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

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**Under Siege: Construction and Care at the
Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery**

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Working Paper No. 56

September 2002

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Abstract

Civic infrastructures need care, as well as people themselves. This observation animates the story of the Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery, an orphanage and daycare center, established in 1918 by African-American clubwomen in Oakland, California. In this paper, I use visual and archival resources and oral histories to probe the history of the institution and its ties to other twentieth-century charities. My analysis highlights the changing landscapes of urban architecture and the effects of ideology and inequality on caregiving. Only one of the privately run charities discussed in the paper still stands: the St. Vincent's Day Home. The others were destroyed in the 1960s by urban renewal programs that devastated West Oakland, the historic center of African-American life in Oakland and the site of the Fannie Wall Home. This study underscores the point that we need to widen our horizons when thinking about care. The actual sites, the architectural settings where care takes place, create an indispensable and fragile physical scaffold for care giving and community building—a charitable landscape that is threatened and is itself in need of care.

Fannie Wall Is Calling!

—Bertha Allen, 1959*

These are your Monuments, each Club Women is part owner,
as such each Club has the responsibility of helping to maintain these
by observing the Anniversaries of these—your monuments.

—Mary C. Netherland, 1947*

In 1918, the Northern Federation of California Colored Women's Clubs opened the Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery in the western part of Oakland, California.¹ The federation did not erect a purpose-built institution. Rather, members of the woman's group (Figure 1) took literally the meaning of the words "children's home" and turned an ordinary, wood-frame house on Peralta Street into an orphanage and daycare center (Figure 2). As a matter of principle, the African-American women who ran the institution for children embraced all races, ethnicities, and creeds. Yet, quickly, needy African-American children became the chief clientele. Even in West Oakland, an ethnically diverse, racially integrated, working-class community, racial distinction marked philanthropic institutions during the first half of the twentieth century. This practice was sanctioned in California by social custom and in some instances by the rule of law.²

This paper analyzes the history of the Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery, using the changing landscapes of urban architecture to grasp the effects of ideology and identity on caregiving. African-American clubwomen proudly called the charity a "monument," linking the children's institution to goals of racial uplift and self-betterment, what the historian Kevin Gaines calls "uplift ideology."³ This paper draws attention to material (physical) expressions of uplift ideology, thus supplementing the analyses of other cultural expressions that take pride of place in Gaines' and other scholars' work. While expressing admiration for the public activism of clubwomen of color, Gaines argues that the traditional rhetoric of female domesticity and true

womanhood politically compromised their public work.⁴ In this paper, I shift the focus to examine the architectural accomplishments of women of color, especially their institution building for children. By documenting the struggles that African-American women faced in creating and maintaining the Fannie Wall Children's Home in West Oakland, the paper brings to light their achievements in a landscape that was riddled with the effects of social and political inequalities. The paper also brings home the point that the architectural settings where care takes place create an indispensable and fragile scaffold for care giving and community building—a charitable landscape that is threatened and is itself in need of care.

African-American women combined two philanthropies for children in the Fannie Wall Children's Home: an orphanage and a day nursery. Both institutions were found commonly in the working-class neighborhoods of American cities about one hundred years ago. In two other Berkeley Center for Working Families working papers, I have discussed the place of orphanages in the everyday lives of working families.⁵ Day nurseries (also called day homes) were early childcare centers, established by secular and religious organizations to offer subsidized daycare for the children of working mothers. Like free kindergartens, day nurseries were sometimes located in the same building or complex as orphanages; philanthropic organizations also built day nurseries as separate establishments.

The Fannie Wall Children's Home was the only day nursery and orphanage in Oakland that was open to African-American children during the first half of the twentieth century. In this period, the lines of racial segregation hardened in the landscape of children's institutions in Oakland, as the city's African-American population expanded rapidly. Tracing the history of the Children's Home, one can see changes in the fine-grain scale of urban development that reveal tensions within the African-American community (about the place of black institutions in community life) and demonstrate the power of white neighbors, who were at this time largely indifferent to the needs of minority children.

Black clubwomen, who honored the Fannie Wall Children's Home with the title, "monument," hoped to erect a purpose-built institution, but could only afford to purchase and make modest alterations to standing buildings. By 1928, the women who sponsored the institution on Peralta Street had raised enough funds to purchase another building for the charity.

They selected a handsome house across street from the Linden Street YWCA, known colloquially as the “Colored Y,” and on the same city block as another day nursery, St. Vincent’s Day Home. Run by the Sisters of the Holy Family, St. Vincent’s was also located in a former house, and it was racially segregated. The institution-building aspirations of African-American women persisted, but they could not raise enough money for capital improvements or building maintenance during and following the interwar years. The institution fell into disrepair, as the neighborhood declined after World War II, and the building was demolished during the 1960s, when massive urban renewal projects wiped out much of the urban fabric in the western part of the city. St. Vincent’s, which escaped destruction, due to the intervention of powerful allies, went on to erect a new addition directly over the former site of the Fannie Wall Home. The latter institution has since reopened as a daycare center in another neighborhood in West Oakland.

Site and Context

At the beginning of the twentieth century, West Oakland was a densely built, mixed-use urban district—made up of heterogeneous, rapidly developing urban neighborhoods, which were filled with diverse buildings and groups of people. Initially the area was a thinly developed part of the city, dotted with orchards, farms, and elite residences. In the 1870s and 1880s, after the Pacific Railroad decided to terminate the transcontinental terminal in West Oakland, working people started to gravitate to the area. The corporation erected a vast terminal and enormous ferry dock in Oakland Point, just across the bay from San Francisco. European immigrants, African and Asian Americans, and other working people, who came to live and work in the western part of the city, found employment at the new railroad yards and the industries, warehouses, and food processing plants that were built near the tracks. Pullman porters and their families, who were required to live, close to work, also settled in West Oakland, establishing an African-American presence in the district early on.⁶ Waged work for women was also plentiful in the area, especially in canneries and in domestic service since elites continued to live in West Oakland until the turn of the century.⁷

As was often the case in the industrializing neighborhoods of American cities, wealthy, white, Protestant women set up in West Oakland a rich mix of privately run charities for working

families who lived and worked in the district, most of whom were working-class. These women created what I have described elsewhere as a landscape of charity.⁸ To begin with, the woman-run establishments, which made up the landscape of charity in the western part of the city, included orphanages, free kindergartens, cooking and sewing schools, and settlement houses. In these privately run, public places immigrant women and their children, as well people of color, could find social assistance and educational programs, often provided free or at minimal cost. Before the turn of the century, most institutions for children in West Oakland opened their doors to all “worthy” working-class boys and girls and did not exclude Catholic or African-American children (Figure 3). Even so, racial and ethnic prejudices existed, and Protestantism prevailed, even in nonsectarian settings. Working families also needed more kinds of social services as married women entered the paid labor force in greater and greater numbers after the turn of the twentieth century.⁹

One response to this growing need for care in West Oakland was for Irish Catholic and African-American women to open day homes or nurseries—a form of charity that helped working mothers find regular, affordable childcare (outside the home) in this historical period. Starting in the middle of the nineteenth century, philanthropic facilities, sponsored by nonsectarian and religious organizations, opened in the working-class districts of many American cities. Often, the better-off, white, benevolent, Protestant women who organized and supported early day nurseries in the United States focused on the welfare of poor children, rather than taking the interests of working mothers or entire families to heart.¹⁰ As Sonya Michel has argued, the patrons expected that employment outside the home would be a temporary state for mothers, not a regular condition of adult life. Michel has criticized the “privatism” of such philanthropic effort; she also reports, “the typical charitable day nursery was a dreary, highly regimented institution reeking of carbolic disinfectants,” which middle-class families disparaged (and certainly did not use).¹¹

