

# Adopted homes for yesterday's children: Constructing care in Oakland, California

Author: Marta Gutman

Persistent link: <http://hdl.handle.net/2345/4093>

This work is posted on [eScholarship@BC](#),  
Boston College University Libraries.

---

Berkeley, CA: Center for Working Families, University of California, Berkeley, 2002

Use of this resource is governed by the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons "Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 United States" (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/us/>)

**Adopted Homes for Yesterday's Children:  
Constructing Care in Oakland, California**

*Marta Gutman, R.A., Ph.D.\**

*Working Paper No. 32  
April 2002*

\*Marta Gutman, historian and architect, is a postdoctoral researcher at the Center for Working Families.

©2002 Center for Working Families, University of California, Berkeley

The Working Paper Series is intended to report preliminary results of research in progress. Comments are welcome.

## **Dedication and Acknowledgements**

The willingness of Mollie Fisher, Belva Heer, and Sally Gorham to share childhood memories made this working paper possible. I thank all of them and dedicate this to Belva's memory. Last September, this remarkable woman traveled to Oakland for the express purpose of visiting Studio One, in spite of suffering from a painful illness. Sadly, it turned out to be terminal, and Belva died on January 25, 2002.

I am deeply indebted to Di Starr for introducing me to Mollie Fisher and Belva Heer and sharing her insights as we have worked on our respective projects. Chris Noll, of Noll & Tam Architects in Oakland, generously shared measured drawings of Studio One, which I used to develop sketch plans of the Children's Home; my understanding of this building has benefited greatly from the expertise of Gene Sparling. Maryanne McKale, the chief executive officer of the Lincoln Child Center, opened the LCC archives to my view, allowed me to reproduce important materials, and took time from a very busy schedule to discuss the history of the institution and intricacies of licensing; Laurie Grossman of the Park School shared interview notes; Nina Sparling introduced me to Gail Carson Levine's wonderful book, *Dave at Night*. Thanks to all and to Barrie Thorne, Paula Fass, Ning de Coninck-Smith, and the Sloan Fellows at the Berkeley Center for Working Families, whose comments and observations have enriched my thinking immeasurably.

## **Abstract**

At the beginning of the twentieth century, tens of thousands of children lived in “adopted homes,” the term that President Theodore Roosevelt used at the first White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children to describe orphanages and other institutions for children. To the dismay of reformers, who dominated the 1909 gathering, many boys and girls resided in relatively large, dormitory-style institutions, known as congregate care, regardless of the reason for confinement. Reformers argued that institutional living created the “institutional type” of child, not able to be spontaneous or independent. The censure of institutionalism, which spoke to gendered, middle-class, domestic values, came to dominate the thinking of social welfare professionals, contributing to the closure of orphanages across the nation. Yet, a different, more complex picture of congregate care emerges when we take into account the experiences of urban children who once lived in the kind of building disparaged by reformers.

In this paper, I draw on an extraordinary resource, children’s experiences and understandings, to scrutinize the physical and social construction of congregate care in the Children’s Home, an orphanage in Oakland, California. It was run by the Ladies’ Relief Society, one of the city’s oldest nonsectarian charities (established in 1871). In California, state and local governments benefited from the activities of women’s volunteer associations, which filled the vacuum created by state legislators who disdained to fund the construction of urban institutions, until well after the turn of the twentieth century. The state had one of the highest rates of institutionalization in the United States around 1900. The paper reviews the history of the woman-run orphanage, which was rebuilt several times, identifies its ties to other orphanages in the city’s “landscape of charity,” and examines the effects of reform impulses. The final section looks at children’s responses to caregiving in the congregate setting during the Great Depression.

The women, who shared their stories with me, were not orphans. They were needy children who lived in a racially segregated institution that met the need of white, working-class families for emergency child care. Their accounts cast doubt on the environmental determinism of reform thinking in the twentieth century, that is, the assumption that the physical appearance of a building can create predictable social outcomes. At the same time, the women do not minimize the affective power and impact of a building’s design. The voices of yesterday’s

children make clear that congregate institutions embodied discipline and authority, were marked by class and ethnic meanings, as well as by gendered and racialized ones, and offered material, emotional, and social benefits to boys and girls who faced difficult choices all too soon in life. Their reasoning squares with the insights of social historians who have studied orphanages in other American cities. This material also supports feminist philosophers who probe the fiction of the self-sufficient individual and the demands this places on working families, especially the women who are the principal givers of care.

History is not just an account of the past,  
it is an account of the relationship between the past and the present.

—R. J. Morris, 2000\*

In 1909, shortly after the first White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children disbanded, Theodore Roosevelt lauded the gendered, middle-class, domestic values endorsed by the prestigious group. “Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons,” the president wrote when he sent the conference proceedings to the U.S. Congress. He called attention to the key theme in the “Special Message,” which introduced the weighty volume of published proceedings. “Surely poverty alone should not disrupt the home,” Roosevelt declared. “Parents of good character suffering from temporary misfortune, and above all deserving mothers fairly well able to work but deprived of the support of the normal breadwinner, should be given aid as may be necessary to enable them to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of their children.”<sup>1</sup>

The suggestion that worthy mothers deserved financial assistance from the state (known as widows’ or mothers’ pensions) was a far-reaching proposition in 1911, one that did not become a cornerstone of federal social welfare policy until the mid-1930s.<sup>2</sup> Even so, the phrases “home life” and “suitable homes” held appropriately conservative connotations to President Roosevelt and the conference participants, who included civic officials, directors of charitable institutions and societies, and other advocates for children from across the nation. One of them, Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, president of the National Conference of Jewish Charities, gave voice to mainstream ideals when he addressed at President Roosevelt’s behest the largely male, white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant gathering. “The family is the structural cell,” Hirsch stated in his lecture, “The Home Versus the Institution,” which endorsed the call for mothers’ pensions and foster care. “In the long run pensioning mothers is cheaper than building almshouses and jails and reformatories. Keep the mothers at home and a long stride is taken on the road leading away from pauperism and that which causes it—alcoholism and anarchy.” He went on to assert that “institutions for the care of dependent children should hereafter serve one purpose; that of affording temporary shelter until homes are found for those that need them.”<sup>3</sup> Reiterating the

reasoning of other reformers committed to the child-saving cause, Hirsch insisted that the design of institutions should follow “the cottage plan”: each building should house no more than twenty-five children at one time, the structure should be directed by a house-mother, and the facility should recall in all other possible aspects the physical and social attributes of a middle-class home.

The large number of American children living in congregate institutions fueled Hirsch’s call for reform. During the first decade of the twentieth century, tens of thousands of children lived in what President Roosevelt called “adopted homes.” As he explained in the introduction to the conference proceedings, citing figures from the U.S. Census Bureau, 93,000 children lived in orphanages and children’s homes in 1904. He estimated that another 50,000 lived with foster parents in boarding or private homes, and 25,000 more were incarcerated in institutions run by the states, for the most part.<sup>4</sup> To the dismay of reformers, many boys and girls resided in relatively large, dormitory-style, congregate institutions, regardless of the reason for confinement. As Rabbi Hirsch argued in his speech, the routines and old-fashioned designs of large-scale dormitories typical of late-nineteenth-century building campaigns “trimmed and turned” dependent children “into automatons.” In the settings, boys and girls were segregated by sex and age and deprived of maternal care, privacy, and freedom, most notably the ability to be spontaneous. Institutional living created “the institutional type,” a child who was “marked by repression if not atrophy of the impulse to act independently.”<sup>5</sup> The censure of institutionalism, justified by specific settings, came to dominate the thinking of social welfare professionals, contributing to the closure of orphanages by the middle of the century. Yet, a different, more complex picture of congregate care emerges when we take into account the everyday experiences of urban working-class children who once lived in such “adopted homes” across the nation.

In this paper, I will draw on children’s experiences and understandings to scrutinize the physical and social construction of congregate care in Oakland, California, after I establish the context for building children’s institutions in the western state. I focus on private, woman-run establishments, where historically elite women interpreted motherhood and caregiving to be a collective responsibility. Shortly after California joined the union, the state legislature began to allocate modest grants to private institutions dispensing relief, securing support for the new state

government and prompting the organization of a host of voluntary associations to care for destitute, orphaned children.<sup>6</sup> No central authority supervised the admission of children to private institutions or the government's expenditures on them, and, although the individual subsidies were modest, the rate and ensuing cost of institutionalization soared in California when compared to statistics for the nation as a whole.<sup>7</sup> "A little institutionalism is not a bad thing," Arthur J. Pillsbury, secretary to the State Board of Examiners, wrote in defense of the state's record, "especially for a child that has been a bit delinquent, as most dependent children have been."<sup>8</sup> Even after the State Board of Charities and Corrections, a regulatory body, was formed in 1902, the number of institutionalized children remained high—almost 21,000 boys and girls in 1911, when the state's population topped 2,380,000 people. That year, state and county aid to children living in private institutions and family homes amounted to nearly \$700,000.<sup>9</sup>

Some years later, first Mollie Fisher and Belva Heer, and then Sally Gorham (Figure 1) came to live in the Children's Home in Oakland (Figure 2), which was owned and managed by the Ladies' Relief Society, one of the city's oldest charities. In writing this paper, I am able to draw on their memories of daily life in the orphanage because these women want to be known and recognized as individuals; they want their experiences at the Children's Home and in ensuing foster homes to become part of the public, historical record.<sup>10</sup> One of my goals in interviewing them was to determine the physical organization of the building because no original architectural drawings exist and the interior was substantially remodeled in the 1940s, when the orphanage was turned into the Studio One Art Center, a city-owned facility.<sup>11</sup> Their accounts cast doubt on the environmental determinism of reform thinking in the Progressive Era (and later in the twentieth century), that is, the assumption that the physical appearance of a building or setting creates predictable social outcomes.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, the women do not minimize the affective power and impact of a building's design. The voices of yesterday's children make clear that congregate institutions embodied discipline and authority and concurrently offered material, emotional, and social benefits to boys and girls who faced difficult choices all too soon in life. Their line of reasoning squares with the insights of social historians who have studied orphanages in other U. S. cities. It also corresponds to views of feminist philosophers who probe

the fiction of the self-sufficient individual and the demands this places on working families, chiefly on women who are the principal givers of care.<sup>13</sup>

The women, who shared their stories with me, were not orphans. They were needy children who lived in racially segregated institutions, which were intended to meet the need of white, working-class families for emergency child care. In the 1920s, injury, illness, death of a parent, divorce, and desertion frequently disrupted working-class family life, arousing the interest of child savers in “endangered children” and compelling parents to ask charities for aid.<sup>14</sup> Belva Heer and Mollie Fisher, sisters, arrived at the Ladies’ Relief Society along with two other siblings in 1925. Their father worked for the railroad and married their mother, his second wife, when she was sixteen and he was forty years old. After their parents divorced, one of them (which one has slipped from their memory) brought the girls to the charity: Berta Lee was one year old, Mollie, three, Belva, five, and Lois, seven (Figure 3). The younger brother, Jackie, went to a foster home in Wyoming. Each parent visited the sisters separately and infrequently, and when it came time to leave, the older girls went to live in Oregon with their remarried mother; the younger girls were sent to a foster home in San Jose. The Gorham children (Figure 4) came to the orphanage in 1938, when Sally was two years old, her older sister, Barbara, was three, and her brother, Martin, was one year old. Their mother had Parkinson’s disease; their father hurt his back working on the San Francisco Bay Bridge; and county officials, alerted by neighbors, seized the children when they were left alone one day. The Ladies’ Relief Society took care of the children until Sally was seven, when the sisters moved to a foster home. They lived there until their foster mother sustained an injury that required the children to move to the Lincoln Home, another Oakland orphanage. Their father visited them often at both institutions.

During my research, I also uncovered one written account of a child’s life at the Children’s Home, left by Joseph DeFreitas. He was eight years old when he arrived in 1924; his brother, Robert, was eleven. After their parents separated, the youngsters came to live in the orphanage, and their mother, who lived and worked in North Oakland, visited them regularly on weekends. The charity charged \$15.00 a month to take care of each child.<sup>15</sup>

I came to understand the importance of orphanages in the daily life of working-class children through studying charities that women built for caregiving purposes in Oakland from

the 1870s to the 1920s.<sup>16</sup> In Oakland and other cities across the United States, women created what I call a landscape of charity—a variety of loosely affiliated, nonsectarian, charitable institutions that were perceived to be public places although they were privately owned and administered. They could restrict admission on the basis of need and perceived moral worth and were often (although not always) racially segregated. These institutions were understood to serve the public, a public principally composed of immigrant, working-class women and children, and thus the settings were associated with class and ethnic groups, as well as with gender and race. Around 1900, orphanages were one feature in Oakland’s landscape of charity, which also contained settlement houses, old age homes, free kindergartens, day nurseries (day care centers), and other settings that catered to working-class families. Taken together, the buildings help us to recognize that, historically, caregiving occurred through extended urban networks, which were physical, social, and political in nature. To date, I have focused on examining building processes and architectural transformations, as women turned houses into purpose-built institutions. I have also examined the contours of political and social relationships, as expressed in built landscapes. Institutional design also embodied attitudes toward motherhood, childhood, and family life. Whether congregate living ought to be a part of a child’s life in an orphanage was hotly debated at the turn of the last century and remains a question in successor institutions.

The research challenges prejudices and assumptions about nineteenth-century children’s institutions, especially those received from books like Charles Dickens’s *Oliver Twist*—where orphaned children live in dilapidated buildings, isolated in the countryside and are beaten, sick, poorly dressed, and ill-fed. The situation existed in California, but such a perspective misses the dynamics of working-class life in the urbanizing state and the proactive position that working parents took with respect to procuring care for their children and wealthier women took toward providing it.<sup>17</sup> From the 1830s, when modern orphanages first appeared in the United States, to World War II, when many closed their doors, scores of children lived in orphanages, and many had at least one living parent. In working-class Oakland, orphanages were part and parcel of daily life. Children moved in and out of institutions as family needs changed, short stays (one year or less) were common, and adoption was infrequent (Figure 5). Moreover, children could receive excellent care—meals with enough food (including meat) to satisfy a growing body,

clean, sanitary surroundings, regular medical attention, and even love and affection. Charities observed the state's compulsory education laws, enabling children to go to school through the eighth grade rather than be sent to work in a factory or as a servant. Boys and girls also encountered moralistic institutions, filled with rules and discipline where even in ostensibly nonsectarian settings, religious practice was one means used to fabricate social control and enforce congregated ideals (Figure 6).

