

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

- 1 See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *There's Nothing Sentimental*, 31–32.
- 2 Roosevelt, “State of the Union.” On the photographs as images of the Housing Authority’s “activities,” see Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 49.
- 3 On the criticism of the plans for Chávez Ravine, see, for example, Hines, “Creeping Socialism,” 133–134; Eisner, “Seven Decades,” 70–71. Eisner’s oral history is also quoted in Cuff, *Provisional City*, 282–284, 287–288. For additional criticism, see *ibid.*, 286–287. See an account of differing evaluations of high-rise public housing in Hunt, Ens Dorf, and Pilat, “Promise of Public Housing,” 112, 120, 123–125.
- 4 On Wilkinson’s position at the Housing Authority as “Public Information Director,” see Cuff, *Provisional City*, 291. On Wilkinson’s previous work as the director’s “special assistant,” see *ibid.*, 224; Parson, *Making a Better World*, 52. On Wilkinson’s testimony, see Parson, *Making a Better World*, 121, 123; Cuff, *Provisional City*, 293; Sherrill, *First Amendment Felon*, 113–116, 136–139. On Wilkinson’s advocacy for desegregation, see, for example, *ibid.*, 68.
- 5 This account of Chávez Ravine summarizes the findings of numerous studies, including Hines, “Creeping Socialism,” 123–143; Parson, *Making a Better World*, 163–186; Cuff, *Provisional City*, 272–300; Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 3–5. On public housing as “un-American,” see, for example, Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 479–480; Argersinger, “Contested Visions,” 793, 795, 799–802, 807–808.
- 6 See Cuff, *Provisional City*, 163, 273.
- 7 The author’s thanks extend to photo librarian Christina Rice for alerting her to this accession history. See Carolyn Kozo to Joseph Shuldinger [sic], August 24, 1990, and Joseph Shuldiner to Carolyn Kozo, September 20, 1990, Photo Collection, Los Angeles Public Library. See also a note about this process in Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 13.
- 8 Kozo to Shuldinger [sic], August 24, 1990.
- 9 *Ibid.* Carolyn Kozo’s correspondence suggested that the library borrow “300–400” photographs to copy. The actual number of photographs that were borrowed and the portion this selection represented of the Housing Authority’s collection remain unknown. The author’s thanks extend again here to photo librarian Christina Rice for explaining how these copies were most likely made. On this “collection of reproductions” as “a selection of the total collection” of unknown size, see Moga, “Projects and

Slums,” 13–14. On the size of the collection of photographs at the Los Angeles Public Library compared to the estimated production of the photographs by the Housing Authority, see also *ibid.*, 34.

- 10 The most recent credit line given to the Housing Authority by a scholar not affiliated with the Housing Authority for its photographs from the 1940s and 1950s where no repository is noted was in architecture historian Dana Cuff’s 2001 study of the housing projects. See Cuff, “Fugitive Plans,” figs. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11. Attempts to locate the Housing Authority’s collection by contacting the Authority were unsuccessful. The geographer Steven Moga also wrote that he “was not able to obtain access to HACLA records and photographs” for the report he compiled on the Los Angeles Public Library’s Housing Authority collection as a graduate student in 1999. See Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 13–14. Compare to the Housing Authority’s publication of scans of historical photographs in recent annual reports online: Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *80 Years*, 2, 3; Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *75 Years*, front cover, 8, 9, back cover; Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Annual Report*, 19.
- 11 Daniel T. Rodgers acknowledges the importance of the exchange of public housing “photos and word pictures” in helping to establish public housing in the United States. How specific examples of these photographs worked, however, is a question that he leaves open to further investigation. See especially Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 391, 401.
- 12 Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, xv.
- 13 See, for example, Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 34–36.
- 14 Diamond, “Demolished and Rebuilt Communities,” chap. 3; Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 32–36, 41–45.
- 15 The author is indebted to her professor, Bettina Gockel, for encouraging her to consider this approach as exemplified in the research of Robin Kelsey. See, for example, Kelsey, *Archive Style*, 7. The author is also thankful to her professor, Kelley Wilder, for explaining to her the importance of studying photographic practices.
- 16 This point might be compared to Bradford Hunt, Michael Ens Dorf, and Kathy M. Pilat’s examination of the ways in which the photographs of the Chicago Housing Authority offer a history of public housing’s “promise” that can be read in juxtaposition to stories of its demise. See Hunt, Ens Dorf, and Pilat, “Promise of Public Housing,” 111, 112, 118, 136.
- 17 Parson, *Making a Better World*.
- 18 Cuff, *Provisional City*; Cuff, “Fugitive Plans.”
- 19 Stimson, *Pivot of the World*, 17. With respect to the global dimensions of these networks and their connections to local Los Angeles’s initiatives, the present study builds on Elizabeth Bloom Avery’s observations on the bureaucratic “decentralization” and collaborative photographic strategies of local public housing authorities in the United States. See Avery, “Campaign for Public Housing,” 100–101, 121–132.
- 20 Nye, *Image Worlds*, 3, 5.
- 21 Kelsey, *Archive Style*, 6.
- 22 See Wilder, “Kodak and Photographic Research,” 259–269; Stein, “Rhetoric of the Colorful”; Edwards, *Making of English Photography*. See also Edwards, *Making of English Photography*, 1–2, as cited in Allbeson and Oldfield, “War, Photography, Business,” 100–101.
- 23 Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life*, xiii. Compare to a concern with the “rational consumer” as described in Brown, *The Corporate Eye*, 22, 62–63, 160, 166–168. Compare also to

- the situating of Chicago's public housing photographs within the history of "reform photography" in Hunt, Ens Dorf, and Pilat, "Promise of Public Housing," 112–120.
- 24 Stange, "'The Record Itself,'" 2; Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life*, 106. On the garden city roots of Greenbelt towns, see Alanen and Eden, *Main Street Ready-Made*, 5–7; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 454–455.
- 25 A notable exception is Cara A. Finnegan's reading of Dorothea Lange's photographs of subsistence homesteads published in Taylor, "From the Ground Up," 526–529, 537–538. See Finnegan, *Picturing Poverty*, 104–118. Regarding the general lack of attention paid to RA/FSA construction, architect Vernon DeMars recalled in a later interview, "There was an information division in the [Rural Resettlement Administration, N.K.O.] office, about three people or so. [...] When we began to get a good number of sizable projects going and so forth, none of this achievement was ever mentioned. They were trying to show how bad things were, not that there was anything being done about them." DeMars, "A Life in Architecture," 82.
- 26 For an introductory comparison of other New Deal documenting projects with the photography of the USHA, see Avery, "Campaign for Public Housing," 1–5.
- 27 Reed, "Enlisting Modernism," 8.
- 28 See also a call for an adoption of multiple methodologies with respect to social documentary in Mitman and Wilder, introduction to *Documenting the World*, 3, 9.
- 29 Gockel, introduction to *American Photography*, xviii.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Kelsey and Stimson, introduction to *Meaning of Photography*, xxiii, as cited in Gockel, introduction to *American Photography*, xviii. On "uses and functions," see Gockel, xi. On "narratives," see *ibid.*, xvi.
- 32 Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, 287, 289. The author's thanks extend to Thomas Keller for encouraging her to see how this refocusing might be a return to older visual-historical methods.
- 33 Kelsey and Stimson, introduction to *Meaning of Photography*, xxiv–xxv.
- 34 Stimson, *Pivot of the World*, 3–11, final direct quote on 3.
- 35 On the "ethnographic turn," see Batchen, "Snapshots," as referenced together with a discussion of a refocusing on materiality in Clayton and Cheshire, "Editorial," 325–326, 328. On bringing together visual and material approaches, see also Rose and Tolia-Kelly, "Visuality/Materiality." For a summary of these tendencies as they apply to a history of American art, see also Roberts, "Things."
- 36 See Edwards and Hart, introduction to *Photographs Objects Histories*. What Gillian Rose calls "digital cultural objects" add a further layer to this scholarship. See Rose, "Geographies of Cultural 'Objects,'" 338–339.
- 37 Edwards and Hart, introduction to *Photographs Objects Histories*, 4.
- 38 See Clayton and Cheshire, "Editorial." Clayton and Cheshire specifically cite here Latour, "Technology is Society Made Durable," 103–131. As a prime example of this scholarship, Clayton and Cheshire also name Edwards, *Camera as Historian*. See Clayton and Cheshire, "Editorial," 326n3, 326n4.
- 39 Mitman and Wilder, introduction to *Documenting the World*, 3, 9.
- 40 The following account is based on historical background provided in Cuff, *Provisional City*, chap. 1; Parson, *Making a Better World*, chap. 1 and chap. 2; Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, chap. 7.
- 41 The Housing Authority regularly recognized excellent gardening by residents in *Los Angeles Housing News* starting in 1947. See "Yard-of-the-Month," *Los Angeles Housing News* 4, no. 8 (August 1947): 2; "Yard-of-the-Month," *Los Angeles Housing News* 4, no. 9

- (September 1947): 2; "Yard of the Month," *Los Angeles Housing News* 4, no. 10 (October 1947): 2; "Yard of the Month," *Los Angeles Housing News* 4, no. 11 (November 1947): 2; "Yard-of-the-Month," *Los Angeles Housing News* 5, no. 1 (January 1948): 2; "Maintenance Surprise"; "Competition at Aliso"; "Lawn Care Competition"; and "Beautiful Lawn Wins Prize." All these articles are in box 146, John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation Library. See also an account of a housekeeping contest in Hunt, Ens Dorf, and Pilat, "Promise of Public Housing," 118.
- 42 Catherine Bauer, "Post-War Housing Can Save the West," statement given as secretary of the California Housing and Planning Association at the Post-War Planning Meeting of the United States Housing Authority and Local Housing Authorities, Region VII, at the Clift Hotel, San Francisco, January 15, 1942 (from stenographic transcript), 6, carton 3, folder "Postwar Housing Can Save the West," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 43 Catherine Bauer Wurster to Reginald Johnson, July 20, 1944, 1, box 2, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Apr.–Dec. 1944," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 44 LeRoy, *The House I Live In*.
- 45 Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 115–120. On public housing as a path to homeownership, see, for example, Cuff, *Provisional City*, 205.
- 46 On public housing's "promise" versus persistent poverty, see Hunt, Ens Dorf, and Pilat, "Promise of Public Housing," 111–112, 135–136.
- 47 The author thanks Thomas Keller for offering this observation also in connection with Britain's council housing and the artists who hailed from these developments.
- 48 Makeda Easter, "Kendrick and Co. Celebrate the Community and Spirit of Nickerson Gardens," *Los Angeles Times*, December 21, 2016, <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/music/posts/la-et-ms-tde-toy-giveaway-20161221-story.html>. Accessed March 8, 2020. See an account of positive experiences of public housing in Chicago in Hunt, Ens Dorf, and Pilat, "Promise of Public Housing," 116–118.
- 49 Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 194–195, 198, 206, 208, 392–396, 401–404, 480, 507.
- 50 Bauer, *Modern Housing*. On Bauer's research and writing of the book, see Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 54–67, 78–81, 83–87, 93–94, 98–101, 109–113; Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 69–70, 72–80.
- 51 Bauer, *Modern Housing*, 77, 89–90, 93, 110–113, 172–174, 190, 248. See also, for example, Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 75, 80. Other scholars notably argue that May's housing was not affordable for workers. See Müller, *Kultur in Deutschland*, 112–113.
- 52 Ernst May left for the USSR, while the architects Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius took up residence in the United States. See Müller, *Kultur in Deutschland*, 113–114.
- 53 See Ewen, *What Is Urban History?*, 114–128; Riboldazzi, "IFHTP Congresses," 159–160.
- 54 Wagner, *Stadtplanung für die Welt?*, 25, 27, 29, 37, 72–77, 78–90, 145–152. On the "institutionalization" of planning see, for example, *ibid.*, 12–13, 60 (trans. N.K.O.). On the "practices of internationalization," see, for example, *ibid.*, chap. 2 and chap. 3 (trans. N.K.O.). On the "performative construction of expertise" see, for example, *ibid.*, 13–14, 37 (trans. N.K.O.). Wagner cites here Engstrom, Hess, and Thoms, "Figurationen des Experten," 8. See also Wagner, "Praktiken des Experteninternationalismus," 125–132, 135–138; Wagner, "Facilitating Planning Communication," 303–306. For additional research on the international dimensions of modern planning, see Ward, "International Diffusion of Planning."
- 55 An exception to studies of the international dimensions of Los Angeles's public housing history is Thomas Hines's scholarship on the Austrian-born and

- internationally-known Richard Neutra, a member of the CIAM and architect for several of the Housing Authority's projects. See Hines, *Richard Neutra*.
- 56 Midgley, Twells, and Carlier, introduction to *Women in Transnational History*, 1, 6.
- 57 On women in American wartime housing, see Crawford, "Daily Life," 90–143. On women in housing's longer history, see Hamilton, "Social Settlement Houses"; Koslow, *Cultivating Health*; Terlinden and von Oertzen, *Die Wohnungsfrage ist Frauensache!*; Uhlig, *Kollektivmodell "Einküchenhaus"*. On women photographers in transnational histories, see Lien, "Last Seen Alone"; Gockel, "More Than Genius."
- 58 See Normark, *Chávez Ravine, 1949*; Mechner, *Chávez Ravine*.
- 59 Moga, "Projects and Slums," 61.
- 60 Edwards, review of *Nineteenth-Century Photographs*, 225.
- 61 For a selection of studies on architectural photography pertinent to this period and its connections between the United States and Europe, see Breuer and Haus, *Architektur fotografie der Nachkriegsmoderne*; Woods, *Beyond the Architect's Eye*; Mazza, *Le Corbusier*; Harris, "Case Study Utopia." Switching perspective to understand photography's impact on architectural practice, Claire Zimmerman has also introduced the concept of "photographic architecture" to this area of study. See Zimmerman, *Photographic Architecture*.
- 62 For examples of this scholarship, see Brown and Phu, eds., *Feeling Photography*; Assmann, *Shadows of Trauma*.
- 63 See "Flüchtlinge in Hannover."
- 64 Wiens, "Wohnen sie schon oder leben sie noch?"
- 65 For an example of this preferred design, see Glugla, "Fill the Gaps," 178.
- 66 Friedrich, "Architektur des Ankommens," 39. See section headings in Friedrich et al., *Refugees Welcome*, 106, 132, 168, 184, 206.
- 67 Friedrich et al., *Refugees Welcome*. See also Maasberg, "Bauen für Geflüchtete."
- 68 Allbeson and Oldfield, "War, Photography, Business," 98–100.
- 69 Special thanks go to the participants in Prof. Dr. Monika Wagner's spring 2013 graduate workshop, especially Anika Reineke, for encouraging the author to consider the connections between housing and the concept of "home."

1 PHOTOGRAPHS AND HOUSING HISTORY

- 1 Steven Moga's study of the Housing Authority collection at the Los Angeles Public Library remains a notable exception. See Moga, "Projects and Slums." On the "layers" of collections, see Edwards and Lien, "World of Photographs," 3; Wilder, "Not One but Many," 386.
- 2 The author thanks Professor Bettina Gockel for encouraging her to consider the locations and status of these photographs in collections today and Professor Kelley Wilder for reminding her of these photographs' status "as history." For an example of scholarship on photograph collections, see Edwards and Morton, "Art and Information."
- 3 Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life*, xiii, 29, 32–33, 36–37, 45–46. On the practice of housing expertise, see also Wagner, *Stadtplanung für die Welt?*
- 4 Avery, "Campaign for Public Housing," 2, 54, 61, 67, 74.
- 5 Mitman and Wilder, introduction to *Documenting the World*, 14–15.
- 6 See Moga, "Projects and Slums," 15–21; Cuff, *Provisional City*, 52–54, 55–56, 63–66, 69, 104–112, 126–151; Parson, *Making a Better World*, 18, 21, 23, 25, 26–27, 31, 32.

- 7 The author thanks Professors Bettina Gockel and Kelley Wilder for drawing her attention to this subject. See, for example, Wilder, "Not One but Many," 387.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 387.
- 9 Avery also notes that this decentralization challenges scholarship. See Avery, "Campaign for Public Housing," 2–4.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 100–101.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 112–121.
- 12 The Housing Authority's *Housing Survey* from 1940 cites the report from 1908 to underscore the city's comparatively early and organized response, not to claim Los Angeles's problems were less severe than those in other cities. In some ways, they were worse: rents were higher and conditions sometimes more appalling than in New York's slums. See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, Work Projects Administration, and Williamson, *Housing Survey*, 1–2. See also Cuff, "Fugitive Plans," 103; Spalding, "Classic Slum," 107–112.
- 13 Spalding, "Classic Slum," 114–115.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 118.
- 15 See here especially the consideration of Chávez Ravine in Spalding, "Classic Slum," 116. For a brief discussion of historians' use of photography versus other forms of documentation, see Tucker and Campt, "Entwined Practices," 4–5.
- 16 Spalding, "Classic Slum," 114; Moga, "Projects and Slums," 5, 49.
- 17 Moga, "Projects and Slums," 31.
- 18 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *A Decent Home*.
- 19 Moga, "Projects and Slums," 59.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 61. On the study of style and "conventions" in survey photography, see also Kelsey, *Archive Style*, 7–8, 11, 16–17.
- 21 Cuff, *Provisional City*, 147; Cuff, "Fugitive Plans," 105.
- 22 Cuff, "Fugitive Plans," 109.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 99–100.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 100.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 110. See also Moga, "Projects and Slums," 19.
- 26 On Wilkinson's position at the Housing Authority as "special assistant," see Cuff, *Provisional City*, 224; Parson, *Making a Better World*, 52.
- 27 See Cuff, "Fugitive Plans," 110, 112. On the use of photography and photographic editing "to selectively highlight dilapidated structures" in Chicago, see Hunt, Ensdorf, and Pilat, "Promise of Public Housing," 119 and fig. 7.7.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 112.
- 29 Briante, "Utopia's Ruins," 128, 133.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 128–129, 131, 133–139.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 137, 139.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 139.
- 33 Bloch, "Photography of Leonard Nadel," 76.
- 34 Freestone, "Exhibition as a Lens."
- 35 Bloch, "Photography of Leonard Nadel," 76.
- 36 *Ibid.*
- 37 On the "great man" paradigm, see Gockel, "More Than Genius"; Riggs, "Photography and Antiquity," 276.
- 38 For examples of this scholarship, see Gockel, introduction to *American Photography*; Wilder, "Not One but Many"; Mitman and Wilder, introduction to *Documenting the*

- World*; Tucker, "Moving Pictures"; Tucker and Campt, "Entwined Practices." See further more Wolf, introduction to *Zeigen und/oder Beweisen?*
- 39 For a description of the exhibition, see "Subjective Objective." See also Gustafson and Zervigón, *Subjective Objective*. On the "category," see Edwards, review of *Nineteenth-Century Photographs*, 225. On the defining of documents through historical practices, see Edwards, "Uncertain Knowledge"; Tucker, "Moving Pictures." On networked practices, see Wilder, "Not One but Many" and on networked processes, see Gockel, "More Than Genius."
- 40 Mitman and Wilder, introduction to *Documenting the World*, 8–9. The author's thanks extend to Kelley Wilder for pointing out this distinction between the photographic document and documentary.
- 41 Avery, "Campaign for Public Housing," 2, 54, 61, 67, 74.
- 42 Mitman and Wilder, introduction to *Documenting the World*, 3.
- 43 Kelsey, *Archive Style*, 7. On an art historical approach, see *ibid.*, 8.
- 44 Another criticism of Kelsey's argument concerns the extent to which O'Sullivan felt pressed to subtly assert photography's value to the survey effort. Writes curator Toby Jurovics, "[...] I believe that Kelsey's attempts to assign meanings to O'Sullivan's photographs draw on critical notions that would have been unfamiliar to the photographer and his audience. If we are to imply metaphoric content in his images, they must be metaphors that would have been understood by O'Sullivan and his colleagues, not those that appeal to contemporary scholars." Jurovics, "Framing the West," 230n80.
- 45 See Kelsey, *Archive Style*, 1, 3, 12–14, 157.
- 46 Gockel, introduction to *American Photography*, xiii.
- 47 *Ibid.*, xxviii–xxix.
- 48 The charting of exchanges outlined in this section was encouraged by Edwards, "Exchanging Photographs."
- 49 See Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 69; Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 61–62; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 393; Rikala, "Six Riddles of Modernism," 193.
- 50 See Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 70–71; Rikala, "Six Riddles of Modernism," 194; Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 70.
- 51 Catherine K. Bauer, "Prize Essay: Art in Industry," *Fortune* (reprinted from May 1931), n.p., box 7, folder 3, Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 52 Rikala, "Six Riddles of Modernism," 194. See also Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 72; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 394.
- 53 Bauer, *Modern Housing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934). Citations of *Modern Housing* in this study refer to the 1934 publication of Bauer's book unless otherwise noted. On the reception of Bauer's book, see Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 81–82.
- 54 Bauer, *Modern Housing* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1935). On the garden city precedent for modern housing, see Bauer, *Modern Housing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934), 77, 93, 110–113, 115. On May's work in Frankfurt, see, for example, *ibid.*, 172–174, 190. On Bauer's reading of German housing, see Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 80; Rikala, "Six Riddles of Modernism," 193–194.
- 55 See, for example, Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 113–124; Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 1, 59, 80–81, 82, 180–187, 207; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 392, 401–404, 465–467, 473–475, 476–478, 507; Rikala, "Six Riddles of Modernism," 194–195.
- 56 Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 401. On the Museum of Modern Art's exhibition of Catherine Bauer's "housing display," see *ibid.*, 406. On a display at the Museum of Modern Art by the New York City Housing Authority that featured Bauer's photographs, see *ibid.*, 466–467. On Bauer's contribution to the Museum of Modern Art's

