developers . . ." *LAT*, 14 May 1950, V-2; "Second Lakewood Unit . . ." *LAT*, 4 June 1950, VI-2; "Constructing 100 New Homes Per Day," *SWBC* 115 (9 June 1950), 11-14; "Lakewood Development . . ." *LAT*, 18 June 1950, V-3; "Lakewood Park's Home . . ." *LAT*, 4 Mar. 1951, V-1; and "Lakewood Park Tract . . ." *LAT*, 2 Sep. 1951, V-5.

48

For a succinct account of Levitt & Sons' projects, presented within the context of postwar housing development nationally, see Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 234-238. According to Jackson, Levittown, New York, was "the largest housing development ever put up by a single builder" (p. 235). Lakewood came very close but received much less publicity at the national level. The sources cited by Jackson (p. 370) give a good sense of how much attention Levitt developments attracted.

49

The subject is addressed within the postwar context in Mel Scott, *Metropolitan Los Angeles: One Community* (Los Angeles: Haynes Foundation, 1949), chap. 8.

50

“Accent on Shopping,” 35.

51

“Work Started,” 30; Martin interview.

52

Martin interview. Period literature on department store layout is vast. For a succinct account, see E. B. Weiss, “New Concepts of Store Architecture . . .” *PI* 222 (26 Mar. 1948), 42, 46, 48–49, 52.

53

Namely: Anaheim Plaza (originally Broadway–Orange County Shopping Center) at Anaheim (1954–1957), Buena Park Mall at Buena Park (begun 1956), Conejo Village at Thousand Oaks (1959–1960), Del Amo Center at Torrance (1958–1961), Eastland at West Covina (1955–1957), Honer Plaza at Santa Ana (1957–1959), Indian Hill Village (originally Pomona Valley Center) at Pomona (1954–1956), Los Altos Shopping Center at Long Beach (1953–1956), Riverside Plaza at Riverside (1955–1956), Santa Ana Fashion Square at Santa Ana (1957–1958), South Bay Center at Redondo Beach (1956–1958), Stonewood Center at Downey (1957–1958), and Whittwood Center at Whittier (1956).

This listing as well as the data enumerated in the text and notes below have been derived from several sources, including *Directory of Shopping Centers in the United States and Canada*, vol. IV, 1961 ed. (Chicago: National Research Bureau, 1960); *Los Angeles Shopping Centers, 1971–1972* (Los Angeles: Marketing and Research Dept., Los Angeles Times, 1971); “Regional and Community Shopping Centers: Map of Los Angeles and Orange Counties” (Coldwell Banker Commercial Brokerage Co., 1983); and entries too numerous to cite culled from the Real Estate Sect., *LAT*, weekly between 1950 and 1960. I have visited many of the sites; however, most of these complexes have experienced major alterations. The figures cited in these sources often vary; those in the text are approximations.

Several complexes built in stages were not as yet true regional centers by 1960, but I have included them if they were planned as such from the start and attained that rank within a few years thereafter. Several other regional malls were planned but never executed according to the proposed design, including ones in Torrance (*LAT*, 8 May 1955, V-1, 4); Westminster (*LAT*, 30 Oct. 1955, V-18); and Vina Vista (*LAT*, 19 Aug. 1956, VI-1, 6).

54

These include El Monte Mall at El Monte (1956–1958), Fontana Square at Fontana (begun 1954), and Orange County Plaza at Garden Grove (begun 1955). La Mirada Shopping Center at La Mirada (begun 1956) should also be grouped in this category. Even though it was much larger (750,000 square feet of retail area by 1971), it did not have a major department store branch.

55

Among the numerous community-sized centers that were erected in the metropolitan area during the decade, most had stores oriented to a large front parking lot, following the predominant national trend. These complexes tended to have between 150,000 and 300,000 square feet of retail space and between 30 and 40 store units. A few community centers such as La Mirada, cited in note 54 above, and Crenshaw–Imperial Plaza at Inglewood were considerably larger. More typical examples include Alhambra Valley Shopping Center at Alhambra, Foothill Center at Azusa, Fremont Square at Oxnard, Garden Square at Garden Grove, Harbor

Shopping Center at Costa Mesa, Lincoln Park Shopping Center at Buena Park, Live Oak Shopping Center at Arcadia, Orangefair Center at Fullerton, Skylark Shopping Center at Garden Grove, and Westminster Center at Orange.