Several schools of thought help us to understand the history of children and urban institutions in the United States—viewpoints that are often taken to be at odds with one another but help to integrate history of buildings with other disciplines. Michel Foucault insists that social welfare, environmental regulation, and institutionalization can be seen as related disciplinary practices, key elements in forging the modern subject (of whatever social class); this insight helps to explain the physical representation and social diffusion of authority within institutions where children lived.<sup>18</sup> Henri Lefebvre's point that urban spaces are socially constructed, that ordinary people create social spaces and invest them with meaning through everyday uses and interactions, is also pertinent, especially to comprehending children's grasp of territories, rooms, and interior spatial relationships.<sup>19</sup> In addition, charity is a matter of "getting" as well as "giving," to borrow a phrase from E. P. Thompson.<sup>20</sup> Urban orphanages could serve as a material resource for working-class families, regardless of socializing and disciplinary functions attached to them by elites. The historian R. J. Morris, who has studied the dynamics of volunteerism and civil society in England, makes clear that the "invention of material resources" was an urban process. As he writes, "the nineteenth-century city became a vast laboratory which tested the effectiveness of market mechanisms to the limit and then tested the operation of other ways of producing and delivering goods and services."<sup>21</sup> This argument resonates with points made by Linda Gordon, Kenneth Cmiel, Nurith Zmora, and Sonya Michel about the social and economic value to working people of orphanages and other woman-run, urban charities. As their research shows, ordinary people were able to appropriate services offered by private charities, to some degree.<sup>22</sup> Finally, in California, state, county, and municipal governments benefited from the activities of volunteer and religious associations.<sup>23</sup> "California has no state orphanage and there is only one county orphanage in the state," one reformer noted in 1906. "The other forty-

three orphanages are benevolent institutions created and controlled either by some church or charitable organization.”<sup>24</sup> These groups filled the vacuum created by legislators who disdained to fund the construction of urban institutions until well after the turn of the twentieth century.

### **Women’s Benevolence, an Urban Matter in Nineteenth-Century California**

To provide what Morris calls “externalities” and what others call care, the public and the private sectors have been involved in the delivery of social welfare in American cities since the Industrial Revolution.<sup>25</sup> Conceptualizations of social welfare history, which give preference to the rise of the welfare state, do not explain the persistent, albeit shifting relationships between public and private providers in the United States and thus do not admit the importance of women’s volunteer associations, which were central to the process of providing public charity in nineteenth-century cities.<sup>26</sup> Working as care providers and institution builders, elite women asserted their gendered benevolent authority to provide social services that the state or the market did not offer at the time. As Robert Bremner suggests, nine out of ten children who were institutionalized in the United States were most likely cared for in private institutions during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup>

In California, the state government favored creating separate institutions for delinquent, dependent, and disabled (deficient, in nineteenth-century terms) children. It responded to what Michael Katz calls “the great theme” in public charity, “the attempt to siphon special groups from the poorhouse into separate institutions,” and segregate them according to age, need, disability, as well as by race and gender.<sup>28</sup> Shortly after statehood, the legislature opened the San Francisco Industrial School (for boys only), which was replaced in the 1890s by two reform schools, erected in isolated rural settings. Other public facilities included a home for deaf and blind children and one for boys and girls suffering from mental illnesses; on occasion, indigent children lived in county poor farms (almshouses), although they were generally taken to be unsuitable places for children to live.<sup>29</sup> That was it. Sectarian and nonsectarian charities and volunteer societies ran virtually every other institution for dependent children in the state until after the turn of the century; elite white women initiated and managed many of them, drawing on modest public subsidies to offset operating costs.<sup>30</sup> In Oakland, middle- and upper-class white

women founded the Ladies' Relief Society in 1871 to aid victims of the Great Chicago Fire, and shortly afterward, the nonsectarian charity opened in a standing building the first asylum for children and elderly women in town—a frontier settlement of about 10,000 people.<sup>31</sup>

Almost always, women located institutions within or close to cities and towns in California during the late nineteenth century (although the merits of urban and rural sites were debated). In the rapidly urbanizing state, women relied on extended social networks to find caregivers (volunteer labor, paid staff), raise funds, and procure supplies, which members often donated as in-kind contributions. In addition, charitable institutions had to be easily reached by clientele; charities *needed* clients because they came to rely on state subsidies (income) to pay their bills. Charities for children had to be especially accessible, so they were visible to parents and able to help children bridge the gap to independent living in cities and towns, where many would work as young adults. In Oakland, the Ladies' Relief Society rented property in town until it raised enough cash to purchase a standing house on a ten-acre parcel, north of the city line. The site is “beautifully located, with plenty of land and a large orchard affording every facility for the care and comfort of the inmates,” the city directory noted in the late 1870s.<sup>32</sup> Custom seemed to sanction the choice of an idyllic site, apparently removed from the temptations (or squalor) of urban life. Even so, the piece of property had strong attachments to the city and its plan, as a drawing made in the early 1880s (Figure 7) indicates and the managers pointed out. The setting had the “advantages of town and country,” with a railroad nearby, the ladies explained, and offered ample room for outdoor play, including a playground.<sup>33</sup> Nonetheless, the group planned to grow food and raise livestock, using indigent children as farm workers. These children had to realize the “dignity of toil,” the society explained, with each sex learning “to fit well and faithfully a humble position.”<sup>34</sup>

The female managers of the society willingly crossed the public-private divide, as well as the barriers of social class, to open and sustain a shelter for needy children and elderly women. “No brand of shame may mark them as pauper recipients of the public bounty,” one manager vowed, conveying her hopes for the working-class children who would come to call an institution home.<sup>35</sup> However, the charity could not afford to maintain that position for long and reluctantly decided to accept city and state subsidies to offset operating costs. “The Home was

full and the Treasury empty,” one manager bluntly remarked.<sup>36</sup> The charity offered aid only to those people it deemed “deserving” and understood relief to be a means of instilling respect for obedience, order, and hard work in recipients. The Ladies’ Relief Society expected all clients who were capable, even elderly women, to work for their keep, and tasks were divided along gendered lines. Moreover, Protestantism prevailed, at the same time as the racially segregated organization insisted it welcomed clients of all faiths.<sup>37</sup>

After the state adopted a new constitution in 1879, the process for allocating public aid to dependent adults changed, favoring private charities with sizeable investments in real property.<sup>38</sup> The shift in priorities held clear consequences for the physical setting of a private association like the Ladies’ Relief Society, which initially located a multipurpose charity inside an altered house (Figures 8 and 9), and that lacked the financial resources to erect a differentiated, purpose-built institution. In spite of the charity’s idealistic hope that it could house elderly women and young children in one building, the establishment quickly came to function principally as an orphanage, and the interior was altered to suit that purpose.<sup>39</sup> In the early 1880s, the society raised enough money to erect a magnificent new Home for Aged Women, designed by a local architect (Figure 10). The physical improvement to the charity’s property assured continuity of state funding as well as better housing for elderly clients. The new building is a “marvel of architectural beauty,” wrote a journalist, who admired the “large, commodious, and convenient” structure with differentiated rooms and a handsome façade.<sup>40</sup> A few years later, the charity added a wing for infants to the orphanage, and then the entire building burned in a great fire in 1894. Later that year, two new buildings had been constructed: the De Fremery Nursery for babies and toddlers and a large, congregate institution, called the Children’s Home (Figure 11). The Ladies’ Relief Society rebuilt this latter masonry and wood-frame building after another fire in 1906, and boys and girls lived there until the outbreak of World War II.<sup>41</sup>

The change in title—from asylum to home—does not seem to have occurred because of a shift in benevolent purpose. Kenneth Cmiel has argued that nineteenth-century charities used the term asylum to suggest that an institution offered a temporary refuge to needy boys and girls: it was a place that helped to keep working-class families intact “by maintaining children through a time of crisis.”<sup>42</sup> The child was not taken to be an independent person, with autonomous needs,

and single mothers (and certainly widowed fathers) were expected to work to maintain the family. The Ladies' Relief Society endorsed similar values, so the name change from asylum to home seems to have been related to another trend. During the nineteenth century, the term "children's home" was increasingly used to counter the impression that an institution housed only orphans; many charities took in half-orphans and abandoned children, as well.<sup>43</sup> There were no legal ramifications to one or the other title in California until 1913, when the State Board of Charities and Corrections issued new regulations, after it mandated that children's institutions be licensed. The new rules distinguished between an orphanage, which received state aid for the care of orphans, half-orphans, and neglected children up to twelve years of age, a children's home, which housed more than ten children and did not receive state funds, and a family home, which housed fewer than ten children, not related to the homeowners. However, some habits died hard. The Ladies' Relief Society received a license to run an orphanage, which it continued to call "Children' Home."<sup>44</sup>

### **Charity in Oakland on the Eve of the Great Depression**

The Cooley sisters, the Gorham siblings, and the DeFreitas brothers were among the hundreds of children who found shelter in the airy dormitories of the Children's Home in Oakland during the early twentieth century. This building, like other institutions that articulated the landscape of charity in the nineteenth-century city, still stood in the modern metropolis, just before the Great Depression spread across the land. In the late 1920s, the Alameda County Welfare Council supervised three shelters for homeless children who qualified for public relief (one located in Oakland); the agency relied on private agencies to determine eligibility.<sup>45</sup> Otherwise, a parent could turn to the two nonsectarian children's institutions in Oakland, which women opened in altered houses in the 1870s and 1880s and had since replaced with purpose-built, dormitory structures. In principle, a needy white child from any religious background was welcome at the Children's Home, run by the Ladies' Relief Society, or the West Oakland Home (called the Lincoln Home after 1930). A white Protestant child could find care at the Fred Finch Orphanage in Oakland, run by the Methodist Episcopal Church; Roman Catholic children needed to travel to St. Mary's Orphan Asylum in San José; and others went to St. Joseph's Home for

Deaf Mutes, another Roman Catholic institution in Oakland. Other private institutions included the Rose Avenue Cottage in Pleasanton, the California Girls' Training Home in Alameda (for delinquent girls), the California Rescue Home, and the Salvation Army Girls' Home and Maternity Hospital, which were located in Oakland.<sup>46</sup>

In the late 1920s, the doors of many of those institutions were closed to children of color, some through written directives, others through informal practices. During World War I, the Ladies' Relief Society amended the rules governing the Children's Home to state explicitly the charity's policy of racial exclusion. As the new rule one read, "Children of the colored or Asiatic races are not eligible for admission in the Home."<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, on occasion, the charity would admit Asian American infants, for a short stay. Chinese American girls could also find a place to live at the Ming Quong Home, which the Presbyterian Mission Home opened in downtown Oakland in 1915 as part of its missionary work. In 1925, the charity moved into a new building in an Oakland suburb. Asian boys went to the Chung Mei Home for Chinese Boys in Berkeley.<sup>48</sup> Only one private facility was open to African American boys and girls in the San Francisco Bay Area. In 1918, the Northern Federation of California Colored Women's Clubs opened the Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery in an altered house in West Oakland, the historic center of black life in the city. By 1928, club women raised enough money to buy the charity a bigger home, also located in the western part of the city.<sup>49</sup>

In matters of finance, race prejudice shaped Oakland's charitable landscape, perhaps more directly than in the nineteenth century. In the late 1920s, almost all of the child care institutions in Alameda County received some funding from the government. The Ming Quong Home was the exception, because the state legislature refused to subsidize the care of dependent Asian children.<sup>50</sup> In addition, the Oakland Community Chest did not distribute funds to the home for Chinese American girls although the organization included under its umbrella other sectarian and nonsectarian charities in Alameda County, including the Ladies' Relief Society, a charter member.<sup>51</sup> The Ladies' Relief Society joined the Community Chest in 1923, when it was formed to coordinate fund-raising across the county. The relationship greatly pleased the members of the society because "the arduous and always trying ordeal of personally begging from everyone for our wants has been done away with," as one woman wrote.<sup>52</sup> Even so, the elite charity continued

to fill its coffers from a variety of sources: government aid (for children who met the criteria for relief) dues, in-kind and cash donations, legacies, loans, charges to clients, and entertainments put on by the female membership. They continued to raise money for capital improvements because the state did not offer a private charity financial support for building and renovation projects in the 1920s, as it had refused to do historically.

### **The Architecture of Reform**

In this charitable landscape, riddled with tangible evidence of inequalities, authority, and exclusion, women, even the wealthy members of the Ladies' Relief Society, struggled to maintain and build institutions that sustained a charity's ties to child-saving ideals.<sup>53</sup> The desire to provide homes for indigent working-class children, which would at once offer boys and girls needed shelter and regulate their behavior, is a longstanding theme in the history of American philanthropy, called on by providers and reformers alike. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, they have maintained that the middle-class family and its home offered the best model for organizing children's institutions, although architectural interpretations of the mandate have changed dramatically over time. When private charities first erected orphanages in the United States during the 1830s, the organizers pointed out that the cellular sleeping spaces, commonly used in state-run houses of refuge, too closely resembled the layouts of prisons. The charity workers favored congregate sleeping rooms, which in their view recalled a more appropriate setting, a middle-class family home. Proper "shelter and sanctuary," coupled with training and rehabilitation, held great promise for molding the character of indigent children, in the eyes of antebellum reformers.<sup>54</sup> Yet, it soon became clear that congregate institutions were expensive to run, unhealthy, and dispiriting, especially to babies and young children. To the dismay of caretakers, all too often infants died in crowded congregate buildings, due to lack of attention.<sup>55</sup> Alternatively, families and at times even state and municipal authorities paid foster mothers to take care of infants at home or in informal settings, known as baby farms.<sup>56</sup> Although the establishments came under reform scrutiny, the practice of infant boarding spread in California after 1888 when a court decision allowed individual counties to distribute outdoor relief.<sup>57</sup> This enabled orphans and half-orphans to receive state aid (through the county) in noninstitutional

settings. After 1900, the State Board of Examiners allowed foster mothers to be paid directly for taking care of infants less than eighteen months of age at home. The women were seen to be “an extension of institutional service.”<sup>58</sup> The practice of boarding infants with selected mothers considerably reduced the death rate of very young children, according to state officials.