- Modern Architecture: International Exhibition*, see also Rikala, "Six Riddles of Modernism," 194.
- 57 Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 113.
- 58 Catherine Bauer to Lovell Thompson, April 1, 1934, 2, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster Jan.–June 1934," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 59 Catherine Bauer to Ferris Greenslet, December 14, 1934, 2, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster July–Dec. 1934," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. See also Catherine Bauer's credit to Josephy in Catherine Bauer to Alfred H. Barr, Jr., December 29, 1934, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster July–Dec. 1934," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. For an example of Josephy's later work, see Caldwell and Bourke-White, *You Have Seen Their Faces*. Although Josephy did not mention his work with Bauer on *Modern Housing*, he recalled working with Bauer in his autobiography. See Josephy, *Taking Part*, 90.
- 60 Catherine Bauer to Lovell Thompson, April 1, 1934, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster Jan.–June 1934," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 61 Ibid.; Catherine Bauer to "Mr. Thompson," April 24, 1934, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster Jan.–June 1934," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 62 Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 102; Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 164–165; Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 66.
- 63 Lewis Mumford to Members of the Regional Planning Association of America, January 20, 1932, box 30, folder "Mumford, Lewis, 33 Letters, 1932–63 & N.A.," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 64 Mumford, "Regionalism," 182.
- 65 Bauer's biographers term the Housing Study Guild "a group that evolved out of the RPAA." See Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 102.
- 66 Founder Aronovici emphasized that the Housing Study Guild's original research was "available to the public in various forms." Aronovici and McCalmont, *Catching Up with Housing*, 104. On the Study Guild, see "Guide to the Housing Study Guild Records"; Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, 177; Miller, *Lewis Mumford*, 362–363.
- 67 See "Guide to the Housing Study Guild Records." For an example of the Foundation's literature, see Goldfeld, *Practices and Experiences*.
- 68 Samuel Ratensky to Catherine Bauer, August 9, 1934, box 34, folder "Ratensky, Samuel, 17 letters 1934–1957 & N.A.," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. For Ratensky's biography, see "Samuel Ratensky of Housing Unit: City Planner Here, 62, Dies—Aided West Side Project," *New York Times*, December 30, 1972, 24, ProQuest; Monuments Men Foundation, "Samuel Ratensky (1910–1972)."
- 69 DeMars, "A Life in Architecture," 176–177, 183–184.
- 70 Bauer Wurster, "Opportunities in Public Housing," 66.
- 71 Samuel Ratensky to Catherine Bauer, June 12, 1934, box 34, folder "Ratensky, Samuel, 17 letters 1934–1957 & N.A.," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 72 Aronovici and McCalmont, *Catching Up with Housing*, 104.
- 73 See Housing Study Guild, "Higher Housing."
- 74 See Samuel Ratensky to Catherine Bauer, May 21, 1934, box 34, folder "Ratensky, Samuel, 17 letters, 1934–37 & N.A.," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 75 See "Catherine Bauer, Donor #32," attachment to a letter from Theodore Jacobs to Catherine Bauer, March 5, 1935, box 23, folder "Housing Study Guild, Letter, March 5, 1935," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 76 Several of Bauer's photographs from the early 1930s bear the Housing Study Guild's stamp. See, for example, a photograph of the Horfield Estate in Bristol and a photograph

- of the Tabard Garden Estate in London in folder 14, Catherine Bauer Wurster photograph collection. For a mention of this method of identification, see also Ratensky to Bauer, May 21, 1934.
- 77 See United States, Resettlement Administration and Housing Study Guild, New York, eds., *Suburban Resettlement Library Accessions*; New York Public Library, "New Periodicals," 289. On the library's publication of its accessions, see also Aronovici and McCalmont, *Catching Up with Housing*, 204.
- 78 National Association of Housing Officials and Housing Study Guild, *Selected Bibliography on Housing*.
- 79 On the Guild's translations, see "Guide to the Housing Study Guild Records." For examples, see Housing Study Guild, *Abstract of Papers*. The translations included Gropius, "Low Buildings." On translating in the internationalization of housing, see Ward, "International Diffusion of Planning," 41.
- 80 See Wagner, *Stadtplanung für die Welt?*, chap. 2 and chap. 3 (trans. N.K.O.). Records show that the Housing Study Guild presented one of its own studies as an eleven-panel exhibit. See Aronovici and McCalmont, *Catching Up with Housing*, 153.
- 81 See Catherine Bauer to Alfred K. Stern, November 4, 1935, and Catherine K. Bauer, unaddressed memo, October 11, 1935, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, 1935–1937," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 82 The Guild advertised one exhibit available for rent as "constructed on simple lines" and "particularly well suited for classroom use." Aronovici and McCalmont, *Catching Up with Housing*, 153.
- 83 "22 Million Need Housing Subsidy, Exhibit Reveals," *Columbia Daily Spectator*, April 23, 1935, 1, <https://spectatorarchive.library.columbia.edu/?a=d&d=cs19350423-01.2.8&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->. Accessed March 7, 2020.
- 84 Although the student reporter neglected to name the survey, the source of the data was most probably the *Real Property Inventory* of 1934, a Civil Works Administration Project involving a survey of dwelling units in sixty-four US cities. Los Angeles was not included among the cities surveyed. See United States Federal Civil Works Administration, *Real Property Inventory*; Morehouse, "Real Property Inventory," 17. See also a reference to the *Real Property Inventory* in Cuff, *Provisional City*, 106, 346n23. Steven Moga also notes similar criteria surveyed in Los Angeles in 1939. See Moga, "Projects and Slums," 18.
- 85 "22 Million Need Housing Subsidy," 1.
- 86 "The Exhibit at Avery," *Columbia Daily Spectator*, April 24, 1935, 2, <https://spectatorarchive.library.columbia.edu/?a=d&d=cs19350424-01.2.18&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-mumford+talks+at+ceremony----->. Accessed March 9, 2020.
- 87 Samuel Ratensky to Catherine Bauer, May 3, 1934, box 34, folder "Ratensky, Samuel, 17 letters, 1934–57 & N.A.," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. On Bauer's role in the Labor Housing Conference, see Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 1, 4, 59, 82–83, 180–187; Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 106, 118–124.
- 88 Ratensky to Bauer, May 21, 1934.
- 89 For a more detailed study of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians, see Bacon, "Federation of Architects."
- 90 Ratensky to Bauer, June 12, 1934.
- 91 Samuel Ratensky to Catherine Bauer, August 9, 1934, 1, box 34, folder "Ratensky, Samuel, 17 letters, 1934–1957 & N.A.," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 92 *Ibid.* See also remarks on Catherine Bauer's turn from housing study to lobbying in Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 401–402.

- 93 The Guild printed a library manual compete with subject listings and “filing rules” in 1935. See Housing Study Guild and Gruzen, *Library Manual*.
- 94 Theodore Jacobs to Catherine Bauer, March 5, 1935, box 23, folder “Housing Study Guild, Letter, March 5, 1935,” Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 95 For a brief but informative discussion of Wright and Stein’s design for Sunnyside, see Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 68–69, 79.
- 96 Jacobs to Bauer, March 5, 1935.
- 97 See “News Notes,” 660.
- 98 See Roosevelt, “Executive Order 7027.”
- 99 See University of Kentucky, “John Scott Lansill Papers.”
- 100 Stern, “Ten-Year Program,” 24.
- 101 See DeMars, “A Life in Architecture,” 100; Allen, “Space for Living,” 75–76.
- 102 See Aronovici and McCalmont, *Catching Up with Housing*, 153; “‘Model City’ Data Sought by Federal Questionnaire,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 29, 1936, 10, Newspapers.com. Accessed February 26, 2016.
- 103 See New York Public Library, “New Periodicals,” 289.
- 104 Guild member Aronovici, meanwhile, took great strides in this direction, teaching a course in community planning at Columbia and another course in housing at both Columbia and New York University. See Aronovici and McCalmont, *Catching Up with Housing*, 104, 154–155, 156.
- 105 Samuel Ratensky to Catherine Bauer, July 21, 1936, box 34, folder “Ratensky, Samuel, 17 letters, 1934–1957 & N.A.,” Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 106 Catherine Bauer to Albert Mayer, May 18, 1937, and Catherine Bauer to the Editors of the Budget, April 21, 1937, box 1, folder “Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, 1935–1937,” Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 107 The author thanks Nancy Adgent of the Rockefeller Archive Center for finding a mention of the transfer of the library from the Russell Sage Foundation to the school in a letter by Milton Lowenthal. See Milton Lowenthal [Federation Technical School, New York] to the Russell Sage Foundation, August 25, 1937, box 31, folder 234, Russell Sage Foundation records, as referenced by Nancy Adgent in an email message to the author, June 19, 2015. On the school and its operations, see Heifetz, “Technical/ Professional Workers.” See also “News and Notes,” 469.
- 108 For instance, Clarence Stein lectured for the school on numerous occasions, including a housing symposium organized by the school in February 1938. See box 6, folders 63–68, “Guide to the Clarence Stein Papers.”
- 109 “Housing Pictures Given to Columbia,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 7, 1939, E3, <https://bklyn.newspapers.com/image/52628804/?terms=housing%2Bpictures%2Bgiven%2Bto%2Blibrary>. Accessed March 8, 2020. See also “Mumford Talks at Ceremony: Architectural Library Presented to School,” *Columbia Daily Spectator*, May 5, 1939, 4, <http://spectatorarchive.library.columbia.edu/?a=d&d=cs19390505-01.2.30&srpos=1&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-mumford+talks+at+ceremony----->. Accessed March 9, 2020. On the library as a “memorial,” see Spann, *Designing Modern America*, 190. The planned gift was accepted by the school in 1938. See “Mumford Talks at Ceremony,” 4; “Pictures Given to Columbia,” E3; Williamson, “Report of the Director,” 331.
- 110 The Resettlement Administration, for example, “reproduced” approximately 150 photographs in the first six months following the accession of the library, as Ratensky reported to Bauer. This statement, included in a letter roughly outlining the division of the library into objects belonging to the Guild and objects belonging to the

- RA, does not clarify whether the RA reproduced the images from RA negatives or from Housing Study Guild prints. See Ratensky to Bauer, July 21, 1936.
- 111 Avery, "Campaign for Public Housing," 112–116.
- 112 Ibid., 112. Elizabeth Edwards has called this organization a "center/periphery model of data collection." See Edwards, "Uncertain Knowledge," 94.
- 113 On "style" and housing photography, see also Avery, "Campaign for Public Housing," 2, 8, 108.
- 114 Parson, *Making a Better World*, 21, 23, 26. Unless otherwise noted, the direct citations in this section come from the author's own research into original sources. The background information on the Los Angeles slum clearance program presented in the first two paragraphs can also be found in Cuff, *Provisional City*, 17, 23, 26, 49, 84–85. Steven Moga also recounts the determining of "slums" with the help of the 1939 housing survey in Moga, "Projects and Slums," 5–6, 15–21.
- 115 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, untitled memo, June 6, 1939, 5, box 1, folder 1 "Housing Survey, Los Angeles," Collection of Southern California housing reports and photographs.
- 116 Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 190; Parson, *Making a Better World*, 15–16; Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Progress*, 13.
- 117 This clause kept rent profits from dropping for private landlords and reduced competition for private builders in purchasing undeveloped land while also making public housing an expensive endeavor. See Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 190.
- 118 See Department of the Interior, United States Housing Authority, *Annual Report*, 23.
- 119 See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *A Decent Home*, 28–31.
- 120 See California Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p.
- 121 Notably, the Housing Authority openly admitted that it adopted this approach in part "to maintain good public relations." See *ibid*, n.p.
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 See Department of the Interior, United States Housing Authority, *Annual Report*, 27.
- 124 Parson, *Making a Better World*, 19–30.
- 125 On the "boosterism" of this period, see, for example, Davis, *City of Quartz*, 22, 24–30, 32; Ovnick, *Los Angeles*, 69–132; Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 64–98. See Starr also cited in Davis, *City of Quartz*, 26.
- 126 "New Housing Suggested to Reduce Rents: Sentinel Readers Say US Should Aid; Others Want Co-Op Housing Drive," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, January 7, 1937, 1, Los Angeles Sentinel Newspaper, Los Angeles County Library, Black Resource Center.
- 127 See, for example, Spalding, "Classic Slum," 116.
- 128 "New Housing Suggested," 1.
- 129 "Editorials: Attention City Council," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, October 20, 1938, 1, Los Angeles Sentinel Newspaper, Los Angeles County Library, Black Resource Center.
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 This analysis returns to the notion that the status of photographs as documents is socially and historically contingent. For examples of scholarship centered on this thesis, see especially Tucker, "Moving Pictures," 25–26, 41–42; Edwards, "Uncertain Knowledge," 89–90, 116–117.
- 132 Charles C. Cohan, "City Housing Data Sought: Local Authority Hopes to Start Survey by April 1," *Los Angeles Times*, March 26, 1939, E1, ProQuest. Compare also to, for example, C.C.C., "Fact and Comment," *Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1939, E1, ProQuest. See also a discussion of the survey in Moga, "Projects and Slums," 18–19.

- 133 See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, untitled memo, June 6, 1939, 1. On the collection of “data,” see Nicola Giulii to Mayor Fletcher Bowron, May 1, 1940, in Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, Work Projects Administration, and Williamson, *Housing Survey*, n.p. Compare to Parson, who writes that the survey “employed 216 people at its inception, which grew to a high point of 494 in October 1939 and fell to 25 at its close.” Parson, *Making a Better World*, 23. Compare also to the estimate of 700 survey employees in Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 19.
- 134 See Parson, *Making a Better World*, 18, 23, 26. On funding, see also Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Progress*, 22, 28.
- 135 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, untitled memo, June 6, 1939, 1. See also Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 18–19.
- 136 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, Work Projects Administration, and Williamson, *Housing Survey*, 97–98. See also Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Progress*, 5. On the classification of structures according to physical characteristics, see furthermore Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles and Work Projects Administration, *Digest of Final Report*, 1, as cited in Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 18, 105n10 and further discussed especially in *ibid.*, 15–19.
- 137 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, Work Projects Administration, and Williamson, *Housing Survey*, 98. See also Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles and Work Projects Administration, *Digest of Final Report*, 1, as cited in Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 18, 105n10.
- 138 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, Work Projects Administration, and Williamson, *Housing Survey*, 12.
- 139 For an account of the early history of Ramona Gardens, see Parson, *Making a Better World*, 40–43.
- 140 See “Ramona Gardens Ceremony Fixed,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 12, 1940, A10, ProQuest. O’Dwyer’s role in the promotion of public housing is well-documented in Parson, *Making a Better World*, 30, 37, 40–41, 78, 80, 90; Cuff, *Provisional City*, 72, 103, 223–224, 293; Sherrill, *First Amendment Felon*, 67–68.
- 141 “Groundbreaking Ceremony: Ramona Gardens” (pamphlet), carton 5, folder “California—Los Angeles #3,” Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. See a report of twelve hundred attendees in Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Progress*, 26. See also a mention of a subsequent “dedication ceremony” in activities listed for February 1941 in Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Third Annual Report*, n.p.
- 142 See “Your Radio Today,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 16, 1940, A10, ProQuest.
- 143 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, untitled memo, June 6, 1939, 3.
- 144 For excerpts from the writing for this project and commentary, see Kurlansky, *Younger Land*.
- 145 See, for example, such photographs in *Los Angeles Housing News* as “Committee for Enjoying Life and Having a Good Time Generally, Inc.,” 2, and “Red Cross,” 3. Both publications are in box 146, John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation Library.
- 146 Charles Shattuck’s appraisal of the neighborhood of The Flats took place, according to historian of architecture Dana Cuff’s research, during the months from October to December 1940. See Cuff, *Provisional City*, 139, 141. The WPA survey, notably, only collected data on property value for the “owner occupied structures” it enumerated and based this value mainly on “the owner’s reply to the question, ‘What do you think you could get for this property if you were to sell it now?’” See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, Work Projects Administration, and Williamson, *Housing*

- Survey, 94. Steven Moga furthermore references the WPA's survey of rents in Moga, "Projects and Slums," 19.
- 147 For a discussion of the broad definition of this style, see Banham, *Los Angeles*, 42–43.
- 148 The author thanks Filine Wagner for bringing her attention to the CIAM grids' historical function of encouraging international comparisons in city planning. The notion of the grid as a modernist device is articulated in numerous studies, but most notably in its connection to the history of photography in Lugon, "La photographie des typographes," under "Expotypophoto." See also a discussion of the grid in FSA photography in Stein, "Good Fences," 178–179.
- 149 See "Books," 4, box 146, John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation Library.
- 150 See "Housing Film," 1, box 146, John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation Library. The article does not clarify whether Kessler was enrolled at the University of Southern California at the time he made the film or not. School records show that he attended between 1945 and 1946. The USC School of Cinematic Arts Hugh M. Hefner Moving Image Archive has no records of student films from this time. Archivist Dino Everett pointed out that the school was not exempt from rationing during the war and that student films first found sponsors starting in 1949 through the efforts of Herbert Farmer, who started teaching film production classes at USC in 1946. As stated in Dino Everett, email message to author, August 3, 2015.
- 151 "Housing Film," 1.
- 152 "Contest Reveals Wretched Conditions," *The News [The Los Angeles Daily News]*, April 27, 1940, 3, clipping in carton 41, folder "California: Los Angeles," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. See also Avery, "Campaign for Public Housing." Descriptions of the role of newspapers and of photographs of poorer neighborhoods similar to those studied in this section of the present study can also be found in Hunt, Ensdorf, and Pilat, "Promise of Public Housing," 113–115, figs. 7.1–7.4.
- 153 On the "type" in photographs of "building environment[s]," see Avery, "Campaign for Public Housing," 54. See also a discussion of "the oblique view" of good housing and the apparent objectivity of "head-on" architectural "views" in *ibid.*, 27–28, 54, 56.
- 154 Henning, "Subject as Object," 170. The author thanks Filine Wagner for pointing out the importance of noting the voyeurism in photographs of slums.
- 155 The editors of *The News* state that the title of the photograph, "Palos Verdes," refers "ironically" to an area "at Effie and Brooks streets," not "the swank Palos Verdes hills residential development." See "Contest Reveals Wretched Conditions," 3. This was almost certainly a mistake made in noting the name of the photographed area of Palo Verde. Palo Verde, as photographer Don Normark later wrote, counted among Chávez Ravine's neighborhoods. See Normark, *Chávez Ravine, 1949*, 12. Notably, the Housing Authority's records for August 1940 indicate that it declined a proposed donation of land by the Palos Verdes Corporation (the "swank" development referred to in *The News*) due to its distance from downtown. See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Third Annual Report*, n.p.
- 156 Henning notes that "The concept of voyeurism is applicable not only to sexualized or erotic images, but also in relation to the depiction of colonized peoples and of disability as spectacle." Henning, "The Subject as Object," 171.
- 157 Compare to an analysis of the Housing Authority's practice of leading "slum tours" in Moga, "Projects and Slums," 39–40.
- 158 "Contest Reveals Wretched Conditions," 3.
- 159 "Photographic montage" is a term deployed by photohistorian Matthew Biro to be more inclusive of the range of historical montage practices, but especially those that

do not fit neatly into a modernist photographic history of “photomontage.” See Biro, “Editorial,” 105.