56

Here I have relied primarily on retail area as an index, drawing from the *Directory of Shopping Centers*, 1961 ed. The list is not limited to regional centers with malls, but most of the complexes of 400,000 square feet or greater did incorporate that feature. The New York region was the only one comparable to Los Angeles. Two others were not far behind: San Francisco and Dallas–Fort Worth.

NOTES

464

Metropolitan Region	Number of Regional Centers, by Size of Retail Area (sq. ft.)			
	400,000– 499,999	500,000– 599,999	600,000– 699,999	700,000 and greater
Los Angeles	7	4	2	5
New York	9	3	1	5
San Francisco	4	3	3	3
Dallas–Ft. Worth	3	6	0	4
Detroit	3	0	1	2
Chicago	3	2	0	3
Philadelphia	5	2	2	0
Houston	1	2	1	3
Boston	3	2	0	0

The Los Angeles metropolitan region includes Orange and portions of Riverside, San Bernardino, and Ventura counties; the New York region includes Westchester, Nassau, and portions of Suffolk counties, portions of Fairfield County, Conn., and Bergen, Passaic, Essex, and portions of Union counties, N.J.; the San Francisco region includes San Mateo, Santa Clara, Alameda, and portions of Contra Costa, Solano, and Marin counties; the Dallas–Ft. Worth region includes Dallas, Fort Worth, and surrounding communities; the Detroit region includes Macomb, Oakland, Livingston, Washenaw, and portions of Monroe counties; the Chicago region includes Du Page, Lake, and portions of Kane and Will counties; the Philadelphia region includes Montgomery, Delaware, Chester, and portions of Bucks counties, and Burlington, Camden, and Gloucester counties, N.J.; the Houston region includes Houston and surrounding communities; the Boston region includes portions of Norfolk, Middlesex, and Essex counties.

57

Announcements documenting either the intention to construct a regional mall or commencement of its construction include “\$6,000,000 Shopping Center . . .,” *LAT*, 29 Mar. 1953, V-9; “Work Started . . .,” *LAT*, 1 Dec. 1957, VI-13 (Stonewood Center); “Plans for Large Shopping Center . . .,” *LAT*, 19 June 1953, V-4; “Large Shopping Center . . .,” *LAT*, 25 Aug. 1957, VI-9 (Honer Plaza); “Shopping Area . . .,” *LAT*, 19 July 1953, V-13; *LAT*, 2 Aug. 1953, V-9 (Los Altos Shopping Center); “Huge Shopping Center . . .,” *LAT*, 4 July 1954, I-22; “Big Project . . .,” *LAT*, 13 Feb. 1955, VI-1, 13 (Eastland); “Further Development . . .,” *LAT*, 12 Sep. 1954, V-1, 16 (Indian Hill Village); “Multipurpose

Center . . . ,” *LAT*, 6 Feb. 1955, V-16; “\$15 Million . . . ,” *LAT*, 16 Sep. 1956, VI-1, 6 (South Bay Center); “Construction to Start . . . ,” *LAT*, 17 May 1955, V-17; “Construction Starts . . . ,” *LAT*, 12 Feb. 1956, V-20 (Whittwood Center); “Big Shopping Center . . . ,” *LAT*, 8 Apr. 1956, V-22 (Buena Park Mall); and “First Phase . . . ,” *LAT*, 18 Oct. 1959, VI-2 (Conejo Village).

A persuasive argument that accelerated depreciation significantly fostered shopping center development after its introduction to the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is made in Thomas Hanchett, “US Tax Policy and the Shopping Center Boom of the 1950s and 1960s,” *American Historical Review*, forthcoming. I am grateful to the author for sharing a copy of his manuscript with me.

