SurveyLA

Los Angeles Historic Resources Survey

LOS ANGELES CITYWIDE HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

Context: Women's Rights in Los Angeles

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City of Los Angeles
Department of City Planning
Office of Historic Resource

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PREFACE

This historic context is a component of Los Angeles' citywide historic context statement and provides a framework for identifying and evaluating properties relating to the history of women's rights in Los Angeles. Refer to www.HistoricPlacesLA.org for information on designated resources associated with this context as well as those identified through SurveyLA and other surveys.

CONTRIBUTORS

Consultant Team

This historic context was prepared by Historic Resources Group (HRG). The primary author is architectural historian Sian Winship; assistance was provided by Christine Lazzaretto, Kari Fowler, and Heather Goers.

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Sian's published works include *Hidden Agendas: Stereotypes and Cultural Barriers to Corporate Community Partnerships* (The Ford Foundation and Laufer Green Isaac, 2004); "Perception vs. Reality: Employer Attitudes and the Rebranding of Workforce Intermediaries" in *Workforce Intermediaries of the 21st Century* (Temple University Press, 2010); and contributing author to *William Krisel's Palm Springs* (Gibbs Smith, 2016). She is the author of the *Japanese Americans in Los Angeles* historic context (City of Los Angeles, 2018); *South Glendale Historic Context Statement* (City of Glendale, 2014); and a National Register nomination for the Rockhaven Sanitarium in Glendale, CA, one of the earliest woman-owned, women-serving, private sanitariums for mental health treatment in the nation. Sian is also a contributing author to the *City of Palm Springs Historic Context Statement* (City of Palm Springs, 2016). Sian meets the *Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualifications Standards* in History and Architectural History.

Christine Lazzaretto, Managing Principal of Historic Resources Group, has a Bachelor's degree in Art History from Pennsylvania State University and a master's degree in Heritage Conservation from the University of Southern California. She is the founding Vice-President of Docomomo/Southern California, a nonprofit organization dedicated to the preservation of historic resources from the modern era. Christine serves on the Board of Trustees of the California Preservation Foundation and is a lecturer in the University of Southern California Heritage Conservation Summer Program. Christine has extensive experience in the preparation of historic context statements, National Register Multiple Property Documentation Forms, and nominations for historic designation. She was co-author of the City of Pasadena's *Cultural Resources of the Recent Past* (2007) and was the project manager for the

development of citywide historic context statements for Paso Robles, San Luis Obispo, Beverly Hills, Palm Springs, South Pasadena, and Santa Monica. Christine meets the *Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualifications Standards* in History and Architectural History.

Kari Fowler, Senior Preservation Planner, has a Master of Arts in Urban Planning from UCLA. She has fourteen years of experience managing historic resources surveys, developing historic context statements, conducting environmental review, and evaluating historic resources at the local, state, and national levels. Kari has managed several large-scale historic resources surveys throughout California, including in the cities of Ventura, San Clemente, Paso Robles, Temple City, Santa Monica, and San Diego. She served as a Project Manager for SurveyLA, Los Angeles' citywide historic resources survey, from 2009 to 2017. Kari meets the *Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualifications Standards* in History.

Heather Goers, Architectural Historian, holds a Bachelor of Arts in Humanities from the University of Chicago and a master's degree in Heritage Conservation from the University of Southern California. After completing her master's degree, Heather managed her own historic preservation consulting practice, where she provided guidance and research to owners of historic properties. She also worked for organizations including the Ennis House Foundation, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, and the Los Angeles Conservancy. For HRG, Heather has authored historic structure reports and cultural landscape reports for significant Southern California landmarks including the Freeman House and the Gamble House. Her master's thesis at USC examined the work of Buff & Hensman in relation to the cultural landscape of the Arroyo Seco. Heather has conducted research and developed content for a wide variety of projects including citywide historic context statements for San Luis Obispo, Beverly Hills, and South Pasadena; the Entertainment Industry context for SurveyLA; and neighborhood contexts for Westwood, Westwood Village, and Holmby Westwood in Los Angeles. Heather meets the *Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualifications Standards* in History and Architectural History.

Project Contributors

The consultant team identified a list of scholars and historians to act as a project contributors. The contributors combined the perspective of locally-focused academics with the first-person voices and experiences of notable participants in second wave feminism. Contributors were divided into two areas: readers and interview subjects. Readers represent a wide range of experience in local women's rights history from suffrage to the ERA movement. They included Gayle Gullett, Emeritus Associate Professor, School of Historical Philosophical and Religious Studies, Arizona State University; Daphne Spain, scholar and author; and Karen Brodkin, Professor Emerita of Anthropology and Women's Studies at UCLA. Readers were asked to provide feedback at key steps throughout the research, writing, and editing process.

Oral interviews were conducted with individuals to provide diverse perspectives to complement the historical record. Interviewees included Ivy Bottini, Carol Downer, Jan B. Tucker, Daphne Spain, Joy Picus, and Sherna Berger Gluck. Lynn H. Ballen provided access to some of the personal papers of Jeanne Cordova. Scholar Alison Rose Jefferson and local historian Laura Meyers also provided input on significant personages and relevant resources.

Associated Outreach Event

The Office of Historic Resources collaborated with Mayor Eric Garcetti's Gender Equity team to kick-off the *Putting Angelenas On the Map* initiative. On March 28, 2018, with the support of Mount St. Mary's University's Center for the Advancement of Women, a community outreach and research event was held at the Doheny Campus. At the event, more than 20 community members searched a variety of print and electronic resources to identify historically significant women, places, and events associated with women's rights in Los Angeles.

In the course of this research, local archival sources of particular insight included the June Mazer Archive in North Hollywood, the Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research in South Central Los Angeles, the Los Angeles Police Department Museum Archive, the Pacifica Radio Archive, and Special Collections and the Oral History Project at UCLA.