- 160 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, Work Projects Administration, and Williamson, *Housing Survey*, 90.
- 161 See, for example, Avery, “Campaign for Public Housing,” 121–130. On the interpretation of neighborhoods, see, for example, the mention of “the chaos of the last century imposed by unthinking industrialism on the remains of mediaeval and neo-classical planning” in the review of Bauer’s *Modern Housing* in Boumphrey, “New Conception of Housing,” 24. On changing views of the benefits of “spatial order,” see also Hunt, Ens Dorf, and Pilat, “Promise of Public Housing,” 128.
- 162 The offices, the Housing Authority reported, were “in rooms loaned by the Department of Building and Safety.” See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Third Annual Report*, n.p.
- 163 Steven Moga discusses this motif of juxtaposition as it appears within single photographs in the Los Angeles Public Library’s Housing Authority photo collection as one of “civic shame.” This juxtaposition soon proved common within photographs in the Authority’s collection showing the Bunker Hill neighborhood, but especially in those produced after the Second World War. See Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 53.
- 164 The author’s thanks extend to Nanni Baltzer for encouraging her to compare the Housing Authority’s photographic practices with its building program. On the pragmatism of New Deal photographic practices, see also Stein, “Rhetoric of the Colorful,” 223–254.
- 165 It is difficult to know which of the photographs included in the report came from the contest because none of the report’s individual images have credit lines. A comparison of the photographs in *The News* article and those in the report indicates that the ten winning photographs were not among those included. See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Progress*, 18.
- 166 See, for example, Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *A Decent Home*, 72.
- 167 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Progress*, 17.
- 168 Ibid.
- 169 Ibid., 18.
- 170 Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 49. Compare to Avery, “Campaign for Public Housing,” 1, 55.
- 171 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, untitled memo, June 6, 1939, 4–5.
- 172 Ibid., 6.
- 173 Ibid., 7; Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, Work Projects Administration, and Williamson, *Housing Survey*, 2.
- 174 Stein, ““Good Fences,”” 139, 179.
- 175 Elizabeth Avery has also noted how “collaboration” underlay many New Deal photographic initiatives in support of public housing. See Avery, “Campaign for Public Housing,” 132.
- 176 The report contained three volumes. See Nicola Giullii, letter to Mayor Fletcher Bowron, May 1, 1940, as printed in Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, Work Projects Administration, and Williamson, *Housing Survey*, n.p. The second and third volumes contained maps and graphs. On the distribution of the survey findings, see Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Progress*, 5.
- 177 The Oakland Public Library recorded the accession date on the cover of the report. On the history of the Oakland Housing Authority, see “Celebrating 80 Years.”

- 178 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles and Work Projects Administration, *Digest of Final Report*. This data is according to a search on www.worldcat.org conducted on November 10, 2017.
- 179 On the “layers” of “bureaucratic activity” in photograph collections and the “pedagogical narrative” of lantern slide collections, see Wilder, “Not One but Many,” 383–384.
- 180 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Third Annual Report*, n.p.
- 181 “Contest Reveals Wretched Conditions,” 3.
- 182 Ibid. City records indicate that Plunkett worked for the local health department from as late as 1936 through at least 1942. See *Los Angeles Directory Co.’s Los Angeles City Directory, 1936*, 1453; *Los Angeles Directory Co.’s Los Angeles City Directory, 1939*, 1664; *Los Angeles Directory Co.’s Los Angeles City Directory, 1942*, 1920.
- 183 See “Health Drive Opens on Eating Places,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 8, 1939, 10, ProQuest; Bob Plunkett, “Physicians, Nurses, Health Officials to Consider Problems,” *Southern California Daily Trojan*, June 15, 1936, 4, <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/digital/collection/p15799coll104/id/50501>. Accessed March 9, 2020.
- 184 “Food Handlers’ School Will Start Nov. 18,” *Long Beach Independent*, November 2, 1947, 43, NewspaperARCHIVE.com. Accessed April 13, 2016.
- 185 For this connection between the Housing Authority and the Bureau of Housing and Sanitation, see Lewthwaite, *Race, Place, and Reform*, 196; Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, Work Projects Administration, and Williamson, *Housing Survey*, 5–6.
- 186 Bureau of Housing and Sanitation and M.S. Siegel, *Pictorial Representations of Some Poor Housing Conditions in the City of Los Angeles*, box 1, Poor Housing Conditions in Los Angeles Scrapbook, 1938, Special Collections and Archives, Oviatt Library. On the scrapbook’s connections to the report, see Jones, “Poor Housing Conditions.” See a note about the connections to the report also in Wyse, “Slum Neighborhoods.” For the report, see “Report of Slum Conditions (Reasons for the Inauguration of Low Cost Public Housing), 1938,” box 1, folder 34, Los Angeles Department of Health Bulletin Collection. On the Los Angeles County Health Department’s and other groups’ surveying and photographing of the city’s lowest-income neighborhoods in the late 1930s, see also Lewthwaite, *Race, Place, and Reform*, 193–196. On Siegel’s work and its connections to the Housing Authority, see *ibid.*, 195–196.
- 187 See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, Work Projects Administration, and Williamson, *Housing Survey*, 1.
- 188 See Lewthwaite, *Race, Place, and Reform*, 196; Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, Work Projects Administration, and Williamson, *Housing Survey*, 5–6.
- 189 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, untitled memo, June 6, 1939, 5.
- 190 See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Third Annual Report*, n.p.
- 191 See Antosh, “Canoga Park High School”; Gomez-Ramirez, “International Concert Artist Competition”; Medina, “CSUN’s Ethnic Studies Programs.”
- 192 Wyse, “Slum Neighborhoods.”
- 193 Morton, “Observations from the Interface,” 244.
- 194 Wilder, “Not One but Many,” 387.
- 195 See chapter 4 of this study regarding Bauer’s interest in housing as a regional subject.
- 196 The author’s thanks extend to Laura Diamond Dixit for drawing her attention to this project. See Dimendberg and Sekula, “Allan Sekula,” 39. The exhibition ran from April 14, 2005 to May 29, 2005. See “Facing the Music.”
- 197 Dimendberg and Sekula, “Allan Sekula,” 39.

- 198 Ibid., 40–41.
- 199 Ibid., 40.
- 200 Ibid., 43. On the “Americanness” of documentary photography, see Gockel, introduction to *American Photography*, xiii. In the companion publication to the project, finalized posthumously by Sekula’s team, the architect and historian Laura Diamond Dixit dedicated a chapter to Nadel and his photography for the Housing Authority and the later Community Redevelopment Agency. See Diamond Dixit, “Leonard Nadel.” See also Diamond Dixit’s award-winning bachelor thesis, Diamond, “Demolished and Rebuilt Communities.”
- 201 See “About Photo Friends.”
- 202 See, for example, “Bunker Hill”; Rice et al., *Bunker Hill*. For a blog post featuring photographs in the Housing Authority collection, see, for example, Boba, “Far and Near”; Murphy, “Small Town.”
- 203 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles Photograph Collection. See the online listing at “Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles Photograph Collection.” See also “About OAC.”
- 204 Artstor provided funding for the digitization of part of Shulman’s collection in 2010. The National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) funded the digitization of parts of both Shulman’s and Nadel’s collections between 2011 and 2013. See Leonard Nadel photographs. See also Julius Shulman photography archive.
- 205 Otto Rothschild’s archive, including his studio’s photographs for the Housing Authority, remains to be digitized at the time of the writing of this study. See several negatives of Housing Authority subject matter filed under “H” in box 445, Otto Rothschild Photographic Archive.
- 206 Regarding the creation of the prints at the Los Angeles Public Library, see a description of this acquisition in the introduction to this study. The author’s thanks extend to photo librarian Christina Rice for alerting her to the history of the Los Angeles Public Library’s Housing Authority photographs and providing her with copies of correspondence detailing the acquisition. See Carolyn Kozo to Joseph Shuldinger [sic], August 24, 1990, n.p. and Joseph Shuldiner to Carolyn Kozo, September 20, 1990, in the Photo Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.
- 207 Esther Lewittes Mipaas’s daughter, Judith Hibbard-Mipaas, was in possession of this collection until she entrusted the author of the present study with its care. See “Esther Lewittes Mipaas.”

2 SURVEYING THE HOUSING FRONT

- 1 Kelsey, *Archive Style*, 21, 24, 43–49. See also a consideration of the transnational impetus and audience for survey photography in Brunet, “Photographic Policies,” 17–18, 25, 27–29. Robin Kelsey also compares techniques adopted in the wartime art photography of Frederick Sommer to World War II aerial survey photography. See Kelsey, “Wartime Decompositions,” 211–218.
- 2 Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 14, 75, 77. See also Otxotorena, “La llegada,” 8–9.
- 3 Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 75, 77, 113, 115, 123, 125. Alcolea argues that Luckhaus created compositions which drew viewers’ attention to unique or innovative features of modern architecture while also underscoring the modern notion of architecture as an industrial art (ibid., 97, 99, 123). On the transatlantic dimensions of Luckhaus’s and Neutra’s work, see also Otxotorena, “La llegada,” 8.
- 4 Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 95, 99, 119, 123, 137, 143.

- 5 Ibid., 143.
- 6 Kelsey, *Archive Style*, 24–26.
- 7 This account of Luckhaus's life and career can be compared to Alcolea's, which does not establish Luckhaus's birth abroad, but nonetheless similarly traces Luckhaus's activity to Denver. Alcolea further traces Luckhaus's activity to Berkeley and San Francisco. See Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 85, 87, 89. For the sources of the biographic information imparted here, see "United States Passport Applications," entry for Arthur Luckhaus; "Baptismal Records for St. John the Evangelist," 155; "1881 England & Wales Census," entry for Arthur Luckhaus, Toxteth Park, Lancashire, England; "England & Wales, Birth Index," entry for Paul Adolph A. Luckhaus, St. George Hanover Square, London, England; "1910 United States Federal Census," entry for Arthur Luckhaus, Precinct 6, Arapahoe, Colorado; "1910 United States Federal Census," entries for August Luckhaus and Clara Luckhaus, Precinct 16, Pueblo, Colorado; "1920 United States Federal Census," entry for Arthur Luckhaus, Denver City, Denver, Colorado; "1930 United States Federal Census," entry for Arthur P. Luckhaus, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California.
- 8 See "Baptismal Records for St. John the Evangelist," 155; "1930 United States Federal Census," entries for Gertrude E. Carpenter and Clara Luckhaus, Beverly Hills, Los Angeles, California.
- 9 See, for example, "High-Class Photography, August Luckhaus," *Falkirk Herald*, October 4, 1884, 1, BritishNewspaperArchive.co.uk. Accessed April 30, 2020.
- 10 See "1910 United States Federal Census," entries for August Luckhaus and Clara Luckhaus, Precinct 6, Arapahoe, Colorado; "Blende Homestead Patent."
- 11 See Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 87, 89.
- 12 See *Ballenger and Richards Forty-First Annual Denver Directory 1913*, 1216; *Ballenger and Richards Forty-Third Annual Denver Directory*, 1216; "August Luckhaus Dies," *Pueblo Indicator*, April 12, 1913, 1, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=6CdnHuKHxIC&dat=19130412&printsec=frontpage&hl=en>. Accessed March 7, 2020.
- 13 On Luckhaus's work as a newsagent, see *Forty-Eighth Year Ballenger and Richards Denver Directory*, 1460; *Fifty-First Year Ballenger and Richards Denver Directory*, 1486. On Luckhaus's residence in Denver, see also "1920 United States Federal Census," entry for Arthur Luckhaus, Denver City, Denver, Colorado.
- 14 On Luckhaus's company affiliation, see Alves, "Sgt Arthur P Luckhaus." On the job of these Engineers, see Engineer School, United States Army, *Stations of Engineer Units*, 121. Alcolea similarly follows Luckhaus's career through the First World War even though this experience figures less prominently in his argument. See Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 89.
- 15 See Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 95 and compare to *ibid.*, 89. In 1926, Luckhaus occupied both 2716 West Seventh Street and 2719 West Seventh Street. See *Los Angeles Directory Co.'s Los Angeles City Directory, 1926*, 1335, 2344. By 1934, Luckhaus appears to have lived in and worked out of 2716 West Seventh Street. See *Los Angeles Directory Co.'s Los Angeles City Directory, 1934*, 1051, 2579; *Los Angeles Directory Co.'s Los Angeles City Directory, 1936*, 1136; *Los Angeles Directory Co.'s Los Angeles City Directory, 1938*, 1280, 2535; *Los Angeles Directory Co.'s Los Angeles City Directory, 1939*, 1296; 2550; *Los Angeles Directory Co.'s Los Angeles City Directory, 1942*, 1491, 2829. By 1956 at the latest, Luckhaus moved around the corner to 706 South Hoover Street. See *Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company*, 374. For a citation of the city directories in determining the years of operation of Luckhaus's photography business, see "Collection Guide." The

Natural History Museum's finding aid limits the operation of the studio to the years 1926 through 1942.

- 16 On Los Angeles's boosterism, see Dinces, "Padres on Mount Olympus"; Davis, *City of Quartz*, 22, 24–30, 32; Ovnick, *Los Angeles*, 69–132; Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 64–98.
- 17 "Pacific International Photographers' Association," 346.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Alcolea acknowledges the growth of photographic clubs in California during the early twentieth century, but their involvement in the promotion of health tourism to the region remains a minor part of his arguments about Luckhaus. See Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 79, 81, 83. More important to Alcolea's study is Luckhaus's arrival in California when the growing industries of the 1930s such as air travel and oil needed photographers to promote their businesses (ibid., 79, 85).
- 20 Luckhaus also appears to have worked in partnership with a person by the name of Hoffman starting around 1940. See "Collection Guide." See also Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 95. One of the early appearances of the name "Luckhaus Studio" is in the credit for a photograph of a portrait painting by Neale Ordayne. See "Art of Three Nations," *Los Angeles Times*, November 7, 1926, I5, ProQuest. See further credits in "Art and Life," *Los Angeles Times*, December 25, 1927, I5, ProQuest.
- 21 See "Photographers Name Meriman President," *Los Angeles Times*, June 23, 1926, A13, ProQuest.
- 22 For one of many contemporary press summaries of the activities of the Southern California Camera Club, see van Oosting, "Southern California Club." On the connections between Luckhaus, Pictorialism, and the California Camera Club as well as Pictorialism in California in general, see Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 79, 81, 83, 85, 105.
- 23 "Commercial Photographers' Association [Photo]," 127.
- 24 "Photographers Name Meriman President." See also a very similar report in Blumann, "Commercial Photographers' Association," 393.
- 25 Blumann, "Photographers of Los Angeles," 593.
- 26 See "Current Art Expositions," *Los Angeles Times*, July 20, 1930, B12, ProQuest.
- 27 See *Los Angeles Directory Co.'s Los Angeles City Directory, 1932*, 297.
- 28 See *Los Angeles City Directory, 1938*, 2019.
- 29 See "1930 United States Federal Census," entry for Margarete [sic] Luckhaus, Los Angeles, California; "1940 United States Federal Census," entry for Margaret M. Luckhaus, Los Angeles, California.
- 30 According to the Los Angeles Public Library's notes included with the digitized versions of many of Luckhaus's photographs, the Los Angeles-based photographer Ralph Morris acquired many of Luckhaus Studio's photographs in 1939, just two years prior to when the Studio started working for the Housing Authority. This search was conducted in "Photo Collection," Tessa: Digital Collections of the Los Angeles Public Library.
- 31 A further challenge to reading Luckhaus's portfolio is with regards to the reliability of dates. The Los Angeles Public Library's records often date the photographs to the same year that the portrayed buildings were constructed, while only occasionally specifying the "photo date." At the time this study was written, the library's policy allowed for consultation of physical photographs mainly in cases where no digital record existed. This study thus relies on the digital records and in accordance with the library's policy did not entail a cross-check of online catalogue entries with markings on the physical object.
- 32 On the predominance of photographs of large buildings in extant photographs attributed to Luckhaus, see Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 103.

- 33 Ibid, 95–101, especially 101, 102 (images), 115, 123. Alcolea describes select compositions as “claramente derivado de la representación de arquitectura a través de la perspectiva de dos puntos de fuga,” or “clearly derived from the representation of architecture through two-point perspective” (ibid., 101, trans. N.K.O.).
- 34 See Leet and Neutra, *Richard Neutra’s Miller House*, 185n16.
- 35 Alcolea also notes that Luckhaus’s photographs were instrumental in promoting Neutra’s architecture in Europe. See Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 115. For a detailed account of Luckhaus’s work for Neutra, see ibid., 113–133.
- 36 This section builds on Alcolea’s observations of the international circulation of Luckhaus’s photographs and citations of Luckhaus’s works in later histories of Neutra’s architecture by establishing concrete instances in their circulation in the 1940s and notable archives which currently hold prints. See ibid., 113–117.
- 37 Mock, *Built in USA*, 4, 72–73. For similar observations on the legacy of Shulman and the importance of Luckhaus’s photographs in the international promotion of Neutra’s architecture, see Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 75, 115–117.
- 38 Neutra, “Sea-Land Transfer,” 75, 86–87.
- 39 Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 113, 115.
- 40 Persitz, “L’ecole,” 26.
- 41 The studio stamped the prints with its insignia on the verso. See Luckhaus Studio, Experimental Public School for the Los Angeles Board of Education with classrooms opening into garden space by 16’ wide sliding glass partition, undated, black and white photographic print, 9.1 × 5.6 in., school designed by Richard J. Neutra, Gregory Ain, Peter Pfisterer, and Howard Smits, 42-x-106, gta Archives / ETH Zurich (CIAM Archive); Luckhaus Studio, School, undated, black and white photographic print, 9.3 × 5.4 in., School designed by Richard J. Neutra. 42-X-108, gta Archives / ETH Zurich (CIAM Archive).
- 42 On the “great man” paradigm, see Gockel, “More Than Genius”; Riggs, “Photography and Antiquity,” 276.
- 43 On Shulman’s prominence in the archive and publications and for a comparison of Shulman’s and Luckhaus’s photographic styles, see Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 75, 113, 115, 117, 119, 125, 129, 130 (images), 133, 142 (images). For works about Shulman, see Lubell, “Julius Shulman”; Alexander, *Julius Shulman’s Los Angeles*; Bricker, *Visual Acoustics*.
- 44 See Crosse, “First Published Architectural Photograph.” Crosse identifies *Architectural Forum’s* use of both a Luckhaus and a Shulman photograph of Neutra’s Plywood Demonstration House for the 1936 California House and Garden Exhibition in the same article. For this article, see “Exhibition House Group.”
- 45 See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p.
- 46 Ibid. The Housing Authority’s crediting of Arthur Luckhaus by using his first and last name rather than the studio’s name offers a strong indication that the founder was still working in the early 1940s. Other sources indicate that Luckhaus sold his photography business to the photographer Robert Morris in 1939. See, for example, Rabe, “Welcoming Summer.”
- 47 See Julius Shulman, Untitled diary, 1943, box 5, folder 6, Julius Shulman photography archive.
- 48 Sam Lubell observes that Shulman is remembered more for his photographs of modern architecture for magazines than any of his other work. See Lubell, “Julius Shulman,” 25.