Critics turned to other solutions that emphasized individualism and self-sufficiency, all the while maintaining that building design could change the character of a destitute child, for the better or the worse. Charles Loring Brace, founder of the Children’s Aid Society in New York City, gave a twist to the environmentalist theme when he argued that congregate institutions killed the drive of working-class children, who needed to learn to draw on their capabilities. He proposed foster care in private homes as the solution, organizing orphan trains to carry boys and girls to families on western farms.<sup>59</sup> Reformers also proposed to replace dormitory-style institutions, pejoratively referred to as barracks or warehouses, with “cottages.” The smaller-scale buildings, which expressed middle-class domestic ideals through image, scale, and organization, especially of sleeping rooms, were understood to encourage self-sufficiency among working-class children and thus the possibility of personal improvement and class mobility.<sup>60</sup> In East Oakland, Mary R. Smith convinced her husband, Francis Marion (“Borax”) Smith, to provide these kinds of homes for needy Christian girls, deemed worthy of benevolent attention. The Smith Trust attracted significant local interest, in part, because the patrons spared no expense and hired well-known, local, forward-looking architects to design elegant houses for orphans (Figure 12). However, the small facilities were expensive to build and operate, and the trust closed most of them by the mid-1920s.<sup>61</sup> As Kenneth Cmiel has shown, charities could rarely afford to adopt the single or double bedroom as a model for construction and so turned to using smaller dormitories, also called cottages.<sup>62</sup> When the West Oakland Home moved to a new site in 1930, the managers followed that course of action, erecting elegant, mission-style buildings, which contained small dormitories, rather than separate bedrooms, per se (Figure 13). The State Board of Charities and Corrections responded similarly, when it announced that the dormitories in California’s reform schools would be replaced with cottages, noting, “The first essential for good work in reform schools is to break up the dormitory system.”<sup>63</sup> The group also

urged private charities to adopt a similar arrangement, “where the cottages are each independent units and house not more than twenty children.”<sup>64</sup>

The Ladies’ Relief Society wanted to create a homelike atmosphere in the buildings it maintained for children, but the charity rejected the cottage system, as did almost all of the private organizations that operated children’s institutions in California in the 1910s and 1920s.<sup>65</sup> The Oakland group did not explain its reasoning, but pressing financial need likely contributed to the decision. “We have neglected to repair our buildings to the needed extent, and the necessity for doing so is getting more and more insistent,” one member wrote in 1919.<sup>66</sup> The next year, the charity came close to shutting down the Children’s Home, but averted closure through the sale of property and other fund-raising efforts, which included forming a “junior branch.”<sup>67</sup> The group raised enough cash to keep its operations afloat, renovate the Children’s Home, and modernize playgrounds. The charity also replaced the Home for Aged Women and the De Fremery Nursery, the two oldest wood-frame buildings on the property, with modern, reinforced concrete buildings (Figures 14 and 15).<sup>68</sup>

In the new nursery and the renovated orphanage, children continued to sleep in dormitories. In the mid-1920s, the Department of Public Welfare, the new name of the State Board of Charities and Corrections, had not yet halted the use of large, congregate sleeping rooms in private institutions, even though freestanding cottages were the preferred housing type. In private institutions, the state agency set limits to the occupancy of sleeping rooms—clearly, the cottage system influenced the standard of twenty beds per room (with one child in a bed)—and expanded licensing requirements to implant other child-saving ideologies and public health and safety measures in children’s institutions.<sup>69</sup> The agency established standards for sanitation (toilets, bathtubs, and showers), set minimum window areas and ceiling heights, insisted on fire protection, and required that children have access to equipped infirmaries, playrooms, libraries, and playgrounds. It also outlined expectations for children’s cleanliness (baths and change of clothes at least twice a week), asked that they be able to own and store personal possessions, “so that they are able to develop a sense of pride and ownership,” and issued a standard diet.<sup>70</sup> Finally, the department reviewed the plans of new buildings, like the De Fremery Nursery, and reminded the directors of charities to consult the State Housing Act, the State Board of Health,

and municipal laws before launching any construction project (including additions and alterations of standing buildings).<sup>71</sup>

The Ladies' Relief Society opened the new, fireproof nursery in 1925 and the new Home for Aged Women in 1928, and each building was fitted out with modern plumbing, generous rooms, and adequate circulation space, as required by state and local laws. "The new nursery is conceded to be one of the most modern and completely equipped buildings of its kind on the west coast. The building is an example of the Latin type of architecture with plastered walls and tile roof," a reporter noted in the *Oakland Tribune*, referring to the façade's feminized décor. The writer went on to explain, "It is the particular aim of those in charge of the living conditions and supervision of the children to make the atmosphere of the place as much like that of a home as they can possibly do in an institution."<sup>72</sup> The modernity of the nursery appealed to Mrs. Cooley, who liked the idea of her daughters sleeping in a brand-new building. Right away, the girls were dispersed across the site: the two younger sisters went to live in the nursery, where elderly women walked over from the Home for Aged Women to help with care work (Figure 16). The older girls moved to the Children's Home (Figure 17), and their sisters joined them there a few years later.<sup>73</sup>

### **The Children's Home**

At the Children's Home, the Cooley sisters lived with about seventy other children, the numbers more or less evenly divided between boys and girls.<sup>74</sup> Women ran the institution for children, as they did the two other homes on the charity's property. The orphanage's staff included Myra Ward, the authoritarian head matron, other women, known as matrons or nurses, who worked in the dormitories, a cook, and a gardener (the sole male employee). They took care of children from five to twelve years of age who lived in the oldest building on the site, where the structure continued to embody congregated ideals. In each large dormitory room, twenty iron bedsteads, each one painted white, were lined up in neat rows. The regular spacing between the beds, two feet at each end and three feet on the sides, was mandated by state laws.<sup>75</sup> Children shared clothing and shoes and owned very few belongings, even though state regulations prohibited clothing held in common.<sup>76</sup> Children also used communal bath and toilet rooms and

ate and played in common rooms, which were divided by sex. Boys and girls marched in separate, straight lines to Emerson School, the public school across 45<sup>th</sup> Street, where their dress and haircuts revealed their social situation to neighborhood children (see Figures 3, 16, and 17). One member of the charity wrote, “It is gratifying to hear it said by a school principal, ‘Your children have nothing of an institutional look or manner about them,’” but appearance marked them as orphanage children, nonetheless.<sup>77</sup>

The plan of their home had some peculiarities, due to the manner in which it was rebuilt following the 1906 fire. The conflagration, which consumed most of the orphanage, took place just a few days before the great San Francisco earthquake and fire. That far greater disaster, which wiped out most of the urban fabric across the bay, caused an enormous migration to the East Bay community and hastened the need to rebuild the Oakland charity. Liberal gifts—from the Butcher’s Exchange, “an orphan,” the Sunday kindergarten of the First Congregational Church, businessmen, “a friend to children,” the Women’s Exchange, and many women—made rapid reconstruction possible.<sup>78</sup> Because the foundations and some of the first floor were intact, the charity resuscitated elements of the older design, including the brick and wood framing and the dormitories. The two-story, symmetrical building, with a hipped roof, remained organized about a central courtyard, with the parlor, foyer, and main stairs on axis with the entry and dormitories, playrooms, and other service spaces consigned to the wings. However, the massing and decoration were simplified to expedite construction and reduce cost, and other changes were made to the plan.

The charity decided to move the main entry so that the front door faced north, toward 45<sup>th</sup> Street, rather than south, toward other buildings on the charity’s property, as had been the case previously. The decision cemented ties to the city and made it possible to enter the Children’s Home directly from a public street—moving up the central driveway or around the ample front yard, shaded by tall, graceful trees, to the building courtyard, generously set back from the sidewalk (Figure 18). This important space was depressed, set lower than the adjacent lawn and sidewalk, most likely because the courtyard had once been a service yard at the back of the building. The new entry sequence revealed utilitarian functions to visitors as they stepped down to approach the front door of the admittedly very plain brick and shingle building. Small

windows of toilet rooms were in view, and running water could be heard moving through plumbing stacks, exposed on the façades of the dormitory wings. Inside the orphanage, the public entry sequence was compressed, squeezed into a former corridor. Part of that hallway became the foyer of the reconfigured building, which continued to give access to showers, the laundry, and other utilitarian spaces. Probably, this was necessary because the main stair remained in the place it had occupied since the 1890s; the small round arch windows, which light the stair, date from that period and have scarcely been changed.

None of these oddities—a depressed front courtyard, a compressed entry sequence, and exposed plumbing are unusual to find in the public spaces of a modern public building (Figure 19)—entered the consciousness of Mollie Fisher, Belva Heer, or Sally Gorham. They insisted that they remembered little about the design of the home. They reiterated that their basic needs (for shelter, food, clothing, and care) were met and that the appearance of the setting mattered little to them, as children. In part, the statement is accurate—details of furnishings and décor escaped notice—but their stories reveal the place of architecture and material culture in the daily lives of institutionalized children. Memories may differ and routines certainly changed, depending on the director, but common themes appear in the narratives.

The Cooley, Gorham, or DeFreitas children called their home an orphanage and referred to themselves as orphans, as did the staff of the Children’s Home, even when a child had living parents. Certainly, being called an orphan was a source of shame, as the children and the Ladies’ Relief Society recognized. As one member wrote, “Our older children in the Children’s Home disliked being called children from the Orphanage, for be it said very few are orphans, or half orphans, for they come from broken homes; so they call themselves ‘Home Children.’”<sup>79</sup> No child wanted to admit that a parent had abandoned him or her to the care of an institution. But living in an institution was not the principal source of indignity; boys and girls were proud that they had a place, someplace, to call home. Humiliation, each woman recalled, stemmed from their social status and the material means used to identify, objectify, and control them.

## **Blended and Apart**

The regular use of spatial terms and metaphors—words like territory, boundary, our side, and their place—gives some sense of the degree to which the physical expression of social identity shaped children’s experiences in the orphanage. Race, as we have seen, determined whether a child could cross the threshold, and the concern with identity did not stop at that point.<sup>80</sup> To our eyes, the charity’s anxieties about identity run counter to and even contradict the group’s munificent ideals, but that was not taken to be the case at the time. In the woman-run establishment, the social and biological condition of a person—age, sex, class position, as well as race—determined where he or she could go, how he or she would move, and when he or she would be able to do so. Following Dell Upton’s point that “an apparently unified landscape may actually be composed of several fragmentary ones, some sharing common elements of the larger assemblage,” we are able to see that the symmetrical building held within it several intersecting landscapes, which were coupled with specific social groups and linked by horizontal and vertical movement.<sup>81</sup> Inside the orphanage, overlapping landscapes were created for members of the charity, the staff, parents, and children, whose territories were further divided by gender and age.

This situation offers an example of Henri Lefebvre’s point that human interactions invest ordinary spaces with meaning. Even so, architectural devices defined these landscapes as well as contrasting social uses. Through the strategic design and location of key elements like stairs, doors, and rooms, the charity proposed to represent the main groups who used the building (the matrons, children, and members of the charity), attach them to specific settings, and contain their contact with one another, other staff members, and parents. If the paths of people from different social groups crossed inside the institution, they were expected to intersect only at permitted places and specific times. In principle, the members of the Ladies’ Relief Society had access to the entire building, but in practice, they used the front entry, the elegant central parlor, where the charity held monthly meetings, and the impressive main stair. In the main, children perceived the charity’s members, “the ladies bountiful,” as distant and uninvolved with daily life. Parents remained on the ground floor in the public parts of the building except on occasion, when they visited a sick child in the upstairs infirmary. Children encountered the most restrictions. Boys

and girls were not allowed to walk on the main stairs and did not enter the parlor, a potent symbol of the institutional community, except to celebrate holidays and greet a parent.

Specific devices sustained the separation of children by sex (and also represented their dependency). Boys and girls used separate, exterior, open-riser stairs, simply framed in rough carpentry, which were placed on opposite sides of the plainly appointed dormitory wings. On the second floor, a door from each sex-segregated dormitory opened directly onto the stair landing. At mealtime, boys and girls lined up outside the dining room, another space charged with symbolic communal meaning (Figure 20). They entered through doors on opposite sides of the building (near the girls' stair and across from the boys' playroom) and ate in different parts of the room. Mollie Fisher insists that she never saw a boy during her stay in the home, even while eating in the dining room and walking to school. Her sisters differ with her on that point, although they and Sally Gorham share memories of separate playrooms and playgrounds for boys and girls, located on opposite sides of the building.<sup>82</sup> In concept and in practice, gender divided the Children's Home, with members of each sex knowing intimately one part of the building and having no familiarity with other sections.

The first and second floors of the orphanage were associated with public and private space, as would be expected in a building used for residential purposes. But because women ran the institution, the public and private split was not gendered, as would have been the case in other domestic settings. Nonetheless, the room arrangement made concrete the concern with space, sexuality, and order. Children slept, dressed, and bathed upstairs, where the dormitories were divided by age, as well as gender. Each dormitory wing consisted of three rooms, one for younger children, one for the matrons, and one for older children, entering puberty. Mollie Fisher recalls that girls moved into this room as their bodies started to change. "They didn't have us totally apart. Just kind of blended apart." The head matron also lived upstairs, on the girls' side, and she would enter the older girls' dormitory at night, appearing through a small door that led to her quarters. Otherwise, her chambers remained shrouded in secrecy to children, who never saw the rooms (or other spaces used by staff members).<sup>83</sup> "It was totally secret," Mollie Fisher recalled, standing close to one door that led to Myra Ward's quarters. "Totally secret. Her whole life was total secrecy because children knew nothing [about it]." That said, children did know the

exact location of one room that Miss Ward used: her office, which was located on the east side of the building, off of the parlor and close to the boys' playroom.

### **“She Was Like a Hitler”**

When the Cooley sisters lived in the Children's Home, the head matron and her office embodied authority more than any other person or place in building. There is not much information to be had about Myra Ward's background, training, or values, except from Mollie Fisher's account. Miss Ward was a single woman who “dedicated her life to running this place,” she stated. “She was law. She was rule. Everybody jumped. You had to have that. She had a lot of people working for her.” Nevertheless, some women took exception to Myra Ward's approach to children, taking it to be outdated. Several members of the charity's “junior branch” resigned in 1932 to protest “barbarity” on the part of the head matron, who refused to comfort crying children and used other old-fashioned disciplinary methods, which were unacceptable to young women, some of whom were new mothers themselves. Matilda Brown, president of the charity, denied the accusations of cruelty, simply stating that the “younger women appear to have a different idea of correct discipline than the older members.”<sup>84</sup>

Children did not come into contact with Myra Ward and her grim demeanor on a daily basis; rather, her reputation and the rigor of the institution's organization (an example of what Foucault calls the gaze) instilled respect for order in them.<sup>85</sup> “We had rules here. And we abided by them,” Mollie Fisher recalled, asserting that the discipline made her a better person. “We [wanted to be] a good kid because we didn't want the consequences.” Under a matron's watchful eye, Mollie ate all of her food, as was required even when a dish thoroughly nauseated her. Each Friday evening codfish was served, and Mollie regularly vomited the meal, with the matron helping her to reach the bathroom on time. Mollie also observed the eight o'clock curfew, shared clothes, and tolerated inspections by the nurse (for lice and so forth). Even so, she broke the rules on occasion, secretly climbing a fruit tree near the nursery, a forbidden activity, and eating some fruit.<sup>86</sup> Children who misbehaved regularly seem to have been punished in private or through loss of privileges and other restrictions placed on activities (including parental visits). With state regulations prohibiting corporal punishment, it makes sense that no memories of seeing or

hearing about physical punishment to a child were reported.<sup>87</sup> That doesn't mean children did not witness forceful action intended to instill respect for the staff. One afternoon, Joseph DeFreitas watched Miss Wilbur, the stern woman who ran the boys' dormitory, kill a mouse with her bare fist, seemingly without a second thought.