INTRODUCTION

The Women's Rights historic context was partially funded with a Certified Local Government grant from the California Office of Historic Preservation. The context provides a chronological approach to presenting the topics and associated people, places, and events that shaped women's rights movements in Los Angeles. It then focuses on specific property types and eligibility standards for extant resources. As the narrative reveals, these resources date primarily from 1900 to the 1970s; pre-1900 resources are extremely rare.

This context is distinctive from a *history of women* in Los Angeles because it focuses specifically on women's rights and efforts to improve the lives of women and children in the city. It does not, for example, trace the history of women's clubs or social organizations that were not primarily political in purpose or that did not emphasize civic engagement that improved the lives of women and their families. However, important women's cultural or athletic clubs (e.g., the Ruskin Club, the Ebell Club, and YWCAs) are noted in relation to their significant suffrage or feminist contributions. Moreover, women who made significant historic contributions to areas outside of women's rights are not included here; however, they may be documented in other relevant contexts and themes of the citywide historic context statement.

Presenting a history of women's rights in Los Angeles has several challenges. First, the documentation of women's history has historically been underreported in traditional media. Second, the activities of women of color was documented and reported even less by traditional media, and archival materials from the clubs and organizations for women of color have largely been lost to history. Third, the contributions of Los Angeles women to the suffrage movement have often been overlooked by scholars focused on the east coast or northern California and its cache of archival materials.

Lastly, women's history has been written primarily by white women, without acknowledgement that the forms of oppression experienced by white middle- and upper-class heterosexual women were different from those experienced by women of other ethnicities, cultural backgrounds, and sexual orientations.

This results in an incomplete telling that fails to take intersectionality into account. Documented examples of the participation of women of color are included here, but likely represent a small sample of their actual contributions. As a result, these examples should be viewed less as a comprehensive telling of the story and more as inspiration for additional scholarship in the future.

For the reasons above, the Women's Rights historic context may significantly overlap with other SurveyLA contexts as follows. These contexts should be consulted to provide a more complete understanding of women's rights and the intersection with these communities and movements.

- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Historic Context
- African American History of Los Angeles Historic Context
- Latino Los Angeles Historic Context
- Asian Americans in Los Angeles Historic Context
- Jewish History Historic Context
- Labor History Historic Context
- Properties significant for their architectural quality may also be eligible under themes within the Architecture and Engineering context.

Terms, Definitions, and Acronyms

Whenever possible, the full names of women associated with the early women's rights movement are provided in this context. Because women were often referred to by their married association in published documents (e.g., Mrs. R.L. Haney), their given names were not often recorded. Census and other records have been used whenever possible to identify their full names; however, the given names of some women have eluded current research efforts.

Terminology for the women's movement has evolved over time. Between 1870 and 1980, the term "woman suffrage" was far more popular than "women's suffrage." A Google study of the usage of "woman suffrage" vs. "women's suffrage" in books underscores the popularity of the former.[1] During the 18th and 19th century, "woman" as a singular inclusive was meant to be the parallel of "man" standing for all of mankind. The use of woman also implied a sense of individuality and individual rights.[2] Both terms appear in this historic context statement.

It is also useful to distinguish what has now become known as First, Second, and Third Wave Feminism. First-wave feminism was a period of feminist activity and thought that occurred during the 19th and early 20th centuries throughout the Western world focused on obtaining the right to vote. Second wave feminism began in the early 1960s in the United States and eventually spread throughout the Western world and beyond. Third-wave feminism encompasses several different strains of activity, beginning in

[1] Thought Co., Woman or Women? A Clarification of Terms, accessed June 21, 2018, https://www.thoughtco.com/woman-or-women-clarification-3530521.
[2] Ibid.

the 1990s and continuing to today. Third-wave feminism attempts to expand feminism to include women of all ethnicities, nationalities, regions, and cultural backgrounds.

Acronyms are used throughout this historic context statement and are abbreviated after their first usage within the document. Those used most often are as follows:

AAUW – American Association for University Women
BPWC – Business and Professional Women's Club
CFM – *Comision Feminil Mexicana Nacional*
CFWC – California Federation of Women's Clubs
EEOC – Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
ERA – Equal Rights Amendment
FEPC – Fair Employment Practice Commission
FMC – Friday Morning Club
FWHC – Federation of Feminist Women's Health Clinics
LAFT – Los Angeles Feminist Theater
NCNW – National Council of Negro Women
NARAL – National Abortion Rights Action League
NEA – National Education Association
NWPC – National Women's Political Caucus
NOW – National Organization for Women
NWP – National Woman's Party
WAVAW – Women Against Violence Against Women
WCND – Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense
WCTU – Women's Christian Temperance Union
WERLDEF – Women's Equal Rights Legal Defense and Education Fund
WFEM – Women for Equity in Media
WSU – Woman's Socialist Union

HISTORIC CONTEXT

Angelenas contributed significantly to the women's rights movement in California and across the nation. These contributions are a direct reflection of their social, cultural and economic status. The pursuit of women's rights in Los Angeles became primarily the work of wealthy, predominantly white women of leisure from the east and mid-west with interests in the arts and intellectual pursuits, supplanting the Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo pioneers. By 1920, the city was home to a significant number of divorced, widowed, and working women. The historic presence of a dynamic population of women of many races and sexual preferences in Los Angeles supports the notion that women were heterogeneous with differing experiences of women's rights. From the 19th century women of Spanish and/or Mexican heritage who were the inspiration for property rights protections in the state charter to the lesbian feminists and creative women who challenged the artistic establishment of Los Angeles and created the feminist art movement in the 20th century, Angelenas shaped a larger, more diverse women's rights history than the one often simply told in traditional circles.