- 49 Further sales to the Housing Authority that year included the job described as “2 Pueblo” for five dollars and another job in September for seventy-three dollars and ninety-five cents. See Julius Shulman, Untitled diary, 1943. On the population of Black residents at Pueblo del Rio, see, for example, Parson, *Making a Better World*, 70, table 4.
- 50 Shulman, oral history interview. Similar observations on Luckhaus’s approach to photography can be read in Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 103, 115. Alcolea also cites a separate instance in which Shulman criticized Luckhaus in an interview with photographer Mark Edward Harris. See Shulman, “A Conversation,” iii, as cited in Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 115n101.
- 51 Alcolea argues that Luckhaus’s “rigor metódico” (“methodic rigor”) was essential to photographing the construction of Aliso Village. Luckhaus labeled his photographs of the Housing Authority’s construction site, according to Alcolea, “so that they may later be presented to the general public under the slogan ‘before and after’” (“para que pudieran ser presentadas después al gran público bajo el eslogan de ‘antes y después’”). Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 133, 143 (trans. N.K.O.).
- 52 Modifications to the original Housing Act of 1937 allowed war workers to qualify for public housing. See Parson, *Making a Better World*, 47. See also Commissioner Nicola Giulii to Mayor Fletcher Bowron, July 1, 1942, printed in Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p. For the Housing Authority’s description of its wartime operations, see Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p.
- 53 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 On Roger C. Johnson’s career in housing, see, for example, Parson, *Making a Better World*, 32, 38, 51, 62, 65, 66–67, 78.
- 57 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p. On the splash pool in photographs by Julius Shulman, see Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 143.
- 58 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Bear and Palmer Albers, “Photography’s Time Zones,” 2. See also discussions of before-and-after photographs in Avery, “Campaign for Public Housing,” chap. 1.3, and in reference to the work of the Chicago Housing Authority in Hunt, Ens Dorf, and Pilat, “Promise of Public Housing,” 115.
- 63 Ibid., 4–5.
- 64 Ibid., 2–3.
- 65 Ibid., 4.
- 66 Dougherty, “Washington Lumber News Letter,” *Southern Lumberman*, June 15, 1941, 23. See also an earlier use in Dougherty, “Washington Lumber News Letter,” *Southern Lumberman*, February 1, 1941, 24.
- 67 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Write Tom Allbeson and Pippa Oldfield, “we cannot adequately understand the function and position of photography in wartime visuality if we consider only indi-

- vidual producers or exceptional images." Allbeson and Oldfield, "War, Photography, Business," 97.
- 71 Ibid., 98. Cited in Allbeson and Oldfield's article are Hevia, "Photography Complex," 81; Edwards, *Making of English Photography*, 1–2. See Allbeson and Oldfield, "War, Photography, Business," 99, 100–101. The author thanks Kelley Wilder for first bringing Hevia's work to her attention. See also Wilder's note regarding Hevia's concept of the "photography complex" in Wilder, "Not One but Many," 383n36.
- 72 See Wilson, "Creation of the Photojournalist"; Nelson, "Politics of War."
- 73 Allbeson and Oldfield, "War, Photography, Business," 103–104.
- 74 See Clark, *American Expeditionary Force*, 318; Browne and Pillsbury, *American Army*, 284–285.
- 75 Parsons, *American Engineers in France*, 235–236.
- 76 The unit printed 327 thousand copies of maps in a matter of two weeks for the First American Army in preparation for the Saint-Mihiel offensive. By the time of the Twenty-Ninth Engineers' return to civilian life in the summer of 1919, they had fulfilled 4,497 orders totaling over 15 million "impressions," of which about 9.3 million were maps. See Parsons, *American Engineers in France*, 234, 242–243. Parsons's fears that the Twenty-Ninth Engineers would be celebrated as printers were realized. See, for example, the brief celebratory history of the printers among the Twenty-Ninth Engineers in United States Government Printing Office, *Keeping America Informed*, 50–51. Compare this history to the current state of the archive: records show that forty-eight of the Twenty-Ninth Engineers' maps produced between 1917 and 1919, many of which are topographic surveys, are preserved in the National Archives along with over twenty-two thousand photographs associated with the American Expeditionary Forces. See Matchette et al., "American Expeditionary Forces."
- 77 "Photographer of War Fame Settles Down: Arthur Luckhaus Operates Studio in Hollywood, Quits Adventuring," *El Paso Herald-Post*, November 10, 1931, 14, NewspaperARCHIVE.com.
- 78 For a study of the figure of the war photographer in the news as a strategy for establishing photography as journalism prior to World War I, see Gervais, "'Greatest of War Photographers.'"
- 79 Hammett, "'It's in the Blood,'" 345.
- 80 See Catherine Bauer, "Housing in War and Peace," n.d., carton 15, folder 39 "Guest Lectures, Mills College Lectures, Course Outlines, Reading Lists, 1942, 1953," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. See also Catherine Bauer to Catherine [Henck], July 29, 1942 and Catherine Bauer to "Warren," August 6, 1942, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Aug. 1942," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 81 For one of the sources Bauer consulted on World War I housing, see Hubbard, *United States Housing Corporation*, as cited in Bauer, *Modern Housing*, 323.
- 82 See Hubbard, *United States Housing Corporation*, 90, 379.
- 83 Council of National Defense, Advisory Commission, "Defense Housing," 4.
- 84 "Solution for Defense Housing Problem Near: Homes Registration Service Established by Officials and Business Leaders Here," *Los Angeles Times*, March 1, 1942, 26, ProQuest.
- 85 See Harold M. Finley, "Housing Facts Needed to Fit Real Needs," *Los Angeles Times*, November 6, 1941, A4, ProQuest.
- 86 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p. For a comprehensive study of this culture of planning for after the war that emerged in the United States in the 1940s, see Shanken, *194X*. On the Housing Authority's wartime work, see Parson, *Making a Better World*, 47, 51.

- 87 See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p. See also Parson, *Making a Better World*, 47, 51.
- 88 For a summary description of the bravery that characterizes this figure, see Wilson, "Creation of the Photojournalist," 133–134.
- 89 Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 143.
- 90 See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p. On the percentage of housing residents who were Black, see Parson, *Making a Better World*, 70, table 4.
- 91 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p.
- 92 Ibid. On the contemporary designation of part-industrial, part-residential areas as "blight," see Cuff, "Fugitive Plans," 110. The author thanks Eliane de Larminat for a helpful distinction between slums and blight.
- 93 The numbers of the developments do not strictly indicate the order of groundbreaking or completion. See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *A Decent Home*, 28–31. See also Parson, *Making a Better World*, 34–35, table 1.
- 94 On the apparent "documentary" versus "publicity purposes" of the Housing Authority photographs at the Los Angeles Public Library, see Moga, "Projects and Slums," 30.
- 95 Ibid., 45.
- 96 Bear and Albers, "Photography's Time Zones," 2. See also a discussion of the "antes y después" ("before-and-after") formula with respect to Luckhaus's construction photographs of Aliso Village in Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 143 (trans. N.K.O.).
- 97 On compositional conventions and common content of slum photographs, see Moga, "Projects and Slums," 45–55.
- 98 The Housing Authority later reported in the 1942 annual report that this neighborhood which Pueblo del Rio was to displace was not entirely commensurate with the definition of bad housing. Of the 246 "structures," the Housing Authority deemed 207 "substandard." Nothing in either the report of the previous year or *Homes for Heroes* suggested that the structures that met standards were relocated. See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Third Annual Report*, n.p. On Frank Wilkinson's recollection of the evaluation and relocation of homes, see Cuff, "Fugitive Plans," 110, 112.
- 99 See Moga, "Projects and Slums," 31–32, 45; Alcolea, *Picnic de pioneros*, 143.
- 100 The Housing Authority reported that Pueblo del Rio was "95 percent completed" by the end of June 1942, and indeed, the photograph from earlier that month showed the project still under construction, with materials piled haphazardly on the ground and windows still in need of glass. See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p.
- 101 See, for example, a reading of the survey photographs of Timothy O'Sullivan in Kelsey, *Archive Style*, 136–141.
- 102 Ibid., 1, 13.
- 103 Ibid., 24–25, 54.
- 104 See, for example, Moga, "Projects and Slums," 52.
- 105 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p.
- 106 See Carlock, *Military Topography and Photography*, 102. According to Carlock, sketching for mapmaking remained a required skill for United States military officers (ibid., 38).
- 107 Ibid., 102.
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 Alario, "Modern Mapping."
- 110 Ibid. See also Collier, "Land and Air Survey," 159.
- 111 Carlock, *Military Topography and Photography*, 109; Bouchard, *Surveying*, 312.

- 112 On the definition of a “panorama,” see Bouchard, *Surveying*, 312.
- 113 See Carlock, *Military Topography and Photography*, 104; Bouchard, *Surveying*, 314.
- 114 See Carlock, 102–104; Bouchard, 312.
- 115 On the use of elevated stations in “reconnaissance” work, see, for example, Carlock, 56. On the importance of noting elevation, see Bouchard, 312.
- 116 See Carlock, 382.
- 117 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Third Annual Report*, n.p.
- 118 “Advertisement for Bids,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 12, 1941, 10, ProQuest.
- 119 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Third Annual Report*, n.p.
- 120 A committee of the American Institute of Architects submitted a “schedule of fees for architectural services on housing projects” to USHA administrator Nathan Straus in 1938. The committee likewise requested architects’ involvement in overseeing housing construction. See “Institute of Architects Sets Housing Service Fees,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 31, 1938, 14, ProQuest.
- 121 For references to “No Man’s Land” (capitalization in original), see Hinman, *Ranging in France*, especially 69, 104–105, unnumbered plate after 144, 159.
- 122 *Ibid.*, xiii–xiv.
- 123 *Ibid.*, unnumbered plate after 144.
- 124 Studies of First World War topographic photography tend to emphasize aerial photography, leaving much research to be done on photographs taken for the purposes of mapping terrain from points on the ground. For admirable studies of aerial photography and the history of planning in France, see the essays in Haffner, *View from Above*.
- 125 See, for example, Nelson, “Politics of War,” 115–116, 123–130.
- 126 See here especially the essays in Dorrian and Pousin, *Seeing from Above*; Haffner, *View from Above*.
- 127 This assertion draws on observations in Wilder, “Photography, Politics,” 206–207. For a study that considers international exchanges in developing photogrammetric methods, see, for example, Collier, “Land and Air Survey,” 155, 157–159, 161–163, 167.
- 128 See Alario, “Modern Mapping.”
- 129 See Court, “Picturing History,” 72–74. Recent critical publications include, for example, Bürgschwentner, Egger, and Barth-Scalmani, *Other Fronts, Other Wars?*; Paddock, *World War I*; Thomas, *Persuasive Power of Photography*.
- 130 See the entry for Arthur Luckhaus in “United States World War II Draft Registration Cards.”
- 131 This registration did not mean Luckhaus would serve; rather, he simply counted in the United States’ measurement of its “manpower.” See National Archives and Records Administration, “Selective Service Draft Cards.” On the registration as a non-military service registration, see also Hale, *Selective Service Process*, 39. By 1942, amendments to the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 would have made it impossible for the United States government to force Luckhaus to serve (*ibid.*, 34).
- 132 Alves, “Sgt Arthur P Luckhaus.”

3 PHOTOGRAPHY FOR HOUSING REPORTS AND EXHIBITS

- 1 On the postwar arguments citing the economics of public housing, see, for example, Parson, *Making a Better World*, 141; Cuff, *Provisional City*, 199; Moga, "Projects and Slums," 41.
- 2 On the history of the Berkeley doctoral student Miriam Roher's early 1940s research into the ineffectiveness of annual reports, including a mention of her positive review of the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles's *Homes for Heroes*, see Lee, "Empirical Experiments," 252, 259. For the annual report, see California Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*.
- 3 These points can be compared to Jennifer L. Roberts's research into the "delegatory function" of pictures in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America and painters' registration of the concerns and constraints of transit in their work. See Roberts, *Transporting Visions*, 3. On the role of photography in garnering support for the Chicago Housing Authority, see Hunt, Ens Dorf, and Pilat, "Promise of Public Housing," especially 118–120.
- 4 Hein, "Urban Planning," 882. See also, for example, Amati and Freestone, "Trans-National Promotion," 376.
- 5 Hein notes that the solicitation of public opinion took place mainly in countries that "aim[ed] to promote democratic participation" in planning. See Hein "Urban Planning," 886. Compare to a discussion of exhibitions' "tokenism" in Larkham and Lilley, "Exhibiting the City," 651, 662–663.
- 6 Hein, "Urban Planning," 886–887.
- 7 Amati and Freestone, "Trans-National Promotion," 382.
- 8 As planning historian Scott Colman observes, there was "no distinction between self-promotion and the promotion of planning as such." See Colman, "Promoting the New City," 114. The author thanks Kelley Wilder for pointing out this ultimate aim of the Housing Authority's circulation of its own photographs.
- 9 Hein, "Urban Planning," 882, 886–888.
- 10 The methods by which exhibitions educated their publics or showcased planning visions indicate historical assumptions that informed the role of planning professionals in shaping the views of policy makers and members of various stakeholder groups. See Freestone, "Exhibition as a Lens," 434, 436–437.
- 11 On these sources and the "ephemerality" of exhibitions, see Larkham and Lilley, "Exhibiting the City," 647, 650–651, 654–655.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 654–655.
- 13 Larkham and Lilley further discuss the "tokenism" of planning exhibitions and how experts may have viewed their publics as "consumers." See *ibid.*, 649, 651, 662–663.
- 14 See Amati and Freestone, "Trans-National Promotion," 372; Gold, "Exhibiting the Planned City," 84–85; Wagner, "Facilitating Planning Communication," 302, 305. See also, for example, Wagner, *Stadtplanung für die Welt?*, chap. 2.3.1, 228, 291–292, 293, fig. 21.
- 15 See Hein, "Museum of Modern Art," 248–249, 257. Amati and Freestone place the travelling postwar exhibitions of the British Council and Office of War Information within a broader "exhibition culture" of the 1940s forged in no small part by the exhibition designers. See Amati and Freestone, "Trans-National Promotion," 372.
- 16 Amati and Freestone, "Trans-National Promotion," 370. See also Hein, "Museum of Modern Art," 249, 253–254, 257; Hein, "Urban Planning," 886–887.

- 17 Amati and Freestone draw on Joseph Nye's concept of "soft power," which they translate as "peacetime battles to win hearts and minds." See Nye, *Soft Power*, 5, as referenced in Amati and Freestone, "Trans-National Promotion," 371–373, 381.
- 18 Freestone and Amati, "Town Planning Exhibitions," 1. See also Hein, "Urban Planning," 886.
- 19 See, for example, Amati, "Engagement and Exhibitionism," 150, 159–160. See also Lugon, "Ubiquitous Exhibition," 126–127; Wagner, "Facilitating Planning Communication," 303; Larkham, "Visions," xvi–xvii; Shanken, *194X*, 26.
- 20 Whyte, "Otto Neurath," 18–20, 22–23.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 23–24; Wagner, "Facilitating Planning Communication," 303. Compare to Freestone, "Exhibition as a Lens," 435–437.
- 22 In reference to the notion of a "planning gaze," Freestone cites the following works: Hewitt, "Survey of Greater London"; Hinchcliffe, "Aerial Photography"; Söderström, "Paper Cities," 249–281. These sources are cited in Freestone, "Exhibition as a Lens," 435, 443n13.
- 23 Freestone, "Exhibition as a Lens," 433.
- 24 Stange, "Jacob Riis." Stange is referenced in Freestone, "Exhibition as a Lens," 436.
- 25 Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life*, 1, 26; Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*.
- 26 Freestone, "Exhibition as a Lens," 433–434, 437, 439–440, 442.
- 27 While Larkham reprints the pamphlets from cover to cover, he does so in black and white although his accompanying essay indicates that the original version of the *When We Build Again* publication included color. See Larkham, "Visions," xvi, xxi. The reprinted materials include the following: Bournville Village Trust (Birmingham) and Research Department, *When We Build Again*; Cadbury, *Birmingham—Fifty Years On*. See facsimiles of the first editions with an introduction by Larkham in Larkham and Bournville Village Trust, *When We Build Again*.
- 28 Bauer, *Modern Housing*, 90. See also Larkham, "Visions," xiii.
- 29 Bournville Village Trust (Birmingham) and Research Department, *When We Build Again*.
- 30 Larkham, "Visions," xiv–xvii.
- 31 *Ibid.*, xix. Building on recent scholarship and his own archival findings, Larkham points out that negatives in these archives suggest that Bill Brandt, one of Britain's most celebrated photographers, produced photographs for the Trust from 1939 to 1943. Larkham cites the following authors who contributed to the study of Brandt's photographic work for the Trust: James, "Reconstruction Work"; Chris Arnot, "Living in Hope," *The Guardian*, May 4, 2004, sec. Society, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2004/may/05/housingpolicy.guardiansocietysupplement>. Accessed March 7, 2020. See citations in Larkham, "Visions," xvii.
- 32 See Hein, "Museum of Modern Art," 252.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 254. Compare to a discussion of planning as a "secondary concern" at the Museum of Modern Art in Colman, "Promoting the New City," 114. As Freestone and Amati point out in their study of the US OWI's *US Housing in War and Peace*, the Museum of Modern Art's shows "did not emphasise models of current and future planning schemes but rather completed projects depicted artistically. The takeaway was the documentation of American achievement rather than the illustration of a process." See Amati and Freestone, "Trans-National Promotion," 382.
- 34 See Hein, "Museum of Modern Art," 249. See also Sarah Newmeyer to City Editors, Art Editors, Feature Editors, Garden Editors, Recreation Editors, March 21, 1944, https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_325430.pdf. Accessed March 9, 2020.

- 35 “Prominent Speakers at Preview of Neighborhood Planning Exhibition at Museum of Modern Art,” 44325-11:1. MoMA Archives CE II. 1.72.2.1, as cited in Hein, “Museum of Modern Art,” 252, 258n12. See also Newmeyer to City Editors, March 21, 1944.
- 36 See Hein, “Museum of Modern Art,” 249, 253. On the advantages of panels over models in the circulation of housing designs, see Avery, “Campaign for Public Housing,” 102.
- 37 Lugon, “Ubiquitous Exhibition,” 127–128. While Freestone and Amati also acknowledge the influence of picture magazines and specifically *Life* on the profuse use of photography in housing exhibitions in the United States and the United Kingdom, Lugon’s research reveals a historically farther-reaching connection grounded in technology and creative processes. See Amati and Freestone, “Trans-National Promotion,” 377.
- 38 Lugon, “Ubiquitous Exhibition,” 123. Lugon also cites Lugon, “Photography of the Typographers”; Lugon, “La photographie des typographes.” These sources are referenced in Lugon, “Ubiquitous Exhibition,” 123n1.
- 39 Lugon, “Ubiquitous Exhibition,” 123; Lugon, “La photographie des typographes.” On these tendencies in exhibition design, see also Phillips, “Steichen’s ‘Road to Victory,’” 375. See furthermore Pohlmann, “El Lissitzky’s Exhibition Designs,” 183. See also Lugon’s reference to “the ‘meta-medium’ of print and its various forms,” in Lugon, “Cinema Flipped Through,” 144. Note Laurent Guido and Olivier Lugon’s reference to “the major role of ‘all-encompassing’ media that make the circulation of images possible: the book, the exhibition, the projection or...the film strip itself!” in Guido and Lugon, introduction to *Still and Moving Images*, 5.
- 40 Lugon, “Ubiquitous Exhibition,” 128, 134. In examining these developments, at stake for Lugon, finally, is the “question of the very function of exhibitions in an era of infinite reproducibility, and of exhibitions of photography in particular” (ibid., 124). Lugon also references the “serious threat” of the multiple exhibitions to Beaumont and Nancy Newhall’s idea of “photographic prints as unique works of art, and their department as a kind of shrine of exceptional objects” (ibid., 139).
- 41 See Riboldazzi, “IFHTP Congresses,” 164. On the pre–World War II work of the IFHTP, see also Riboldazzi, *Un’altra modernità*.
- 42 What began as the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association under Ebenezer Howard in 1913 changed its name at the Vienna Congress of 1926 to the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, or IFHTP, but maintained many of the same values and aims. See Riboldazzi, “IFHTP Congresses,” 159–160.
- 43 Ibid., 160. See also the outline of congress topics in ibid., 164–166.
- 44 Ibid., 163.
- 45 Ibid., 163.
- 46 Ibid., 161–164.
- 47 “Exhibit Entry by City Urged: Representation Advocated at Berlin Show; Move Launched to Interest Civic Associations; International Exposition Plans Announced,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 11, 1930, D4, ProQuest.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Hein, “Urban Planning,” 886.
- 50 “Exhibit Entry.”
- 51 These words echoed those printed in the *New York Times* upon the arrival in New York City of event officials from Berlin who were in search of exhibition participants. Quoting Dr. Bodo Ronnefeld, the *New York Times* noted that ““The sponsors are determined to discourage commercialization of the enterprise, and with that purpose in mind intend to concentrate largely on exhibits of an official and civic character.”” See

- "Aid Berlin for Building Show: American Cities to be Represented in International Housing Exposition; Study Planning Methods; German Officials in New York to Foster Interest in 1931 Exhibition," *New York Times*, April 27, 1930, sec. Real Estate, 172, ProQuest.
- 52 On the boosterism in connection with the Olympiad, see Dinces, "Padres on Mount Olympus." On Los Angeles's boosterism in general, see also Davis, *City of Quartz*, 22, 24–30, 32; Ovnick, *Los Angeles*, 69–132; Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 64–98.
- 53 Riboldazzi, "IFHTP Congresses," 166.
- 54 See International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, *Congress, Berlin 1931*, vol. 2, *Programme and General Reports*, 5.
- 55 Part of the plan for the exhibition was that it should coincide with other congresses. See Koeppen, "Internationale Ausstellung," 291; Wagner, "Eine Studie," 36. For photographs and a description of the realized plan, see Hegemann, "Die Berliner Bauausstellung."
- 56 See International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, *Congress, Berlin, 1931*, vol. 3, *Report*, 8.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 3, 31, 110; International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, *Congress, Berlin, 1931*, vol. 2, *Programme and General Reports*, 2.
- 58 Schumann, *Deutsche Bauausstellung, Berlin 1931*, 61; International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, *Congress, Berlin, 1931*, vol. 3, *Report*, 8; Wischek, "Die 'Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin,'" 42.
- 59 On Aronovici's work in Pacific Palisades, see Aronovici, "Zoning and the Home," 145. For a record of Aronovici's participation, see International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, *Congress, Berlin, 1931*, vol. 3, *Report*, 128.
- 60 See International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, *Congress, Berlin 1931*, vol. 3, *Report*, 127–138.
- 61 Charles C. Cohan, "Federation to Be Invited Here: International Housing and Planning Meet Sought; Bid for Next Year's Session Expected to Bring 1000; New Ideas in Construction Due to Be Presented," *Los Angeles Times*, May 24, 1931, D4, ProQuest. The Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission produced an official object—an invitation in "artistic leather binding" with "a cover design, typifying the pioneer West, executed by Ferd E. Gram, staff artist," according to the *Times* report. Although Mayor Porter's name did not appear among the conference delegates, the *Times* reported that the mayor of Los Angeles absconded to Berlin to present the invitation, himself. See "Son Explains Porter A.W.O.L. Trip to Berlin," *Los Angeles Times*, June 16, 1931, A2, ProQuest. The author's attention was brought to the invitation cover by the mention of a poster in Dinces, "Padres on Mount Olympus," 143, 160n35.
- 62 International Federation for Housing and Town Planning and Nolan, "Final Assembly," 126.
- 63 This delegate was the landscape architect of the Regional Planning Commission of Los Angeles County, Werner Ruchti. See "Representative for Conference Named," *Los Angeles Times*, January 31, 1932, D4, ProQuest; International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, *Congress, London 1935*, vol. 2, *Report*, 168. On Ruchti's profession, see *Los Angeles Directory Co.'s Los Angeles City Directory, 1934*, 1448; "S.C. to Train," 5; "Los Angeles County Pay Roll of All Officials Who Receive \$3000 a Year or More," *Los Angeles Times*, April 29, 1934, 22, ProQuest.
- 64 "Housing Affairs Deeply Studied: California Delegation at International Congress in Mexico," *Los Angeles Times*, August 21, 1938, A7, ProQuest; "On the Housing Front," 80. For conference papers on the focus topics, see Schäfer, *L'aménagement souterrain*;

Schäfer, *Habitation*; International Housing and Town Planning Congress and Schäfer, *Organisations [sic] des loisirs*.