Although Michel’s criticisms are well taken, it is significant that these neighborhood institutions offered a solution to childcare at the scale of *communities*, moving beyond the efforts of individual families. In 1893, Josephine Jewell Dodge, an advocate of the collective provisioning for the care of children, succeeded in having a Model Day Nursery exhibit included

in the Children's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition. According to Michel, parents brought 10,000 children to the center for care during the great Chicago fair. Dodge drew on the support, generated by the display, to build national support for the day nursery movement; she established the Association of Day Nurseries in 1895 and the Federation of Day Nurseries in 1898.¹²

Other displays at the World's Columbian Exposition aided the cause of organized daycare. The exhibition mounted by the Catholic Church, for example, included an award-winning display of children's work from the day home kindergartens run by the Sisters of the Holy Family in San Francisco.¹³ The order of Irish Catholic nuns, initiated by Elizabeth Tobin in the early 1870s, was an early provider of organized day care for the children of working mothers in the San Francisco Bay Area, which was a center of innovation for the free kindergarten movement in the United States.¹⁴ The Sisters opened a day home in San Francisco's Mission District by 1878 and went on to open more establishments in the city. By 1911, the order had expanded across the bay, when it opened St. Vincent's Day Home in West Oakland.¹⁵ For this charity, the archdiocese purchased from the Haven family a commodious house on Eighth Street (Figure 4). Erected in the 1860s, the building had been altered and expanded in the 1890s.¹⁶

To begin with, the order used the large dwelling as a convent, orphanage, and day home—the only day home run by Irish Catholics in the city. In this setting, the Sisters of the Holy Family continued to express egalitarian aims and endorse progressive educational programs, as they did across the bay. For example, the sisters, who were educated in San Francisco's kindergarten training schools, applied the Froebel pedagogy in the Oakland day home.¹⁷ Even though most of the clients came from Catholic families, the charity also opened its doors to boys and girls of other faiths.¹⁸ However, St. Vincent's, like the other day homes run by the Sisters of the Holy Family, was racially segregated: early in the twentieth century, it accepted only white children who needed free or subsidized day care (Figure 5).

In the early twentieth century, other institutions in West Oakland also began to exclude children of color, most notably the West Oakland Home, which had been racially integrated before the turn of the century.¹⁹ Why this move to racial segregation in the providing of community-based child care? The directors of the orphanage offered no rationale for the change

of policy but several reasons likely shaped the decision. Nationally, the context was “Jim Crow” America, when all levels of government tolerated even extreme expressions of race prejudice, including lynching. Locally, Oakland’s African-American population was growing rapidly, with most new residents settling in the western part of the city. Probably, white residents felt threatened by the increased black presence in the city, especially by new migrants from the Deep South.²⁰ In 1920, 5,500 African Americans lived in Oakland, a small number proportionally, given that 216,000 people lived in the city overall. However, the number of African-American residents grew five times between 1910 and 1920, a hint of the magnitude of change to come.²¹

The expressions of race prejudice intensified in and around other charities and public events in the East Bay, as well as in those in West Oakland. For example, in 1915, the Ladies’ Relief Society, the oldest nonsectarian charity in the city, officially endorsed racial segregation in the Children’s Home, excluding African and Asian-American children from the orphanage. As had been the case with the West Oakland Home, the female managers of the charity offered no public explanation for the change in policy. However, the matter must have been contentious because the wording of the rules for the Children’s Home changed, from one year to the next, to focus exclusion directly on African and Asian Americans.²² Similarly, the Oakland YWCA refused to admit people of color to its main branch in downtown Oakland.²³ Even more disturbingly, the Ku Klux Klan organized in Northern California, joining July 4th parades in Richmond, a few miles north Oakland.²⁴

“Lifting As We Climb”

In this racially charged climate, middle-class women of color organized to meet the need for care in their communities. Although waged labor loomed large in the lives of most African-American women in the United States, the clubwomen who founded the Fannie Wall Children’s Home and Day Nursery in Oakland did not need to work for wages or to supplement their husbands’ incomes. Married to lawyers, businessmen, and other professionals, they were financially privileged (relatively speaking) and thus able to develop and participate in wide-ranging community building projects, which included establishing caregiving institutions.

Nonetheless, the institution building of black clubwomen took place in a gendered social context, which was threaded with the powerful effects of class and race relations.

For the most part, white women in the San Francisco Bay Area refused to admit black women to social clubs and charitable organizations, a common practice across the United States, at the turn of the last century.²⁵ Even so, in Northern California, white women intensified the overt race prejudice commonly found in elite voluntary organizations by expressing preferences for female members with a “pioneer” pedigree.²⁶ They ignored the fact that black women numbered among the early migrants to the American west.²⁷ In 1899, some female descendants of these black pioneers, who were members of the Beth Eden Church in West Oakland, a prestigious African-American church, founded the Fanny Jackson Coppin Club. This club, named after a freed slave who became a teacher in Philadelphia, was the first all-black women’s organization in the city and thus the first club first to be run by women of color in Oakland.²⁸ They dedicated it to art and cultural improvement, following the lead of African-American women in other areas of the United States. Excluded from white organizations, they organized clubs and service organizations and in the 1890s established a national federation, dedicated to race improvement.²⁹

Soon, African-American women’s clubs began to dot the Oakland landscape: the Art and Industrial Club, founded in 1906; the Mother’s Charity Club, in 1907; and the Imperial Art and Literary Club, in 1912. By 1913, enough African-American women had formed clubs in the San Francisco Bay Area for Elizabeth Brown to organize the Northern Federation of California Colored Women’s Clubs. That group joined forces with the Southern Federation, formed in 1906, to establish the California Association of Colored Women, which subsequently joined the National Association of Colored Women.³⁰ The California women shared the national group’s interest in moral uplift and racial self-betterment, wanting to “improve the image of black women in the white mind,” as Anne Firor Scott has written.³¹ However, African-American women on the West Coast intentionally supplemented the national motto, “Lifting As We Climb,” with the phrase, “Service Deeds not Words.” The expression, Martha Winnacker suggests, put forth the public, practical focus clubwomen expected to give their work in Northern California.³²

The first project of the Northern Federation gives substance to Winnacker's claim. In 1914, the Northern Federation announced that its initial undertaking would be the construction of an orphanage and day home in West Oakland. By then, West Oakland was the geographic center of African-American life in the city. With Fanny Wall (Figure 6), president of the Northern Federation, and Hettie Tilghman, the financial secretary, in the lead, the "group of far-sighted club women [recognized] the lack of services rendered minority groups, particularly the Negro child by the Associated Charities," a charter member of the federation recalled, and "decided that they would establish a home for needy children." The "purpose of the home," she wrote, was "to care for homeless, dependent, neglected children from broken homes, and to provide day-care for children of working parents."³³ It took four years for Mrs. Wall and Mrs. Tilghman to raise the \$1,200 needed for the Northern Federation to purchase the first building on Peralta Street, with donations coming from African-American women across Northern California.³⁴ Initially, the Home was called the "Northern Federation Home and Day Nursery," and subsequently it was renamed to honor Fanny Wall who was a member of the Mother's Charity Club and the first woman to run the Northern Federation's charity on a daily basis.³⁵