The concept of intersectionality[3] in Los Angeles feminist history acknowledges that the forms of oppression experienced by white middle- and upper-class heterosexual women were different from those experienced by women of other races and sexual orientations. Yet, the written record not only underreports women's history generally, but the history of women of color in the city specifically. As new resources surface, more work needs to be done to uncover the hidden stories, historic personages, and significant sites associated with women's rights in Los Angeles.

As Los Angeles transformed from a dusty pueblo town of unruly men to a cosmopolitan metropolis, it has become known as a place largely free from the established norms and institutions of older cities – where people could come to reinvent themselves, and, as a result, set in motion waves of change that often reverberate back to the heart of America. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the history of women's rights in Los Angeles is a rich one. It played an important role in the evolving multi-cultural identity of the city and the state, as well as the state of mind of women across the country.

Resources referenced throughout the context are considered extant unless otherwise noted. Addresses included in the narrative reflect the current street address associated with each property, which may differ from the historic street names or addresses. With a few notable exceptions, properties listed in the narrative that are designated (under federal, state, or local programs) were typically designated for reasons other than their association with women's history.[4]

Early History: Scarcity, Submission and Suppression, 1850-1877

In the mid- to late-19th century, the American victory in the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) played a key role in shaping Los Angeles. During this period, the pueblo of Los Angeles was described as "… [a]

[3] Intersectionality is defined as the interconnected nature of social categorizations as race, class and gender as they apply to a given individual group, regarded as creating overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage.
[4] Most were designated for their architectural significance. Properties identified as features with HPOZs (Historic Preservation Overlay Zones or historic districts), may also not be called out for their association with women's rights.

man's town — breezy, crude and violent,"[5] and there were few women residents. As shown in Table 1 below, in the 1850 Census for Los Angeles County, men outnumbered women 2,494 (61 percent) to 1,597 (39 percent) and most of these women were *Californias* living on outlying ranchos.[6] *Californias* were the female members of the elite families that received large land grants from Spain and Mexico beginning in the 1830s. The women who frequented Los Angeles were the well-chaperoned daughters of the *Californios*, the women inhabiting local brothels and saloons, and a few pioneer wives. In the more rural areas, there were a small number of *rancheras*. *Rancheras*, female ranch owners, like their male *ranchero* counterparts, bought, sold, and traded their holdings; supervised the raising of cattle; managed dairies, vineyards, and orchards; and sold ranch produce.

Table 1: U.S. Census: Population by Gender 1850-1880

	LA City	LA County	Male	% Male	Female	% Female
1850	1,610	4,091	2,494*	61%*	1,597	39%*
1860	4,385	9,221	2,593**	59.1%**	1,793	40.9%**
1870	5,728	14,720	3,186**	55.6**	2,542	44.4%
1880	11,183	33,381	5,910**	52.8%**	5,273	47.2%
1890	50,395	101,454	N/A	52.0%**	N/A	48.0%**

*Indicates percentage calculated based on figures from Los Angeles County; LA City not available.
** Indicates percentage calculated based on figures from Los Angeles City.

Women of the period were expected to be dutiful, subservient housewives whose main role was to keep house and raise children, while men were typically the decision makers. Yet, the women of Los Angeles enjoyed one fundamental right that their sisters in other states and territories did not: married women in California "had the right to hold as separate property any real or personal property which came to them by way of a gift, device or descent prior to or following their marriage."[7] More practical protectionism than progressivism, the *Californios* at the Constitutional convention of 1849 insisted that what had long been part of Mexican civil code be inserted into the laws of the new state to ensure that property remained in family hands as *Californio* women increasingly married Anglo pioneers. Whereas property would otherwise be placed under the control of the husbands in other states, in California, it remained in the woman's name. Hence, the law protected the rights of *Californio* families to retain their property.

However, like other states, Los Angeles women had no right of guardianship over their own children and no right to sue or be sued. They could not act as the administrator of estates and a husband could dispose of community property without the consent of his wife. The financial status of most women was

[5] Henry W. Splitter, "Los Angeles in the 1850s as Told by Early Newspapers," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 31(March 1949): 118.
[6] Linda Louise Pixley, "A History of Los Angeles Women, 1850-1900," (master's thesis, University of Southern California, June 1975), 3.
[7] Ibid., 12.

directly tied to men with little independence. Unmarried women were generally better off; they had the right to own property, conduct business in their names, sue and be sued.[8]

Most aspects of female life at the time were completely under male control. During the 18th and 19th centuries in America, it was legal for a husband to commit his wife to a mental asylum without her consent and no opportunity to appeal the decision. Reasons could range from legitimate cases of mental illness, to pushing back against gender norms, or a husband simply wanting to move on from the relationship without incurring the stigma of divorce. Moreover, domestic and other types of violence against women were largely considered private matters outside the realm of law enforcement.

Women had no right to vote and limited political voice. Early accounts suggest, however, that Los Angeles women would often attend local political rallies with a strong social component to them.[9] This may be attributed to the fact that there were few social opportunities for women in Los Angeles during this period.[10] They expressed themselves through words and deeds, in public and in private. Unlike other American cities, church going was limited because there was no Protestant church in the city; the only established church was the Catholic Church, serving primarily the *Californio* population.

Prior to the Civil War, few colleges accepted women as students. All women were barred from professions such as law and medicine, along with other courses of study as state universities developed and began expanding their offerings. The field of education was one of the earliest careers deemed appropriate for women. When the Los Angeles public school system began to grow in the mid-1850s, some of the earliest instructors were women: Mrs. Gertrude Hoyt, Mary Hoyt, Mrs. Thomas Foster, Eliza Madigan, Anna MacArthur, Hattie Scott, Frankie Scott, Maggie Hamilton, Clara Jones, and Emma Hawke.[11]

Clara Shortridge Foltz (1849-1934), who resided at 153 South Normandie Avenue late in her life, was the first woman to practice law on the West coast. An ardent suffragist, Foltz started making speeches on the topic during the late 1870s, filed a landmark lawsuit to gain admission to university, and authored state legislation to ensure that no person could be disqualified from pursuing any lawful business based on their sex.

