INTRODUCTION

1. My findings reinforce those of William Issel in “‘Citizens Outside of Government’: Business and Public Policy in San Francisco and Los Angeles, 1890–1930,” Pacific Historical Review 58 (May 1988): 117–46. In examining the roles businessmen played in the formation of urban policies, Issel concludes that “never a monolithic political bloc, business developed its political role in the urban policy-making process by a combination of bargaining and conflict with its rivals, and by accommodating to its internal differences, rather than by imposing its preferences upon the body politic . . . Divisions among businessmen and their need to work in ways that required cooperation and compromise did not stand in the way of political success; no other community interest groups rivaled business in its ability to influence the shaping of urban policy-making decisions in San Francisco and Los Angeles” (119–20).

2. Scholars have debated the degree to which American politics have been pluralistic or elitist for at least a generation. For classic works on the topic see Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, “Two Faces of Power,” American Political Science Review 56 (December 1962):


5. *Vote for Progress*, pamphlet, Oakland, 1892, unpaged.


12. Wilson, “The ideology, aesthetics and politics of the City Beautiful


NOTES to Introduction and Chapter 1


25. Larson, Urban West, 120.


CHAPTER 1


164


17. Fogelson, *Fragmented Metropolis*, ch. 4; the quotation is from p. 64. See also Billy M. Jones, *Health-Seekers in the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).


21. The articles in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 67 (June 1966) are devoted to the impact of the railroad on Portland.


NOTES to Chapter 1


33. Issel and Cherny, San Francisco, 58–76.


35. Fogelson, Fragmented Metropolis, 189.

36. Ibid., ch. 7; the quotation is from p. 147.


38. Ibid., 39–40.

42. Reiff, “Urbanization and the Social Structure,” chs. 4 and 5.
45. San Francisco Real Estate Board, “Secretary’s Report, December 31, 1911,” unpaged, Carton 21, San Francisco Real Estate File, James D. Phelan Papers, the Bancroft Library, the University of California, Berkeley.
49. Rambling Notes, May 1893.
51. San Francisco Chamber of Commerce Journal, September 1912.
52. San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, Annual Report, 1909 (San Francisco 1909), 60; San Francisco Examiner, July 30, 1912.
53. Oregon Journal, May 2, 9, 1909. For later excursions see Ibid., March 19, September 12, October 31, and November 8, 1911.
55. San Francisco Call, September 9, 1911.
57. San Francisco Chamber of Commerce Journal, June 1911.
CHAPTER 2

1. Mary Austin, “The Tremblor: A Personal Narration,” Out West, 24 (June 1906), 500–501. For contemporary accounts of the earthquake and fire, see also San Francisco Board of Supervisors, San Francisco Municipal Report for the Fiscal Year 1905-06 (San Francisco, 1908).

2. Judd Kahn, Imperial San Francisco: Politics and Planning in an American City, 1897–1906 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), ch. 6, offers an excellent analysis of the damage caused by the earthquake and fire. However, research by the city archivist of San Francisco suggests a death count as high as three thousand people. I am indebted to the anonymous reader for the press for the observation.


6. Ibid., 577.


13. San Francisco Bulletin, December 5, 1899, San Francisco Chronicle, November 21, 1899, and San Francisco Examiner, November 18,
26, and December 12, 1899, all in James Phelan Scrapbook 10, the James D. Phelan Papers, the Bancroft Library, the University of California, Berkeley.