As children grew up, they were assigned tasks and chores. Boys were asked to work in the garden and the kitchen and help to clean rooms. Miss Ward used chores to teach lessons and test character, as well as to get needed work done. Dusting the parlor was an honored task, which she usually assigned to older girls during a visit to her office. In Mollie Fisher's case, the matron adopted strategies used to discipline servants in the nineteenth century, when she hid candy Easter eggs in the parlor to test the girl's resolve.<sup>88</sup> She counted the candy after Mollie dusted the room; after seven months, the eleven-year-old girl gave in. Once in a while, she ate a piece of candy, a rare treat, rationalizing that it was going stale. But she did not seek Miss Ward's permission. "No, you never spoke up to her. She was like a Hitler. You didn't speak up to her." Soon after, the matron confronted the child, letting her know the consequences for theft.

She let me know that it was a bad thing to do. I hated to admit, but I couldn't lie at the same time because she was right... I didn't want to be a liar too. I kind of rationalized that [taking candy] in my head. So, I let her know. She said, "OK, that's fine." [But] the job was finished. Everybody that took from that basket, the job was finished. But, see, we didn't know that until we experienced that. Which was a kind of a good policy... Boy, I'll tell you one thing. I never in my life took anything after that. Without asking first. I mean it was a huge lesson to me.

The matron did not assign the girl another job, and soon after that traumatic experience, Mollie and Berta Lee left the orphanage to live with a foster family. Mollie believes that the matron intentionally tempted older children to assess their personalities while placing them with foster families. Mollie did not take offense. "Even though Mrs. Ward was like that...I liked her. She was fair and right... That was just her little game that she played to find out."

In addition to discipline, children were sheltered from the outside world, overly protected, from the Cooley sisters' perspective. Boys and girls were allowed to run around and play on the charity's property, but they were not allowed to leave the site without an adult. An adult walked groups to the movies on Saturday afternoons and even took boys and girls across

45<sup>th</sup> Street to school. Children never went outside at night and did not understand basic aspects of ordinary urban life, like shopping and handling money. “Mama Cooley” taught her older daughters how to enter a store and select and purchase goods, and the younger girls had a similar experience with their foster mother. There were other outcomes, too, Mollie recalled. “I’ll tell you what, because we were so overly protected here and never got out and saw darkness, never saw the stars and the moon, the first month we were at our foster home, every single night, we cried ourselves to sleep. We wanted to come *back* to the Home. Isn’t that interesting?”

### **“We Were Their Children”**

The Children’s Home offered the Cooley sisters and other children in very difficult circumstances material resources and a collective identity, as well as a protected and regulated environment. Contrary to reformers’ assertions, congregate living did not create an “institutional type” of child who lacked motivation, imagination, or drive. Strictly speaking, boys and girls who lived in institutions like the Children’s Home found means to “improve” themselves and even experienced a modicum of class mobility. The women with whom I spoke did not recall much anxiety about their lack of privacy; to the contrary, they welcomed living with a large group of children more or less like themselves. They also recognized the quality of the care received in a woman-run institution. In fact, the orphanage offered working-class girls a gamut of models for “activist” womanhood, ranging from the members of the charity to caring mother figures and the strict leaders of each home on the charity’s property. Being able to live with successful women, some who worked for a living, must have been very important to children who sensed deeply the absence (and loss) of their own parents, especially their mothers.

With respect to care, Mollie Fisher, Belva Heer, and Sally Gorham (Figure 21) straightforwardly distinguish between the material and emotional benefits offered by orphanage living. They acknowledge that institutional living offered children significant resources—food, clothing, shelter, and health care—although they disliked and resented some routines associated with institutional life. This was especially the case for Sally. As Mollie recalled, “Those in charge were very responsible. We were well sheltered, well cared for, we had plenty of food; no one was mean. It was like a private boarding school.”<sup>89</sup> As this statement suggests, working-class

families took advantage of the material resources in orphanages, which served to transfer wealth between social classes during the Great Depression and thus offer opportunities to their children.

My informants also spoke to the quality of the emotional care they received, including the matrons' desire to create aspects of "normal" childhood within the home. Children celebrated birthdays (Figure 22) and holidays, and some even had music lessons, although their personal possessions were quite limited; for example, girls were not allowed to own dolls. Mollie slept with her few treasured belongings, which included a mechanical pencil received for Christmas one year and a small piece of polished glass found on the street, which she used to play hopscotch. As importantly, she remembers receiving loving care from the women who worked in the dormitories of the nursery and the Children's Home. "We were their children," she stated directly, going on to discuss one of her caretakers. "Mrs. Miriam was old, perhaps a widow. Her job was to work at the Children's Home. She needed work as a single woman." Mollie also fondly remembers the young woman who fed, bathed, and dressed her at the nursery.

Repeatedly, the women spoke about how much they welcomed living with children who came from a similar background. In that regard, the design of the congregate institution, where living and sleeping spaces were shared, proved to be a source of strength for working-class children. This theme is picked up in other recollections of children's experiences in institutions, including Gail Carson Levine's novel, *Dave at Night*, which draws on her father's experiences in a New York City orphanage during the Great Depression. In the children's story, Dave, the character based on the author's father, runs away from the institution because of mistreatment and cruelty. Nonetheless, he chooses to return, after exposing physical abuse and adulterated food, because of the strong friendships that he made in the orphanage. In large measure, children were able to create a credible, substitute family (and a positive collective identity for themselves) because they shared sleeping, eating, and play spaces.<sup>90</sup> The recognition that young people are able to construct important cultural spaces for themselves in settings controlled by adults runs through Levine's book and the stories I heard from orphanage informants. The comment is also made in analyses of contemporary children's uses of closely watched sites like shopping malls.<sup>91</sup>

A poignant story about haircuts amplifies the point about the volatility of control and identity in children's lives, showing that young people interpret rules and regulations even when

ostensibly clear-cut messages are embodied in the material culture of institutional life. As might be expected, girls deeply resented the required, bowl-shaped, “shingle” haircuts. “At school, everyone knew we were from the home because we all had the same haircuts,” Mollie recalled. “Everyone always knew we were orphanage kids. We felt very self-conscious and didn’t like everyone identifying us as different.”<sup>92</sup> However, the haircut ritual forged emotional bonds between children. When a new girl, Phyllis O’Koleff, arrived at the Children’s Home, the girls envied her long curly hair. Some even cried as they watched a matron cut off her long braids during the weekly trim, which took place on a special porch behind the building. The girl had another reaction: she faced the matron during the haircut, turned around after it was complete, smiled at her dejected companions, and stated that now she was one of them: shorn of her hair, she belonged to the group.<sup>93</sup>

Perhaps, it is not surprising that foster care proved so disappointing to the Cooley sisters, especially to Mollie. In 1932, the older girls left the orphanage to live with their mother (Figure 23). Three years later, the younger sisters departed, driven by Miss Ward in her car, as was customary, to their new foster home in San Jose. By the 1930s, critics questioned this use of foster care in California, which was intended to help teenagers leaving institutions make the transition to independent living as adults. Often, the form of foster care was perceived to be little less than indenture, an assessment that resonates with Mollie Fisher’s experience.<sup>94</sup> In addition to poor treatment and discrimination, the girls were required to keep house, performing tasks that were never asked of them at the orphanage—scrubbing floors, cleaning toilets, washing and ironing clothes, and so forth. These requirements grated on the adolescent girls because they knew the family, who did not have children of their own, was paid to take care of them. “That was the only reason they took us in. They got a salary. She [the foster mother] took us for that reason. She didn’t want to go to work. She volunteered. One thing she did. Red Cross work.” The girls also missed the emotional care and support, which they received in their former “adopted home.” Living with a foster family in a private house, an individualized solution to their problems, turned out to be isolating and frightening. The girls were not allowed to see their parents (when their mother came to visit them, she had the door slammed in her face). They could not share their experiences with other dependent children and did not live in a building that

physically represented their condition and thus the community's responsibility for child care. Mollie, who felt especially unloved by her foster mother, even ran away, but could not figure out how to live on her own. Although she faced certain physical punishment, she returned to the foster family, where she lived until she finished high school.

### **Conclusion**

In the 1950s, American cities lost institutions that expressed the community's collective responsibility for child care when orphanages were shut down and privatized, individualized solutions, principally foster care, became the dominant mode of caring for dependent children. In making this point, I do not mean to defend orphanages or call for their reconstitution. Rather, I propose that examining the shift helps to expose assumptions about child care in our own time, particularly when we scrutinize physical manifestations of historical change and integrate children's voices and experiences into our assessments. As newspaper stories remind us almost daily (and Nina Bernstein has also shown), foster care has not proved to be a trouble-free solution to caring for unwanted children.<sup>95</sup>

In Oakland, the shift in caregiving priorities helped to destroy the city's landscape of charity. This process of destruction revealed the contours of social and political inequality as much as the creation of landscape did. During the 1940s and 1950s, as new legislation restricted the size and use of dormitories in children's institutions and foster care became the principal solution to care, the Oakland Community Chest refused to fund the operation of old-fashioned, dormitory-style orphanages in Alameda County.<sup>96</sup> Physical destruction—erasure of buildings—was one result, especially if an association was hard pressed for funds. The Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery, for example, was sold to the city, which quickly demolished the deteriorating building as part of state-sponsored urban renewal programs. That happened to many other community-based establishments in West Oakland, in the main a poor, largely African American area of the city. By contrast, the Lincoln Home, a relatively well-off establishment in a white neighborhood, became a residential treatment center for emotionally disturbed children. Many philanthropic associations, with considerable capital investments, that wanted to continue to operate child-saving institutions in the postwar period made similar

decisions.<sup>97</sup> Although the definition of children's needs was changed (medicalized) and the Oakland charity became racially integrated, the historic focus of the establishment, renamed the Lincoln Child Center, persisted. The woman-run charity continued to meet the needs of dependent children, with their care subsidized by the county and the state, and to this day, it continues to benefit from the activities of a largely female membership, which raises money and volunteers services at the establishment. Children also continue to live in buildings called "cottages," where they share rooms with one other child, at most. The establishment also runs a day treatment program for children who are emotionally disturbed but able to live at home with their families.

The Ladies' Relief Society adopted another approach, rooted in the pragmatic and incremental approach to property improvement, historically taken by women's charities in American cities. When the Ladies' Relief Society lost its affiliation with the Community Chest due to the change in priorities at the latter organization, first the Children's Home and then the De Fremery Nursery were closed down.<sup>98</sup> Lacking adequate funds to maintain housing for dependent children, the Ladies' Relief Society sold the buildings: the North Oakland Area Council, a community group, purchased the Children's Home and adjacent boys' playground and donated the property to the city, which renovated the building and turned it into an arts and recreation center. The city also built a public pool and pool house on the former play space, and the nursery was purchased by a private school.<sup>99</sup> The charity, which changed its name to the Ladies' Home Society in the 1950s, used the money it raised from the property sale to continue to operate the Matilda Brown Home, the name given to the Home for Aged Women in the 1930s.

These decisions, taken over a number of years, severed the tie of the Ladies' Home Society to one of the association's historic reasons for being: maintaining a shelter for dependent children. Nonetheless, buildings in this particular node of Oakland's landscape of charity continue to contain collective solutions to caregiving. Their varied physical condition also offers a reminder that the contours of class, gender, race, and other social relations continue to affect caregiving in the present day (as they did historically). The Matilda Brown Home and the Park School stand as substantial, tangible markers of progressive approaches to caregiving *and* market-driven, privatized solutions because it costs a great deal of money to use either facility.

The Studio One Art Center takes care of other community needs, offering affordable arts programs to children and adults. The city-owned building, however, has been poorly maintained over the years and was threatened with demolition until quite recently.<sup>100</sup>

Even in its sorry state, the historic structure reminds us of the importance of ordinary buildings and spaces in a variety of urban lives. The stories of the Cooley, Gorham, and DeFreitas families may come from memories of childhoods that have been filtered through adult experiences, but the recollections help us to recognize that working-class families were able to some degree to appropriate the services of community-based, philanthropic institutions. As importantly, the memories of childhood experiences allow us to understand that working-class children, independently of their families, found some value in institutional living.

The history of the Children's Home shows that the racially segregated institution embodied discipline and authority at the same time as it served as a resource for white, working-class children. The institution met their emotional, material, and social needs. From the outside, children recognized that orphanage living objectified them, identifying them as dependent and abandoned. These understandings were reinforced by their lack of independence and unusual haircuts that marked young people as "Home children." The stories also bring us inside the institutions, helping us to imagine building interiors and children's experiences in them. To be sure, children lived in a highly regulated, gender divided, setting; at the same time, living in an adopted home helped them to create substitute families and form positive identities for themselves. This last observation resonated with the experience of the staff at the Lincoln Child Center, the closest contemporary analogue in Oakland to the Children's Home.

Why did we come to favor private solutions (foster care) and disdain collective answers (congregate care)? Reasons, I believe, may be found in middle-class biases, common in the United States, particularly a preoccupation with self-sufficiency in motherhood, faith in environmental determinism, and longstanding prejudices against outdoor relief. Certainly, having more money would have helped Mrs. Cooley, who was a very young mother, cope with the challenge of raising five young children. But the story of her family points to the need for solutions that do more than address the problems of overwhelmed (and impoverished) mothers on an individual or purely economic basis. As Barrie Thorne has pointed out, we go to great

lengths to sustain the fiction of the self-sufficient individual—in our social relationships and in the built landscape. We obscure the fact that we need care, that we are interdependent. These assumptions are built into contemporary institutional practices with respect to cultures of care: the expansion of markets, the institutionalization of inequalities, and the exaggerated demands that we place on motherhood.