After the Civil War, there was an influx of settlers to Los Angeles. Unlike previous migration to the region, which was primarily composed of individuals, this wave included a large number of people with means, including relatively wealthy women. Many of the women moving west had likely participated in the loosely structured relief groups organized during the Civil War to provide bandages, clothing, and other essentials for the northern or southern armies. These women also brought with them an interest in the arts as well as the leisure time to devote to its patronage,[12] and they began to promote cultural

[8] Ibid., 17-18.
[9] Ibid., 12.
[10] A Protestant minister established services in Los Angeles in 1854 and few women attended. In 1856, another Protestant minister left the city for want of his services.
[11] Pixley, "A History of Los Angeles Women," 59.
[12] Early women's arts organizations in 1870s Los Angeles included the Averill Study Club and The Shakespeare Club. Neither organization had any civic or reform component.

activities in the city of Los Angeles.[13] Early Los Angeles frequently hosted meetings of small groups of women. The Pico House at 424 North Main Street (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 64, Los Angeles Plaza Park; California State Historical Landmark No. 159; National Register of Historic Places Los Angeles Plaza Historic District) featured a ladies' parlor specifically designed to attract gatherings of women.[14]

Suffrage efforts in the state started early. The San Francisco Suffrage Association formed in northern California in 1869, but there was no equivalent organization in Los Angeles at that time.[15] The first permanent, strictly philanthropic organization for Los Angeles women, the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society, was founded in Los Angeles in 1871. The idea of benevolent societies quickly spread throughout the city, however, and women organized around common affinities.[16] These charitable groups were the precursors to organizations that took more interest in civic matters.

Life for women in early Los Angeles was a rough-and-tumble existence compared with San Francisco and more established cities in the east. The pioneer women of the pueblo found themselves in a man's town, with little physical or social infrastructure to support their existence. Post-Civil War migration to Los Angeles laid the groundwork for new roles for women in society, however, the intellectual development or cultivation of camaraderie among women appears to have been underdeveloped.

Los Angeles Women Awaken to Cultural and Civic Affairs, 1878-1889

In 1868, Caroline Seymore Severance (1820-1914) founded the first women's club in the United States in Boston. Ten years later, Caroline and her husband Theodore Severance retired to California. In 1878, the newly transplanted Severance (1820-1914) organized the Los Angeles Women's Club – the first local organization that brought women together to discuss current topics and awakened them to the possibility of social reform.

[13] Pixley, "A History of Los Angeles Women," 24.
[14] Maymie Krythe, "The Pico House: Finest Hotel South of San Francisco," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XXXVII (June 1955): 147.
[15] Virginia Elwood Akers, *Caroline Severance* (New York: iUniverse, n.d.), 131.
[16] Other early charitable women's groups included the Ladies Benevolent Society (a Protestant group), the German Ladies Benevolent Society, the Ladies Missionary Society, the Home and Peace Society, the Catholic Ladies Society, the News and Working Boys Home Society, and the King's Daughters.

The genesis of the Los Angeles Women's Club was an April 1878 gathering at Severance's home – known as "Red Roof" and "El Nido" and located at 806 West Adams Boulevard (not extant) – to discuss the issue of women's rights and the formation of a club. According to scholar Gayle Gullett, "…the idea that women should educate themselves and take action was radical at the time... local clergy men prayed that women club members would see the error of their ways…. Twenty women caused [an] uproar."[17]

Caroline Severance, founder and first president of the Los Angeles Women's Club and the Friday Morning Club. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

While at El Nido, the ladies worded a constitutional amendment giving women the right to vote. Caroline forwarded this to her friend Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906), the social reformer and renowned women's rights activist. Anthony, in turn, sent it to California Senator Aaron Sargent (1827-1887) who introduced it on the floor of Congress. It was this bill, called the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, which would be introduced in every congressional session from that year until its passage in 1918. Several of Severance's local biographers confirmed that Severance and her group were responsible for the amendment's wording. Anthony, however, makes no mention of Severance or her friends.[18]

Through the club, a repository of important popular magazines was established including the *Woman's Journal* (the organ of the American Women's Suffrage Association), *New England Education*, and *New Education*. It is quite likely that these magazines were available for reading at Severance's home, since the Women's Club had no permanent clubhouse or meeting space. In the 1925 history *Ladies Clubs and Societies in Los Angeles in 1892*, the author cites the Club's first regular meeting on May 4, 1878 at Union Hall at 121 South Spring Street where the Severance-founded Unitarian Church also met. Other frequent meeting locations included the Good Templar's Hall (North Main Street near Temple Street), and the Baptist Church (South Spring Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets).[19] None of these early meeting locations are extant.

El Nido, the residence of Caroline Severance at 806 West Adams Boulevard (not extant). Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

[17] Gayle Gullet, *Becoming Citizens: The Emergence of and Development of the California Women's Movement, 1880-1911* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 24.
[18] Pixley, "A History of Los Angeles Women," 86.
[19] Mrs. M. Burton Williamson, *Ladies Clubs and Societies in Los Angeles in 1892* (Los Angeles: Elmer R. King, 1925), 23.