Other Mothering in Other Homes

The Northern Federation did not erect a purpose-built institution even though a group of African-American women, aided by a white businessman and his wife, had already built one such structure south of Oakland city proper—the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored People (Figure 7), erected in Beulah Heights in the 1890s.³⁶ Instead, the California clubwomen decided to convert a standing building—an ordinary house—to public purposes (see Figure 2). In choosing to place a public function inside an everyday dwelling, the Oakland group adopted a practical approach to institution building, long embraced by women who managed urban charities for women and children in the United States. Regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, and even social class, women often elected to insert philanthropies into standing buildings, usually selecting a house as the building type. The institution-building practice had been part of urban benevolence in the United States since the early 1800s, and women continued to draw on it for economic and cultural reasons up to and beyond the Progressive Era. They needed affordable

solutions and wanted to associate charities for women and children with the American home—a potent emblem to middle-class donors of propriety, domesticity, and respectability.³⁷

African-American clubwomen proved no exception to the general rule. Written records describing their reasons for site selection are scarce and hard to find. However, *Lifting As They Climb*, the official history of the National Association of Colored Women, written by Elizabeth Davis in 1933, includes photographs of many charities affiliated with the national association during its early years. The photographs indicate that African-American clubwomen located virtually all of the charities in standing dwellings. For example, in 1907, the Phyllis Wheatley Club turned a substantial Chicago row house into a home for young, single, working women of color (Figure 8). One year later, the Southern Federation of Colored Women’s Clubs opened the Sojourner Truth Home in Los Angeles, in this case setting up a children’s home within a spacious, freestanding home (Figure 9).

These buildings can be taken as physical examples of what Darlene Clark Hine calls the “culture of dissemblance,” that is, the need for African-American women to adopt circumspect behavior and bearing so as to deflect white attention from themselves and their work.³⁸ In Northern California, the need for protection was clear, with the Klan active in the San Francisco Bay Area. Yet, building caregiving institutions also put black women and their civic achievements in the public eye (an explicit goal of the Northern Federation). Clubwomen proudly called the Children’s Home a monument and expected, along with other projects, it would demonstrate their ability to meet the need for care in the African-American community.³⁹ “Monuments,” Mary Netherland, State Superintendent of the California State Association of Colored Women, explained in the 1940s, are “erected to perpetuate the memory of a person or event. A notable structure or deed worthy to be considered as a memorial of some event or person.” She went on to elaborate that African-American “Club women of the forty-three states” had made “Deeds Not Words,” the motto of the California State Association, “realistic by the establishment of the following monuments.” These included the Sojourner Truth Home in Los Angeles, the East Side Shelter, also in Los Angeles, and the Fannie Wall Children’s Home and Day Nursery in Oakland. Netherland observed that the last building, the third monument of the State Association, was “the outcome of the very great need found to exist in this community for a

home for needy children.” Mrs. Wall reminded her readers, who were members of the State Association, of their responsibilities to maintain black social service institutions. “These are your Monuments,” she pointed out. “Each Club Women is part owner [and] as such each Club has the responsibility of helping to maintain these by observing the Anniversaries of these—your monuments.”⁴⁰

While these institutional settings demonstrated the strength of black women’s public culture, in the context of early twentieth-century racial politics, they also served to enforce gendered social hierarchies and cultural ideologies. In addition to making centers for “other mothering,” African-American women wanted to provide “other homes,” places where racial uplift and self-improvement could become a tangible part of everyday urban life. Clubwomen saw themselves as part of W.E.B. Dubois’s “talented tenth,” the historian Anne Knupfer argues, referring to elites who worked to improve their race.⁴¹ Elite black women constructed the charge in gendered and patriarchal terms, with clubwomen being especially interested in creating settings that promoted the value of home and family life. Thus, as better-off African-American women sought to protect less fortunate minority women and children from the lures of city streets, they encouraged them to accept middle-class notions of domesticity and maternalism, as Kevin Gaines has argued. Gaines does not discuss the material expressions or representations of uplift ideology, which were present in clubwomen’s work. Very often, the photographs included in *Lifting As We Climb* depict buildings as safe havens for women and children (Figure 10).

In due course, the material readings of uplift ideology became more evident in the landscape of the Fannie Wall Children’s Home. In 1923, this charity joined the Community Chest as a charter member of the umbrella organization, thereby assuring some continuity to funding.⁴² The Community Chest subsidized operating costs, and black clubwomen returned the favor in kind, raising money for the organization through the Great Depression.⁴³ The Community Chest affiliation also added credibility to the Northern Federation’s social work—important in the San Francisco Bay Area, where white professionals dominated social welfare organizations. A registered nurse worked on the premises of the Children’s Home, the Northern Federation hired a trained social worker, and soon, the organization needed a bigger building to house the growing numbers of black children, sent to the home by social service agencies from

Alameda, San Francisco, and Solano counties.⁴⁴ Again, clubwomen decided to convert a wood dwelling in West Oakland to public purposes. The candidates ranged from working-class cottages and rooming houses to larger, more refined residences.

The Northern Federation selected one of the latter: an upper-middle-class home in form, size, and detail by any group's standard (Figure 11). Built in the 1880s as a speculative house for a middle-class family, the building was designed by Charles Mau, a prominent German-American architect who lived in West Oakland during the late nineteenth century. The building cost \$5,000 when the Northern Federation purchased it in 1928, and its new use intensified the presence of African-American institutions in this part of town. In fact, the building site may have been selected deliberately to develop a node of black institutions in this part of West Oakland's charitable landscape.⁴⁵ The Linden Street YWCA, another federation project and commonly known as the "Colored Y," was just across Linden Street and located in an altered house (Figure 12).⁴⁶ Hettie Tilghman, along with several other women involved with the Fannie Wall Children's Home, initiated the "Colored Y" project, secured the site, and was active in managing this charity, as well as the children's institution. Soon, an affiliated group opened a branch YMCA close by, once again, inserting a social service institution in an altered house.

The choice of site for the Children's Home also suggests that African-American clubwomen were determined to insert their vision of democracy within a larger, increasingly segregated urban context.⁴⁷ St. Vincent's Day Home was located on the same city block as the establishment for African-American children (Figure 13). The two properties abutted each other, with a board fence dividing the backyards. After the Fannie Wall Home opened, needy black and white children played on the same city block in this part of West Oakland, if not always together or on evenly developed pieces of property. The proximity and the relative sizes of lots and buildings offered clear material reading of social difference and economic standing: St. Vincent's was located on a prominent street, in a larger, more elegant building, and with more substantially planted and developed grounds than the Fannie Wall Home or the branch Y's, for that matter.

At the same time, the Linden Street building offered the Northern Federation a refined architectural setting for the orphanage and day care center—more polished than the plainer

building on Peralta Street. Tangible emblems of gentility—bay windows, a fanlight, and recessed front door and porch—embellished a richly decorated façade that more clearly represented the cultural aspirations of the federation than did the Peralta Street building. So, too, did the interior where furnishings and decor created what one woman called a “home-like atmosphere” for needy boys and girls, ranging in age from three to fourteen years old (Figure 14, Figure 15).⁴⁸ As many as twenty children could live at one time in the building; the daycare center accommodated fifteen.