58

Concerning the Skokie complex, see “Marshall Field’s New Shopping Center . . . ,” *AF* 95 (Dec. 1951), 185–199.

59

Preliminary plans for Los Altos Shopping Center and Stonewood Center bear affinity to Lakewood; see *LAT*, 2 Aug. 1953, V-9; and “\$6,000,000 . . . ,” *LAT*, 29 Mar. 1953, V-9.

60

Interview with Eaton Ballard (retired senior vice-president of Carter Hawley Hale Stores), Pasadena, Nov. 1989. Ballard confirmed that a dual anchor arrangement was planned from the start and the important role the Crenshaw Center played in the company leadership’s thinking. The complex was built in increments, beginning with the department store. The mall was not open until 1957. Contemporary accounts include “Broadway to Build . . . ,” *ABu*, 7 July 1954, 1; “Broadway Describes Development,” *SAR*, 8 July 1954, A20; “Two Extensive Stores . . . ,” *LAT*, 5 Dec. 1954, V-1, 14; “Broadway-Anaheim . . . ,” *ABu*, 13 Oct. 1955, 1; “Broadway to Open . . . ,” *LAT*, 14 Oct. 1955, I-38; “Work Begun . . . ,” *LAT*, 12 Aug. 1956, VI-17; “Ralphs Anaheim Store . . . ,” *ABu*, 10 Oct. 1956, 7; “Sav-on Drug Store . . . ,” *ABu*, 24 Oct. 1956, 22; “Shopping Area Purchased . . . ,” *LAT*, 9 Dec. 1956, VI-12; “Security Bank Opens . . . ,” *ABu*, 21 Mar. 1957, 9; *LAT*, 24 Mar. 1957, VI-10; “Leeds to Open . . . ,” *ABu*, 15 May 1957, 15; “Shoe Company Opens . . . ,” *LAT*, 19 May 1957, VI-19; *LAT*, 16 Nov. 1958, VI-13; “Big Shopping Center’s . . . ,” *LAT*, 17 Nov. 1957, VI-8; and “Broadway-Orange County . . . ,” *ABu*, 18 Nov. 1957, 9. See also “Broadway-Hale . . . ,” *WWD*, 17 Nov. 1954, 21.

61

Eaton Ballard also stressed the degree of skepticism that met the Broadway’s plans to build large stores at Anaheim and Panorama City. Many retailers felt that the market would not be sufficient to sustain such projects because their location was too peripheral. Circumstances proved such thinking wrong within a few years; however, the episode underscores how new the concept of the regional shopping center still was in the mid-1950s and that it was not at all uncommon to believe that even the largest metropolitan areas could support only a small number of them. Those questioning whether too many regional centers were being constructed too fast during the 1950s included some shopping center developers, most notably Arthur Rubloff of Chicago. See Arthur Rubloff, “Regional Shopping Centers and Their Effect on the Future of Our Cities,” *APC* 1953, 45–49; J. M. Baskin, “Shopping Center ‘Craze’ . . . ,” *WWD*, 28 June 1954, 1, 25. See also “Too Many Shopping Centers?” *BW*, 17 Nov. 1956; and Hanchett, “US Tax Policy.”

The second anchor that finally joined the Broadway at Anaheim Plaza was J. W. Robinson. By the mid-1950s, a number of regional malls had dual anchors of more or less equal-sized branches of major downtown department stores, including Westgate Shopping Center near Cleveland (completed 1954), Cross County Center at Yonkers (1955), Old Orchard Shopping Center at Skokie, Illinois (1956); Seven Corners near Washington, D.C. (1956); and Southgate Center near Minneapolis (1956). See McKeever, "Shopping Centers," 77–78, 56–58, 46–47, 70–72, and 59–61, resp.