16. Ibid., December 12, 1899.
17. Ibid., December 3, 1899, Phelan Scrapbook 10.
21. The votes on the bonds were sewers: 21,250 yes, 820 no; hospital: 21,366 yes, 684 no; schools: 21,158 yes, 865 no—as reported in the San Francisco Call, December 30, 1899, Phelan Scrapbook 10.
24. San Francisco Post, August 26, 1903, Phelan Scrapbook 17.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., September 24, 1903, Phelan Scrapbook 17.
29. Ibid., August 26, 1903, Phelan Scrapbook 17.
30. San Francisco Chronicle, September 30, 1903, and August 16, 1904, and the San Francisco Evening Post, August 26 and September 24, 1903, in Phelan Scrapbook 17.
33. The letter of invitation was reprinted in the San Francisco Call, January 13, 1904, Phelan Scrapbook 17.
35. San Francisco Call, January 13, 1904, Phelan Scrapbook 17, reprints the call to the meeting. The San Francisco Bulletin, January 16, 1904, Phelan Scrapbook 17, lists those at the founding meeting of the Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco (hereafter abbreviated as AIASF); the president of the Olympic Club, the vice-president of the H. S. Crocker Company, a major importer, the president of the Northern Commercial Company, the vice-president of the Crocker-Woolworth Bank, the manager of the St. Francis Hotel, the head of Louis & Taussig, a wholesale liquor dealer, the assistant to the president and the assistant traffic manager of the Santa Fe Railroad, the superintendent of the San Fran-
cisco Merchants’ Exchange, the head of the Patek Company, wholesale butchers, John Partridge, an importer, the president of the Central Trust Company (who also was the president of the Merchants’ Exchange), the manager of the Anglo-California Bank, a mining engineer and investor, the president of the Eastern Oregon Land Company, the dean of the Hastings College of Law, the president of the M. S. Keller Company, a clothing firm, the president of the Empire Mill and Mining Company (who also headed San Francisco Gas and Electric), several lawyers, and several men who listed their occupations in San Francisco’s city directories as simply “capitalist.”


37. Board of Directors of the AIASF to the public, late April, 1904, in Phelan Scrapbook 17.

38. Ibid.


42. Kahn, Imperial San Francisco, 85–86.


44. “First Report . . . AIASF.”


46. Burnham Plan, 40.


49. Draper, “The San Francisco Civic Center,” 89.

50. Burnham Plan, 41.

51. Ibid., 112, 145.


54. Wilson, City Beautiful, 303.

55. Ibid., 283.


57. Some even found time to laugh at their problems, as revealed in a piece of doggerel appearing in the San Francisco Chronicle, May 5, 1906:

A wagon on a corner of the street;
A swirl of dust, a whiff of frying meat;
A stool that stands unsteady on its feet;

A chophouse with its oft-repeated stew;
And coffee—can we doubt its honest brew?—
Are all that's left for hungry me and you.

Ah, woe the day, when fire filled the air
And burned the place of napery and chair—
The joyous palace of printed bill of fare.

Where you and I could take our time to dine
And say the chef's creations were divine—
And wash them down with beer—or even wine.

But now, who in the bread line stands and begs,
Or wanders till he's sore in heart and legs
Knows when we'll see the end of ham and eggs?
—"Lay of the Lost Restaurant"
58. A. D. Smith to Phelan, April 29, 1906, Carton 20, AIASF file, Phelan Papers.
59. Charles Lathrop to Phelan, April 30, 1906, Carton 20, AIASF File, Phelan Papers.
60. San Francisco Chronicle, May 4, 1906.
63. Phelan to Thomas McCaleb, April 30, 1906, Phelan to S. W. Terry, May 4, 1906, Phelan to Mabelle Gilman, May 8, 1906, and Phelan to Andrew Crawford; all in Box 1 of the Phelan Papers.
64. Kahn, Imperial San Francisco, 132–35.
66. Ibid., May 9, 1906.
67. Ibid., May 22, 1906.
70. San Francisco Chronicle, May 27 and 29, 1906.
71. AIASF to Board of Supervisors, May, 1906, Phelan Scrapbook 24.
73. Bean, Boss Ruef's San Francisco, ch. 8, examines the beginnings of the graft prosecutions.
74. Merchants Association Review, March, 1907.
75. Ibid., May, 1907.
77. Report of Marsden Manson to the Mayor and Committee on Reconstruction on the Improvements Now Necessary to Execute, pamphlet, October 1906, pp. 4, 13.
79. San Francisco Chronicle, April 6, 28, 30, 1908; and San Francisco Examiner, April 11, 19, May 1, June 5, 24, 1908.
80. San Francisco Examiner, April 24, 1908.
81. San Francisco Chronicle, April 23, 1908.
82. San Francisco Chronicle, April 15, 16, 23, 24, 29, May 11, 12, 1908; and San Francisco Examiner, April 12, 26, May 2, 10, 11, 1908.
84. Resolutions in favor of the bonds by all of the organizations may be found in Carton 24, Civic Center File, Phelan Papers. See also San Francisco Chronicle, May 28, 1909.
88. San Francisco Chronicle, June 6, 1909.
89. Ibid., May 31, 1909.
90. Ibid., May 31, June 1, 5, 22, 1909.
91. Ibid., June 23, 1909, reports the vote by district; the California Secretary of State, Blue Book for 1909, contains a map showing the political divisions of San Francisco.
92. Merchants' Association Review, October 1911. See also San Francisco Call, November 18, 1911, and San Francisco Chronicle, January 23, 1911.
95. San Francisco Examiner, July 30, 1912.
97. William Sesnon, Inaugural Address as President of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, January 21, 1913, pamphlet (undated, no place of publication), p. 17.
98. Merchants' Association Review, April, 1910, and May, 1911. See also San Francisco Call, July 8, October 21, November 18, 1911, and March 23, 1912, and San Francisco Examiner, August 17, 1912.
99. San Francisco Examiner, August 17, 1912.
100. Merchants' Association Review, October 1909.
104. San Francisco Examiner, April 15, 1912.
105. San Francisco Call, November 2, 1912.
106. San Francisco Call, August 5, 1911.
108. San Francisco Examiner, May 2, 1912.
111. San Francisco Chronicle, March 13, 1912.
112. San Francisco Bulletin, March 8, 1912; San Francisco Call, July 29, 1911; and San Francisco Chronicle March 8, 11, and 29, 1912.
115. San Francisco Bulletin, August 1, 1914.
120. Draper, “The San Francisco Civic Center,” 231.
122. *Improve*, January 1915, p. 4.