The Great Migration

These children lived in a community that was increasingly affected by the Great Migration—the movement of African Americans from the Deep South to northern cities, which escalated around World War II.⁴⁹ This process, which introduced many new residents to West Oakland, fueled social and cultural tensions in the African American community, sparking longtime black residents to fear a white backlash. In the San Francisco Bay Area, African-American clubwomen hoped that caregiving could mediate class and cultural differences. “The Woman of every family is the one to make decisions and guidance,” members of a club affiliated with the Northern Federation stated in 1945, expecting the rhetoric of traditional female domesticity would serve as a “civilizing” force in their increasingly diverse community. We must “help our new neighbors, to overcome restrictions and handicaps imbedded in them from the Southern way of living, Social and Political,” the women insisted.⁵⁰ Chlora Hayes Sledge, the third president of the Northern Federation, and Genevieve McCalla, the Executive Director of the Fannie Wall Home in the 1940s, raised related themes when they referred to the charity as a “‘port in a storm’ for scores of working parents and a home to many an orphaned lot.”⁵¹

Sonya Michel has argued that class tensions were less evident in African-American institutions, erected by women of color for children, than they were in similar white institutions. “African-American philanthropists tended to view the objects of their benevolence more sympathetically than whites did theirs, understanding their charities as part of the overall project of racial uplift,” Michel writes. “Black clubwomen accepted maternal employment as natural or

at least inevitable. They knew that for the low-income mothers of their race, wage-earning labor was not a stopgap but a permanent fact of life.”⁵²

This may have been the case in Oakland, but disagreements erupted over other political and cultural issues. Migrants from the South, including women who worked in the Richmond shipyards, challenged the superior social stance taken by clubwomen, as did other longtime residents. The Fanny Jackson Coppin Club refused to admit Mary Netherland, who was born in West Oakland and was the granddaughter of an escaped slave, because she worked for a living. Eventually, Mrs. Netherland (Figure 16) overcame the obstacles to become president of the Mother’s Charity Club, as well as a State Superintendent of the Northern Federation. She also volunteered at the Fannie Wall Home for many years.⁵³ In addition, migrant women joined forces with other political activists who advocated racial integration and disputed the place of all-black institutions in the East Bay, as Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo has discussed. She reports that in 1946 Marguerite Williams suggested to the YWCA that it open a new branch in Richmond, modeled on the Linden Street “Y,” which she used when she lived in West Oakland. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People opposed the project. Opening a social service institution in a black neighborhood would have compromised the push to integrate the existing, all-white establishment. The new YWCA was never built. According to Lemke-Santangelo, Marguerite Williams deeply resented the NAACP’s decision. “When we went to the ‘Y’ in Oakland we never thought about we were being discriminated against,” she stated.⁵⁴

These sorts of tensions fueled suspicions about the management of the Fannie Wall Children’s Home, sparking charges that the Northern Federation had intentionally segregated the overcrowded, deteriorating setting.⁵⁵ Clearly, the rumors, which started before World War II, were false: Photographs show that the playground was integrated into the 1950s (Figure 17), but the physical problems persisted.⁵⁶ In 1941, the Home was incorporated as an organization independent of the Northern Federation, although the federation continued to hold title to the property.⁵⁷ Chlora Hayes Sledge (Figure 18), the charismatic president of the Northern Federation, convinced the Community Chest to fund repairs, but they were inadequate and the group began to favor erecting a bigger, purpose-built institution.⁵⁸

Pressed for funds, the charity turned to local groups for aid, most importantly, the Dining Cooks and Waiters Union (Figure 19). Starting in the early 1930s, Charles Johnson and Henderson Davis, two union men who worked at the Southern Pacific Commissary, “played the roles of ex-officio Santa Clauses and fairy godfathers,” Mrs. Sledge wrote, bringing “treats” at Christmas, Easter, and other holidays.⁵⁹ Mr. Johnson answered the appeal “Fannie Wall Is Calling” by organizing a ball to raise money for the project in 1946.⁶⁰ Mrs. Sledge put forth the reasoning behind the project in the program of the first charity ball (Figure 20). “Contrary to popular opinion, the Fannie Wall Home building has never been condemned,” she explained. Rather, the Board of Directors decided a new building was in order because “extremely crowded conditions” forced the charity to “turn away many needy and deserving children.” Moreover, the Department of Social Welfare and the Oakland Fire Marshall emphasized that the home did not “come up to institutional requirements.” Mrs. Sledge explained the problems in detail:

To qualify in every physical respect as a children’s home and day nursery, the building should be fireproof, should have doors of iron and its sleeping quarters on the first floor. Because of inadequate floor space, it is not feasible to have the sleeping quarters on the first floor, and although the building is in good shape and will be standing when many others have fallen, it is not fireproof and cannot be made so, without an outlay of more expense than the entire plant is actually worth. Other factors that make the erection of a new building a necessity are that there is not ample playground space and in all departments of the Home’s work, there is overcrowding.⁶¹

During the late 1940s, Oakland’s “talented tenth” turned out to support the building fund, but the charity balls did not raise enough money to erect a new building. The construction cost was estimated at \$150,000, a hefty sum indeed.⁶²

Some improvements to the property were made in the early 1950s, following changes in the charity’s social service program, which resembled those put in place at most other orphanages and day homes for children in the United States (whether run by white or black women).⁶³ The orphanage and day nursery were closed, and the focus of the establishment shifted to making a “professional residential service [center] for children.”⁶⁴ Although the building was painted and remodeled to include a four-bedroom dormitory for troubled teenage girls, the physical decline of the setting continued. “The pressure on the facility is increased by the heterogeneity of the population,” one woman explained. Moreover, “the Home is located in

a neighborhood, which is deteriorated and neglected. There are undesirably business establishments in the near vicinity and a dearth of suitable recreational and social facilities nearby.” In 1957, the Fannie Wall Children’s Home lost Community Chest funding, and in 1962, the directors accepted a purchase offer from the Oakland Redevelopment Authority for almost \$34,000.⁶⁵ They used the money to buy another house in West Oakland, where the Home reopened as a daycare center (Figure 21). It is now run under the auspices of Head Start, the federally sponsored daycare program.

The Oakland Redevelopment Authority demolished the house on Linden Street, ostensibly to make way for public housing. Soon enough, low and high-rise housing projects covered almost all of the blocks around the former site of the Fannie Wall Children’s Home and Day Nursery. By way of contrast, one parcel escaped that fate in the 1960s. St. Vincent’s Day Home, by then enlarged and integrated, survived and benefited from the urban renewal programs that eradicated, in the name of reform, almost all of the buildings near it, including the Fannie Wall Home (Figure 22). In the 1920s, the Sisters of the Holy Family began to expand the physical plant of St. Vincent’s, adding a dining room to the back of the day home, and by the 1960s a string of small buildings extended across the back of the Catholic charity’s property (Figure 23). At a time of crisis (the 1960s), the Sisters were able to summon resources and attract the attention of local and state politicians, including Ronald Reagan (Figure 24). After the Oakland Redevelopment Authority purchased the Fannie Wall Home property, another powerful friend of the Catholic charity, one of its “angels,” convinced the city to turn over that parcel to St. Vincent’s Day Home.⁶⁶ By the 1980s, St. Vincent’s had erected a handsome new addition (Figure 25), directly over the former site of the African-American establishment. No physical trace of the Fannie Wall Home remains on the St. Vincent Day Home property although the social uses of the setting resemble those of over half a century ago.

Conclusion

Today, St. Vincent’s Day Home occupies an expanded and modernized physical plant and accommodates a racially and ethnically diverse clientele. This vital child-care center stands alone in this part of West Oakland—the sole survivor of a once extensive network of small and

medium-scale philanthropies that women initiated to care for children early in the last century. In part, that condition is due to the fact that the state helped to disenfranchise an African-American institution to the benefit of a white one during the 1960s. In itself, that remains a sobering occurrence even though it is a familiar one in the history of other cities in the United States.⁶⁷ Yet scrutinizing the social and the physical construction of caregiving at the Fannie Wall Home demonstrates the frailty of singular interpretations of the urban experience, especially interpretations that emphasize the overarching, devastating effects of state power on the face of twentieth-century American cities. That the Fannie Wall Home may have been “under siege” for most of its existence should not obscure other important lessons embedded in the story of the place.