As much as we construe care to be a private problem, the need for public, physical solutions persists.<sup>101</sup> Historic patterns continue to structure the distribution of charity in our own time, when we rely on a mixture of public and private resources to take care of abandoned, destitute, and dependent children. The buildings run by the Ladies' Relief Society represented the needs of children in an urban community in a manner that privatized solutions (foster care) do not allow. This claim, which implies that visibility in urban space creates political power, resounds with the reasoning of Michel Foucault, albeit somewhat ironically. Foucault makes us aware of the power embedded in the institutional gaze. In Oakland, women sought to be objects of a social gaze when the charity issued the following invitation in the late 1920s:

We invite the people of Oakland to visit our Homes, to become acquainted with oldest charitable institution in Alameda County. We should be happy if even one person connected with the Movie industry would visit our Home and realize that we are no longer living in the time of Dickens, that our children bear no brand of "Orphanage" upon them; then perhaps the public would no longer witness the terrified faces of little children, cowed by a stern and harsh matron, upon that moulder of public feeling, the "screen."<sup>102</sup>

To best of my knowledge, no one came.

## Illustrations



Figure 1. Belva Cooley Heer, Sally Gorham, Mollie Cooley Fisher, outside the Studio One Art Center, Sept. 29, 2001. Source: author.



Figure 2. Studio One Art Center, formerly the Children's Home, 2001. Source: author.



Figure 3. The Cooley family at Mosswood Park, Oakland, c. 1930. This photograph was taken during one of "Papa Cooley's" rare visits, and the girls may be wearing dresses that he brought them. The bowl-shaped haircut was common for "Home children," used to simplify daily care, reduce the risk of lice infestation, and give each girl a common look. Courtesy of Mollie Fisher and Belva Heer.



Figure 4. The Gorham children, c. 1938. The picture may have been taken shortly after the children arrived. The Children's Home is in the background. Courtesy of Sally Gorham.



Figure 5. The West Oakland Home, 1920s. The children and the matron are gathered on the front stoop of the orphanage. Compare the casual group in the snapshot with the formality of the photograph in Figure 6, used for publicity purposes. They offer strikingly different representations of care and motherhood. Courtesy of the Lincoln Child Center.



Figure 6. Bedtime prayers at the Chicago Nursery and Half-Orphan Asylum, c. 1900. Source: Kenneth Cmiel, *A Home of Another Kind*.



Figure 7. Ladies' Relief Society, site plan, 1882. The anonymous watercolor shows the Children's Home, the new Home for Aged Women, and the relationship of the charity's property to the Oakland street grid. Source: The Ladies' Home Society.



Figure 8. The Children's Home, formerly the Beckwith house, 1885. A close look shows children and caretakers gathered on the front steps of the building and in the garden. Source: Elliott, *Oakland and Surroundings*, p. 52. Courtesy of the Oakland History Room, Oakland Public Library.

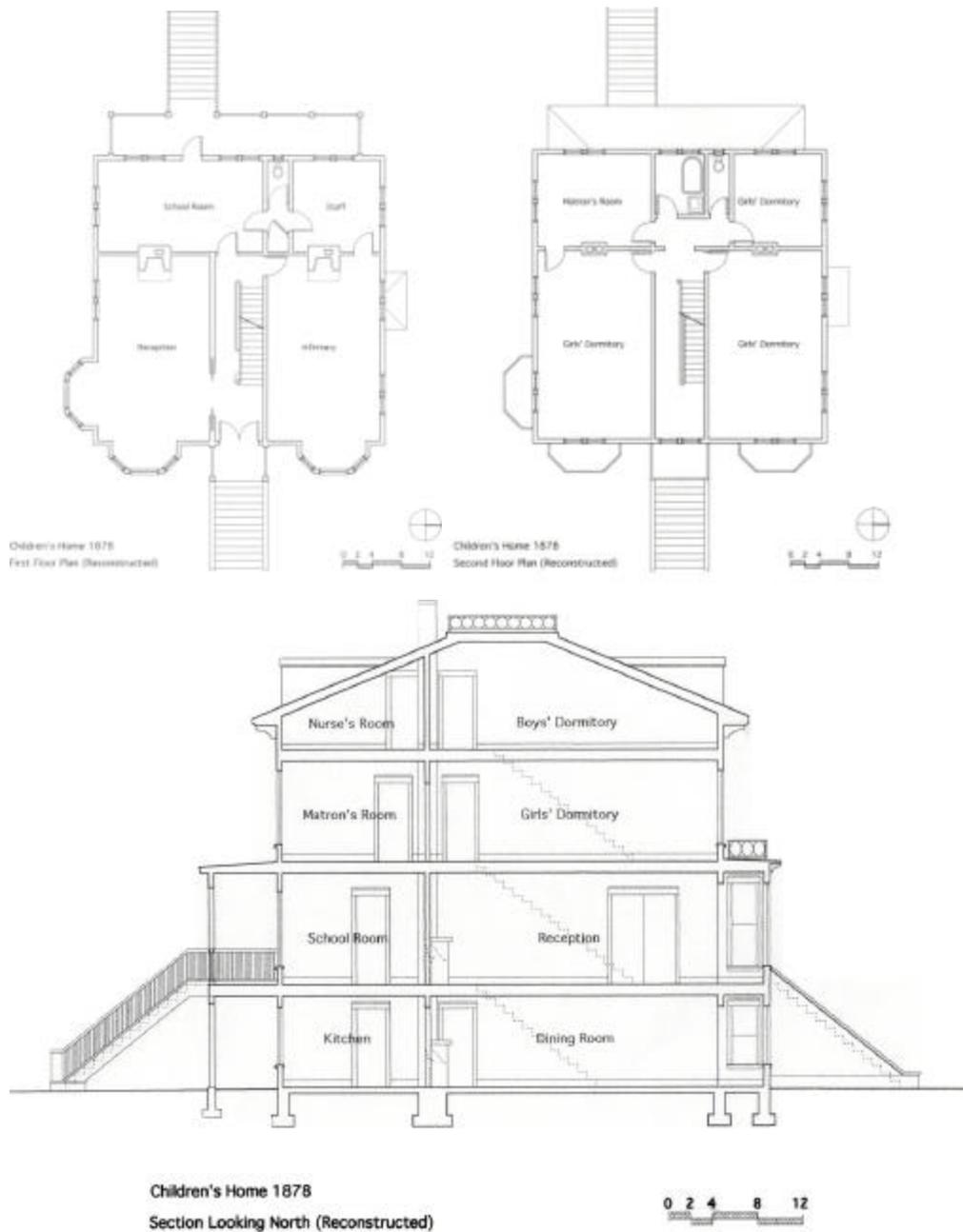


Figure 9. The Children's Home, reconstructed floor plans and building section, 1878. More dormitories were added in 1884, and two years later, I. L. Requa supervised the construction of an addition, a new infants' shelter, with day and night nurseries, dormitories, and a kitchen. Source: "Ladies' Relief Annual," *Oakland Daily Times*, May 3, 1878; "Rest for the Weary," *Oakland Daily Evening Tribune*, July 22, 1882; Ladies' Relief Society, Site Plan, c. 1882; California Board of Health, *Eighth Biennial Report*, 1884, p. 113; Mott, "A Brief Summary," pp. 13, 15. Drawn by A. Eugene Sparling.

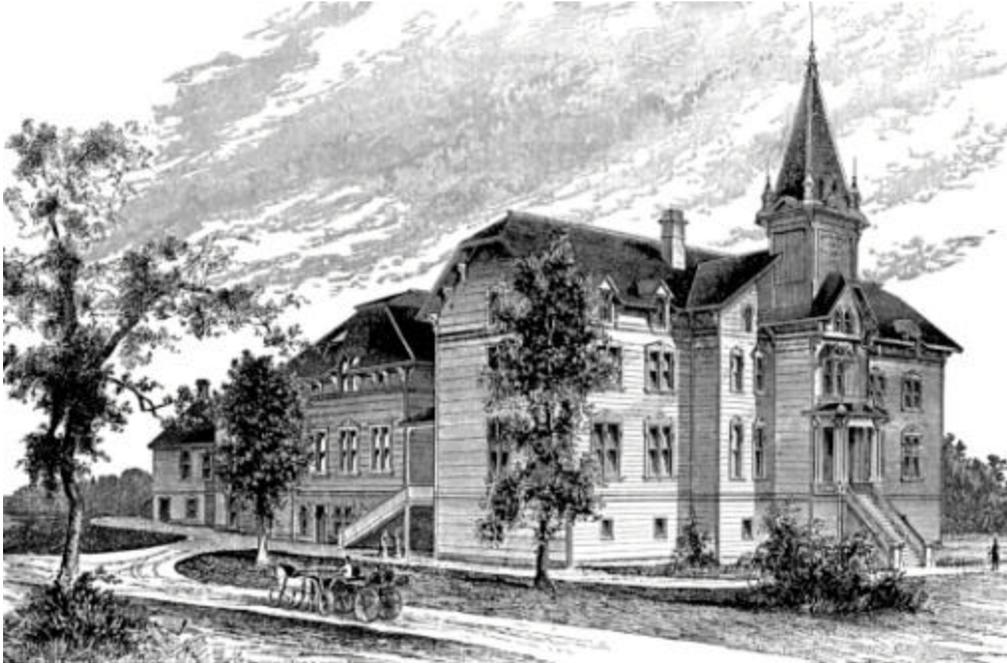


Figure 10. The Home for Aged Women, 1885 (built 1882), MacDougall and Son, architect, A. Herbst, builder. Source: Elliott, *Oakland and Surroundings*, p. 67. Courtesy of the Oakland History Room, Oakland Public Library.

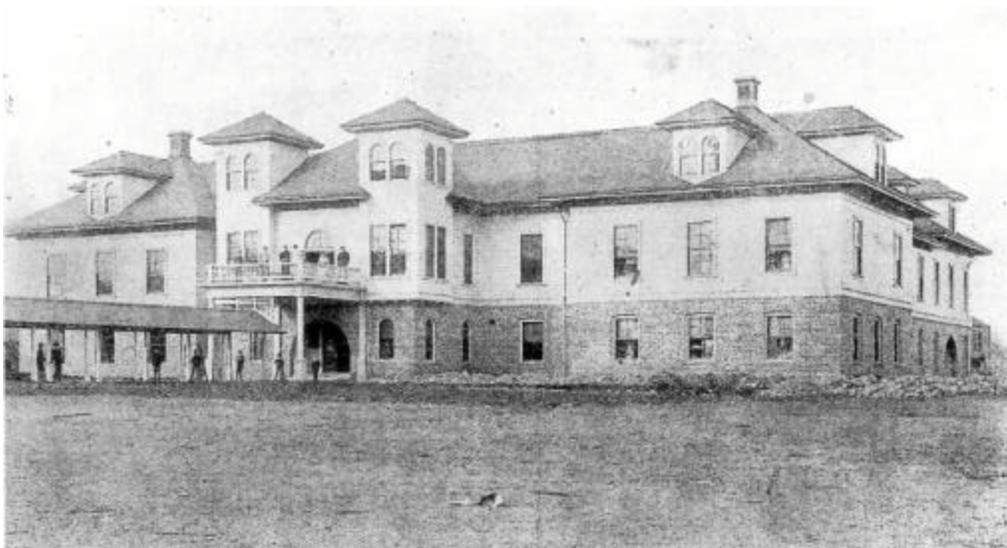


Figure 11. The Children's Home, 1898 (built 1894), Howard Burns, architect, Herbert Jones, builder. The arcade, extending south from the porte-cochere toward the Home for Aged Women, offered protection during inclement weather. Source: Dam, "Brief History," *Mariposa Magazine*, 1898, p. 103. Courtesy of the Oakland History Room, Oakland Public Library.



Figure 12. The Smith Cottages, after 1904. The Smith Trust hired Bernard Maybeck, Julia Morgan, Walter Mathews, and George W. Flick, eminent local architects, to design homes for "friendless girls." Some of the buildings are in the foreground of the photograph; Walter Mathews also designed the Home Club, the white, neoclassical building (a settlement house) on the hill. Courtesy of the Oakland History Room, Oakland Public Library.



Figure 13. The Mary Crocker Cottage, c. 1930, Reed & Corlett, architect, F. C. Stolte, builder. This is one of two cottages built by the West Oakland Home after it moved out of the city and changed its name to the Lincoln Home. Courtesy of the Lincoln Child Center.



Figure 14. View of the Ladies' Relief Society site, between 1925 and 1928. This photograph shows three phases of women's institution building: the building at the lower left with the central tower is the Home for Aged Women, built in 1882 (to be replaced in 1928), and the new De Fremery Nursery, designed by Hugh White, is directly adjacent to it. The courtyard building is the Children's Home. Source: Oakland Museum of California.

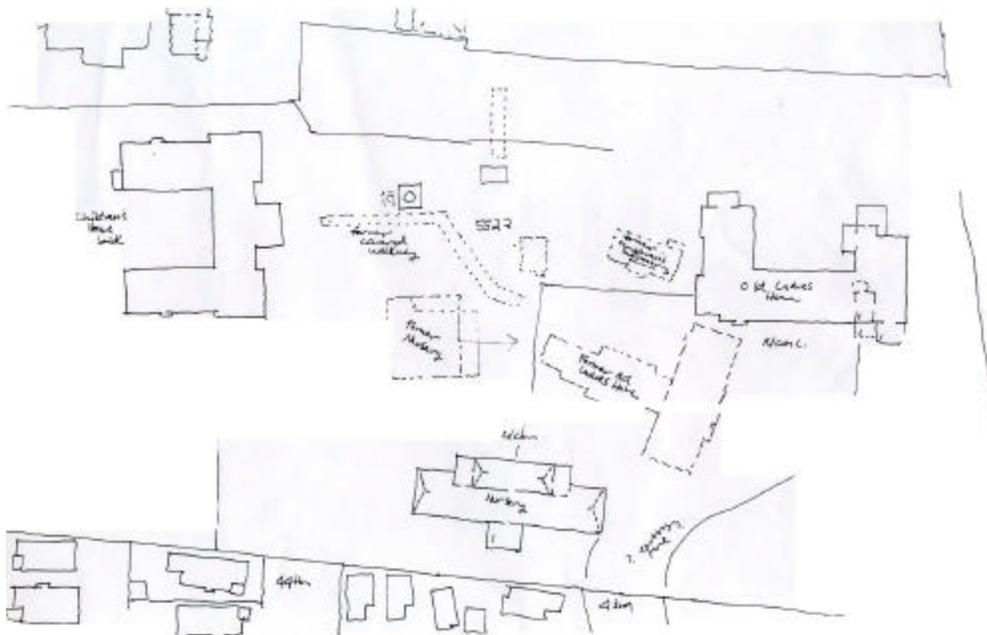


Figure 15. Ladies' Relief Society site plan, after 1928. The public entry to the Children's Home was located off of 45th Street, on the lefthand side of the map. The dotted lines indicated demolished structures. Source: author, Sanborn Map Company, *Insurance Map of Oakland, California, 1911-1930*.