CHAPTER 3

2. Ibid., 139.
5. *Vote for Progress*, pamphlet, Oakland, 1892, unpaged.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
10. Scott, *San Francisco Bay Area*, 86.
12. Mayor Frank Mott to the citizens of Oakland, undated, in Frank Mott Papers, Folder 2, Oakland Public Library.
15. *A Book of Combined Reports of the Various Departments of the City of Oakland, for the Fiscal Year 1905–06*, pamphlet, Oakland, 1906, pp. 72–73.
25. Oakland Tribune, January 8, 1907.
27. *Ibid.*, January 3 and 4, 1907. The newspapers list the businessmen supporting the park bonds.
30. Mayor Frank Mott, *Second Inaugural Address, April 1, 1907*, pamphlet, Oakland, 1907, pp. 1, 9.
32. Oakland Tribune, January 10, 1907.
33. San Francisco Examiner, May 3 and 21, 1908.
34. Scott, *San Francisco Bay Area*, 132.
40. Undated, unidentified newspaper clipping in the Oakland City Hall Clipping File, in the Oakland Public Library. See also San Francisco Chronicle, June 10, 1909.
41. National Register of Historic Places, “Nomination Form for the Oakland City Hall.”
42. *Spectator*, May 13, 1911.
44. Oakland Tribune, November 10, 1913.
46. San Francisco Examiner, May 26, 1914.
47. Oakland Tribune, March 5, 1914.

50. Hegemann Plan, 16.

51. Ibid., 124.


53. Scott, American City Planning, 152.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Weiss, Community Builders, 86.

57. Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles, City and County, pamphlet, 1915, p. 39.

58. For an extensive discussion of the Cox plan, see the supplement to the California Outlook, November 18, 1911. The quotation is from p. 6.

59. San Francisco Examiner, August 10, 1912.


62. Weiss, Community Builders, 81.


64. Fogelson, Fragmented Metropolis, 247.

65. Ibid., chs. 10 and 11.

66. On Bartlett’s background see Fogelson, Fragmented Metropolis, 191.


68. Tracy, “John Parkinson,” 199–204.


70. Ibid.

71. Ibid., 11–12.

72. Ibid., 15.

73. Ibid., 17.

74. Ibid., 19.

75. Ibid., 22.

76. Ibid., 4–10.

77. Ibid., 10.
78. Ibid., 32.
79. Ibid., 2.
80. Ibid., 3.
82. City of Los Angeles, Department of City Planning, City Planning in Los Angeles: A History, pamphlet, 1964, p. 4.
83. California Outlook, November 4, 1911, supplement, reprints the plan.
84. Ibid., 20.
85. City Planning in Los Angeles, 6–8.
86. California Outlook, May 25, 1912.
87. Fogelson, Fragmented Metropolis, 265.
88. Steven P. Erie, "How the Urban West Was Won: The Local State and Economic Growth in Los Angeles, 1880–1932" unpublished paper, is the source of my information on Los Angeles's quest for water. The quotation is from p. 51.
89. Ibid., 10.
90. City Planning in Los Angeles, 2–3.
91. Weiss, Community Builders, ch. 4.
92. City Planning in Los Angeles, 3.
93. Weiss, Community Builders, ch. 4.
94. Ibid., 200; City Planning in Los Angeles, 8.
95. City Planning in Los Angeles, 9–11.
96. Weiss, Community Builders, 95–96.
98. City Planning in Los Angeles, 10.
99. Fogelson, Fragmented Metropolis, 249.
103. San Francisco Call, September 9, 1911.
104. Scott, San Francisco Bay Area, 139–40.
105. San Francisco Call, November 25, 1911.
NOTES to Chapters 3–4