Severance was clearly the backbone of the organization because the Los Angeles Women's Club disbanded in 1880 when she returned to Boston for an extended period. After her return to Los Angeles in 1884, she revived the club on January 23, 1885. By then, Los Angeles had changed significantly due to the arrival of the railroad and the ensuing real estate boom. The Club began with 30 members and numbered 50 by the end of the year.[20] Half of the officers of the second club had been members of the first club.[21]

The arrival of the railroad also meant that Los Angeles women were less geographically, socially, and ideologically isolated. Women could more easily visit the east coast, as well as receive itinerant women speakers. As a result, Los Angeles women were exposed to a broader range of progressive thinking and activism than ever before. As Los Angeles grew from a small town into a city, the opportunities for women to earn their own wages multiplied.

In its new form, the Los Angeles Women's Club encouraged members to prepare papers on relevant social topics and share them with the group. In March of 1885, Jeanne C. Carr (Mrs. Ezra Slocam Carr, 1825-1903) addressed the club with a report on women earning a living. Other addresses included topics such as property rights of California women, dress reform, sanitation laws, and the kindergarten movement. In 1885, Mary K. Simons Gibson (Mrs. Frank A. Gibson, 1855-1930) gave a report on the wages and conditions of working women in Los Angeles. Her presentation was the catalyst for the development of a plan to establish a home for respectable working-women and girls.[22] The interest of club women in women's waged work reflected both a national interest and the growth of women's jobs in Los Angeles.

Early accomplishments of the second Los Angeles Women's Club included the creation of a free kindergarten for working-class children, an orphanage, and working women's reform.[23] Severance, who had been exposed to the concept of kindergarten on the east coast, formed the Free Kindergarten Association in Los Angeles in 1884. The first kindergarten was opened at the Mission Chapel First Congregational Church on at 614 East Commercial Street (not extant), with 29 children enrolled and Nellie Mackey as teacher. A second was opened in 1886 at 1201 North Main Street (not extant). Both relied solely on contributions from the women of the association, whose membership overlapped significantly with the Los Angeles Women's Club. By 1886, several kindergartens had been opened in Los Angeles. In 1889, the system was incorporated into Los Angeles public schools.[24] The building at 954-1008 West Adams Boulevard, designed to house the Froebel Institute Kindergarten (Casa de Rosas,

[20] According to the *Los Angeles Times*, founding members of the second club included President Caroline Severance; Vice-Presidents Mrs. Margaret G. Graham, Mrs. S.C. Hubbell and Mrs. Helen M. Ross; Secretary, Mrs. Ellen M. Willard; and Treasurer, Mrs. C. W. Gibson. The Executive Board was composed of Mrs. F. Gibson, Mrs. Myra T. Stephens, Mrs. Clara F. Howes, Mrs. Charlotte L. Mills, Mrs. J. Pigne, Mrs. Lockhart, Mrs. H.G. Bath, Miss Jennie E. Colyer, and Mrs. J.A. Fairchild.
[21] Gullet, *Becoming Citizens*, 24.
[22] Early Los Angeles Women's Club members often resided in the affluent University Park area around the University of Southern California. Although relatively few early single-family residences remain in this area, Gibson's own home from the period still stands at 2301 South Scarff Street (Contributor, University Park HPOZ).
[23] Free kindergarten had been introduced in San Francisco nearly a decade earlier.
[24] Pixley, "A History of Los Angeles Women," 91.

1893, now the Sunshine Mission) is listed in the National Register of Historic Places and designated as City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 241.[25]

Casa de Rosas designed by architect Sumner P. Hunt. It was originally built for the Froebel Institute in Los Angeles, named for the founder of the kindergarten movement in Germany, and was one of the first kindergartens in the city. Listed in the National Register and City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 241. Source: California State Library.

The Orphan's Home Society was another outgrowth of the Los Angeles Women's Club. Mary K. Simons Gibson started the first Protestant orphanage in the city in 1883. The original site was a house on present-day Broadway between 5th and 6th Streets (not extant). The second site was an eight-acre plot somewhere on Figueroa Street. The third location was a two-story building at the northwest corner of West Alpine Street and North Cleveland Street (not extant). In 1888, a new three-story brick building was designed by Kyser, Morgan and Wells to replace the existing facilities on the Alpine Street property (801-811 North Yale Street, not extant). In 1910, Charles M. Stimson donated five acres of land at 815 North El Centro Avenue for the orphanage's last incarnation; architects Parkinson & Bergstrom designed an orphanage based on cottages rather than a single institutional structure.[26] The orphanage was subsequently remodeled and was later renamed the Hollygrove Orphanage in 1957.[27]

[25] It was designed by prominent architect Sumner P. Hunt.
[26] "Orphan's Home," University of California Calisphere, accessed July, 2018, https://calisphere.org/item/633f45d718d3ba97780336a957c794ee/.
[27] Ibid.

Los Angeles Orphan's Home located at Virgin and Yale Streets, c. 1885. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

Another offshoot of the second Los Angeles Women's Club was the Women's Cooperative Union founded in March of 1885. Their mission was to construct a boarding house for working women: "…throwing the safeguards of a real home around young girls while they seek to earn a living amid the snares of a crowded city."[28] The vehicle for raising money for the effort was a flower festival held at Nadeau Hall. The effort was such a success that the women changed the name of the organization to the Flower Festival Society. Having raised $2,396, they rented their first location, known as "The Boarding Home of the Flower Festival Society" at 227-229 North Broadway, not extant) providing accommodations for approximately ten women. Weekly advertisements in the *Los Angeles Herald* described the boarding home as "Pleasant Rooms, Good Board and Reasonable Prices."[29] The Flower Festival itself became a much-anticipated annual event, attracting thousands of visitors. At the second festival, 20,000 square feet of exhibit space was festooned with donated blossoms from the gardens of local women for two weeks.