In the face of confirmed need (and disinterest on the part of the state), African-American women integrated missing social services into the fine-grain of an ordinary neighborhood by attaching civic purposes to an ordinary building. Thinking physically, as well as socially, they created a monument that spoke to the heterogeneity of their aspirations: to the conservative, class-bound goals of racial uplift through self-betterment and to other potent, far more radical beliefs. Like the white women who were their neighbors, these female activists of color proposed to redress the effects of inequality, on the ground in West Oakland, by taking care of ordinary human needs. These middle-class women did not abandon the West Oakland community even though the effects of inequality, privilege, and ideological conviction infused the landscape of their charity—in the creation and through its uses, again at its destruction, and later re-creation.⁶⁸ That fact is worth remembering, as we lament the sorry state of public life in contemporary American society and contemplate rebuilding the apparatus of civil society in our own time.⁶⁹ We, too, must recognize that caregiving is a public, physical matter, as well as a social and personal need.

At the Berkeley Center for Working Families, I have used my research to shed light on the dilemmas faced by mainstream, dual earner, working families through linking past and present architectural solutions to caregiving. In this and other working papers, I have argued that taking heed of the changing landscapes of urban architecture gives useful insight into the state of social and civic infrastructures needed to meet the needs of contemporary working families. The

research builds on my dissertation where I excavated the history of charitable institutions that elite, white women opened for Oakland's working families from the 1870s to the 1920s.⁷⁰ By creating a physical context for caregiving that was larger than the individual family, women publicized the fact that public solutions to the private needs of working families were necessary, as they continue to be. Importantly, the female institution builders did not conceive of the city as a *tabula rasa*, a blank slate to develop or a place to wipe clean to ready for profit-driven development. Instead, women conceptualized urban improvement in another, more artful manner, incrementally altering ordinary buildings, erecting new ones as required, and otherwise redeveloping urban sites to meet the needs of working families for care.

The tradition offers us a “usable past” that we may draw on in imagining useful public solutions to the caregiving needs of contemporary, mainstream, dual-earner families. As state and municipal governments search for alternatives to federally sponsored social welfare programs, this research offers useful clues about the potential for (and the limits to) public/private partnerships. It also underscores the importance of considering history and architecture, when formulating public policy. The histories I have uncovered teach us that we must take heed of the fine-grain effects of changing ideologies, social inequality, and political structures on the physical and social landscapes that are associated with caregiving. Taking a historical perspective also teaches us that caregiving relationships are personalized, whether care is given by volunteer women to the “deserving” poor in an institution or by a trained worker in a bureaucratized, contemporary setting. Ostensibly, the latter situation is less demeaning, but dilemmas will continue to repeat as long as care continues to be offered across lines of social inequality.

Illustrations



Figure 1. Mother's Charity Club, 1910s. Member organization, Northern Federation of California Colored Women's Clubs. Courtesy The African American Museum and Library at Oakland.



Figure 2. Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery, 1215 Peralta Street (first site), Oakland. Courtesy The African American Museum and Library at Oakland.



Figure 3. Interracial group of children gathered in the back yard of the West Oakland Home, 1890s. Courtesy The Lincoln Child Center.



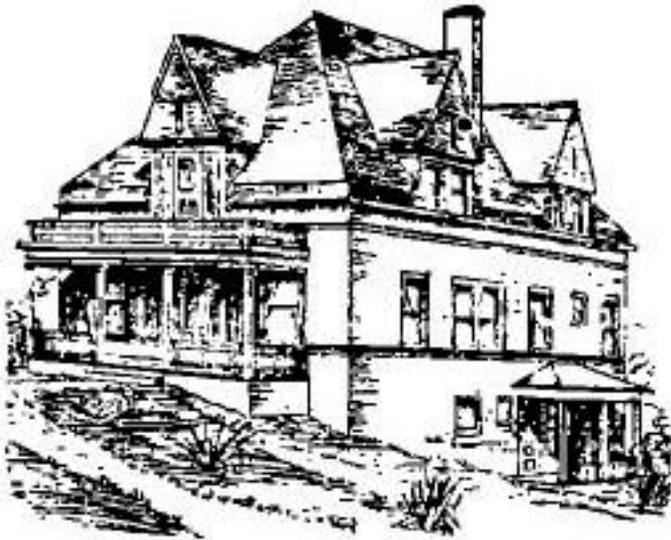
Figure 4. St. Vincent's Day Home, 1086 Eighth Street, 1911 (Photo, 1995) Oakland. Photo: Author.



Figure 5. Children gathered outside St. Vincent's Day Home, 1920s.
Source: Kavanagh, *The Holy Family Sisters of San Francisco*.



Figure 6. Fanny Wall. Source: Beasley, *The Negro Trail Blazers*.



Home for Aged and Infirm Colored People.

Figure 7. Home for Aged and Infirm Colored People, Beulah Heights, Oakland. Source: Hausler, "Old Folks Home," Oakland Heritage Alliance News 5 (Spring 1985).



Figure 8. Phyllis Wheatley Home, Chicago, 1907. Source: Davis, *Lifting As We Climb*.



Figure 9. The Sojourner Truth Home, 1908, Los Angeles. Source: Davis, *Lifting As We Climb*.



Figure 10. Young women entering the Phyllis Wheatley Home, Chicago. Source: Davis, *Lifting As We Climb*.



Figure 11. Fannie Wall Children's Home, 815 Linden Street (second site), Oakland. Courtesy The African American Museum and Library at Oakland.



Figure 12. The Linden Street YWCA, Oakland. Courtesy The African American Museum and Library at Oakland.

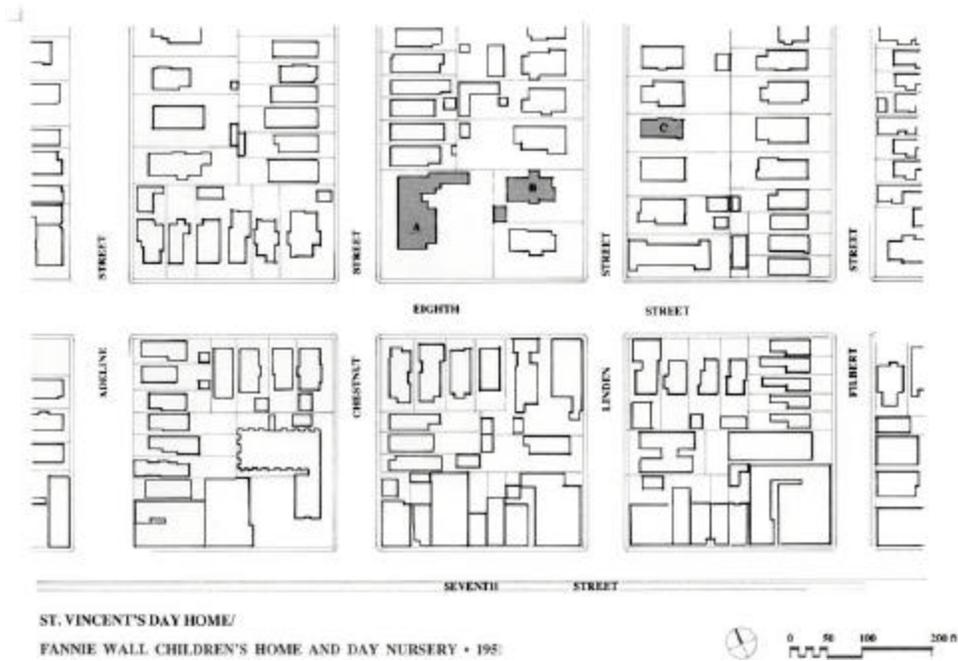


Figure 13. Site Plan, 1951. A: St. Vincent's Day Home, B: Fannie Wall Home, C: Linden Street YWCA. Drawn by Sibel Zandi-Sayek



Figure 14. Birthday Party at the Fannie Wall Home, 1940s.
Courtesy The African American Museum and Library at Oakland.