108. Ibid., 11.
110. Ibid., 41.

CHAPTER 4


6. Ibid.; and Seattle Board of Park Commissioners, Annual Report, 1892 (Seattle, 1893), 4–8.

7. Ibid.


9. Seattle Board of Park Commissioners, Parks, Playgrounds and Boulevards of Seattle, Washington (Seattle, 1909), reprints Olmsted’s report.


14. A ward-by-ward and precinct-by-precinct tabulation of votes for issues and candidates in Seattle's elections is available in the *Journal of the Proceedings of the City Council of the City of Seattle* located in the Seattle City Clerk's office. See the *Proceedings* for March 6, 1906, March 3, 1908, March 8, 1910, and March 5, 1912 for park bond votes.

15. J. C. Olmsted, "Diary Notes, May 21, 1903." File 5, Box 1, Olmsted Brothers Papers, Manuscript Division, University of Washington Library, Seattle.

16. Olmsted to A. J. Blethen (president, Board of Regents, University of Washington). June 4, 1903, File 1, Box 1, Olmsted Papers.


22. *Ibid.*, February 6, April 3, December 12, 28, 30, 1907; January 16, March 5, 1908.

23. *Proceedings of City Council*, March 6, 1908; Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, March 2, 1908.


34. Seattle *Daily Times*, March 2, 1910; and Seattle *Union Record*, February 19 and 26, 1910.

35. R. H. Thomson to Virgil Bogue, July 6, 1910, File 3, Box 1, R. H.
Thomson Papers, Manuscript Division, University of Washington Library.


37. See Blackford, “Reform Politics in Seattle During the Progressive Era.”


40. The Municipal League, which would soon emerge as the strongest champion of the Bogue Plan, was composed of middle-class professionals and businessmen. While well-educated and financially secure, they were not part of Seattle’s upper-class business elite. See Pendergrass, “The Formation of a Municipal Reform Movement,” and Norbert MacDonald, “The Business Leaders of Seattle, 1880–1910,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 50 (January 1959): 1–13.


42. Bogue to Thomson, September 2, 1910, and Thomson to Bogue, June 25, July 30, and September 1, 1910, all in File 3, Box 1, Thomson Papers.


46. Thomson to Olmsted, June 25, 1910, and Thomson to H. B. Swope, January 9, 1911, both in File 3, Box 1, Thomson Papers.


48. “Minutes . . . WSCAIA, October 5, 1910, and September 26, 1911,” WSCAIA Papers; *Pacific Northwest Commerce*, September, 1910, May and July, 1911; Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, June 17, 1910, and July 14, 1911; Thomson to Norwood Brocket (the secretary of the Municipal Plans Commission), September 3, 10, and 23, 1910, File 3, Box 1, Thomson Papers; and Thomson to Bogue, April 5, 1911, File 4, Box 1, Thomson Papers.