Demand exceeded the supply of beds at the boarding house and the Flower Festival Society decided to expand. Proceeds from the second Flower Festival, combined with loans, provided sufficient funds to build a larger Woman's Home. A lot on Fourth Street was partially donated by Col. H.S. Baker, and by 1887 construction was completed on a three-story, 30-room building known as the Woman's Home at 125 East Fourth Street[30] (not extant) where 60 boarders could be accommodated. The first floor contained parlors and a dining room, kitchen, offices, and a residential room for the matron. Fifteen bedrooms and a sitting room were on the second floor, with an additional sixteen bedrooms on the third floor.[31] Amenities included a piano, library, and sewing machines. Women paid reasonable rents and a small showroom sold articles of clothing, needlework, canned fruits, and preserves made by the residents. An employment agency was also provided. In December 1887, a basement lunchroom was added as a respectable and inexpensive place for working women to eat lunch. By this time, the building was commonly referred to as "The Woman's Exchange." The stigma faced by working women of the day is evidenced in an 1889 *Los Angeles Herald* article differentiating the Flower Festival Boarding Home from the "Girls Home"[32] for wayward youth.[33]

[28] "One More Step Taken," *Los Angeles Herald*, February 22, 1887.
[29] Advertisement, *Los Angeles Herald,* December 3, 1885.
[30] Directories list the address both as 25 E. Fourth Street and 125 E. Fourth Street, near Main Street.
[31] "The Woman's Home," *Los Angeles Herald*, March 2, 1887.
[32] "Church and State," *Los Angeles Herald*, December 17, 1889.
[33] In the early 1890s, the Flower Festival Society elected to give up its interest in the women's home and focus more on horticulture. In January 1898, the building was given to the Salvation Army.

As described by scholar Judith Rafferty, beginning in the 1880s, Southern California women began developing a reformist political culture through women's clubs.[34] In doing so, they worked through a series of complex networks and played a significant role in shaping statewide progressive programs. The women called it "organized womanhood."[35]

The rise of civic-minded women in Los Angeles was also attributable to new professional women moving to the city. A good example was Elizabeth A. Follansbee (1839-1917), the first female physician in Los Angeles.[36] Born in Maine, she earned her medical degree at the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania in 1877. After a brief stay in northern California, she moved to Los Angeles in 1882 where she opened a practice specializing in women's and children's diseases. Her offices were located at 336-348 South Broadway (not extant). In 1885, when the University of Southern California established its medical school, Follansbee was asked to join the faculty. By the end of 1886, there were at least four women practicing as physicians in Los Angeles: Follansbee and Dr. Rose Bullard, who both maintained offices at 336-348 South Broadway (not extant); Dr. C. E. Bourcy, whose office was located at 217 West 1st Street (not extant); and Dr. Rebecca Dorsey, whose practice was housed in rooms 17-18 of the Nadeau Block at 121 South Spring Street (not extant).[37]

Drawing of the Nadeau Block (1880, (not extant), site of the offices of Dr. Rebecca Dorsey. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

One of the only areas of local government open to the participation of women was school offices. In 1880, Mrs. Chloe B. Jones (1844-1930), a teacher who lived in Pasadena, became the first woman to serve as superintendent of Los Angeles City Schools. Jones came to California from Ohio in 1873 and after a brief time teaching in Santa Rosa, settled in Los Angeles where she taught and then moved into an administrative role.[38] Anna Averill (1833-1912) was appointed in 1885 to the Board of Education and became the first woman to serve on that body. By 1890, of the 23 principals of public schools in Los Angeles, 20 were women.[39]

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[34] Judith Rafferty, "Los Angeles Clubwomen and Progressive Reform," in *California Progressivism Revisited*, ed. William Deverell and Tom Sitton (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 144.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Los Angeles had nurses and midwives dating back to 1875, but few of them had any professional training.
[37] Pixley, "A History of Los Angeles Women," 66. For perspective, by 1890 there were 27 female physicians in Los Angeles and about 260 male physicians.
[38] Harris R. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913*, no page, https://books.google.com/books?id=9-57C2uKPxMC&pg=PT80&lpg=PT80&dq=Chloe+Jones+Superintendent+of+LA+City+School&source=bl&ots=gJvFzPyfKy&sig=XrRuX0qAx2BVZ7z-YaKBfWJuxMc&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjJwuz11arYAhVDYyYKHb6KBI0Q6AEITDAM#v=onepage&q&f=false.
[39] Pixley, "A History of Los Angeles Women," 63.

During this period, women were also appointed to the position of City Librarian. Women's groups came together to galvanize support for Leona Pigne Duypuytren Wood (c. 1861-1923), the first woman to fill the role after two unsuccessful attempts to place a woman in the position. This early 1880s campaign marked one of the first times that women banded together in an effort to further their interests and extend their influence in public life.

In 1880, Mary Foy (1862-1962), a nineteen-year-old graduate of Los Angeles High School, became the third librarian in the city, serving from 1880-1884. The Italianate-style house where she was born and raised at 1335-1341 ½ West Carroll Avenue is City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 8.[40] Following Foy's appointment, for the remainder of the 19th century city librarians were exclusively the domain of women: Jessie Gaviot, Lynda Prescott, Tessa Kelso, Clara B. Fowles, and Mary L. Jones all subsequently held the post.[41]

Foy House, 1335-1341 ½ Carroll Avenue, designated as City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 8. Source: Annie Laskey for the Los Angeles Conservancy.

The Temperance Movement

Temperance increasingly offered opportunities for community organizing by women in Los Angeles. In April 1882, the Los Angeles Union of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was organized.[42] A regional, Southern California Chapter had been created four years prior.