Figure 16. Mollie and Berta Lee Cooley, 1925. The two little girls are standing in front of the De Fremery Nursery. Courtesy of Mollie Fisher and Belva Heer.



Figure 17. Lois and Belva Cooley, 1926. The Children's Home is visible behind the two girls. The haircuts and smock dresses are typical. Courtesy of Mollie Fisher and Belva Heer.



Figure 18. Entry to the Studio One Art Center from 45th Street, 2001.  
Source: author.

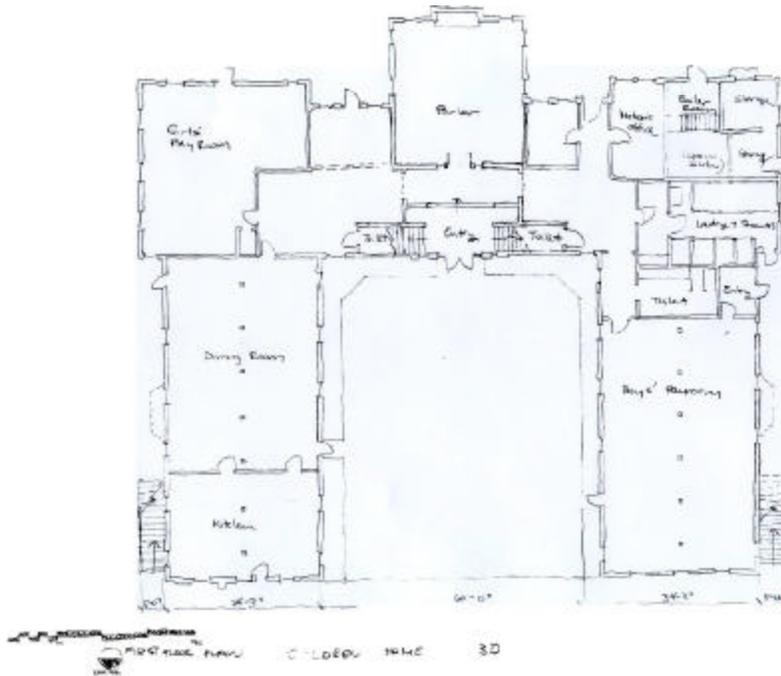
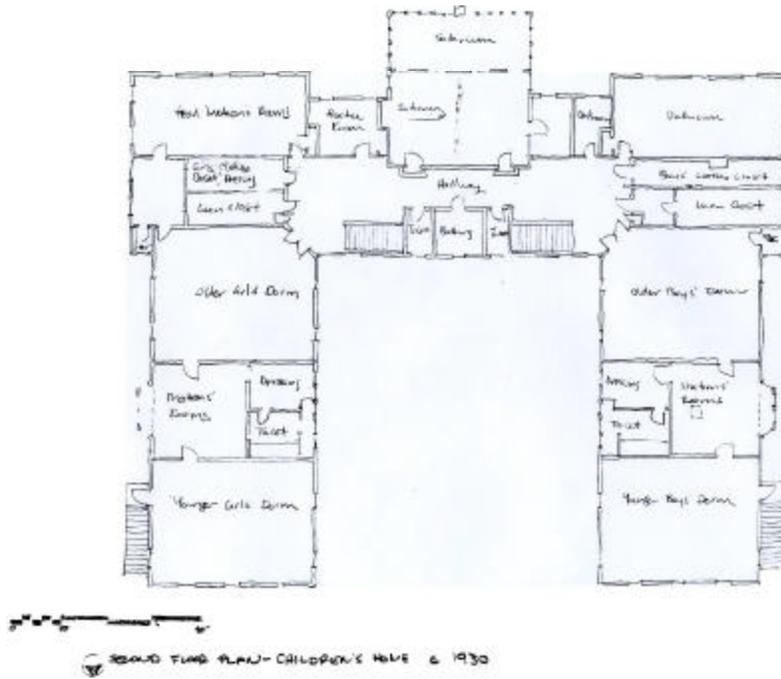


Figure 19. Children's Home, sketch first and second floor plans (reconstructed), c. 1930. Source: author.



Figure 20. Lining up for meals, 2000. During one visit, the sisters lined up outside the girls' door to the dining room, as they did when they were children. A porch roof once covered the door, offering some shelter in rainy weather. Courtesy of Mollie Fisher and Belva Heer.



Figure 21. The Gorham sisters, early 1940s. Courtesy of Sally Gorham.



Figure 22. Birthday party at the De Fremery Nursery, early 1940s. Marty Gorham is in the foreground of the photograph (just above his name), and this photo may have been taken at his fifth birthday party. Courtesy of Sally Gorham.



Figure 23. The Cooley sisters in front of the De Fremery Nursery, 1932. This photograph was probably taken close to the time that the two older sisters left the Children's Home and went to live with their mother and stepfather in Oregon. The girls are dressed up, a good indication that their father took the photograph, because he brought them new clothes when he visited. Courtesy of Mollie Fisher and Belva Heer.

## Notes

\*The expression “yesterday’s children” is inspired by a phrase used in Nina Bernstein, *The Lost Children of Wilder. The Epic Struggle to Change Foster Care* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2001), xiii. The epigraph is taken from R. J. Morris, “Structure, Culture and Society in British Towns,” in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. 3, 1840-1950*, ed. Martin Daunton (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 399.

1. U. S. Senate, Document 721, 60th Congress, 2nd Session, “Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children. Held at Washington, D.C., January 25, 26, 1909” (Washington, D.C., 1909), 5-6.
2. See Kriste Lindenmeyer, “A Right to Childhood.” *The U.S. Children’s Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912-46* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 179-95; Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 472-79.
3. Emil G. Hirsch, “The Home Versus the Institution,” in *Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children. Held at Washington, D.C., January 25, 26, 1909* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909), 88, 89, 90.
4. U. S. Senate, Document 721, 60th Congress, 2nd Session, “1909 White House Conference,” 5. For figures, see United States, Bureau of the Census, *Benevolent Institutions 1904* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905), 11-12.
5. Hirsch, “The Home Versus the Institution,” 89.
6. In 1855, the state legislature first allocated subsidies for the care of dependent children, offering a “lump sum” grant. In 1870, the method changed, when an annual subsidy was granted to private orphan asylums and state-run institutions, \$50.00/year for a full orphan and \$25.00 for a half-orphan (with one living parent). In 1873-74 the grant was extended to abandoned children and increased the next year to \$100.00 (per orphan) and \$75.00 (per half-orphan), the level at which it remained for the balance of the century. In 1880, the counties, as well as private and state-run institutions, were permitted to receive state aid. Frances Cahn and Valeska Bary, *Welfare Activities of Federal, State, and Local Governments in California, 1850-1934* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936), 1-2, Table 1 (ff. p. 4).
7. *Ibid.*, xvi; 144, Homer Folks, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1902, 1907), 131-34.
8. Arthur J. Pillsbury, *Institutional Life. Its Relations to the State and to the Wards of the State* (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1906), 78.
9. In 1910, the ratio of children living in institutions in California (381 children per 100,000 inhabitants) was exceeded only by that in New York State (531). Hastings H. Hart, “Introduction,” in *Child Welfare Work in California. A Study of Agencies and Institutions*, ed. William H. Slingerland (New York: Department of Child Helping, Russell Sage Foundation, 1916), 8-11. See also California State Department of Social Welfare, “Third Biennial Report of the State Department of Social Welfare of the State of California, July 1, 1930, to June 30, 1932” (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1932), 32; William H. Slingerland, *Child Welfare Work in California. A Study of Agencies and Institutions* (New York: Department of Child Helping,

Russell Sage Foundation, 1916), 146-47; United States, Bureau of the Census, *Benevolent Institutions 1910* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 86-90.

10. See Marta Gutman, "Typed Transcript of Field Notes and Interview with Mollie Fisher, Belva Heer, and Sally Gorham at the Studio One Art Center, September 29, 2001" (Oakland: November 6, 2001). Unless noted otherwise, information about these women's lives comes from this interview. I learned about the Cooley sisters through Di Starr, "Orphanage Now an Art Center," *The Montclarion*, November 24, 2000, A-5, A-12. Also see Laurie Grossman, "Mollie Fisher Comes Home," *Park Central*, Spring 2000, 4.

11. Marta Gutman, "Usable Pasts: Caregiving as a Public, Physical Matter," (University of California, Berkeley: Working Paper No. 24, Center for Working Families, 2001).

12. The outcomes could be positive or negative. The reform preference for cottages was based on the former assumption; for a description of the negative outcomes of institutional living, see Lewis M. Terman, "Surveys in Mental Deviation in Prisons, Public Schools, and Orphanages in California" (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1913).

13. Sara Ruddick, "Care as Labor and Relationship," in *Norms and Values. Essays on the Work of Virginia Held*, ed. Joram Haber and Mark Halfon (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers, 1998), 3-25; Joan C. Tronto, "Care as a Basis for Radical Political Judgments," *Hypathia. A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 10, no. 2 (1995): 141-49, "Care as a Political Concept," in *Revisioning the Political. Feminist Reconstructions of Traditional Concepts in Western Political Theory*, ed. Nancy J. Hirschmann and Christine Di Stefano (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997), 139-56, and *Moral Boundaries. A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

14. Esther De Turbeville, "Outrelief and Family Desertion Problems in Alameda County, California" (Oakland: Alameda County Board of Supervisors, County Welfare Council, 1926), 10-11.

15. Steven Lavoie, "Ladies' Home Society Cared for Bay Area's Orphans," *Oakland Tribune*, May 8, 1994, A-20. Di Starr graciously shared with me her copy of Joseph H. DeFreitas, "Childhood Memories, 8 to 12 Years Old (1924-1927)," (February 1991). Unless noted otherwise, information about this man's life comes from this account.

16. Marta Gutman, "On the Ground in Oakland: Women and Institution Building in an Industrial City" (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, 2000).

17. For an example of poor physical conditions, see the discussion of the Glen Ellen Home for Feeble-Minded Children in California State Board of Health, "Thirteenth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of California, for the Fiscal Years from June 30, 1892, to June 30, 1894" (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1894), 24-25.

18. Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 87-104.

19. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 1991).

20. E. P. Thompson, "History and Anthropology," in *Making History: Writings on History and Culture*, ed. Dorothy Thompson (New York: New Press, 1994), 217.

21. Morris is cited by Marguerite Dupree, "The Provision of Social Services," in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. 3, 1840-1950*, ed. Martin Daunton (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 353. See also R. J. Morris, *Class, Sect, and Party. The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds, 1820-1850* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press and St. Martin's Press, 1990). The point that the invention of material resources is an urban process builds on the insights of Dupree, Morris, and others who argue that "new forms of charity have generally been forged in urban settings" since the nineteenth century. See Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones, "Introduction," in *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State*, ed. Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones (New York: Routledge, 1991), 11, cited by Dupree, p. 352.
22. Kenneth Cmiel, *A Home of Another Kind: One Chicago Orphanage and the Tangle of Child Welfare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999); Timothy A. Hacsí, *Second Home. Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); Sonya Michel, *Children's Interests/Mothers' Rights: The Shaping of America's Child Care Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Nurith Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Child Care Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). For a comparison with poorhouses, see Michael B. Katz, *Poverty and Policy in American History* (New York: Academic Press, 1983), 217.
23. This points draws on insights offered by Michael Grossberg, "Other People's Children: Creating Child Protection in America, 1870-1930" (paper presented at the Center for Working Families, Berkeley, February 11, 2002).
24. Pillsbury, *Institutional Life*, 75. For regional variations in government-run institutions (federal, state, county, and municipal), see United States, Bureau of the Census, *Benevolent Institutions 1910*, 81-84.
25. As Dupree writes, "R. J. Morris argues [that] size, density and complexity are defining characteristics of cities, and they intensify 'externalities' for which the power structures of urban places devise responses. Externalities arise when effects on production and welfare are outside the market and go wholly or partially unpriced, bringing a need for non-market interventions, including the provision of social welfare, which became more pressing as towns grew in size." In Britain and the United States, the high demand for capital for urban infrastructure generally is taken to refer to the need for sewers, water, roads, what has narrowly been construed to be the work of city building. But urban infrastructure also includes social welfare, hospitals, schools, and other institutions. See Dupree, "The Provision of Social Services," 352-53.
26. For example, James Leiby, *A History of Social Welfare and Social Work in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978). My point draws on Dupree, "The Provision of Social Services," 351; Katz, *Poverty and Policy in American History*, 188. Also see Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
27. Robert Bremner, ed., *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History, Vol. 2, 1600-1865* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), 655, cited by Cmiel, *A Home of Another Kind*, 12.

28. Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1986, 1996 [rev. ed.]), 88. Also see Cahn and Bary, *Welfare Activities in California*, 141-42,
29. Cahn and Bary, *Welfare Activities in California*, 46, 48, 53-56, 114, 27, 43-44, Folks, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children*, 225, Pillsbury, *Institutional Life*, 75-76. The Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Asylum and the California Home for the Training of Feeble-minded Children were run by private societies, initially. For descriptions of the Alameda County Poor Farm (later hospital), see Margaret F. Sirch and Stuart A. Queen, "Report on Alameda County Hospital and Infirmary" (San Francisco: State Board of Charities and Corrections, 1917); M. W. Wood and J. P. Munro-Fraser, *History of Alameda County, California* (Oakland: M. W. Wood, Publisher, 1883), 212-13. Delinquent children, eight years and older, were imprisoned in local jails until the state introduced a separate system of juvenile courts in the early twentieth century.
30. For the formation of women's charitable associations in the San Francisco Bay Area, see Joseph E. Baker, ed., *Past and Present of Alameda County, California*, vol. 1 (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914), 247-62; Mary Ann Irwin, "'Going About Doing Good': The Politics of Benevolence, Welfare, and Gender in San Francisco, 1850-1880," *Pacific Historical Review* 68 (August 1999): 365-96.
31. Lucy E. Dam, "Brief History of the Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland," *Mariposa Magazine* 1 (1898): 105; Mrs. Frank K. Mott, "A Brief Summary of the Outstanding Events and Transactions of the Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California. From the Time of Its Foundation, 1871, to the Current Year" (Oakland: The Ladies' Home Society of Oakland, 1935).
32. Directory Publishing Co., *Bishop's Oakland Directory, 1880-81* (Oakland: W. B. Hardy, Bookseller and Stationer, 1880), 70; Henry G. Langley, *A Directory of the City of Oakland and Its Environs* (Oakland: Strickland, 1878), 62; Thompson & West, "Official and Historical Atlas Map of Alameda County, California," (Oakland, Philadelphia: Thomas Hunter, 1878), 97.
33. California State Board of Health, "Eighth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of California, for the Years of 1882 and 1883" (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1884), 113; Kate (Mrs. Luther P.) Fisher, "Report of the Recording Secretary for the Year 1871-2," in *First and Second Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California* (San Francisco: Frank Eastman, Printer, 1873), 7.
34. Kate (Mrs. Luther P.) Fisher, "Report of the Recording Secretary for the Year 1872-3," in *First and Second Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California* (San Francisco: Frank Eastman, Printer, 1873), 13, 14.
35. Mrs. C. C. Curtis, "Report of the Corresponding Secretary of the O. L. R. S. For the Year 1871-2," in *First and Second Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California* (San Francisco: Frank Eastman, Printer, 1873), 11.
36. Cited by Mott, "A Brief Summary," 7 (not attributed). She goes on to say that, in 1881, the society's income depended on "State appropriations; monthly contributions from the citizens of Oakland; one eighth of Police fines [collected in the city]; a small charge for board exacted from such parents as were able to work; donations from benevolent individuals; proceeds from fairs and festivals." See Mott, "A Brief Summary," 9-10.
37. In the mid-1880s, the charity amended the constitution to read, "The Society is, and shall remain, Protestant and wholly non-sectarian." See Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California,

*Fourteenth and Fifteenth Annual Reports. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California. For the Two Years, Ending May 1, 1886* (Oakland: Pacific Press Printing, 1886), 29.

38. Cahn and Bary, *Welfare Activities in California*, 143-45.

39. "Ladies' Relief Annual. The Anniversary Last Evening—Reports of the Past Year's Work—Singing by Home Children—the Annual Address," *Oakland Times*, May 3, 1878, 3.

40. W. W. Elliott, *Oakland and Surroundings. Illustrated and Described, Showing Its Advantages for Residences and Businesses* (Oakland: W. W. Elliott and Company, Publisher, 1885), 90; "Rest for the Weary. A Home for the Tired and a Respite from Labor. One of Oakland's Noble Charities—a New Building Erected—the Laying of the Corner Stone," *Oakland Daily Evening Tribune*, July 22, 1882, 1.

41. "At the Home. The Ladies Will Discuss Replacing the Burned Building Tomorrow," *Oakland Enquirer*, May 2, 1894, 1; "Fierce Flames Rage Unchecked in Main Building of Children's Home. Heroines Work in Cloud of Fire and Smoke," *Oakland Herald*, April 13, 1906, 1; Sanborn Map Company, "Insurance Map for Oakland, California," (Pelham, N.Y.: Sanborn Map Co., 1911-1930), pl. 338; Sanborn Map Company, "Insurance Map for Oakland, California," (Pelham, N.Y.: Sanborn Map Co., 1903-1910), pl. 293.

42. Cmiel, *A Home of Another Kind*, 14-15. The theme (of institutions meeting emergency needs) continues into the twentieth century in California. See California State Board of Charities and Corrections, "Fifth Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of the State of California from July 1, 1910, to June 30, 1912" (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1912), 37; California State Department of Social Welfare, "First Biennial Report of the State Department of Social Welfare of the State of California, 1927-28" (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1929), 25-26.

43. A. J. S. Maddison, "Refuges and Homes for Children," in *Report of the Proceedings of the Third International Congress for the Welfare and Protection of Children*, ed. William Chance (London: P. S. King and Son, 1902), 300-302.

44. In 1917, the age limit was extended to fifteen, but state aid ceased at age fourteen. Cahn and Bary, *Welfare Activities in California*, 22, 67; California State Board of Charities and Corrections, "Sixth Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of the State of California from July 1, 1912, to June 30, 1914" (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1914), 204-205.

45. The Alameda County Welfare Council, which the board of supervisors established in 1920, formed policy and directed public outdoor relief. Three private run agencies, which were represented on the council, investigated applicants and distributed county relief—the Oakland Associated Charities, the Berkeley Welfare Society, and the Alameda City Social Service Board. Turbeville, "Outrelief and Family Desertion," 10, 11, chart following p. 11. The welfare council shelters are described as "receiving homes" in United States, Bureau of the Census, *Children under Institutional Care 1923* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1927), 170-71.

46. California State Department of Public Welfare, "Biennial Report of the State Department of Public Welfare of the State of California, from July 1, 1924, to June 30, 1926, with Additional Data from July 1, 1922, to June 30, 1924" (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1926), 90, 92-93; Community Chest of Oakland, "'It's Everybody's Job.' A Report to the Shareholders in a Great Human Enterprise. An Appeal to Every Oaklander Who Is Not in Need of Charity" (Oakland: R.

S. Kitchener, Printer, 1924); United States, Bureau of the Census, *Children under Institutional Care 1923*, 50-51.

47. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California, *Forty-Fifth Annual Report. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1916* (Oakland: Carruth and Carruth Co., Printers, 1917), 30. The wording of the rule changed slightly from that used in 1916, when the society formally endorsed racial segregation. Originally, the rule read, "Only children of Anglo-Saxon parentage shall be admitted into this institution." Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California, *Forty-Fourth Annual Report. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1915* (Oakland: Carruth and Carruth Co., Printers, 1916), 27.

48. California State Department of Public Welfare, "Biennial Report," 90, 93; Rev. Max Clark, "Social Service Organizations of Oakland" (Oakland: Works Progress Administration, 1939), 45-47; United States, Bureau of the Census, *Children under Institutional Care 1923*, 53-53.

49. Marta Gutman, "'Lifting as We Climb' at the Fannie Wall Children's Home: Charity, Race, and Women's Institution Building in Oakland, California, 1918-1962" (paper presented at the Eighth Biennial Conference on American Planning History, Society for American City and Regional Planning History, Washington, D.C., November 18-21, 1999) and "Under Siege: Constructing Care at the Fannie Wall Children's Home in Oakland, California" (paper presented at the Seventy-Second Annual Meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association, March 29-April 1, 2001, San Francisco).

50. Clark, "Social Service Organizations of Oakland," 45.

51. Community Chest of Oakland, "It's Everybody's Job."

52. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California, *Fifty-Second Annual Report. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1923* (Oakland: Carruth and Adamson Co., Printers, 1924), 8.

53. For example, see "Charity Work Kept up for Half Century. Activity in Behalf of Humanity Carried on under Difficulties. Help Given to Many," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 4, 1923, 1.

54. David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), 210-12.

55. For example, see California State Board of Health, "Fourth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of California, for the Years 1876 and 1877" (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1877), 33; Pillsbury, *Institutional Life*, 70-71.

56. Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child. The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 171-89.

57. In this instance, outdoor relief referred to goods (food, clothing) and money given to people to use in their own homes (outside of institutions).

58. Cahn and Bary, *Welfare Activities in California*, 4, 14, 20-22. See also Pillsbury, *Institutional Life*, 71; H. A. Redfield, "Good Work. That Being Done at the West Oakland Home. A Charity Which Appeals to All Who Love the Little Ones," *Oakland Enquirer*, February 21, 1894, 3.

59. Charles Loring Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York, and Twenty Years' Work among Them* (New York: Wynkoop and Hallenbeck, Publishers, 1872).

60. Hastings H. Hart, *Cottage and Congregate Institutions for Children* (New York: Charities Publication Committee and Russell Sage Foundation, 1910), 1-13; Charles R. Henderson, *An*

*Introduction to the Study of Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1893), 72-73.

61. Ethel M. Tinnemann, "The Mary R. Smith's Trust Cottages," *Oakland Heritage Alliance News*, Winter 1985, 1-4.

62. Cmiel, *A Home of Another Kind*, 61-63; Hart, *Cottage and Congregate Institutions for Children*, 18, 29.

63. It took sixteen years to implement the changes. Cahn and Bary, *Welfare Activities in California*, 61-62; California State Board of Charities and Corrections, "Fifth Biennial Report," 25; California State Department of Public Welfare, "Biennial Report," 172.

64. California State Board of Charities and Corrections, "Fifth Biennial Report," 36-37.

65. California State Board of Charities and Corrections, "Ninth Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of the State of California from July 1, 1918, to June 30, 1920" (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1920), 99-101; United States, Bureau of the Census, *Benevolent Institutions 1910*, 27.

66. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California, *Forty-Eighth Annual Report. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1919* (Oakland: Carruth and Carruth Co., Printers, 1920), 12.

67. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland California, *Forty-Ninth Annual Report. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1920* (Oakland: Carruth and Carruth Co., Printers, 1921), 15.

68. Clark, "Social Service Organizations of Oakland," 37; Mott, "A Brief Summary," 64, 67, 72, 78, 83-84.

69. California State Department of Public Welfare, "Biennial Report," 95-97.

70. *Ibid.*, 96. The state issued the dietary standards to show charities that expenses could be reduced while feeding children balanced meals. Adele S. Jaffa, "A Standard Dietary for an Orphanage Written for the State Board of Charities and Corrections" (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1914).

71. After 1913, the State Board of Charities and Corrections stated that meeting the requirements of local building codes was a condition for licensure. California State Board of Charities and Corrections, "Sixth Biennial Report," 196-98; Oakland City Council, *General Municipal Ordinances of the City of Oakland, California. In Effect November 14, 1914* (Oakland: Oakland City Council, 1914), 191-92. In 1920, the board announced that it would review architectural plans to check compliance with state rules and regulations. See California State Board of Charities and Corrections, "Ninth Biennial Report," 64; California State Department of Public Welfare, "Biennial Report," 95.

72. "Babies' New Home Ready by Saturday. Ladies' Relief Society's Nursery on Forty-Fifth Street to Be Dedicated for Fifty Little Children," *Oakland Tribune*, December 3, 1925, 1.

73. I am grateful to Di Starr for sharing information used in this paragraph.

74. Numbers dropped to forty-five children by the mid-1930s because, "with so many families on State and Federal Relief rolls, many parents were helped in keeping their children with them, where in former times the parents worked and the children were placed in our care." Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California, *Sixty-Third Annual Report. Ladies' Relief Society of*

- Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1934* (Oakland: Tribune Press, 1935), 10. Also cited by Starr, "Orphanage Now an Art Center," A-12.
75. For regulations, see California State Department of Public Welfare, "Biennial Report," 95. Sally Gorham remembers county inspectors arriving with measuring sticks to check the spacing between beds.
76. California State Department of Public Welfare, "Biennial Report," 96.
77. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California, *Fifty-Sixth Annual Report. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1927* (Oakland: Carruth and Adamson Co., Printers, 1928), 11.
78. "Fund Started to Repair Children's Home," *Oakland Tribune*, April 14, 1906, 4; "The Ladies' Relief Society Is Grateful to Public," *Oakland Enquirer*, April 16, 1906, 2; Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California, *Thirty-Fourth and Thirty-Fifth Annual Reports. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California. Years Ending April 30, 1905-06* (Oakland: Carruth and Carruth Co., Printers, 1906), 3-9, 17-18.
79. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1929* (Oakland: Dowdle Printers, 1930), 8.
80. For recollection of an African American cook who worked at the orphanage, see DeFreitas, "Childhood Memories," 2.
81. Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, ed. Robert B. St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 357.
82. Another matron, Mrs. Powell, ran the orphanage when Joseph DeFreitas lived there, and apparently, she permitted boys and girls to play together. DeFreitas, "Childhood Memories," 5.
83. I am grateful to Di Starr for sharing this information with me.
84. "Women Revolt at 'Barbarity' in Children's Home. Oakland Group, Including Rolph's Daughter, Quits Society," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 8, 1932, 4.
85. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1975, 1977 [trans.]), 170-77.
86. Grossman, "Mollie Fisher Comes Home," 4.
87. California State Board of Charities and Corrections, "Ninth Biennial Report," 65.
88. David M. Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 17.
89. Grossman, "Mollie Fisher Comes Home," 4.
90. Gail Carson Levine, *Dave at Night* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1999).
91. Hugh Matthews et al., "The Unacceptable *Flaneur*: The Shopping Mall as a Teenage Hangout," *Childhood* 7, no. 3 (2000): 282.
92. Grossman, "Mollie Fisher Comes Home," 4.
93. Mollie Cooley shared this story with Laurie Grossman and me.
94. Cahn and Bary, *Welfare Activities in California*, 22-23.
95. Bernstein, *Lost Children of Wilder*.
96. For new standards, see California State Department of Social Welfare, "Standards for Children's Institutions in California. Adopted by the Social Welfare Board on May 27, 1949"

(Sacramento: 1949), 13. One recommendation was that bedrooms house no more than five children.

97. Cmiel, *A Home of Another Kind*, 123-32.

98. During World War II, when the Children's Home was used to house troops, the charity moved all the remaining children into the De Fremery Nursery. After the war, they were sent to the Lincoln Home, and the Community Chest took over the nursery building for a few years, operating it as an "emergency" shelter for endangered children. Implicit in the accounts is the sense that children could live in dormitories on an emergency basis, but not permanently. "The Ladies' Home Society of Oakland" (Oakland: Ladies' Home Society of Oakland, n.d.); "The Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland Was Founded . . ." (Oakland: Ladies' Home Society of Oakland, n.d.). Also see California Committee on Temporary Child Care, "California Children in Detention and Shelter Care" (Los Angeles: California Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth, 1955).

99. Jane Grey, "North Oakland Recreation Center Opened to Public," *Oakland Tribune*, September 19, 1949, D-7; Terry Hatcher and Carole Pulcifer, "Studio One Arts Center—a Brief History" (Oakland: 1989); "The Ladies' Home Society of Oakland," "The Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland Was Founded . . ."

100. Gutman, "Usable Pasts," 21-26.

101. Nina Bernstein, "Few Women Choose to Abandon Newborns at Legal Havens," *New York Times*, August 31, 2001, A1; Slingerland, *Child Welfare Work in California*, 85.

102. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California, *Fifty-Seventh Annual Report. Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1928* (Oakland: Dowdle Printers, 1929), 11.