52. Bogue Plan, 41–53.
53. Ibid., 21–33, 57–60, 112–37.
54. Ibid., 34.
55. Ibid., 44–45.
56. Proceedings of City Council, January 9, October 9 and 30, 1911.
57. Pacific Northwest Commerce 4 (May 1911), 1 and 17.
59. Thomson to C. J. Smith, September 25, 1911, File 4, Box 1, Thomson Papers.
60. Seattle Union Record, March 19, 1910.
61. Pacific Northwest Commerce, November and December 1909, various issues; Seattle Daily Times, February 25, and March 5, 1910; and Seattle Post-Intelligencer, February 26, 1910.
64. Ibid., May 23, September 6, 12, November 8, 1910; "Minutes . . . WSCIAA, June 13, October 5, 1910," WSCIAA Papers; Municipal League News, July 1, 15, 1911 (hereafter cited as MLN); and Town Crier, December 15, 1910.
65. MLN, August 19 and 26, 1911.
66. Proceedings of the City Council, November 8, 1910 and September 8, 1911.
67. MLN, August 19, 1911, January 6, 20, February 10, 1912; Pacific Northwest Society of Civil Engineers, "Proceedings," July 1911 and January 1912; Seattle Daily Times, February 28, 1912; and Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 5, 1912.
68. MLN, October 21, 1911, January 20, February 10, 1912; Seattle Post-Intelligencer, February 20, 25, 26, March 4, 1912; Seattle Daily Times, March 5, 1912; and Town Crier, May 20, 1911.
69. MLN, July 1, 1911; and Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 5, 1912.
70. Reprinted in MLN, February 10, 1912.
71. MLN, January 20, 1912.
72. Ibid., July 1, 1911.
73. Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 5, 1912.
74. MLN, February 10, 1912.
75. Town Crier, May 20, 1911.
76. MLN, September 2, 1911.
77. The Bogue Plan Question, pamphlet, Seattle, 1912, available at the main Seattle public library.
78. MLN, November 25, and December 16, 1911.
79. Seattle Union Record, February 24 and March 2, 1911.
82. Seattle Post-Intelligencer, February 24, 1912.
84. *Proceedings of City Council*, March 5, 1912.
85. MLN, January 20, 1912.
86. Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 4, 1912.
87. Minnie Frazier to Joe Smith, January 12, 1912, File 12, Box 8, Joe Smith Papers, Manuscript Division, University of Washington.
90. Seattle Post-Intelligencer, October 20, 1912.
91. Seattle Daily Times, October 7, 1912.
94. Seattle Municipal News, July 11, August 1, 15, 22, December 5, 1914.
96. “Minutes . . . WSCAIA, March 5, 1913,” WSCAIA Papers; and Seattle Municipal News, June 28, 1912.

**CHAPTER 5**


7. Portland Park Board, Annual Report, 1903 (Portland, 1904), 15; this report reprints Olmsted’s report. See also Abbott, Portland, 59–60.


10. Ibid., March 3, 1906.

11. Ibid., November 12, 1909.


14. Portland Superintendent of Parks to the Mayor of Portland, September 30, 1912, Portland City Documents, Portland City Archives.

15. Oregon Journal, May 1, 1907.


17. Ibid., May 13, 18, 28, June 4, 1907. No voting records broken down by area of the city have survived to the present day.


27. Oregon Journal, March 5, 1906, prints the membership list.


30. Ibid., May 9, 1907.

31. Ibid., March 6, 8, 1906, May 14, 1907, October 27, 1909; Portland Labor Press, April 13, 1911.

183
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Oregon Journal*, December 1, 1909, prints a list of subscribers to the planning fund. See also Bourne’s incoming and outgoing correspondence for November 1909 in the Jonathan Bourne Papers, Special Collections, University of Oregon Library.
50. Bennett Plan, 9–12.
60. *Oregon Journal*, September 15, 1911. Among those at the meeting were representatives of the Portland Press Club, the Progressive Business Men’s Club, the Rotary Club, the East Side Businessmen’s Club, the North Albina Improvement Association, the Irvington Club, the Art Association, the Mount Tabor Improvement Association, the Portland Realty Board, the South Portland Boosters, the Steel Bridge Push Club, the Cedar Hill Club, the East Harrison

184
Street Improvement Club, the Myrtle Street Club, and the Woodlawn Improvement Club.

62. *Ibid*.
64. *Ibid.*, October 11, 1912.
65. GPPA, untitled leaflet, fall 1912.
69. Portland Labor Press, October 17, 1912.
72. *Ibid*.
73. *Ibid*.
77. A copy of the letter to ministers may be found in the “Minutes of the Park Board Meeting, May 29, 1913,” Portland City Auditor’s Office.

CHAPTER 6

1. For a survey of the roles businessmen played in America’s progressive movement see Mansel Blackford and K. Austin Kerr, *Busi-


3. Wilson, City Beautiful, especially ch. 13.


5. Wilson alludes to the importance of intercity rivalry, without developing its importance, at several points. See his City Beautiful, 29. Stanley K. Schultz, Constructing Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning, 1800–1920 (Philadelphia, 1989), 187–88, also notes that “Nineteenth-century city leaders generally viewed their communities as competing with others for urban growth and new population. A reputation for excellence in public works and healthfulness served local boosters well in the wars of urban imperialism.”


8. Wilson, City Beautiful, 302–3.

9. Ibid., 292.