NOTES

466

62

The Miracle Mile was created under the aegis of a single developer, Sol Atlas, but was located on scattered sites along the North Hempstead Turnpike. Contemporary accounts include "Lord & Taylor Suburban Apparel Shop . . .," *AR* 89 (June 1941), 41–47; "'Country Modern' . . .," *DSE* 4 (10 June 1941), 33; "Suburban Stores Pay," *RM* 42 (Nov. 1947), 17; "Three Stores," *PP* 29 (Feb. 1948), 55–60; "New Mary Lewis . . .," *WWD*, 3 Sep. 1948, 30; and Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 162–163. The Chestnut Hill group was initiated by two developers working independently of one another; see Smith, *Shopping Centers*, 21–22; and Samuel Feinberg, "From Where I Sit . . .," *WWD*, 9 Dec. 1959, 8.

63

"Old California Influence . . .," *SAR*, 14 Nov. 1957, C1; "Target Completion Date . . .," *ABu*, 15 Nov. 1957, 9; "Fashion Square Idea . . .," *SAR*, 28 Feb. 1958, B1; *LAT*, 6 Apr. 1958, VI-9; "Haggerty's Construction Starts . . .," *SAR*, 17 Apr. 1958, B2; "\$50,000 Store . . .," *LAT*, 20 Apr. 1958, VI-9; "\$140,000 Bank . . .," *LAT*, 13 July 1958, VI-4; "New Bullock's Facility . . .," *LAT*, 24 Aug. 1958, VI-7; "Final Stage Reached . . .," *SAR*, 24 Aug. 1958, B3; "Fashion Square Opens . . .," *SAR*, 16 Sep. 1958, B-whole sect.; "New Concept of Shopping . . .," *LAT*, 16 Sep. 1958, III-1, 28; "New Santa Ana Bank . . .," *LAT*, 30 Nov. 1958, VI-10; and "Fashion Square Observes . . .," *LAT*, 17 Sep. 1964, RA-2 to RA-10.

Not long after the project got under way, plans were developed independently for Metcalf Plaza, a shopping center oriented more to everyday needs, on adjacent land; see "Shop Center Plans Told," *LAT*, 11 Aug. 1957, VI-11; "Ground Breaking . . .," *LAT*, 17 Nov. 1957, VI-10; "Large New Store . . .," *LAT*, 28 Sep. 1958, VI-10; and "Work to Start . . .," *LAT*, 21 June 1959, VI-16. Another shopping center, Town and Country Plaza, had been built directly across the street some years earlier. Thus Fashion Square could draw upon people who wished to patronize its stores while on routine shopping trips as well as people who had its outlets as their exclusive destination.

64

"New Concept of Shopping," III-28. The status of the precinct was such that it ranked among the very few unplanned complexes listed in the annual *Directory of Shopping Centers*, beginning with its first volume in 1957. Other stores included Desmond's, Gump's, Haggerty's, Ciro Jewelers, I. Magnin, and Silverwood's. Concerning Bullock's Pasadena, see chapter 9 above.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

*Scholarly studies of subjects central to this book—retail architecture, outlying business centers, and Los Angeles—are relatively few. My research had to rely primarily on a wide range of period accounts, most of them very limited in nature. The process, then, in large part entailed gathering small particles of information in sufficient number and scope to gain an accurate perspective on the complex shift from city center to regional mall.*

*Under the circumstances, offering a subject guide to the hundreds of sources cited in the notes seems a more useful instrument of reference than the conventional form of bibliography. The subject categories entail some overlap. I have erred on the side of redundancy where I thought it was useful. References to major department stores in southern California shopping centers, for example, are listed under both “department stores” and “shopping centers,” but not under “commercial architecture, miscellaneous” or “retailing.” Citations addressing material in locations outside southern California as well as in the nation generally are grouped under “U.S.” in the listings. Roman numerals refer to chapters; the following arabic numerals refer to individual notes.*

*Identifying key material proved a challenging task in its own right. Subject headings one might first think of as points of departure—“shopping center,” for example—yield almost nothing for the period in question. The probe had to proceed incrementally, for some time without a clear sense of the extent, nature, or range of publications that would be essential to consult. Only through what seemed like an almost random path could the search become systematic and conclusive.*