Figure 15. Girls with Fans at the Fannie Wall Home, 1940s.
Courtesy The African American Museum and Library at Oakland.



Figure 16. Mary Netherland. Courtesy The African American Museum and Library at Oakland.



Figure 17. Integrated Playground at the Fannie Wall Home, 1950s. Courtesy The African American Museum and Library at Oakland.



Figure 18. The Board of Directors of the Fannie Wall Home, Chlora Hayes Sledge, president, center left. Courtesy The African American Museum and Library at Oakland.



Figure 19. Henderson Davis handing check to staff at the Fannie Wall Children's Home, 1948. Courtesy The African American Museum and Library at Oakland.

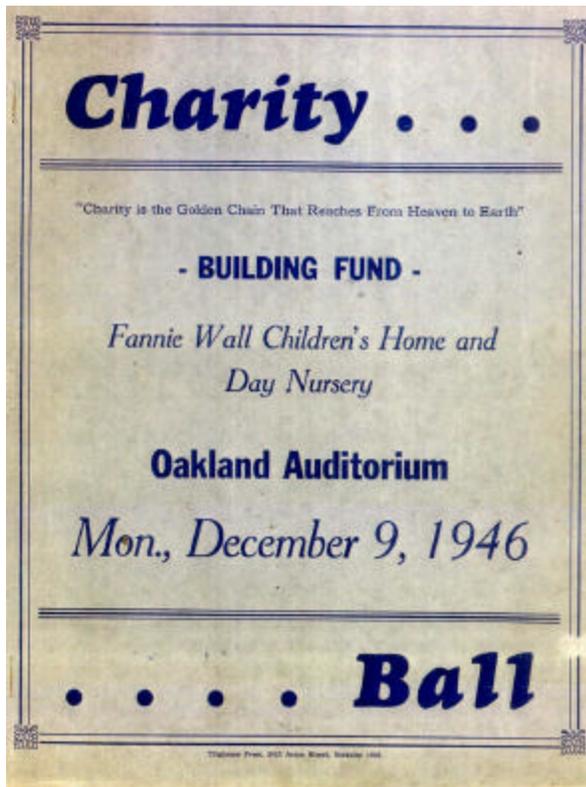


Figure 20. Title page, Program, Charity Ball for the building fund, 1946. Courtesy The African American Museum and Library at Oakland.



Figure 21. Fannie Wall Children's Home, West 55th Street (third site), Oakland. Photo: Author.



Figure 22. St Vincent's Day Home, after clearance, 1960s. Courtesy Sisters of the Holy Family.

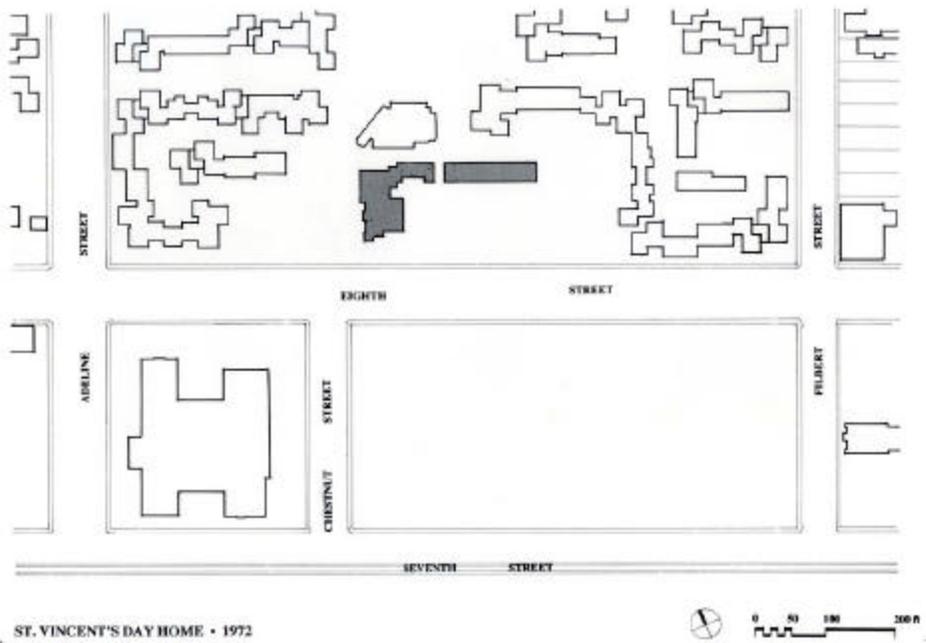


Figure 23. Site Plan, St. Vincent's Day Home, 1972. The shaded buildings are the day home. Drawn by Sibel Zandi-Sayek



Figure 24. Ronald Reagan with children at St. Vincent's Day Home. Courtesy Sisters of the Holy Family.



Figure 25. Addition to St. Vincent's Day Home. 1995. Photo: Author.

Notes

*The opening quotations may be found, respectively, in Bertha Allen, "Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery Inc." (Typed mss, Folder 10, Box 3, California State Association of Colored Women's Clubs, African American Museum and Library at Oakland, 1959) and Mary C. Netherland, "Program. State and National Monuments. California State Association of Colored Women, Inc., 1946-1947," (Typed mss, Folder 7, Box 3, California State Association of Colored Women's Clubs, African American Museum and Library at Oakland, 1947 [?]).

This paper is a work-in-progress. I am indebted to historians who have traced the social history of the Fannie Wall Home; the physical history of the building and its ties to uplift ideology, caregiving, and women's institution building have not been studied in detail. I am especially grateful to Donald Hausler, Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, and Michael Knight who kindly shared with me an unpublished paper on a related topic, "Deeds Not Words: The Story of Mary C. Netherland and the NCFWC, 1876-1973" (Chapter draft, Masters Thesis, San Francisco State University, 1995). My paper has benefited from a close reading by Barrie Thorne, the director of the Berkeley Center for Working Families. Thanks to Barrie and to Daniel Bluestone and Jim Stockinger for comments on earlier drafts, and Janet Oh and Bernadette Vincente for assistance with library research.

1. For a thorough overview of the African-American history of Oakland, see Donald Hausler, "Blacks in Oakland" (Typed mss on file, Oakland History Room, Oakland Public Library, 1987). Hausler has also written an excellent article, "The Fannie Wall Children's Home," *Oakland Heritage Alliance News*, Summer 1986, 1-4. The charity is also mentioned briefly in Rev. Max Clark, "Social Service Organizations of Oakland," (Oakland: Works Progress Administration. Typed mss on file, Oakland History Room, Oakland Public Library, 1939), 35. In addition, Delilah L. Beasley frequently discussed the activities of African-American clubwomen in her column in the *Oakland Tribune*. Also, see Delilah L. Beasley, *The Negro Trail Blazers of California* (Los Angeles and San Francisco: California Historical Society and San Francisco Negro Historical and Cultural Society, 1919, 1970 [reprint]), Lorraine J. Crouchett, *Delilah Leontium Beasley: Oakland's Crusading Journalist* (El Cerrito, Calif.: Downey Place Publishing House, Inc., 1989).