- 65 See "Housing Body to Meet Here: Delegates Expected from Many Nations," *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1939, E3, ProQuest. On Colonel William H. Evans's professional affiliation, see Wallach, *Los Angeles Residential Architecture*, 31.
- 66 See Times Staff Correspondent, "Housing Parley Here Backed: Government Support of Pan-American Conference Reported," *Los Angeles Times*, February 15, 1940, 6, ProQuest.
- 67 Howard Holtzendorff to Catherine Bauer, July 14, 1947, box 2, folder "Howard L. Holtzendorff, 8 letters, 1944–1956," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. Although Holtzendorff was short copies of the first postwar consolidated annual report, he sent Bauer at least one. See Howard Holtzendorff, telegram to Catherine Bauer, February 25, 1946, box 22, folder "Holtzendorff, Howard L., 8 letters, 1944–56," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 68 As Parson shows in his study of the Los Angeles real estate lobby and its support from the *Los Angeles Times*, opposition to public housing formed on many fronts. Less understood is the effect this opposition had on the practice of international, professional exchange among housers. See Parson, *Making a Better World*, 98–100.
- 69 "U.N. Promotion of Socialized Housing Scored," *Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 1951, E3, ProQuest. See also Charles C. Cohan, "Fact and Comment," *Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 1951, E2, ProQuest.
- 70 See untitled museum announcement, facsimile, box 1419, folder 25 "NY Museum of Modern Art at LA, 1931," Richard and Dion Neutra Papers.
- 71 These elements were a major selling point of the show. The announcement of the show's arrival in Los Angeles promised "elaborate scale models and impressive photo enlargements." See *ibid.* Compare to Hines, *Richard Neutra*, 104. On the organization of the exhibition, see Kentgens-Craig, *Bauhaus and America*, 75; Hines, *Richard Neutra*, 104–105; Germany, *Harwell Hamilton Harris*, 41.
- 72 See "World-Famous Architectural Exhibit to Be Shown Here as Feature of Tenth Olympiad: Display Opens Late in July; Assembled Work of World Masters Assured; Dr. Von KleinSmid Heads Sponsoring Group; Los Angeles Man Among Noted Exhibitors," *Los Angeles Times*, May 1, 1932, D2, ProQuest.
- 73 On the contents of the show, see "Structures Exemplifying Principles of Startling New Trend in Building Treatment: International Stylists' Designs Thrill Crowds; Los Angeles Architect Included with World's Twelve Leading Exponents of New Motif; Local Architect Wins High Honor; Famed Exhibit of Plans Open," *Los Angeles Times*, July 24, 1932, 16, ProQuest. On the display of the show at Bullock's and the comparative costs and contents of the two exhibition packages, see Matthews, "Promotion of Modern Architecture," 56.
- 74 On the political versus the aesthetic message of the show, see, for example, Riley, *International Style*, 25, 94–95. See also a reference to this source in Hein, "Museum of Modern Art," 246.
- 75 Arthur Millier, "New Architecture Analyzed: Simplified, Unornamented 'International Style' Called Solution for Minimum Cost Housing Adaptable to Low Incomes," *Los Angeles Times*, July 31, 1932, B18, ProQuest.
- 76 *Ibid.* Millier specifically names the Housing Study Guild members Clarence Stein and Henry Wright's developments at Radburn, New Jersey, and Sunnyside, Long Island, in addition to international examples such as J. J. P. Oud's work in Holland and Otto Haesler and Ernst May's work in Germany.

- 77 On world's fairs as venues for housing exhibitions, see, for example, Wallach, *Los Angeles Residential Architecture*, 20.
- 78 These other architects included future Housing Authority architects Robert Alexander, Eugene Weston Jr., Ralph Flewelling, and George Adams. See Bokovoy, "Spectres of Social Housing," 171.
- 79 Bokovoy argues that Modeltown formed part of an FHA "outreach initiative" designed "to stimulate private enterprise and generate increased housing starts throughout the home building industries." See *ibid.*, 159, 162, 166–170.
- 80 Catherine Bauer to the Editors of the Budget, April 21, 1937, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, 1935–1937," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. The exhibit was most likely finally named the "Town of Tomorrow." See "The Exhibits: An Amazing Array [...]," *New York Times Magazine*, April 30, 1939, 10, ProQuest.
- 81 Bauer to the Editors of the Budget, April 21, 1937.
- 82 Berkeley affiliates included Jack Kent, Francis Violich, Vernon DeMars, and the landscape architect Garrett Eckbo. See Allen, "Space for Living," 75.
- 83 Allen, "Space for Living," 90. Allen's dissertation is above all concerned with Telesis as one of the first environmentally-conscious groups of modern planners in the Bay Area. As the study shows, Telesis members went on to careers in environmental conservation, spearheading such famous movements as the 1960s effort to "Save the Bay" (*ibid.*, 74, 90–91). Allen shares the author's concern with the structural racism these modernists groups often enforced, showing how environmentalism often left San Francisco's Black neighborhoods mired in pollution (*ibid.*, 74, 91–94). While the focus of Allen's study lies less with the exhibit's visual and spatial attributes than with its melding of modernist with environmentally-conscious ideas, it nonetheless points to the exhibition designs of the MARS Group (the British membership of the CIAM) as an important model and notes similarities to the exhibition designs of the Bauhaus (*ibid.*, 72, 74).
- 84 *Ibid.*, 76–77.
- 85 In addition to Allen's reference to the Los Angeles group, see Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles*, 25.
- 86 *Time* magazine remarked that the show was in fact "the biggest planning show California had ever seen." See "Dream City," 45. The author is indebted to Peter Allen's work for drawing her attention to this source. See Allen, "Space for Living," 84; Allen, "Progress Intentionally Planned."
- 87 Telesis for the Los Angeles Region, ...*Now We Plan*, n.p. The same quoted text is also in Los Angeles County Museum, ...*And Now We Plan*, n.p. On the inspiration for the Telesis name, see also Allen, "Space for Living," 82. The author thanks Richard P. Hulser, Chief Librarian of the Research Library and Archives of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, for scanning the exhibition materials for her.
- 88 Telesis for the Los Angeles Region, ...*Now We Plan*, 23.
- 89 *Ibid.*
- 90 See Los Angeles County Museum, ...*and Now We Plan*, n.p. On Wilkinson's position at the Housing Authority, see Cuff, *Provisional City*, 224; Parson, *Making a Better World*, 52.
- 91 See Telesis for the Los Angeles Region, ...*Now We Plan*, n.p.
- 92 See, for example, Cuff, *Provisional City*, 224, 282.
- 93 While the Housing Authority did not task the Haynes Foundation with preserving its photographs, the Foundation's library boasts the most extensive publicly available set of the Housing Authority's photographically illustrated *Los Angeles Housing News*

- from the period in box 146, John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation Library.
- 94 Special guests were admitted to a preview the day before. See "Planning Display to Show Growth: Seven Galleries at Museum Will Exhibit Problems in County," *Los Angeles Times*, October 22, 1941, A2, ProQuest.
- 95 Ibid.; Arthur Millier, "Now We Plan," *Los Angeles Times*, October 19, 1941, I3, ProQuest.
- 96 Millier, "Now We Plan," I12. Compare to a mention of "dioramas modeled to scale, showing California scenes from prehistoric times through the Russian, Spanish, Mexican, and American periods to the present day" in a description of the museum in a WPA guidebook. See Writers' Program, Work Projects Administration, Southern California, *Los Angeles*, 192.
- 97 "Dream City," 45.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 "...Now We Plan," 21–23. The author is again indebted to Peter Allen's research for bringing this article to her attention. See Allen, "Progress Intentionally Planned," n4; Allen, "Space for Living," 100n41.
- 100 Such features of the Telesis exhibition as described by Millier and photographed for Entenza's magazine drew on several models, not least of which included the exhibition techniques from earlier years of housing reform. As Maren Stange explains, Lawrence Veiller used the midtown location of Manhattan's Sherry Building for his Tenement House Exhibition of 1900 to be closer to wealthier audiences. See Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life*, 31–32, 37. Other exhibitions, such as the 1908 Exhibition on Population Congestion, took this idea a step further by building models of slum conditions at full-scale so that exhibition visitors could experience the confines of these spaces (ibid., 46).
- 101 Telesis for the Los Angeles Region, ...*Now We Plan*, n.p.
- 102 See "Chamber Groups to View Exhibit," *Los Angeles Times*, December 10, 1941, A3, ProQuest.
- 103 *Time* magazine predicted "that Los Angeles was likely to remain its sprawling self for years," citing the city's "backlog of traffic routing plans" and the pressures on traffic problems recently created by defense activity. The review, published on November 10, 1941, concluded with an apt description of the then present situation: "The authorities are already frightfully busy now trying to keep bad from becoming worse." See "Dream City," 45–46.
- 104 Bauer's copy of this letter was inscribed "Mar. 1941?"—a date predating the opening of *Now We Plan*. The date was possibly assigned in the posthumous processing of her archive. See a copy of an unsigned letter from Catherine Bauer to "Mes Enfants" [Elizabeth Mock, N.K.O.], [dated, probably posthumously, "Mar. 1941?"], box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, 1941," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 105 See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Progress*, 17.
- 106 Ibid., 17.
- 107 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Third Annual Report*, n.p.
- 108 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Progress*, 15, 17.
- 109 Ibid., 15–16.
- 110 See a similar observation in Moga, "Projects and Slums," 5. The author's thanks extend also to Kelley Wilder for encouraging her to see these photographs as a form of corporate self-portraiture and suggesting David E. Nye's study of General Electric's photographs as a comparison. See Nye, *Image Worlds*, 148, 159.
- 111 Guido and Lugon, introduction to *Still and Moving Images*, 5.

- 112 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Third Annual Report*, n.p. Referenced here is United States Housing Authority of the Federal Works Agency, *Housing in Our Time*. On the format of the film, see “Housing in Our Time,” 56.
- 113 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Progress*, 21.
- 114 Holtzendorff, “I Have Said Often...,” 2.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 Ibid. On the importance of evaluation and analysis, see also “NAHO’s Broadened Program,” 3–5.
- 117 Bauer, “We Present...Catherine Bauer,” 27, 31.
- 118 The “this? or this?” rhetoric was a common feature of housing displays. For discussion of another example, see Avery, “Campaign for Public Housing,” 35. See also Parson, *Making a Better World*, fig. 4.
- 119 “Baltimore Redevelopment Exhibit,” 11.
- 120 “This is Public Housing,” 296.
- 121 “Prize-Winning Exhibit,” 97.
- 122 [California] Housing Authorities Law, 2 Deering’s Gen. Laws Supp., Act 3483 § 22 (approved March 31, 1938), https://clerk.assembly.ca.gov/sites/clerk.assembly.ca.gov/files/archive/Statutes/1938/38vol1_Chapters.pdf. Accessed April 14, 2020. The author thanks Christa Lim for directing her to this source.
- 123 See “Thirty-Two Cities,” 175.
- 124 The competition continues to this day. See “About AIGA”; “50 Books, 50 Covers.”
- 125 “Thirty-Two Cities,” 175.
- 126 Ibid.
- 127 Ibid.
- 128 See Hopper, “Report of the Director,” 308.
- 129 See “Thirty-Two Cities,” 175; Hopper, “Report of the Director,” 308.
- 130 “Thirty-Two Cities,” 175.
- 131 Ibid.
- 132 Hopper, “Report of the Director,” 308.
- 133 See “Thirty-Two Cities,” 175.
- 134 For the rhyme and a note about its roots in the *Sepher Haggadah*, see Halliwell, *Nursery Rhymes of England*, 175–178. Halliwell is cited in Ashliman, “House That Jack Built.” For more on the Hebrew origins of the rhyme, see Brewster, “House That Jack Built,” 209–212. For an introductory account of the creation and function of Uncle Sam, see Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You*, 3–8.
- 135 Housing Authority of the City of Vallejo, *Houses Sam Built*, n.p.
- 136 See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p.
- 137 Massen, “Better Annual Reports,” 28.
- 138 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *A Decent Home*.
- 139 See Housing Authority of the City of Vallejo, *Houses Sam Built*, n.p.
- 140 See Parson, *Making a Better World*, 32.
- 141 In an outline of its public relations program for 1946, written most likely in 1945, the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles described this letter as “simple,” and “a legal formality.” See “Public Relations Program,” 1946, 2, series 4, box 1, folder 11, Frank Wilkinson Papers.
- 142 As Steven Moga writes, Frank Wilkinson claimed this drawing “was created because he was unable to find men from different ethnic and racial backgrounds willing to participate.” See Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 54. Moga interviewed Wilkinson in 1999

- (*ibid.*, bibliography). For the identification of the depicted figures' different roles, see Parson, *Making a Better World*, 72, note to fig. 5.
- 143 On the history of the ellipsis in modern English literature and theater, see Toner, *Ellipsis in English Literature*, 151–164.
- 144 For a brief mention of “experimental typography” versus “common practice,” see *ibid.*, 165.
- 145 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *A Decent Home*, 42–43.
- 146 For an account of the origin of this popular slogan in Britain and its most famous use by Winston Churchill, see M. Paul Holsinger, “V for Victory,” 322.
- 147 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Progress*, 17.
- 148 See “Housing Film,” 1, box 146, John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation Library.
- 149 The WorldCat online catalogue replaces the dots from the title of the copy of the film at the University of California, Los Angeles, with two dashes. See Walker and Petersen, —*And Ten Thousand More*.
- 150 M.R. [Miriam Roher?], review of *Homes for Heroes*, 349. The author’s attention was brought to the connection between Roher and the Housing Authority by the research of the political scientist Mordecai Lee. See, for example, Lee, “Empirical Experiments,” 259.
- 151 M.R. [Miriam Roher?], review of *Homes for Heroes*, 349.
- 152 On “between still and moving images” and “the circulation of images,” see Guido and Lugon, introduction to *Still and Moving Images*, 5.
- 153 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Progress*, 5, 16.
- 154 “Public Relations Program,” 2.
- 155 *Ibid.*
- 156 *Ibid.*
- 157 “L.A. Exhibit,” 1, box 58, folder 15, Reuben W. Borough papers.
- 158 *Ibid.*, 3. See also Robert McG. Thomas Jr., “Wilson Wyatt, 90, Politician and Louisville Civic Leader,” *New York Times*, June 13, 1996, sec. US, <https://www.nytimes.com/1996/06/13/us/wilson-wyatt-90-politician-and-louisville-civic-leader.html>. Accessed March 9, 2020.
- 159 “L.A. Exhibit,” 1, 3.
- 160 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 161 *Ibid.*
- 162 From 1945 through 1947, Franklin Roosevelt Jr. served as housing activities chairman for the American Veterans Committee, an organization which supported the United Nations and postwar labor groups among other progressive bodies and efforts. See “Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.,” “Guide to the American Veterans Committee Records.”
- 163 “L.A. Exhibit,” 3.
- 164 The author thanks Michele Welsing at the Southern California Library for discovering the masked negative of page forty-three and for scanning and measuring these two objects for her. See box 1, “Los Angeles Housing Authority Photographs, 1940s–early 1950s,” folder “General Prints and Negatives,” Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles Photograph Collection.
- 165 See Lugon, “Ubiquitous Exhibition,” 127.
- 166 Catherine Bauer to Clarence S. Stein, October 28, 1934, box 1, folder “Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Dec. 1934,” Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 167 Catherine Bauer to Carol Aronovici, October 28, 1934, box 1, folder “Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Dec. 1934,” Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. Compare

- to Elizabeth Bloom Avery's discussion of Clarence Stein and Catherine Bauer's exhibit for the Architectural League in "Campaign for Public Housing," 36.
- 168 Lugon, "La photographie des typographes," n.p. See also Talbot, *Pencil of Nature*, plate 9.
- 169 Lugon, "Ubiquitous Exhibition," 136.
- 170 On "collective consumption," see Lugon, "Ubiquitous Exhibition," 151, 153. For the directly quoted text, see the copy of an unsigned letter from Bauer to "Mes Enfants" [Elizabeth Mock, N.K.O.], [dated, probably posthumously, "Mar. 1941?"].
- 171 Lugon, "Ubiquitous Exhibition," 136, 139.
- 172 See "L.A. Exhibit," 3.
- 173 "The Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles Presents 'A Decent Home... An American Right,'" carton 5, folder "California—Los Angeles #4," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 174 Lugon, "Ubiquitous Exhibition," 124, 127.
- 175 *Ibid.*, 123–124.
- 176 See "Housing Education," 100.
- 177 Merriam, "Nazi Housing," 24.
- 178 Particularly on US progressives' attitudes toward Europe's new policies in the 1940s, see, for example, Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 489, 496–501, 502–503.
- 179 See "Personals," 14. Direct quotation from Crane, "Local Authority Housing," 35.
- 180 Crane, "'Nation's Capital.'"
- 181 *Ibid.*, 12.
- 182 *Ibid.*
- 183 For details of this congress, see International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, *XVIIIth International Congress*; "Report of the XVIIIth Congress," 46–49, 52; "Events and Comments," 39; Shoshkes, "Jaqueline Tyrwhitt," 195.
- 184 Germany was not extended an invitation and the USSR declined. See Catherine Bauer to Millicent Bell, November 14, 1946, attachment "One World Attacks the Housing and Planning Problem," 1, 6, box 2, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Dec. 1946," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. The article was intended for publication in *Architectural Forum*, but in the end, in Bauer's view, they "only used about two garbled sentences," and at a point which was too late for Bauer to send the article to any other magazine. See Catherine Bauer to Loula Lasker, March 22, 1947, box 2, "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Jan.–Mar. 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 185 Bauer to Bell, November 14, 1946, attachment "One World Attacks the Housing and Planning Problem," 3.
- 186 *Ibid.*
- 187 Bauer, "Europe vs. America," 155.
- 188 "Events and Comments," 39.
- 189 Bauer to Bell, November 14, 1946, attachment "One World Attacks the Housing and Planning Problem," 6.
- 190 *Ibid.*
- 191 Bauer Wurster, "Mrs. Catherine Bauer Wurster," 72.
- 192 Catherine Bauer Wurster to Warren J. Vinton (Chief Economist, Federal Public Housing Authority), February 1, 1947, box 2, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Jan.–Mar. 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. Referenced in Bauer's letter is United States Federal Public Housing Authority, *Public Housing Design*.
- 193 Howard Holtzendorff to Catherine Bauer, September 2, 1947, box 22, folder "Holtzendorff, Howard L., 8 letters, 1944–1956," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers; Catherine

- Bauer to Howard L. Holtzendorff, July 21, 1947, box 3, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Sept. 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 194 See Howard Holtzendorff to Catherine Bauer Wurster, July 14, 1947, box 22, folder "Holtzendorff, Howard L., 8 letters, 1944–1956," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 195 See Holtzendorff to Bauer, September 2, 1947.
- 196 "Life: Ramona Gardens, Low Rent American Homes," n.d. and "The Truth About Low-Rent Public Housing in Los Angeles," n.d., carton 5, folder "California—Los Angeles #3," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 197 C.B. [Catherine Bauer] Wurster to John Entenza, June 26, 1947, box 2, folder "Letters from Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Apr.–June 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 198 Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 489, 496–507.
- 199 Wurster to Entenza, June 26, 1947.
- 200 The author thanks Kelley Wilder for urging her to think about the Housing Authority's reports as a form of corporate promotion. Compare to Deusner, "Constructing the 'Deadly Parallel,'" 99.
- 201 See Catherine Bauer to Howard L. Holtzendorff, September 5, 1947, box 3, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Sept. 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 202 Howard Holtzendorff to Hon. Aneurin Bevan [Minister of Health, Whitehall, London], Att: Mr. T. Fife Clark [Public Relations Officer], August 26, 1947, box 22, folder "Holtzendorff, Howard L., 8 letters, 1944–1956," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 203 See, for example, the following holdings at the RIBA Library: "Housing Project Cal–4109"; "Banning Homes"; "Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles Presents a Solution"; "Wilmington Hall."
- 204 The author is indebted to archivist Filine Wagner for alerting her to the presence of materials from the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles in the Moser collection. The issues in this collection include *Los Angeles Housing News* from September and November 1949, the December and January issue of 1949/1950, June 1950, and July 1950. See box 30, gta Archives / ETH Zurich (Estate Collection of Werner M. Moser 1896–1970).
- 205 See Elizabeth E. Halton to Catherine Bauer, January 27, 1947, box 23, folder "International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, London, 6 letters 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 206 Catherine Bauer Wurster to Paul Oppermann, July 16, 1947, box 2, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Sept. 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 207 See "Annual Report Winners Named."
- 208 Ibid., 436; Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *There's Nothing Sentimental*, in box 13, folder 1, Leonard Nadel photographs and other material relating to housing and urban redevelopment in Los Angeles. Parson's research also references *There's Nothing Sentimental...about Your Cash Register* in connection with his analysis of the changing rhetoric of the Housing Authority but analyzes a different report cover showing a photograph of cash register keys and the words "Public Housing is Good...for Your Cash Register." See Parson, *Making a Better World*, 141, fig. 13. In the version of the report at the Getty Research Institute, this page Parson references instead follows a final page titled "Tax Payments" and precedes the index.
- 209 "Annual Report Winners Named," 436.
- 210 See Parson, *Making a Better World*, 141. See also Dana Cuff's remarks on the "rational" economic argument in this title and as reflected in the verbal arguments in other Los

- Angeles publicity from this latter part of the decade in Cuff, *Provisional City*, 199. See similar observations in Moga, "Projects and Slums," 41.
- 211 Scrutiny of profuse photography or color in government publications was not a new problem for postwar commercial artists and their commissioners. For an account of a similar situation faced by the photographers of the Farm Security Administration in the late 1930s, see Stein, "Rhetoric of the Colorful," 229–230.
- 212 Massen, "Better Annual Reports," 28. The final quote here is from Milton Shufro, chairman of the NAHO Public Relations Committee.
- 213 *Ibid.*, 27.
- 214 *Ibid.*, 28.
- 215 Gutheim and Bauer were personal acquaintances. See Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 75–76. Compare Loeffler, "Frederick Gutheim," 31.
- 216 Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 100; Loeffler, "Frederick Gutheim," 32, 33, 35; "Frederick Gutheim"; Gutheim and McAndrew, "Houses and Housing," 289–331; Mock, *Built in USA*, n.p.
- 217 On the architecture of public buildings, for instance, Gutheim wrote in 1949 that competitions provided "assurance that public architecture be kept abreast of the general advance in art and architecture, and that no men of ability be overlooked." See Gutheim, "Government and Architecture," 175–176.
- 218 Massen, "Better Annual Reports," 28.
- 219 *Ibid.*, 28.