Although the temperance movement is often viewed as rooted in moral superiority, the practical effects of alcohol in the home were often domestic violence, physical and mental abuse, child abuse, and poverty, all conditions for which there was no legal recourse for women. The WCTU's purpose was to "enlist and unite women in temperance work, promote the principles of total abstinence, suppress intemperance and secure the prohibition of intoxicating beverages." Initially, the WCTU shied away from the topic of suffrage. Yet, by 1886, the Los Angeles Chapter was dominating the regional organization and they embraced suffrage as inextricably linked with temperance:

[40] The house was designed by Ezra F. Kysor and constructed in 1873.
[41] Pixley, "A History of Los Angeles Women," 71.
[42] The national WCTU was founded in 1874 by Frances Willard. The organization aimed to educate the public about the evils of drink. Although its original stand was moral suasion, in 1881 Willard shifted the emphasis to becoming a political force.

> Women are rapidly advancing to the belief that the war with liquor traffic will end much sooner if women are allowed to express opinions at the ballot box. Consequently they are pressing the matter…if the women who are deeply interesting in our homes and native land are not allowed to vote, while the influx of foreigners continues increasing the saloons, what will become of our glorious nation?[43]
>
> *Mrs. Ira Moore, President, WCTU, Los Angeles*

The reference to the "influx of foreigners" in the quote above reflected the prominence of scientific racism in the country. Negative stereotypes of Asians and Southern and Eastern Europeans, as well as anti-Semitism, contributed to a preference for Protestant immigrants from Northern European countries. This nativism was a significant part of Los Angeles' temperance movement, as it was across the country.

Undated photo of W.C.T.U members in Los Angeles. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

The WCTU's popularity in the Los Angeles area is shown by the creation of 14 new unions in Los Angeles County between 1887 and 1888, and a membership of over 1,000 women by 1890.[44] In the late 1880s, older unions were purchasing property and preparing to build headquarters.[45] The Los Angeles or "Central" union completed the construction of the terra cotta-clad Richardsonian Romanesque-style Women's Christian Temple Union Temple (a.k.a., the Temperance Temple) in 1889 at 301 North Broadway (not extant). The Temperance Temple was often used as a meeting place for other women's

[43] "Southern California Women's Christian Temperance Union," Proceedings of the Fourth and Fifth Annual Conventions, 1886-1887 (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Commercial Publishing House, 1887), 38.
[44] *Los Angeles City Directory, 1890,* 52.
[45] "W.C.T.U.," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 1888, 8.

organizations, including the Woman's Educational Club and the Woman's Suffrage Club.[46] It also housed the state WCTU headquarters.

At the opening of the Temple, Henrietta G. Moore, a representative of the National Women's Christian Temperance Union remarked:

> We rejoice at the advancement of women in this land. The projection of this building tells to the men of the country plainer than ever before that a woman can no longer be regarded as an angel floating in the ether, nor as an idiot, but with strong head and muscle and clear ideas…I hope that you may go forward and build a temple not made with hands; a temple that is a diviner sentiment in our land…I congratulate you on your splendid building.[47]

The Women's Christian Temple Union Temple (a.k.a., Temperance Temple) at 301 N. Broadway Street, 1890 (not extant). Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

In addition to the Downtown or "central union," several temperance union chapters were established within the city limits of Los Angeles. By 1890 other chapters included a Boyle Heights Union, an East Los Angeles Union, a Morris Vineyard (South Los Angeles) Union, and a University Union near the University of Southern California. Later, a San Fernando Union was formed. According to the *Los Angeles City Directory of 1899*, these chapters of the WCTU met in nearby churches, in the Temperance Temple on Broadway, or in members' homes.[48] Of the ten local WCTU chapters listed in the 1899 directory, none of the public meeting places are extant.

The creation of community "reading rooms" was a popular intervention by WCTU chapters. The reading rooms provided places where "strangers, homeless young men and youths could spend their unemployed time and be safe from the baneful influences of the streets and saloons." These included the Morris Vineyard Reading Room located in the De Celis block at 1436 South Main Street in 1887, [49]

[46] *Los Angeles City Directory, 1891*, 56.
[47] "Temperance Temple," *Los Angeles Times*, April 29, 1889, 5.
[48] *Los Angeles City Directory 1899*, 46.
[49] The address and location of the Free Reading Room are shown on the 1888 Sanborn Maps.

and the Willard WCTU Free Reading Room, which was established c. 1890 at 1549 West Washington Boulevard. Neither of these buildings are extant.

One of the most important activities of the WCTU was the operation of Ransome House — a refuge for "erring and penitent women."[50] Ransome House was originally founded by the Social Purity League in 1888 as a six-room house on North Bonnie Brae Street, between Temple and Bellevue Streets just west of Downtown. In 1889, operations of Ransome House were taken over by the Los Angeles Chapter of the WCTU.

The Suffrage Movement

In March 1884, Caroline Severance co-founded the Woman's (a.k.a. Woman) Suffrage Association of Los Angeles with Elizabeth Anne (E. A.) Kingsbury, a widow and former co-worker with the East Coast suffragists. The first meeting of the organization took place at the Kingsbury home.[51] Original officers included Elizabeth A. Kingsbury, Mrs. Asenath S. Marshall, Mary E. Hoyt, and Julia Wellman Urmy.[52] In 1887, elected officers included Elizabeth A. Kingsbury (who was living in room 86 in the Nadeau Block), Mrs. Asenath S. Marshall, Mrs. James, and Mrs. Cobb.[53] With no regular meeting place, the Club convened at a variety of residential and commercial locations including the Flower Festival Society's Woman's Home (a.k.a., the Woman's Exchange) on East Fourth Street.