2. See Clark, "Social Service Organizations of Oakland," Marta Gutman, "Adopted Homes for Yesterday's Children: Constructing Care in Oakland, California" (Working Paper No. 32, Center for Working Families, University of California, Berkeley, 2002), 10-12.

3. Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), Netherland, "Program," 1.

4. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race*, 135, 137.

5. Gutman, "Adopted Homes," Marta Gutman, "Usable Pasts: Caregiving as a Public, Physical Matter" (Working Paper No. 24, Center for Working Families, University of California, Berkeley, 2001).
6. For the social mixture in West Oakland, see Audrey Robinson, "Taped Interview with Willie Collins, March 21, 1995, Oakland, California" (Typed transcript on file at the Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California), Royal Edward Towns, "Taped Interview by Pamela Morton, October 23, 1981, Oakland, California" (Oakland Neighborhood History Project, typed transcript on file at the Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California).
7. Marta Gutman, "On the Ground in Oakland: Women and Institution Building in an Industrial City" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 2000), Nancy Olmsted and Roger W. Olmsted, "History of West Oakland," in *West Oakland: A Place to Start From. Research Design and Treatment Plan Cypress I-880 Replacement Project. Volume 1: Historical Archaeology*, ed. Mary Praetzellis (Rohnert Park and Oakland, California: Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University and CALTRANS, District 4, 1994), 9-138, 161-174.
8. Gutman, "Adopted Homes," Gutman, "On the Ground in Oakland," Gutman, "Usable Pasts."
9. Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), Sonya Michel, *Children's Interests/Mothers' Rights: The Shaping of America's Child Care Policy* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 53.
10. Michel, *Children's Interests/Mothers' Rights*, 11-13.
11. *Ibid.*, 50.
12. *Ibid.*, 51-53.
13. Rev. Brother Maurelian, *The Catholic Educational Exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Chicago: J. S Hyland and Company, 1894), 62. The Awards Committee of the Catholic Educational Exhibit and the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Exposition awarded the prizes to the kindergartens in the San Francisco day homes. See D. J. Kavanagh, *The Holy Family Sisters of San Francisco. A Sketch of Their First Fifty Years* (San Francisco: Gilmartin Company, 1922), 130-131.
14. Carol Marie Roland, "The California Kindergarten Movement: A Study in Class and Social Feminism" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 1980).
15. See Kavanagh, *Holy Family Sisters*.

16. Oakland Cultural Heritage Survey, "St. Vincent's Day Home (Charles and Laura Haven House)" (Oakland: 1992).
17. Sisters of the Holy Family, "Teaching Manual (Based on Froebel's Gifts)," in *Archive of the Sisters of the Holy Family* (Oakland: 1930 [?]). The Froebel blocks and other toys used in the Froebel teaching method are in the archives of the Sisters of Holy Family in Fremont, California, as are cut paper pattern books and sewing sample books.
18. Sisters of the Holy Family, *Children's Record*, 4 vols. (Oakland: 1911-1941).
19. The data supporting this claim include the U. S. decennial census and photographs.
20. During the 1910s and 1920s, the African-American press in Oakland covered these issues, repeatedly.
21. According to the U. S. decennial census, 5,500 African Americans lived in Oakland by 1920, 8,500 by 1940. Overall, the population of the city increased from 216,000 in 1920 to 302,000 by 1940.
22. In 1915 the new "Rule One" of the Children's Home read, "Only children of Anglo-Saxon parentage shall be admitted into this institution." The next year the rule had been reworded to read, "Children of the colored or Asiatic races are not eligible for admission into the Home." Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California, *Forty-Fifth Annual Report. Year Ending December 31, 1916* (Oakland: Carruth and Carruth Co., Printers, 1917), 30, Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, California, *Forty-Fourth Annual Report. Year Ending December 31, 1915* (Oakland: Carruth and Carruth Co., Printers, 1916), 27.
23. Susan Lynn, *Progressive Women in Conservative Times: Racial Justice, Peace and Feminism, 1945 to the 1960s* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992).
24. Photographs of the Ku Klux Klan may be found in the archives of the Richmond Museum. Mention of the Ku Klux Klan occurred in Oakland's black newspapers. See "Kluxers Busy Again in California," *Western American*, February 4, 1927, 1, "Policies of the West Oakland Civic League, Inc.," *Western American*, December 14, 1928, 2.
25. One exception included the Oakland New Century Club. See Marta Gutman, "Inside the Institution: The Art and Craft of Settlement Work at the Oakland New Century Club, 1895-1923," in *People, Power, and Places. Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture VIII*, ed. Sally McMurry and Annmarie Adams (Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 262.
26. For the activities of white women's clubs in California, see Evelyn Crawford, "The Woman and the Club in California," *Overland Monthly* n.s. 53 (1909): 120-125, Mary S. Gibson, A

Record of Twenty-Five Years of the California Federation of Women's Clubs, 1900-1925, vol. I: *A Handbook for Clubwomen* (San Francisco [?]: California Federation of Women's Clubs, 1927).

27. During the Gold Rush, African-American men far outnumbered women, as was the case with white settlers. See Douglas Henry Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites. A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), Rudolph M. Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 117.

28. Lawrence P. Crouchett, Lonnie G. Bunch III, and Martha Kendall Winnacker, *Visions toward Tomorrow. The History of the East Bay Afro-American Community, 1852-1977* (Oakland: Northern California Center for Afro-American History and Life, 1989), 14, Elizabeth Lindsay (Mrs.) Davis, *Lifting as They Climb* (Washington, D. C.: National Association of Colored Women, 1933), 116-118. Fanny Jackson Coppin, born a slave and freed as a young child, taught for many years at the Cheney Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia, establishing the Department of Industrial Education at this school in 1879.

29. In the 1890s, African-American women, with Josephine St. Pierre Ruffian in the lead, organized the National League of Afro-American Women, the predecessor of the National Association of Colored Women. Mrs. Booker T. Washington was the first president. See Davis, *Lifting as They Climb*, Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

30. See Esther Jones Lee, "Women's Clubs and Their Doings," *Oakland Independent*, December 14, 1929, 7; Chlora Hayes Sledge and Genevieve McCalla, "'And a Little Child Shall Lead Them'," in *Charity Ball. Building Fund--Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery, Oakland Auditorium, Mon., December 9, 1946* (Oakland: Tilghman Press, 1946), 4; Martha Kendall Winnacker, "Oakland, California, Black Women's Clubs," in *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown, and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn (Brooklyn, N. Y.: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1993), 896. Clubs from San Jose, Stockton, Sacramento, Vallejo, and Oakland made up the Northern Section with Josephine Hutton proving to be an especially generous benefactor. She donated a building to the charity, which it rented for many years to offset operating costs.

31. Scott, *Natural Allies*, 127.

32. Winnacker, "Oakland, California, Black Women's Clubs," 896. Also, see Davis, *Lifting as They Climb*, Netherland, "Program," 2.