4 MODERN HOUSING PROJECTED IN COLOR

- 1 See Parson, *Making a Better World*, 34, table 1; "Industrial Section," 54.
- 2 Cuff, *Provisional City*, 156. Essayist Susan Briante also comments on the "breezeways" of Aliso Village as a distinguishing architectural feature. See Briante, "Utopia's Ruins," 132.
- 3 On Bauer and Wurster's move from Cambridge to Berkeley, see Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 242–248. For an account of the surveying of Chávez Ravine, see, for example, Cuff, *Provisional City*, 272–289.
- 4 Beil, "Black and White Modernism."
- 5 On California "regional" architecture, see Beil, "Black and White Modernism," 129–130, 138.
- 6 See Stein, "Rhetoric of the Colorful," especially chap. 6, chap. 7, chap. 8.
- 7 Timby, review of *Color Rush*, 88.
- 8 *Ibid.* Timby's research contributes to this critical history by offering a particularly informative and insightful view on the "parallel histories" of color photography and stereoscopy. See Timby, "Colour Photography and Stereoscopy."
- 9 Stein, "Full-Color Turn."
- 10 This approach is evident in Stein, "Rhetoric of the Colorful."
- 11 *Ibid.*, xvi–xvii, 184–220, directly quoted passage on 192.
- 12 Kodachrome's color ran counter to the current demand based in Pictorialism's "emphasis on interpretation," as Nathalie Boulouch explains. Following this logic, Boulouch argues that color photography's "realism"—its "mimicking of reality"—delayed its entry as art into the art museum. See Boulouch, "(In)visible Public Life," 179.
- 13 Wilder, "Curious about Color," especially 54–56.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 52, 54.
- 15 Geimer, "Colors of Evidence."

- 16 Timby, review of *Color Rush*, 91. See also a discussion of technological availability in the history of slide shows as art in Stojković, Fischer-Westhauser, and Schögl, "Editorial," 7.
- 17 For an account of Agfa's postwar relinquishment to the public of its patented technology and Kodak's response with Ektachrome, see Pénichon, *Twentieth-Century Color Photographs*, 164, 169–170.
- 18 See Nelson, "Politics of War," 125.
- 19 Arquin, "Slides of Latin America."
- 20 Lugon likewise points out parallels between the New Objectivity, "New Pedagogy," and the schoolhouse designs of Bruno Taut, which allowed learning to take place outdoors in warm weather. See Lugon, "Nouvelle Objectivité, nouvelle pédagogie."
- 21 Good, "Making Do with Media." Throughout her article, Good references Michel de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*.
- 22 Catherine Bauer to Eliot Noyes, March 11, 1942, 2, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Jan.–June 1942," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 23 Catherine Bauer to Alfred [Alfred Barr], April 28, 1941, 2, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, 1941," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 25 *Ibid.*
- 26 See Catherine Bauer to Eliot F. Noyes, February 1, 1942, 1, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Jan.–June 1942," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. For a brief discussion of Bauer's consulting work for the Museum of Modern Art, see also Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 202–203.
- 27 The author thanks Erin McKellar for advising on the *Wartime Housing* exhibition. On the appeal of *Wartime Housing* to a lay audience, see McKellar, "Wartime Housing, 1942."
- 28 See Catherine Bauer to Eliot Noyes, March 11, 1942, 2, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Jan.–June 1942," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 1–2.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 2.
- 32 See Wurster, "Carquinez Heights," 34. Note that the wartime housing project was not operated by the Housing Authority of the City of Vallejo until the Authority was established in June 1942. See Housing Authority of the City of Vallejo, *Houses Sam Built*, n.p. 1940 was recognized as the start of American defense activity. See Museum of Modern Art, "Wartime Housing," n.p.
- 33 DeMars, "Duration Dormitories," 34–35.
- 34 See "Defense Housing," 30–31.
- 35 See "Avalon Gardens," 32–33, 36; "Pueblo Del Rio," 32–35.
- 36 For the creation of Carquinez Heights under the Lanham Act, see *Johnson v. Morrill*, 20 Cal. 2d 446 (1942), SCOCAL, accessed April 14, 2020, <https://scocal.stanford.edu/opinion/johnson-v-morrill-29186>. For the text of the Lanham Act, see Pub. L. No. 849, 54 Stat. 1125 (1940), <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/76th-congress/session-3/c76s3ch862.pdf>. Accessed April 14, 2020.
- 37 Wurster, "Carquinez Heights," 34.
- 38 The photograph accompanied the subsequent related article. See "America Builds," 35.
- 39 Historian Peter S. Reed also notes that reduced grading expedited the building process in wartime housing construction. See Reed, "Enlisting Modernism," 11.

- 40 Following this description, Wurster's concluding plea to "ask it if is gay" draws on a now archaic meaning of colorful or "cheerful" that likewise wrapped the war housing's brightly painted exteriors with connotations of fashion, emotion, and expression. See *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, s.v. "gay."
- 41 Wurster, "Carquinez Heights," 34.
- 42 Beil, "Black and White Modernism," 133–135.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 136–138; Gordon, "Next America," 126–130, 250, as cited in Beil, "Black and White Modernism," 136, 152n35.
- 44 Beil, "Black and White Modernism," 129–130.
- 45 *Ibid.*, especially 127–132, 136–138, 141. Although Beil's article acknowledges Neutra's own historical affiliation with this "style" in its reference to the Kaufmann House in Palm Springs, the older history of this term remains only a small part of the argument (*ibid.*, 129–130, 132, 141, 142, fig. 5, 143–145). Beil's article also leaves to future scholarship a reconciliation of Mumford and Bauer's work on the housing section of the landmark 1932 show at the Museum of Modern Art with Mumford's subsequent support of setting American architecture apart from the European examples it promoted (*ibid.*, 130, 138).
- 46 See Penick, *Tastemaker*, ix, 9, 12.
- 47 *Ibid.*, ix, 16–22.
- 48 See Penick, *Tastemaker*, x, 16. Note that Penick's study focuses on a definition of "taste" contemporary with Gordon's time.
- 49 See, for example, "Is There a Rentable Apartment," 62; "Can I Improve," 34, 80; Paine, "Renters," 56–57.
- 50 "You Can Furnish," 71.
- 51 "How to Live Well," 39.
- 52 See Schuler, "Conditions During the Emergency," 42–43, 60–61.
- 53 "Don't Be Afraid," 40–41. For a similar message, see also Gough, "Color Coward," 42–43.
- 54 Catherine Bauer to Jacob Crane, July 15, 1940, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, 1939–1940," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 55 *Ibid.*
- 56 *Ibid.*
- 57 Catherine Bauer to "Edgar," June 19, 1942, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Jan.–June 1942," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 58 *Ibid.* On avoiding 'suites,' or matching sets of furniture, see also Moore, "One Renter's Secret," 71.
- 59 On the readership of *California Arts and Architecture*, see also Beil, "Black and White Modernism," 132.
- 60 See Wright, "A Partnership," 190.
- 61 On the design of Rose Hill Courts, see California Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*, n.p. See also "Rose Hill Courts," 32.
- 62 See "Avalon Gardens," 33.
- 63 *Ibid.*
- 64 Catherine Bauer to John Carmody, December 1, 1940, box 1, folder "Letters from Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, 1939–1940," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 65 On historical perceptions of prints from Kodachrome, see Beil, "Black and White Modernism," 140.
- 66 See Henney, *Color Photography*, 5–6. On Kodachrome film processing stations, see Dunn, *Natural Color Processes*, 156. Ariane Pollet notes that the cardboard mounts or

- “Readymount’ frame[s]” figured prominently in Kodak’s marketing efforts. See the section “‘Kodak in the World of Tomorrow’” in Pollet, “Cavalcade of Color.” On the “Kodaslide Ready-Mount service,” see Pénichon, *Twentieth-Century Color Photographs*, 164.
- 67 For a description of Kodak’s pavilion at the 1939 World’s Fair and an insightful discussion of its strategy of marketing to amateurs, see especially the sections “Exhibiting the Kodak Brand,” “The Kodak Pavilion: Selling Memory,” and “The Cavalcade of Color: ‘The Greatest Photographic Show on Earth’” in Pollet, “Cavalcade of Color.”
- 68 New York Museum of Science and Industry, *Exhibition Techniques*, 56. Compare to a reading of this absence of seats as a strategy of increasing the emotional experience of the *Cavalcade of Color* in the section “The Cavalcade of Color: ‘The Greatest Photographic Show on Earth’” in Pollet, “Cavalcade of Color.” Pollet further notes that the Museum of Science and Industry’s description of the design of the Kodak pavilion offers a rare technical account by an author who was not employed by Kodak (ibid., n42). See also a mention of the popularity of the slide show at the fair in Stein, “Rhetoric of the Colorful,” 263.
- 69 A third technology included in this discussion was Ansco Color, which, unlike Kodachrome, could be processed by the photographer. See Standards and Curriculum Division, Training, US Bureau of Naval Personnel, *Photography*, 41–42, 45.
- 70 Ibid., 1.
- 71 On realism and color photography, see Timby, “Colour Photography and Stereoscopy,” 195.
- 72 See Standards and Curriculum Division, Training, US Bureau of Naval Personnel, *Photography*, 1–2.
- 73 Ibid., 2.
- 74 Stein, “Rhetoric of the Colorful,” 265, 418n34. Cited in Stein are Roy Stryker, “General Bulletin,” May 22, 1941; Roy Stryker to Russell Lee, July 15, 1942; Roy Stryker to John Vachon, July 15, 1942; “General Call to Photographers,” July 1942. All these sources are in the Roy Stryker Collection, University of Louisville Photographic Archive, Louisville, Kentucky. Stein also recounts the FSA’s earlier work in color that began in 1938. See Stein, “Rhetoric of the Colorful,” 285, 287–295.
- 75 Stein, “Rhetoric of the Colorful,” 254, 257–263, 411n3.
- 76 Stein’s sources, moreover, suggest that much of Stryker’s team’s Kodachrome production was probably intended first and foremost for publication in magazines. See ibid., 266–268.
- 77 Ibid., 267.
- 78 Sally Stein also mentions photographs taken near Robstown by Russell Lee dated 1939. See ibid., 293.
- 79 See box 17, folder VI.18 “FSA (slides),” Vernon DeMars Collection. For a brief mention of these Kodachromes, see DeMars, “A Life in Architecture,” 96, 104. For a brief discussion of DeMars’s use of color in the housing at Yuba City, see Reed, “Enlisting Modernism,” 9.
- 80 See DeMars, “A Life in Architecture,” 247.
- 81 Catherine Bauer, index “C,” box 10, folder I.79 “Travel Slides: U.S. East Coast with Index (C), ca. 1944,” William and Catherine Bauer Wurster Papers.
- 82 Bauer was on a research trip sponsored by the Guggenheim Foundation but had to return early due to the events of World War II. See Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 146–147, 176.

- 83 Catherine Bauer to "Jake Darling," September 11, 1939, 5, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, 1939–1940," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. See a paraphrased account in Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 175.
- 84 See Henney, *Color Photography*, 5.
- 85 See Standards and Curriculum Division, Training, U.S. Bureau of Naval Personnel, *Photography*, 9–10.
- 86 For reference to "processing centers," see Dunn, *Natural Color Processes*, 156, 159, 163. See also a discussion of cardboard mounts in Pollet, "Cavalcade of Color," n29.
- 87 See Henney, *Color Photography*, 3.
- 88 *Ibid.*, 7. Nathalie Boulouch further points to the problems of reproducing color photographs photomechanically: it was expensive, produced poor "colour quality," and "control over the process appeared to be overly delegated to manufacturers' decisions." See Boulouch, "(In)visible Public Life," 180–181, 194.
- 89 See, for example, Catherine Bauer to "Mr. [Hans Erling] Langkilde," January 18, 1947, box 2, folder "Letters written by Catherine Bauer Wurster, Jan.–Mar. 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 90 See Bond, *Kodachrome and Kodacolor*, 69, 73.
- 91 For Bauer's acceptance of Sproul's invitation, see Catherine Bauer to President Robert Sproul, October 24, 1939, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, 1939–1940," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. On Bauer's desire to revise her book and conduct "field-work" with her students, see Catherine Bauer to President Sproul, October 26, 1939, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, 1939–1940," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. For an account of Bauer's preparation for her first classes at Berkeley, see also Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 183–185.
- 92 See Catherine Bauer to Coleman [Woodbury], July 9, 1942, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Aug. 1942," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers; Alfred Neumeyer to "Ms. Bauer," December 18, 1941, carton 15, folder 38 "Educator, Guest Lectures, Mills College Correspondence, 1941–42, 1963," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers; Catherine Bauer to Alfred Neumeyer, January 1, 1942, carton 15, folder 38 "Educator, Guest Lectures, Mills College Correspondence, 1941–42, 1963," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 93 Catherine Bauer, "Housing in War and Peace," n.d., carton 15, folder 39 "Guest Lectures, Mills College Lectures, Course Outlines, Reading Lists, 1942, 1953," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 94 On field trips and timing, see *ibid.* See also Catherine Bauer to Catherine [Henck], July 29, 1942, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Aug. 1942," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers; Catherine Bauer to "Warren," August 6, 1942, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Aug. 1942," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 95 Alfred Neumeyer to "Mrs. Wurster," August 10, 1942, carton 15, folder 38 "Educator, Guest Lectures, Mills College Correspondence, 1941–42, 1963," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 96 Henney, *Color Photography*, 3.
- 97 Lugon further writes of "the conquest of screen media, which proved to be a better, cheaper, and lighter way to reconcile widely spread distribution with concern for collective consumption." He offers the example of *Life* magazine's marketing of filmstrips designed for classroom use starting in 1949. See Lugon, "Ubiquitous Exhibition," 151, 153.
- 98 Dent, *Audio-Visual Handbook*, 86.

- 99 Beam, "Color Slide Controversy," 35. See also a citation of this article and its companion article in a discussion of the preference for black and white printing in fine art magazines in Beil, "Black and White Modernism," 134, 151n28. The companion article, also addressed below in the present study, is Carpenter, "Limitations of Color Slides."
- 100 See Beam, "Color Slide Controversy," 37. The Color Slides Company produced slides by photographing original paintings under bright lights as opposed to photographing reproductions in books. Slides needed to be approved by a jury headed by an art history professor before being sold for classroom use (*ibid.*, 36–37).
- 101 Carpenter, "Limitations of Color Slides," 39.
- 102 Later proponents of audio-visual education shared the art historians' concern for the deceptiveness of color in transparencies. See Chandler and Cypher, *Audio-Visual Techniques*, 46.
- 103 Charles, "Kodachromes in Teaching," 145–147. The use of Kodachrome slides by biology teachers led to an exchange of practices and tips during this time. See also, for example, Weaver, "Method of Cataloguing."
- 104 Charles, "Use of Kodachromes," 148.
- 105 Lugon, "Film Frame," 79.
- 106 Taillibert, "Mixed Use," 132.
- 107 Olivier Lugon calls the 1960s "the hour of glory of the slideshow." See Lugon, "Film Frame," 79. On personal habits in teaching methods, see Taillibert, "Mixed Use," 132. On personal preferences in teaching, see, for example, Good, "Making Do with Media," 76, 79–80, 83, 88. Good also references Cuban, *Teachers and Machines*. See Good, "Making Do with Media," 76, 83, 89n5, 90n42.
- 108 See, for example, Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 391, 400–402; Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, 59–83.
- 109 Catherine Bauer to H.M. Cassidy, November 27, 1939, 2, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, 1939–1940," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 110 Catherine Bauer, "Post-War Housing Can Save the West," statement given as secretary of the California Housing and Planning Association at the Post-War Planning Meeting of the United States Housing Authority and Local Housing Authorities, Region VII, at the Clift Hotel, San Francisco, January 15, 1942 (from stenographic transcript), 6, carton 3, folder "Postwar Housing Can Save the West," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 111 Kodak introduced Ektachrome in 1946. As a sheet film, Ektachrome did not completely replace Kodachrome roll film, but instead offered "more details in the shadows [...]." See Henney, *Color Photography*, 80. See also a discussion of this challenge with respect to the work of Maynard Parker in Beil, "Black and White Modernism," 140.
- 112 Catherine Bauer to Jacob Crane, July 15, 1940, 2, box 1, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, 1939–1940," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 113 DeMars, "A Life in Architecture," 100.
- 114 *Ibid.*, 104. For a discussion of the application of this concept at Yuba City and its roots in the German *Zeilenbau* model, see Hise, "Roadside Camps," 250, 257n25–258n25. See further commentary on the orientation of FSA units to breezes in Reed, "Enlisting Modernism," 11. On the international acclaim for Chandler, see Wright, *Modern Architectures in History*, 135.
- 115 DeMars, "A Life in Architecture," especially 104–105.
- 116 *Ibid.*, 104.