## Bibliography

- “At the Home. The Ladies Will Discuss Replacing the Burned Building Tomorrow.” *Oakland Enquirer*, May 2, 1894, 1.
- “Babies’ New Home Ready by Saturday. Ladies’ Relief Society’s Nursery on Forty-Fifth Street to Be Dedicated for Fifty Little Children.” *Oakland Tribune*, December 3, 1925, 1.
- Baker, Joseph E., ed. *Past and Present of Alameda County, California*. Vol. 1. Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914.
- Barry, Jonathan, and Colin Jones. “Introduction.” In *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State*, edited by Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones, 1-13. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Bernstein, Nina. “Few Women Choose to Abandon Newborns at Legal Havens.” *New York Times*, August 31, 2001, A1, A14.
- . *The Lost Children of Wilder. The Epic Struggle to Change Foster Care*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2001.
- Brace, Charles Loring. *The Dangerous Classes of New York, and Twenty Years’ Work among Them*. New York: Wynkoop and Hallenbeck, Publishers, 1872.
- Bremner, Robert, ed. *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History, Vol. 2, 1600-1865*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Cahn, Frances, and Valeska Bary. *Welfare Activities of Federal, State, and Local Governments in California, 1850-1934*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936.
- California Committee on Temporary Child Care. “California Children in Detention and Shelter Care.” Los Angeles: California Governor’s Advisory Committee on Children and Youth, 1955.
- California State Board of Charities and Corrections. “Fifth Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of the State of California from July 1, 1910, to June 30, 1912.” Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1912.
- . “Ninth Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of the State of California from July 1, 1918, to June 30, 1920.” Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1920.
- . “Sixth Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections of the State of California from July 1, 1912, to June 30, 1914.” Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1914.
- California State Board of Health. “Eighth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of California, for the Years of 1882 and 1883.” Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1884.
- . “Fourth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of California, for the Years 1876 and 1877.” Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1877.
- . “Thirteenth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of California, for the Fiscal Years from June 30, 1892, to June 30, 1894.” Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1894.
- California State Department of Public Welfare. “Biennial Report of the State Department of Public Welfare of the State of California, from July 1, 1924, to June 30, 1926, with Additional Data from July 1, 1992, to June 30, 1924.” Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1926.
- California State Department of Social Welfare. “First Biennial Report of the State Department of Social Welfare of the State of California, 1927-28.” Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1929.

- . “Standards for Children’s Institutions in California. Adopted by the Social Welfare Board on May 27, 1949.” 31 typed pages. Sacramento, 1949.
- . “Third Biennial Report of the State Department of Social Welfare of the State of California, July 1, 1930, to June 30, 1932.” Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1932.
- “Charity Work Kept up for Half Century. Activity in Behalf of Humanity Carried on under Difficulties. Help Given to Many.” *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 4, 1923, 1.
- Clark, Rev. Max. “Social Service Organizations of Oakland.” Oakland: Works Progress Administration, 1939.
- Cmiel, Kenneth. *A Home of Another Kind: One Chicago Orphanage and the Tangle of Child Welfare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Community Chest of Oakland. “‘It’s Everybody’s Job.’ A Report to the Shareholders in a Great Human Enterprise. An Appeal to Every Oaklander Who Is Not in Need of Charity.” Oakland: R. S. Kitchener, Printer, 1924.
- Curtis, Mrs. C. C. “Report of the Corresponding Secretary of the O. L. R. S. for the Year 1871-2.” In *First and Second Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California*, 10-11. San Francisco: Frank Eastman, Printer, 1873.
- Dam, Lucy E. “Brief History of the Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland.” *Mariposa Magazine* 1 (1898): 105.
- DeFreitas, Joseph H. “Childhood Memories, 8 to 12 Years Old (1924-1927).” 12 typed pages, February 1991.
- Directory Publishing Co. *Bishop’s Oakland Directory, 1880-81*. Oakland: W. B. Hardy, Bookseller and Stationer, 1880.
- Dupree, Marguerite. “The Provision of Social Services.” In *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. 3, 1840-1950*, edited by Martin Daunton, 351-94. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Elliott, W. W. *Oakland and Surroundings. Illustrated and Described, Showing Its Advantages for Residences and Businesses*. Oakland: W. W. Elliott and Company, Publisher, 1885.
- “Fierce Flames Rage Unchecked in Main Building of Children’s Home. Heroines Work in Cloud of Fire and Smoke.” *Oakland Herald*, April 13, 1906, 1.
- Fisher, Kate (Mrs. Luther P.). “Report of the Recording Secretary for the Year 1871-2.” In *First and Second Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California*, 5-10. San Francisco: Frank Eastman, Printer, 1873.
- . “Report of the Recording Secretary for the Year 1872-3.” In *First and Second Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California*, 13-16. San Francisco: Frank Eastman, Printer, 1873.
- Folks, Homer. *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1902, 1907.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1975, 1977 (trans.).
- . “Governmentality.” In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, 87-104. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- “Fund Started to Repair Children’s Home.” *Oakland Tribune*, April 14, 1906, 4.

- Gordon, Linda. *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Grey, Jane. "North Oakland Recreation Center Opened to Public." *Oakland Tribune*, September 19, 1949, D-7.
- Grossberg, Michael. "Other People's Children: Creating Child Protection in America, 1870-1930." Paper presented at the Center for Working Families, Berkeley, February 11, 2002.
- Grossman, Laurie. "Mollie Fisher Comes Home." *Park Central*, Spring 2000, 4.
- Gutman, Marta. "'Lifting as We Climb' at the Fannie Wall Children's Home: Charity, Race, and Women's Institution Building in Oakland, California, 1918-1962." Paper presented at the Eighth Biennial Conference on American Planning History, Society for American City and Regional Planning History, Washington, D.C., November 18-21, 1999.
- . "On the Ground in Oakland: Women and Institution Building in an Industrial City." Doctoral dissertation, University of California, 2000.
- . "Typed Transcript of Field Notes and Interview with Mollie Fisher, Belva Heer, and Sally Gorham at the Studio One Art Center, September 29, 2001." 31 typed pages in the author's possession. Oakland, November 6, 2001.
- . "Under Siege: Constructing Care at the Fannie Wall Children's Home in Oakland, California." Paper presented at the Seventy-Second Annual Meeting of Pacific Sociological Association, March 29-April 1, 2001, San Francisco.
- . "Usable Pasts: Caregiving as a Public, Physical Matter." Working Paper No. 24, Center for Working Families, University of California, Berkeley, 2001.
- Hacsi, Timothy A. *Second Home. Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Hart, Hastings H. *Cottage and Congregate Institutions for Children*. New York: Charities Publication Committee and Russell Sage Foundation, 1910.
- . "Introduction." In *Child Welfare Work in California. A Study of Agencies and Institutions*, edited by William H. Slingerland, 3-12. New York: Department of Child Helping, Russell Sage Foundation, 1916.
- Hatcher, Terry, and Carole Pulcifer. "Studio One Arts Center—a Brief History." 4 typed pages. Oakland, 1989.
- Henderson, Charles R. *An Introduction to the Study of Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1893.
- Hirsch, Emil G. "The Home Versus the Institution." In *Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children. Held at Washington, D.C., January 25, 26, 1909*, 85-94. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909.
- Irwin, Mary Ann. "'Going About Doing Good': The Politics of Benevolence, Welfare, and Gender in San Francisco, 1850-1880." *Pacific Historical Review* 68 (August 1999): 365-96.
- Jaffa, Adele S. "A Standard Dietary for an Orphanage Written for the State Board of Charities and Corrections." Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1914.
- Katz, Michael B. *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1986, 1996 (rev. ed.).
- . *Poverty and Policy in American History*. New York: Academic Press, 1983.

- Katzman, David M. *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- “The Ladies’ Home Society of Oakland.” Oakland: Ladies’ Home Society of Oakland, n.d.
- “Ladies’ Relief Annual. The Anniversary Last Evening—Reports of the Past Year’s Work—Singing by Home Children—the Annual Address.” *Oakland Times*, May 3, 1878, 3.
- “The Ladies’ Relief Society Is Grateful to Public.” *Oakland Enquirer*, April 16, 1906, 2.
- Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California. *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report. Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1929*. Oakland: Dowdle Printers, 1930.
- . *Fifty-Second Annual Report. Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1923*. Oakland: Carruth and Adamson Co., Printers, 1924.
- . *Fifty-Seventh Annual Report. Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1928*. Oakland: Dowdle Printers, 1929.
- . *Fifty-Sixth Annual Report. Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1927*. Oakland: Carruth and Adamson Co., Printers, 1928.
- . *Forty-Eighth Annual Report. Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1919*. Oakland: Carruth and Carruth Co., Printers, 1920.
- . *Forty-Fifth Annual Report. Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1916*. Oakland: Carruth and Carruth Co., Printers, 1917.
- . *Forty-Fourth Annual Report. Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1915*. Oakland: Carruth and Carruth Co., Printers, 1916.
- . *Forty-Ninth Annual Report. Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1920*. Oakland: Carruth and Carruth Co., Printers, 1921.
- . *Fourteenth and Fifteenth Annual Reports. Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California. For the Two Years, Ending May 1, 1886*. Oakland: Pacific Press Printing, 1886.
- . *Sixty-Third Annual Report. Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California. Year Ending December 31, 1934*. Oakland: Tribune Press, 1935.
- . *Thirty-Fourth and Thirty-Fifth Annual Reports. Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland, California. Years Ending April 30, 1905-06*. Oakland: Carruth and Carruth Co., Printers, 1906.
- “The Ladies’ Relief Society of Oakland Was Founded . . . .” 4 typed pages. Oakland: Ladies’ Home Society of Oakland, n.d.
- Langley, Henry G. *A Directory of the City of Oakland and Its Environs*. Oakland: Strickland, 1878.
- Lavoie, Steven. “Ladies’ Home Society Cared for Bay Area’s Orphans.” *Oakland Tribune*, May 8, 1994, A-20.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 1991.
- Leiby, James. *A History of Social Welfare and Social Work in the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.
- Levine, Gail Carson. *Dave at Night*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1999.
- Lindenmeyer, Kriste. “A Right to Childhood.” *The U.S. Children’s Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912-46*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

- Maddison, A. J. S. "Refuges and Homes for Children." In *Report of the Proceedings of the Third International Congress for the Welfare and Protection of Children*, edited by William Chance, 300-308. London: P. S. King and Son, 1902.
- Matthews, Hugh, Mark Taylor, Barry Percy-Smith, and Melanie Limb. "The Unacceptable Flaneur: The Shopping Mall as a Teenage Hangout." *Childhood* 7, no. 3 (2000): 279-94.
- Michel, Sonya. *Children's Interests/Mothers' Rights: The Shaping of America's Child Care Policy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Morris, R. J. *Class, Sect, and Party. The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds, 1820-1850*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press and St. Martin's Press, 1990.
- . "Structure, Culture and Society in British Towns." In *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. 3, 1840-1950*, edited by Martin Daunton, 395-426. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Mott, Mrs. Frank K. "A Brief Summary of the Outstanding Events and Transactions of the Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California. From the Time of Its Foundation, 1871, to the Current Year." 120 typed pages. Oakland: The Ladies' Home Society of Oakland, 1935.
- Oakland City Council. *General Municipal Ordinances of the City of Oakland, California. In Effect November 14, 1914*. Oakland: Oakland City Council, 1914.
- Pillsbury, Arthur J. *Institutional Life. Its Relations to the State and to the Wards of the State*. Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1906.
- Redfield, H. A. "Good Work. That Being Done at the West Oakland Home. A Charity Which Appeals to All Who Love the Little Ones." *Oakland Enquirer*, February 21, 1894, 3.
- "Rest for the Weary. A Home for the Tired and a Respite from Labor. One of Oakland's Noble Charities—a New Building Erected—the Laying of the Corner Stone." *Oakland Daily Evening Tribune*, July 22, 1882, 1.
- Rothman, David J. *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.
- Ruddick, Sara. "Care as Labor and Relationship." In *Norms and Values. Essays on the Work of Virginia Held*, edited by Joram Haber and Mark Halfon, 3-25. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers, 1998.
- Ryan, Mary P. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Sanborn Map Company. "Insurance Map for Oakland, California." Pelham, N.Y.: Sanborn Map Co., 1911-1930.
- . "Insurance Map for Oakland, California." Pelham, N.Y.: Sanborn Map Co., 1903-1910.
- Sirch, Margaret F., and Stuart A. Queen. "Report on Alameda County Hospital and Infirmary." 27 typed pages. San Francisco: State Board of Charities and Corrections, 1917.
- Skocpol, Theda. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Slingerland, William H. *Child Welfare Work in California. A Study of Agencies and Institutions*. New York: Department of Child Helping, Russell Sage Foundation, 1916.
- Starr, Di. "Orphanage Now an Art Center." *The Montclarion*, November 24, 2000, A5, A12.
- Terman, Lewis M. "Surveys in Mental Deviation in Prisons, Public Schools, and Orphanages in California." Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1913.

- Thompson & West. "Official and Historical Atlas Map of Alameda County, California." Oakland, Philadelphia: Thomas Hunter, 1878.
- Thompson, E. P. "History and Anthropology." In *Making History: Writings on History and Culture*, edited by Dorothy Thompson, 199-225. New York: New Press, 1994.
- Tinnemann, Ethel M. "The Mary R. Smith's Trust Cottages." *Oakland Heritage Alliance News*, Winter 1985, 1-4.
- Tronto, Joan C. "Care as a Basis for Radical Political Judgments." *Hypathia. A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 10, no. 2 (1995): 141-49.
- . "Care as a Political Concept." In *Revisioning the Political. Feminist Reconstructions of Traditional Concepts in Western Political Theory*, edited by Nancy J. Hirschmann and Christine Di Stefano, 139-56. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997.
- . *Moral Boundaries. A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Turbeville, Esther De. "Outrelief and Family Desertion Problems in Alameda County, California." 49 typed pages. Oakland: Alameda County Board of Supervisors, County Welfare Council, 1926.
- U. S. Senate. Document 721. 60<sup>th</sup> Congress. 2<sup>nd</sup> Session. "Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children. Held at Washington, D.C., January 25, 26, 1909." Washington, D.C., 1909.
- United States. Bureau of the Census. *Benevolent Institutions 1904*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905.
- . *Benevolent Institutions 1910*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913.
- . *Children under Institutional Care 1923*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1927.
- Upton, Dell. "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia." In *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, edited by Robert B. St. George, 357-69. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988.
- "Women Revolt at 'Barbarity' in Children's Home. Oakland Group, Including Rolph's Daughter, Quits Society." *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 8, 1932, 4.
- Wood, M. W., and J. P. Munro-Fraser. *History of Alameda County, California*. Oakland: M. W. Wood, Publisher, 1883.
- Zelizer, Viviana A. *Pricing the Priceless Child. The Changing Social Value of Children*. New York: Basic Books, 1985.
- Zmora, Nurith. *Orphanages Reconsidered: Child Care Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.