33. Allen, "Fannie Wall Children's Home."

34. Oakland Cultural Heritage Survey, "Fannie Wall Children's Home (Christian and Anna Suhl House)" (Oakland: 1989).

35. E. H. N., "The Fanny Wall Home," *Oakland Independent*, December 14, 1929, 3; Hausler, "Fannie Wall Children's Home," 2; "Letter to the Mother's Charity Club," in *African American Museum and Library at Oakland* (Oakland: February 29, 1916). Fanny Wall, the person, and Fannie Wall, the place, have different spellings.
36. Donald Hausler, "Old Folks' Home," *Oakland Heritage Alliance News*, Spring 1985, 1-2, "Home for Aged and Infirm Colored People," *Oakland Independent*, December 14, 1929, 3.
37. For the middle-class home as an emblem of domesticity, see Clifford E. Clark, Jr., "Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in America, 1840-1870," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7 (1976): 33-56. More generally, see Clifford E. Clark, Jr., *The American Family Home, 1800-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).
38. For the concept of the "culture of dissemblance," see Darlene Clark Hine, "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West: Preliminary Thoughts on the Culture of Dissemblance," in *Unequal Sisters. A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, ed. Ellen Carol Dubois and Vicki L. Ruiz (New York: Routledge, 1990), 292-297. Also, see Gaines, *Uplifting the Race*, 5-9.
39. The members of other women's clubs expressed a similar interest in building institutions. See E. B. Gray, "Art and Industrial Club," *Western American*, March 18, 1927, 8.
40. Netherland, "Program," 1, 2, 3.
41. Anne Meis Knupfer, *Toward a Tenderer Humanity and Nobler Womanhood. African American Women's Clubs in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 19-20, 160, note 3.
42. 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).
43. Delilah Beasley frequently discussed clubwomen's fundraising for the Community Chest in her column in the *Oakland Tribune*. The Community Chest partially funded operating costs of the Fannie Wall Children's Home, leaving the balance to be raised through private (community) contributions. In 1948, for example, operating expenses were \$26,000; the Community Chest donated over \$11,000. Chlora Hayes Sledge and Genevieve McCalla, "Fannie Wall Home and Day Nursery Cited for Service and Progressiveness," in *Third Annual Charity Ball. Building Fund--Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery, Oakland Auditorium, Monday, January 19th, 1948* (Oakland: Tilghman Press, 1948), 8.
44. Hausler, "Fannie Wall Children's Home," 2, Sledge and McCalla, "And a Little Child'," 4.

45. For recollections of the importance of this node in black cultural life, see Robinson, "Taped Interview with Willie Collins, March 21, 1995, Oakland, California," 4.
46. Hausler, "Fannie Wall Children's Home," 4; Donald Hausler, "The Black Y's of Oakland," *Oakland Heritage Alliance News*, Winter 1987-1988, 8-9; Edgar J. Hinkel and William E. McCann, eds., *Oakland 1852-1938. Some Phases of the Social, Political, and Economic History of Oakland, California* (Oakland: Oakland Public Library under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration, 1939), 617.
47. For similar points, see Gaines, *Uplifting the Race*, 17.
48. The words "home-like atmosphere" appear repeatedly in the charity's literature, especially during the 1940s and 1950s. See Sledge and McCalla, "Fannie Wall Home and Day Nursery Cited for Service," 7.
49. For an overview of the effects of the great migration on Oakland's social fabric, see Marilyn S. Johnson, *The Second Gold Rush: Oakland the East Bay in World War II* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993). For the effects on working women of color, see Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, *Abiding Courage. African American Migrant Women and the East Bay Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
50. Ruby M. Armstrong, Mattie Huson, and Margaret M. Nottage, 'Chlora Hayes Sledge Club of Richmond, California, Affiliate of the California Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.' (Typed mss, Folder 10, Box 3, California State Association of Colored Women's Clubs, African American Museum and Library at Oakland, 1945).
51. Sledge and McCalla, "Fannie Wall Home and Day Nursery Cited for Service," 7.
52. Michel, *Children's Interests/Mothers' Rights*, 35-36.
53. Mary C. Netherland, "Oral History Interview, Interviewer Not Known," (Oakland: African American Museum and Library at Oakland, 1971), cited by Knight, "Deeds Not Words", 6. Mrs. Netherland also helped to organized the Native Daughters of the California, when she and other black women were excluded from the Native Daughters of the Golden West (the parallel white organization). See Ruth Lasartemay and Esther L. Warner, "California Native Daughters," *Yearly Journal* (1957): 18, Almena Lomax, "A Black Pioneer in Early California," *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle*, March 29, 1970, B-7.
54. Lemke-Santangelo, *Abiding Courage*, 166-167. Also see Frances Mary Albrier, "Determined Advocate for Racial Equality," (Berkeley: An Interview conducted by Malca Chall, Berkeley, Calif. Project of the Regional Oral History Office and the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America. Women in Politics Oral History Project and Black Women Oral

History Project. Introductions by Ruth Acty and Velma Ford. Typed transcript on file at the Bancroft Library, University of California, 1977-1978).

55. For example, see "Club Women Deny Fanny Wall Rumor," *The Spokesman*, December 7, 1934. Also, see Hausler, "Fannie Wall Children's Home," 4, Hausler, "The Black Y's of Oakland," 8-9.

56. "Chlora Hayes Sledge," *Yearly Journal* (1957): 78, 83.

57. Allen, "Fannie Wall Children's Home."

58. Clark, "Social Service Organizations of Oakland," 33; Chlora Hayes Sledge, "Dear Co-Worker (February 20, 1945)" (Typed letter, Folder 10, Box 3, California State Association of Colored Women's Clubs, African American Museum and Library at Oakland, 1945); Chlora Hayes Sledge and Genevieve McCalla, "Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery," *Woman's Journal* (1945): 6. For tributes to Mrs. Sledge, who died in 1956, see "Chlora Hayes Sledge," 17; National Association of Colored Women, Inc., "National Association of Colored Women, Inc., 1896-1952," (Pamphlet on file, Folder 1, Box 1, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, African American Museum and Library at Oakland: 1952 [?]), 79, 83; Steven Lavoie, "Social Clubs' Turn the Corner," *Oakland Tribune*, March 6, 1994, A-20.

59. Sledge and McCalla, "And a Little Child'," 5, Sledge and McCalla, "Fannie Wall Children's Home," 6.

60. *Charity Ball. Building Fund--Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery, Oakland Auditorium, Mon., December 9, 1946* (Oakland: Tilghman Press, 1946).

61. Sledge and McCalla, "And a Little Child'," 5.

62. Sledge, "Dear Co-Worker," *Third Annual Charity Ball. Building Fund--Fannie Wall Children's Home and Day Nursery, Oakland Auditorium, Mon., December 9, 1946*, (Oakland: Tilghman Press, 1948). Slim Jenkins and Charles "Raincoat" Jones, who were active in the music business and ran clubs on Seventh Street, supported the fund-raising effort.

63. For parallels, see Gutman, "Adopted Homes," 25-27.

64. Fannie Wall Children's Home, "Summary Report on Fanny Wall Children's Home, December 17, 1957" (Oakland: Typed mss on file, Oakland History Room, Oakland Public Library, 1957), 1.

65. *Ibid.*, 2, Hausler, "Fannie Wall Children's Home," 4. The precise amount was \$33,730.

66. Sister Corinne Marie Mohrmann, "Personal Conversation with Author" (Oakland: 1995).

67. Daniel Crowe, *Prophets of Rage: The Black Freedom Struggle in San Francisco, 1945-1969* (New York: Garland Publishers, 2000), Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis. Race and Inequality in Detroit* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1996).

68. This situation contrasts with the retreat of middle-class blacks from poor communities described by William Julius Wilson in *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

69. For example, see Robert N. Bellah, "The House Divided" (Presentation at the Center for Working Families, University of California, Berkeley, 2000); Robert N. Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

70. Gutman, "On the Ground in Oakland."

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