- 117 Hise, "Roadside Camps," 257n25–258n25. Hise here cites Garrett Eckbo, November 18, 1988, interview by Greg Hise.
- 118 DeMars, "A Life in Architecture," 122.
- 119 Historian Peter S. Reed remarks that "FSA architects took pride in creating sensitive and imaginative site plans to these instant communities. [...] Site plans were often picturesque arrangements that avoided monotony. Landscaping and color such as blue, yellow, buff, and mulberry provided external variety." See Reed, "Enlisting Modernism," 11.
- 120 Hise, "Roadside Camps," especially 248–249, 251, 253. On the communal space at Ceres, see Eckbo, *Landscape for Living*, figs. 142–143.
- 121 Catherine K. Bauer, "Prize Essay: Art in Industry," *Fortune* (reprinted from May 1931), n.p., box 7, folder 3, Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 122 Bauer, "Prize Essay," n.p.
- 123 Ibid.
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 For a comparison of Taut's philosophy of color between the two earlier examples of modern housing and the later one, see Brenne, "Die 'farbige Stadt,'" 76. For an overview of the two earlier projects, see Stern, Fishman, and Tilove, *Paradise Planned*, 413–415.
- 126 See, for example, Brenne, "Die 'farbige Stadt,'" 76–77; Mindrup, "Advancing the Reverie," 8; Stern, Fishman, and Tilove, *Paradise Planned*, 413, 415; Müller, *Kultur in Deutschland*, 113–114. Note that Siegfried Müller mentions the Nazi-era criticism of Taut's color, but Stern, Fishman, and Tilove suggest the criticism was almost immediate and, as noted by the latter authors, combined with calls for Taut's incarceration.
- 127 Catherine Bauer to "Mr. Langkilde," January 18, 1947, box 2, folder "Letters written by Catherine Bauer Wurster, Jan.–Mar. 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 128 Bauer to Langkilde, January 18, 1947.
- 129 Ibid.
- 130 Catherine Bauer to Hans Erling Langkilde, May 8, 1947, box 2, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Apr.–June 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. Bauer later reported that she had also shown the Kodachrome slides in Washington. See Catherine Bauer to Hans Erling Langkilde, August 22, 1947, box 3, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Sept. 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 131 This process was not impossible. Bond advised that one could make black and white prints from Kodachrome with no filter, although the printer might need to heighten the contrast for the prints to appear less "flat." See Bond, *Kodachrome and Kodacolor*, 224.
- 132 Catherine Bauer to Arthur King, June 27, 1947, box 2, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Apr.–June 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 133 Catherine Bauer to Kay Fisker, June 27, 1947, box 2, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Apr.–June 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 134 Ibid.
- 135 See Bauer to King, June 27, 1947. On the "inadequate presentation," see Bauer Wurster, "Mrs. Catherine Bauer Wurster," 72.
- 136 Bauer to Langkilde, August 22, 1947.
- 137 See Catherine Bauer to "Gentlemen [of the Book Order Department, Museum of Modern Art, New York]," May 22, 1947, box 2, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Apr.–June 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers; Mock, *Build a House*.

- 138 Bauer to Langkilde, May 8, 1947. On the Museum of Modern Art's shows, see Museum of Modern Art, "Build a House."
- 139 Bauer sent a copy of *Built in USA* to the Dutch architect Cornelius van Eesteren. See Catherine Bauer to Mr. [Cornelis] Van Eesteren [capitalization Bauer's own], August 22, 1947, box 3, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Sept. 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 140 Ibid.
- 141 Catherine Bauer to Jan Bommer, August 17, 1947, box 3, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Sept. 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 142 On this political climate, see especially Parson, *Making a Better World*, chap. 2 and chap. 3.
- 143 Ibid., 98–100.
- 144 Ibid., 98–99.
- 145 Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 489.
- 146 Ibid., 496–501, direct quotation on 501.
- 147 Ibid., 502–503.
- 148 Ibid., 505–507.
- 149 Bauer to van Eesteren, August 22, 1947.
- 150 Bauer to John [Entenza], August 22, 1947, box 3, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, July–Sept. 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. As Rodgers notes, Bauer persisted in her belief that Europe in particular offered lessons for US housers. See Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 507.
- 151 The name of the architect Peter Shepheard appears in the lower corner of the photographed illustration. On Ongar, see Tuset, "Peter Shepheard," 150.
- 152 Catherine Bauer to Bryn Hovde, May 11, 1948, box 3, folder "Letters written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Jan.–Mar. 1948," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. The slide format Bauer used in illustrating her Messenger Lectures was 3 1/4 × 4-inches. See Catherine Bauer to Edward K. Graham, March 16, 1946, carton 15, folder 41 "Cornell University Messenger Lectureship, correspondence with Edmund Ezra Day 1947–1948," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 153 For a list of past speakers, see attachment "Messenger Lecturers at Cornell University, 1924–1946," included with Edmund E. Day to Miss [Catherine] Bauer, February 5, 1947, carton 15, folder 41 "Cornell University Messenger Lectureship, correspondence with Edmund Ezra Day 1947–1948," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 154 As part of the lecture, Bauer also planned to show examples of housing in the United States and Europe. See Catherine Bauer to Edward K. Graham, attachment "General title and sub-titles for Messenger Lectures, Cornell University, May 1947," April 25, 1947, box 2, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Apr.–June 1947," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. See also a copy of the same letter in carton 15, folder 41 "Cornell University Messenger Lectureship, correspondence with Edmund Ezra Day 1947–1948," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 155 Catherine Bauer, "General titles and sub-titles for Messenger Lectures, Cornell University, May 1948," April 27, 1948, carton 15, folder 41 "Cornell University Messenger Lectureship, correspondence with Edmund Ezra Day 1947–1948," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 156 See an example overview of the lecture dates and titles in Raymond F. Howes to Miss [Catherine] Bauer, April 26, 1948, carton 15, folder 41, "Cornell University Messenger Lectureship, correspondence with Edmund Ezra Day 1947–1948," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. For the direct quotations, see the handwritten note stapled to page 4

- of Catherine Bauer, typescript for lecture "The Right to a Decent Home: Minimum Standards and the Public Interest," n.d, I-4 attachment, carton 15, folder 42 "Educator, Guest Lectures, Messenger Lectureship. Cornell University, class outlines and lectures 1948," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. On housing as "an individual right," see *ibid.*, I-2.
- 157 Bauer, "Decent Home," I-16, I-17, carton 15, folder 42 "Educator, Guest Lectures, Messenger Lectureship. Cornell University, class outlines and lectures 1948," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 158 Catherine Bauer to Edward K. Graham, April 25, 1947, carton 15, folder 41 "Cornell University Messenger Lectureship, correspondence with Edmund Ezra Day 1947–1948," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers. See also Catherine Bauer to Raymond F. Howes, April 17, 1948, carton 15, folder 41 "Cornell University Messenger Lectureship, correspondence with Edmund Ezra Day 1947–1948," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 159 Catherine Bauer, "Decent Home," I-c.
- 160 The image of Poplar framed within the larger glass slide measures $3 \times 2 \frac{1}{16}$ inches, or approximately 76.2 mm \times 53.39 mm, a similar aspect ratio to the 24 mm \times 36 mm Kodachrome image. See Lester, *Photo-Lab-Index*, 16-05. On the possibility of using Kodachrome slides to make "enlargements fixed in size by the Kodak Company," see Halper, "Photography for the Classicist," 57. The author thanks Jason Miller, Director of the Visual Resources Center at the College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley, for inspecting the slide and offering helpful advice on researching the technique. Jason Miller, email message to the author, February 5, 2018.
- 161 On enlarging Kodachrome slides, see Pénichon, *Twentieth-Century Color Photographs*, 164. On placing Kodachrome slides in larger mounts, see Salisbury, "Lantern Slides," 1001.
- 162 See Olechnowicz, *Housing in England*, 2–4.
- 163 See, for example, Dent, *Audio-Visual Handbook*. For later examples, see Weaver and Bollinger, *Visual Aids*; Chandler and Cypher, *Audio-Visual Techniques*; Strauss and Kidd, *Look, Listen and Learn*.
- 164 See Chandler and Cypher, *Audio-Visual Techniques*, 31.
- 165 Dent, *Audio-Visual Handbook*, 86–87.
- 166 See Chandler and Cypher, *Audio-Visual Techniques*, 232, 236.
- 167 *Ibid.*, 32.
- 168 Radosavljevich, introduction to *Audio-Visual Techniques*, viii.
- 169 Chandler and Cypher, *Audio-Visual Techniques*, 32.
- 170 Radosavljevich, introduction to *Audio-Visual Techniques*, ix.
- 171 Chandler and Cypher, *Audio-Visual Techniques*, 12–17.
- 172 *Ibid.*, 15–16.
- 173 *Ibid.*, 15.
- 174 Established as the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics, this entity was known as the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs from 1941 until 1945. See United States, Inter-American Affairs Office, *History of the Office*, 3n1. For examples of studies concerning the arts programs supported by the Office, see Levine and Naylor, *Photographs of Genevieve Naylor*, especially 17–30; Sadlier, *Americans All*, especially 159–170. As Richard Cándida Smith shows, the Office was also interested in establishing South America as a US military vantage point. See Smith, *Improvised Continent*, 111–113, 117, 119–123.
- 175 Several scholars have parsed the Good Neighbor Policy and acknowledged how it served the military and economic interests of the United States. See, for example

- Sadlier, *Americans All*, 2–6, 176; Williams, *U.S.–Latin American Relations*, 131–133, 135–138.
- 176 Inter-American Office, National Gallery of Art, *Report*, 12–13.
- 177 On the internationalism of *Camera Work*, see Gockel, “Camera Work.”
- 178 See Arquin, “Slides of Latin America,” 377–379.
- 179 *Ibid.*, 378.
- 180 *Ibid.* On the Museum of Modern Art’s contribution to the “Brazil Builds” series, see Museum of Modern Art, Department of Circulating Exhibitions, “Circulating Exhibitions,” 12. On this “education” of the US and “‘reverse mandate’ diplomacy,” see Sadlier, *Americans All*, 5.
- 181 Museum of Modern Art, “Exhibition of Brazilian Architecture,” 2.
- 182 *Ibid.*, 1–2; Museum of Modern Art, “Press Release: Brazilian Architecture,” 1.
- 183 Inter-American Office, National Gallery of Art, *Report*, 7–8.
- 184 As Lugon explains, other circulating exhibitions predated Mock’s. The Department of Circulating Exhibitions established the “One Picture Exhibitions” that “tried to balance the two divergent logics of dissemination on the one hand and of celebration of the original work of art on the other” in 1929. See Lugon, “Ubiquitous Exhibition,” 131, 134.
- 185 *Ibid.*, 134.
- 186 The Museum of Modern Art and Courter, *Circulating Exhibitions*, 15. This publication did not specify the premier date of the *If You Want to Build a House* show, but other records indicate that it opened in January 1946 and was “Based on [a] Forthcoming Publication” that was published that year. See Museum of Modern Art, “‘Build a House’”; Mock, *Build a House*.
- 187 The Museum of Modern Art and Courter, *Circulating Exhibitions*, 15.
- 188 The author thanks Erin McKellar for answering her questions about this exhibit in emails from August 29 and August 31, 2017.
- 189 Museum of Modern Art, “Exhibition of Wartime Housing.”
- 190 *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* included black and white photographs of war housing by Eero Saarinen, George Howe, Oscar Stonorov, and Louis I. Kahn, as well as a photograph showing one of the rooms of the exhibition, itself, occupied by a poster by the designer Jean Carlu on one wall and a screen set up against another. On the screen is a projection of the exteriors of William Wurster’s demountable units, set step-like along the hillside at Carquinez Heights. The caption to the exhibition photograph reads “Opening scene of the exhibition with motion picture accompanied by sound track of the President’s speech.” The bulletin notes that the film was “made up of excerpts from productions of the Office for Emergency Management.” It credits the same office in addition to the US Navy, *Life*, the USHA, the FSA, the US Signal Corps, as well as several other individuals and firms for the photographs that made up the show. See Museum of Modern Art, “Wartime Housing: An Exhibition,” n.p.
- 191 Chandler and Cypher, *Audio-Visual Techniques*, 129.
- 192 Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 505–507.
- 193 For a historical account of the debates about public housing as a democratic institution, see Argersinger, “Contested Visions,” 794, 796–799, 803–804, 807. For an account of “Americanizing Public Housing” before the war, see *ibid.*, 798–800.
- 194 Nadel most likely took the “Temple area” color slides after Bauer took her Kodachrome slides of Aliso Village and Chávez Ravine. While Laura Diamond Dixit notes that “[t]here is no record that Leonard Nadel was employed by the Community Redevelopment Agency,” the slides are filed in Nadel’s collection at the Getty Research Institute

under "Series I.B. Community Redevelopment Agency, 1948–1998." See box 12, folder 1, Leonard Nadel photographs. See also Diamond Dixit, "Leonard Nadel," 126. As Don Parson explains, Los Angeles formed its Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) in 1948. Although a separate entity charged with farther-reaching redevelopment work that did not necessarily include public housing construction, the CRA drew support from the ranks of the Housing Authority. See Parson, *Making a Better World*, 141–142.

- 195 On the limitations in circulating Kodachrome, see, for example, Stein, "Rhetoric of the Colorful," 332–334.
- 196 On the history of color slides as art, see Boulouch, "(In)visible Public Life," 184, 186.
- 197 *Ibid.*, 184, 186. Boulouch references Graham, interview, 104, as cited in Boulouch, "(In)visible Public Life," 186n20. See a similar discussion of Graham's interest in suburban housing's formal similarities to Donald Judd's minimalism in Reynolds, *Robert Smithson*, 120.
- 198 DeMars, "A Life in Architecture," 98. DeMars's concept of the "minimal house" related to the Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne's concept of the *Existenzminimum* discussed at the 1929 congress in Frankfurt am Main. On the *Existenzminimum*, see Korbi and Migotto, "Existenzminimum," 299, 300–302; Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 30–44.
- 199 Graham, "Homes for America," 21. For an interpretation of *Homes for America* as "an analysis of Minimal art," see Crow, *Modern Art*, 183–185.
- 200 Allen, *Artists' Magazines*, 34; On Graham's "deadpan," see also Campany, "Conceptual Art History," 134.
- 201 On Graham's conceptualism in *Homes for America*, see Campany, "Conceptual Art History," 133–139.

5 PHOTOGRAPHY AND HOUSING FOR ONE WORLD

- 1 Johnson wanted to cut Bauer's criticism of the tenant selection process from an article she wrote on Baldwin Hills Village, a private Los Angeles housing development he designed. Bauer's response was that he could publish the edited version of the article without her name. See Catherine Bauer Wurster, copy of a letter to Reginald Johnson, July 20, 1944, 1, box 2, folder "Letters Written by Catherine (Bauer) Wurster, Apr.–Dec. 1944," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 2 For a detailed account of the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles's history of segregation and specifically its history of desegregation as anti-Fascist and democratic, see Parson, *Making a Better World*, especially 55–63, 67–69, 72–73. On the abolishment of segregation in housing as democratic as well as the case of *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), see Argersinger, "Contested Visions," 801, 804–805. See also a history of public housing as democratic in *ibid.*, 794, 796–799, 803–804, 807. On the connections between anti-fascism, anti-racism, and public housing, see *ibid.*, 803–804.
- 3 Spalding, "Classic Slum," 115. See also Leonard Nadel, *Aliso Village U.S.A.*, ca. 1949, n.p., box 10, folder 1, Leonard Nadel photographs.
- 4 Sampsell-Willmann, "Retreat from Racial Essentialism," 325.
- 5 Duganne, *Race and Subjectivity*, 3–4. The author's attention was brought to this book by a review in Sampsell-Willmann, "Retreat from Racial Essentialism," 325–327.
- 6 The author thanks Bettina Gockel for bringing Solomon-Godeau's article on Paul Gauguin's painting in Brittany to her attention. Solomon-Godeau explains the relationship between Brittany as pictured in the imagination of colonial-era France and the

mythical figure of Gauguin by describing Brittany as a tool for him in crafting his artistic persona. See Solomon-Godeau, "Going Native," 118–129, 161.

- 7 The author again thanks Bettina Gockel for introducing her to this approach. See an exemplary demonstration of this approach in Gockel, "More Than Genius." A relevant comparison in this regard is also the research of Lauren Kroiz (also cited by Gockel in "More than Genius"), which focuses on discussions of race as translated by modernist artists into material practices. See Kroiz, *Creative Composites*.
- 8 Stimson, *Pivot of the World*, 8, 15, 18.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 2–3.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 8–11.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 76, 80, 82.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 68.
- 13 Parson, *Making a Better World*, 2, 11, 137–186. See also Moga, "Projects and Slums," 41.
- 14 Parson, *Making a Better World*, 103–135. See also "U.N. Promotion of Socialized Housing Scored," *Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 1951, E3, ProQuest; Charles C. Cohan, "Fact and Comment," *Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 1951, E2, ProQuest. For a further discussion of housers at UNESCO and the UN, see Oberlander and Newbrun, *Houser*, 239–240.
- 15 Catherine Bauer, "Post-War Housing Can Save the West," statement given as secretary of the California Housing and Planning Association at the Post-War Planning Meeting of the United States Housing Authority and Local Housing Authorities, Region VII, at the Clift Hotel, San Francisco, January 15, 1942 (from a stenographic transcript), carton 3, folder "Postwar Housing Can Save the West," Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 16 The type of tenements found in urban areas in the East were not always as much of a concern in the West as substandard housing in rural western areas, where many families owned their homes. See *ibid.*, 5.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 See Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 37–38, 97.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 43. See also Moga, "Projects and Slums," 24.
- 20 Catherine Henck to Frank Wilkinson, October 2, 1942, series 3, box 1, folder 1, Frank Wilkinson Papers.
- 21 Frank Wilkinson to Catherine Henck, December 29, 1942, 2, series 3, box 1, folder 1, Frank Wilkinson Papers. As Wilkinson later explained, his relationship to the Housing Authority began when, upon finding him picketing the then segregated Hacienda Village with Monsignor Thomas J. O'Dwyer's Citizens' Housing Council of Los Angeles, the Authority desegregated the project and offered him the project's manager position. See Sherrill, *First Amendment Felon*, 68. On the topic of race in public housing, see also Moga, "Projects and Slums," 3, 24–25. On similar efforts to promote good relationships among diverse residents, see Parson, *Making a Better World*, 61–62.
- 22 Parson's account notes that the Housing Authority first abolished quotas at William Mead Homes and Aliso Village and then the rest of the developments, while Sides states that two housing developments remained segregated as they "had been filled to capacity with whites before the black migration." See Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 116; Parson, *Making a Better World*, 67–69.
- 23 As Dana Cuff writes, in Los Angeles, as in many parts of the United States, "socioeconomics influenced property values more than physical characteristics." See Cuff, *Provisional City*, 104. Cuff describes how racism was prevalent in perceptions of low-income neighborhoods, especially in the process of determining an area's "investment risk" (*ibid.*, 21, 25–26, 104, 139–141, 150, 274–276). On the demographics of the

- city and the segregation of its neighborhoods in the 1940s, see also Pulido, *Radical Activism*, 36–38.
- 24 See Crawford, “Daily Life,” 103, 105, 107. On the migration of African American war workers to the region, see also Wilson Moore, “Traditions from Home,” 267–269.
- 25 Cuff, “Figure of the Neighbor,” 565.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 564. On the American ideal of homeownership, see Argersinger, “Contested Visions,” 793, 795.
- 27 Harris, *Little White Houses*, 1.
- 28 Kahrl, review of *Little White Houses*, 153.
- 29 In direct response to Harris, Kahrl contends that it was not that whiteness was made in the suburbs, but rather that African Americans were shut out. See *ibid.*, 153. As Josh Sides further explains, white homeowners’ opposition to desegregated neighborhoods was closely tied to fears of falling property values, miscegenation, and integrated schools. Mexican, Asian, and Jewish Angelenos experienced comparatively less prejudice, which meant that after the war, once ethnically mixed neighborhoods became predominantly African American. The Supreme Court decisions *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) and *Barrows v. Jackson* (1953) together finally outlawed racially restrictive covenants. See Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 95–130, especially 95–99. See also Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 24–25. See furthermore *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (1948); *Barrows v. Jackson*, 346 U.S. 249 (1953).
- 30 For examples of how the FHA’s policy affected African Americans in Los Angeles, see Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 107. For a study of how the FHA’s discriminatory practices persisted after *Shelley v. Kraemer*, see Kimble, “Insuring Inequality,” 399, 417–419, 421, 423–427, 430–431.
- 31 Raymond A. Voigt to Catherine Bauer Wurster, August 14, 1947, 1. On the group’s struggle, see *ibid.*, 1–2. See also Community Homes Inc. to Caterin [sic] Bauer Wurster, July 2, 1947. On Voigt’s role at Community Homes, Inc., see Raymond A. Voigt to Catherine Bauer Wurster, May 29, 1947, 1. All these letters are in box 15, folder “Community Homes, Inc., 3 letters, 1947,” Catherine Bauer Wurster papers.
- 32 Voigt to Bauer Wurster, August 14, 1947, 1.
- 33 Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 115–120. In his comparison of statistics from 1947 and 1959, Josh Sides writes, “Public housing, both in reality and in public perception, was becoming synonymous with black housing” (*ibid.*, 118). On similar patterns in Chicago, see, for example, Hunt, Ens Dorf, and Pilat, “Promise of Public Housing,” 115, 117, 130, 132.
- 34 “Hints,” 263.
- 35 On children and families in photography of public housing managed by the Chicago Housing Authority, see Hunt, Ens Dorf, and Pilat, “Promise of Public Housing,” 115–116, 117–118.
- 36 See an analysis of a similar strategy of circulation of photographs of diverse children in *ibid.*, 129–130.
- 37 LeRoy, *House I Live In*.
- 38 See Simon, “House I Live In,” 174, 317n23.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 174. On Sinatra’s teenage fans, see also Stoumen, *Ablaze with Light*, 100.
- 40 Simon, “House I Live In,” 174, 177.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 177–178.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 180.
- 43 Edman, “Education for American Democracy,” 85.
- 44 Liveright, “Community and Race Relations,” 116.

- 45 Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *A Decent Home*, 69.
- 46 “Young Pan-American Dancers Are Given Brotherhood Award,” *California Eagle*, March 7, 1946, sec. 2, https://archive.org/details/la_caleagle_reel29_rs/page/n417/mode/2up/search/brotherhood+award. Accessed April 18, 2020.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 “As One Good Guy,” 5, box 58, folder 15, Reuben W. Borough Papers.
- 49 On Green’s work at the Housing Authority, see Stoumen, “Harmony in ‘A’ Flat,” 48.
- 50 Green, “Public Housing,” 136.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Compare to Bernd Stiegler’s reading of photographic exhibitions as *dispositifs* in Stiegler, “Pictures at an Exhibition,” 5.
- 53 On the use of photography and the elision of verbal statements about non-discrimination policies in public housing in Chicago, see also Hunt, Ensdorf, and Pilat, “Promise of Public Housing,” 129–130.
- 54 For a history of Rodger Young Village, see Cuff, *Provisional City*, 184–202.
- 55 “Vet Housing,” 6–7, box 146, John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation Library.
- 56 On the portrayal of the Housing Authority’s employees at work in photographs by Otto Rothschild and Leonard Nadel, see Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 49.
- 57 Fusco, “Racial Time, Racial Marks,” 24.
- 58 On misrecognition and the “wish toward generic inclusivity,” see Sally Stein’s oft cited essay on what she terms “the longstanding assumption about *Migrant Mother*’s whiteness.” Stein, “Passing Likeness,” 353. See also one instance of a citation of this article in Finnegan, *Making Photography Matter*, 219n73.
- 59 On “corporate modernism” at the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, see Parson, *Making a Better World*, 2, 11, 137–186.
- 60 The Housing Authority aimed to increase the circulation of *Los Angeles Housing News* to 5,000 in 1946. See “Public Relations Program,” 1946, 2, series 4, box 1, folder 11, Frank Wilkinson Papers.
- 61 See box 146, John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation Library; “Collection of Books.”
- 62 See *Housing News: War Workers’ Homes—and a Key to the Future* 1, no. 2 (June 1943), box 102, folder 8, Lloyd Wright Papers. See also *Los Angeles Housing News* 3, no. 4 (April 1946), box 58, folder 15, Reuben W. Borough Papers. Also available are copies of *Los Angeles Housing News* from September and November 1949, the December and January issue of 1949/1950, June 1950, and July 1950 in box 30, gta Archives / ETH Zurich (Estate Collection of Werner M. Moser 1896–1970).
- 63 Midgley, Twells, and Carlier, introduction to *Women in Transnational History*, 6.
- 64 Ibid., 1.
- 65 Stimson, *Pivot of the World*, 17. In its interest in the global dimensions of these networks and their connections to the Los Angeles initiatives, the present study builds on Elizabeth Bloom Avery’s observations of the bureaucratic “decentralization” and collaborative strategies of local public housing authorities in the United States. See Avery, “Campaign for Public Housing,” especially 96, 100, 111, 117–119.
- 66 See, for example, appendix 1 in Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 98–99.
- 67 Although he does not attribute the photograph to Esther Lewittes Mipaas, this layout also captured the attention of Steven Moga for its use of a “downward angle.” Compare also to Moga’s report on Wilkinson’s reading of the children in Esther’s “civic unity” photograph in Moga, “Projects and Slums,” 36, 54. See also an analysis of “reform

- photographs" of children and their environments from the collection of the Chicago Housing Authority and local newspapers in Hunt, Ens Dorf, and Pilat, "Promise of Public Housing," 113–115.
- 68 Esther's first name is used here at the suggestion of her daughter. Judith Hibbard-Mipaas, email message to the author, August 19, 2014. Esther changed her last name from Lewittes to Mipaas when she married the WPA artist, Cyril Mipaas (Judith Hibbard-Mipaas, email message to New York University, cc the author, July 23, 2014). Esther would, however, continue to use Lewittes intermittently in the decades following her marriage (Judith Hibbard-Mipaas, email message to the author, July 7, 2014).
- 69 Other historians have recognized that children captured in photographs of older low-income neighborhoods wear clean clothes that contrast with their environment. See Hunt, Ens Dorf, and Pilat, "Promise of Public Housing," 115.
- 70 Cuff, *Provisional City*, 54.
- 71 Special thanks go to the participants in Prof. Dr. Monika Wagner's spring 2013 graduate workshop, especially Anika Reineke, for encouraging the author to consider the connections between housing and the concept of "home."
- 72 *Ibid.*, 109.
- 73 The originality of Esther's observation was first credited to her in 1986. See Haney, *Winchester Psalter*, 152n8. See also Lewittes, "Old Testament Representations," 57–65.
- 74 On the making of the photographs and the destruction of the frescos, see Oakeshott, *Sigena*, especially 8–9. On the use of the Frick Art Reference Library photographs, see Lewittes, "Old Testament Representations," 82.
- 75 Panofsky was already in New York and had already taught at New York University when his teaching position in Hamburg was revoked in 1933. See Smyth, "Department of Fine Arts," 77.
- 76 Walter W.S. Cook to Paul J. Sachs, January 9, 1934, in Panofsky, *Korrespondenz*, 700. Original letter from the Harvard University Museum Archives.
- 77 New York University, *New York University Bulletin*, 38. Records of the Institute of Fine Arts; RG 20.1; box 1; New York University Archives, New York University Libraries. The author thanks Shannon McDonald for providing her with scans of this material.
- 78 Judith Hibbard-Mipaas, interview with the author, July 16, 2014. See also FBI memo, June 10, 1947, 2, file 100-LA-24214, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- 79 On the Index of American Design and its regional organization and approach to the study of craft and folk art, see Clayton, "Picturing a 'Usable Past,'" 6, 7, 9–10.
- 80 Lewittes, "Eighteenth-Century Wool Rug," 322. The author thanks Judith Hibbard-Mipaas for alerting her to and sending her this article.
- 81 On Esther's work at Lockheed, see FBI memo, June 10, 1947, 8, file 100-LA-24214, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- 82 Spalding, "Classic Slum," 108; Cuff, *Provisional City*, 127.
- 83 Lewittes, "They Call This Home," 24–27. The author again thanks Judith Hibbard-Mipaas for alerting her to and sending her this article.
- 84 *Ibid.*, 26.
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 *Ibid.*, 25.
- 87 Stimson, *Pivot of the World*, 18.
- 88 Literary scholar Sara Blair also explores the theme of belonging in FSA photographs and the Photo League photography of Aaron Siskind in New York. Growing up in a neighborhood of immigrants in New York, Esther also witnessed and took part in the urban life that Siskind photographed. See Blair, "Against Trauma," 14–17, 21.

- 89 William H. Van Landingham to SAC, May 17, 1950, 1–2. File 100-LA-24214, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. For a profile of Esther in this memo, see *ibid.*, 11. For a description of Green’s affiliation with Basilone Homes, see *ibid.*, 3. For Green’s article in the *Journal of Housing*, see Green, “Public Housing,” 136. On Green’s work as a manager of Aliso Village, see Stoumen, “Harmony in ‘A’ Flat,” 48.
- 90 Timothy L. Donovan, memo, June 8, 1951, file 100-LA-24214, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. On bringing *People’s World* to “Mar Villa” residents, see also Timothy L. Donovan, memo, May 28, 1951, file 100-LA-24214, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- 91 See Kenneth J. Haser, FBI report, October 24, 1956, file 100-LA-24214, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- 92 Esther Mipaas to Frances G. Knight, September 30, 1956, 1, file 100-LA-24214, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- 93 Department of State, “Transcript of Proceedings in the Matter of Passport Application of: Esther Mipaas,” January 11, 1957, 40, file 100-NY-97656, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- 94 *Ibid.*, 40–41.
- 95 Esther was granted a passport in March 1957. See American Embassy, Rome, to FBI Director, April 9, 1957, 1; FBI memo, “Esther Lewittes Mipaas,” September 23, 1957. Both sources are in file 100-NY-97656, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- 96 For the final memo collected by the FBI on Esther Lewittes Mipaas’s activities, see Director, FBI, to SAC, New York, memo, March 8, 1972. On closing the file, see, for example, SA Terry D. Jennings to SAC, New York, memo, June 16, 1972. Both sources are in file 100-NY-97656, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- 97 See Stimson’s more nuanced articulation of “photography as a means for working through the affective content of such a changing relation to the world and for exploring new forms of political subjectivity, new ways of picturing individual identification as a force that could give newly meaningful and satisfying psychosocial form to political being in the postwar world.” Stimson, *Pivot of the World*, 15.
- 98 On the inclusion of Stoumen’s work in *The Family of Man*, see, for example, Ewing, introduction to *Ordinary Miracles*, 6.
- 99 Hal Dunleavy to Frank Wilkinson, March 27, 1947. Wilkinson replied in a letter dated April 3 of that same year, suggesting that Dunleavy see if San Francisco was hiring. Both sources are in series 3, box 1, folder 1, Frank Wilkinson Papers.
- 100 One contemporary commentator saw fortunate access to creative resources in the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles’s geographic proximity to Hollywood. See M.R. [Miriam Roher?], review of *Homes for Heroes*, 349.
- 101 The school moved to its present location in Pasadena in 1976. See “History.” On the College’s enrollment of veterans, see “Veterans.”
- 102 See Singerman, *Art Subjects*, 18, 59, 128–129.
- 103 See Diamond, “Demolished and Rebuilt Communities,” 7. Diamond cites an interview she conducted with Evelyn De Wolfe on January 18, 2004. See also the finding aid information about Leonard Nadel in Guynn and Yang, “Biographical/Historical Note,” Leonard Nadel photographs. Soldiers learned to specialize in either darkroom techniques, film, or still photography at the Signal Corp’s Photographic Center at the Paramount Picture studio on Long Island. See Maslowski, *Armed with Cameras*, 242, 282–283.
- 104 See Diamond Dixit, “Leonard Nadel,” 122. Robert Dirig, archivist of ArtCenter College of Design, confirmed Nadel’s graduation from ArtCenter (then “Art Center”) in an

- email message to the author, January 16, 2013. 1949 was the same year that the college awarded its first Bachelor's in photography. See "History."
- 105 On Stoumen's tenure at the Photo League, see, for example, Louis Clyde Stoumen, *Fellowship Application Form: #3, An Account of My Work*, 1, box 2, folder 21, Lou Stoumen [Archive], 1925–1992.
- 106 See, for example, Stoumen, *Account of My Work*, 4.
- 107 Tucker, introduction to *Lou Stoumen*, 5.
- 108 See Stoumen, Hugunin, and Ollman, *Seduced by Life*, 89.
- 109 See Ewing, introduction to *Ordinary Miracles*, 7. Cited here is Stoumen, *Naked Eye*.
- 110 See Ewing, introduction to *Ordinary Miracles*, 7. Cited here is Stoumen, *True Story*.
- 111 See Ewing, introduction to *Ordinary Miracles*, 7. Cited here is Stoumen, *Black Fox*.
- 112 Tucker, introduction to *Lou Stoumen*, 7.
- 113 The books were Stoumen, *Can't Argue with Sunrise*; Stoumen, *Ordinary Miracles*; Stoumen, *Times Square*; Stoumen, *Journey to Land's End*; Stoumen, *Ablaze with Light*, as listed in Hugunin, "Lou Stoumen's Paper Movie," 80–81. Compare to an additional account that counts *Yank's Magic Carpet* among these books in Ewing, introduction to *Ordinary Miracles*, 6. *Yank's Magic Carpet* appears to have been published by the staff of the Army's weekly, *Yank*. See *Yank, Yank's Magic Carpet*. Compare also to a discussion of Stoumen's books in Tucker, introduction to *Lou Stoumen*, 7.
- 114 Hugunin, "Lou Stoumen's Paper Movie," 80.
- 115 See Tucker, introduction to *Lou Stoumen*, 7; Hugunin, "Lou Stoumen's Paper Movie," 81.
- 116 Ollman, "Seduced by Life," 7–9.
- 117 *Ibid.*, 7.
- 118 Tucker, introduction to *Lou Stoumen*, 6. On Stoumen's meeting with Weston, see Ewing, introduction to *Ordinary Miracles*, 8. See also Tucker, introduction to *Lou Stoumen*, 7; Ollman, "Seduced by Life," 7, 10–11.
- 119 Ollman, "Seduced by Life," 10–13.
- 120 Hugunin, "Lou Stoumen's Paper Movie," 80.
- 121 *Ibid.*, 81, 85. Hugunin cites Andy Grundberg, "The Power to Convince Has Faded: Photography View," *New York Times*, July 17, 1983, sec. Arts and Leisure, H23, ProQuest.
- 122 The two other exhibitions included Judy Goldhill's work at the Jewish Museum and *Evidence* at Henry Street Settlement. See Grundberg, "Power to Convince," H23.
- 123 *Ibid.*
- 124 Compare to a criticism of the theories of the "October moment" in Kelsey and Stimson, introduction to *Meaning of Photography*, ix. See also Gockel, introduction to *American Photography*, xvi–xvii.
- 125 Stoumen, *Can't Argue with Sunrise*, as cited in Hugunin, "Lou Stoumen's Paper Movie," 80.
- 126 See Ewing, introduction to *Ordinary Miracles*, 6. Ewing references Stoumen, *Speech for the Young*; *Yank, Yank's Magic Carpet*. For an additional account of *Yank's Magic Carpet* as well as *The Magic Carpet*, see Stoumen, *Account of My Work*, 3. Compare to Louis Clyde Stoumen, *Fellowship Application Form: #4, A List of Publications and Exhibitions*, 4. See also Louis Clyde Stoumen, *Fellowship Application Form: Plans for Work*, 3. All three of these papers are in box 2, folder 21, Lou Stoumen [Archive], 1925–1992.
- 127 Stoumen, *Account of My Work*, 3.
- 128 Stoumen, *Plans for Work*, 2.

- 129 Stoumen, "Harmony in 'A' Flat." Stoumen later published the photograph of Sinatra giving the award to students with the caption "Sinatra presents *Brotherhood Award* to East Los Angeles high school students" in Stoumen, *Ablaze with Light*, 101.
- 130 Liveright, "Community and Race Relations," 116. Direct quotation from *The House I Live In*, lyrics by Abel Meeropol (credited under his pseudonym, Lewis Allan), as performed by Frank Sinatra in LeRoy, *House I Live In*.
- 131 Stimson, *Pivot of the World*, 26.
- 132 The Zoot Suit Riots occurred in the summer of 1943, when white military men and civilians waged several days of violence against young men wearing "zoot suits"—a fashion popular among young American men of Mexican descent. Many citizens concerned about the racism at the root of this conflict saw it as not simply a threat to civic unity, but also to the United States' "good neighbor" relations with Latin America. See Leonard, *Battle for Los Angeles*, 149, 152–160. Another contemporary case of what Leonard notes many commentators saw as race-related violence was the death of José Díaz in August 1942. The ensuing "Sleepy Lagoon" trial rapidly became a forum for a debate about the alleged "biological predisposition" to violence of local youth of Mexican descent. The defense committee argued that youth violence was a result of discrimination in access to education and decent housing (for example, *ibid.*, 87–102, especially 89, 97). On the role of the press in perceptions of the Zoot Suit Riots, see also Pagán, "Los Angeles Geopolitics," 224.
- 133 See Stoumen, "Harmony in 'A' Flat," 26, 47–48.
- 134 *Ibid.*, 50.
- 135 *Ibid.*
- 136 Yates, "Bigotry," 17, 34–36.
- 137 *Ibid.*, 35–36.
- 138 For a list of winners of the Guggenheim Fellowship, see "Fellows."
- 139 See "Guggenheim Award," 172.
- 140 Stoumen, *Account of My Work*, 4.
- 141 *Ibid.*
- 142 Stoumen did not receive credit for these photographs in *Los Angeles Housing News*, but copies of these portraits and similar portraits attributed to him in the Housing Authority Collection at the Los Angeles Public Library make a strong case for his authorship.
- 143 Stoumen, *Publications and Exhibitions*, 5.
- 144 Stoumen, *Plans for Work*, 1.
- 145 *Ibid.*, 1–2.
- 146 On the concept of photography's nation, see Stimson, *Pivot of the World*, especially 20–27. On the concept of photography's republic, see Kelsey and Stimson, introduction to *Meaning of Photography*, xxiii–xxiv. See also a citation and analysis of this passage from Kelsey and Stimson's essay in Gockel, introduction to *American Photography*, xvii–xviii.
- 147 On the pivot, see Stimson, *Pivot of the World*, 58.
- 148 See Cuff, *Provisional City*, 161–163. See references also to "harmoniousness" in public housing in Diamond, "Demolished and Rebuilt Communities," especially 49–51, 85.
- 149 Leonard Nadel, *Aliso Village U.S.A.*, ca. 1949, n.p., box 10, folder 1, Leonard Nadel photographs.
- 150 Leonard Nadel, introduction to *Pueblo del Rio: The Study of a Planned Community*, n.p., box 11, folder 1, Leonard Nadel photographs.

- 151 George A. Sanderson to Edward W. Barrett, Jr., December 1, 1950, box 13, folder 15, Leonard Nadel photographs.
- 152 Stoumen, *Plans for Work*, 6.
- 153 Castañeda, "Malinche, Calafia y Toypurina," 83–84, direct quotation on 83. Cited and summarized by Castañeda is a later publication of the myth from 1510. See Ordóñez de Montalvo, "Las sergas." The 1874/1880 reprint of this publication is cited in Castañeda, "Malinche, Calafia y Toypurina," 83, 84, 93n7, 93n11.
- 154 See Lauren Kroiz's award-winning study of this topic, *Creative Composites*, 1–2.
- 155 Stoumen, *Plans for Work*, 10.
- 156 Ibid.
- 157 Ibid.
- 158 Ibid., 9–10.
- 159 Ibid., 5. Cited here are MacLeish, *Land of the Free*; Weegee, *Naked City*; Morris, *Inhabitants*.
- 160 Stoumen, *Plans for Work*, 5.
- 161 Ibid., 2. On the films and ideas of one of the school's teachers, Slavko Vorkapich, see James, *Most Typical Avant-Garde*, 70–77.
- 162 Stoumen, *Plans for Work*, 2.
- 163 Ibid.
- 164 Ibid., 4.
- 165 Ibid.
- 166 Ibid., 6.
- 167 Ibid., 7.
- 168 Ibid.
- 169 Stoumen, *Account of My Work*, 1.
- 170 Stoumen, *Plans for Work*, 7–8.
- 171 Ibid., 6.
- 172 Ibid., 4.
- 173 Ibid., 8.
- 174 Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 51.
- 175 Stoumen, *Plans for Work*, 5.
- 176 Ibid., 8.
- 177 See Museum of Modern Art, "Family of Man," 19. On the identification of the beach, see Stoumen, *Can't Argue with Sunrise*, n.p.
- 178 Stoumen, *Plans for Work*, 2.
- 179 Stoumen, *Can't Argue with Sunrise*, 139.
- 180 See Museum of Modern Art, "Family of Man," 18; Stoumen, *Can't Argue with Sunrise*, n.p.
- 181 Stoumen, *Can't Argue with Sunrise*, 138.
- 182 Grundberg, "Power to Convince," H23.
- 183 The most relevant research here is the historical view of the theories of the "October moment" in Kelsey and Stimson, introduction to *Meaning of Photography*, ix. See also Gockel, introduction to *American Photography*, xvi–xvii. See further research on the changing meaning of photographs outlined in chapter 1 of this study, including Edwards and Hart, introduction to *Photographs Objects Histories*, 4.

CONCLUSION

- 1 The author borrowed a copy of the Housing Authority's fourth annual report from Occidental College. See Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *Homes for Heroes*.
- 2 Edwards and Hart, introduction to *Photographs Objects Histories*, 4. On the question of how to approach "uncirculation," see Mancini, "American Art's Dark Matter," 44. See also Brunet, introduction to *Circulation*, 22.
- 3 Kelsey, *Archive Style*, 7.
- 4 As photohistorian Olivier Lugon shows, the transfer of book design to exhibition design began in the 1920s. See Lugon, "Ubiquitous Exhibition," 123. See also Lugon, "Photography of the Typographers" and Lugon, "La photographie des typographes," as referenced in Lugon, "Ubiquitous Exhibition," 123n1.
- 5 Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 401. On Bauer's lobbying as more effective than her photographs in enacting legislation, see *ibid.*, 391, 400–402.
- 6 Kelsey and Stimson, introduction to *Meaning of Photography*, xxiii–xxvi.