In 1887, Kingsbury toured California to assess the level of interest in the cause. What she found was lamentable, "Is our little suffrage club of seventeen members the only one in the state?" she decried in the *Woman's Journal*.[54] That same year, one of the club's members, Alice McComas (1850-1919), established the city's first regular suffragist column in the *Los Angeles Express*; McComas was an ardent and visible suffrage activist for years to come.[55] In the late 1880s, the club met regularly in the parlor of the Unity Church (a.k.a., Church of the Unity) on the south side of 7th Street between Hill Street and Broadway (not extant).[56] A significant component of the club's work was educational through the circulation of suffragist literature and lectures.

Although the Woman's Suffrage Association was the only club in Los Angeles solely devoted to the cause, the Southern California Temperance Union came out in favor and appointed a committee to work on the issue in 1887. Elizabeth A. Kingsbury exercised her voice in the WCTU as well and encouraged

[50] Pixley, "A History of Los Angeles Women," 82.
[51] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan Brownell Anthony, et. al. *History of Woman Suffrage, 1883-1900*, n.p. https://books.google.com/books?id=zSRBAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA494&lpg=PA494&dq=%22Elizabeth+A.+Kingsbury%22+Suffragist&source=bl&ots=1cqS8bXeFj&sig=8-G_sEP1BKXI032g3DSdEQ92gEI&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi9sdPkg6vYAhWJOSYKHSdzDeQQ6AEILjAB#v=onepage&q=%22Elizabeth%20A.%20Kingsbury%22%20Suffragist&f=false
[52] Mrs. Burton Williamson, *Ladies Clubs and Societies in Los Angeles in 1892*, 36.
[53] "Woman Suffrage Club," *Los Angeles Times*, April 13, 1887, 4.
[54] Elizabeth Kingsbury, "Woman Suffrage in California," *Woman's Journal* (September 3, 1887), as described on page 282 of the Severance biography.
[55] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan Brownell Anthony, et. al. *History of Woman Suffrage, 1883-1900*, n.p.
[56] "The City in Brief," *Los Angeles Times*, October 20, 1889, 8.

collaboration between the Woman's Suffrage Association and the WCTU chapter through the circulation of literature and petitions.

In 1888, Caroline Severance returned to Boston for another extended stay. During that time, the second Los Angeles Woman's Club collapsed. To fill the void, some Woman's Club members remained active in civic reform through the Flower Festival Society.

During this period, Los Angeles women were gradually stepping out of the confines of home into public and professional positions. Los Angeles now had a population of women who were taking an interest in the condition of the community. Quiet and tentative at first, and strongly led by Caroline Severance, this interest would gradually develop until Los Angeles women had extended their influence into a wider sphere of civic impact.

The Progressive Era: Temperance, Suffrage and Civic Reform, 1890-1911

By 1890, the population of Los Angeles had increased tenfold from 1870, and the city had a nearly equal ratio of women to men (see Table 1). In contrast, San Francisco, Denver, Portland, and Seattle all had more men than women.[57] With their increased presence in Los Angeles, women began to organize and use their voices in ways not previously seen in the city. The period also ushered in a golden era of women's clubs — only some of which were engaged in civic matters associated with women's rights or issues benefitting women. For many of these clubs, the primary agenda was social.

Unidentified Los Angeles clubwomen, c. 1890. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

In 1891, Caroline Severance once again returned to Los Angeles from her second extended stay in Boston. On April 16, she gathered 11 women in the upstairs parlor of the Hollenbeck Hotel (207 South Spring Street, not extant) where they wrote the constitution and bylaws of the newly formed Friday Morning Club of Los Angeles.[58] The stated purpose of the club was "to form a center of united thought and action for women who desire the consideration and discussion of all topics of general interest, especially the vital subject of the day, whether social, educational or otherwise."[59]

The third time was the charm, as the Friday Morning Club successfully assembled the most progressive women in the city and established a lasting legacy in Los Angeles. Charter members of the Friday Morning Club were the most prominent and influential women of the era: Olive A. Cole (Mrs. Cornelius

[57] Eileen V. Wallis, *Earning Power: Women and Work in Los Angeles, 1880-1930* (Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press, 2010), 3.
[58] Clark Davis, "An Era and Generation of Civic Engagement: The Friday Morning Club in Los Angeles, 1891-1931," *Southern California Quarterly,* vol. 84, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 145.
[59] Pixley, "A History of Los Angeles Women," 93.

Cole), Mrs. Charles D. Willard, Mrs. Harris Newmark, Margaret Sartori (Mrs. Joseph Sartori), Mrs. Frank Wiggins, Mary Simons Gibson, Carrie Betzold Doheny (Mrs. Edward L. Doheny), Clara Bradley Baker Wheeler Burdette (Mrs. Robert Burdette), Rose W. Baruch (Mrs. Berthold Baruch), Josefa H. Tolhurst (Mrs. Shelley Tolhurst), Dr. Elizabeth Follansbee, and Mrs. Charlotte Wills.

The Friday Morning Club became a vital force in every issue in the advancement of women's interests, the improvements of civic affairs, and the inauguration of social reform. Programs from meetings held between 1892 and 1896 reveal a range of topics including public sanitation and housing, industrial legislation for women, protection and free trade, child labor laws, industrial education, and dress reform. Severance brought nationally known activists including Susan B. Anthony, Reverend Anna Howard Shaw (1847-1919),[60] Julia Ward Howe (1819-1910), and Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935)[61] to the club as speakers. These orators all urged the expansion of women into social and political fields. Severance made no secret that the primary purpose of the club was to bring women into political life. Although the Friday Morning Club initially took no public stand on the issue of women's suffrage, within a few years it was publicly pro-suffrage.[62]

Around this time, Caroline Severance raised funds to build a house for fellow women's rights activist and Friday Morning Club officer, Jessie Benton Fremont (1824-1902), widow of General John C. Fremont (1813-1890) at 1107 West 28th Street (in 1912, the house was relocated to 3117 South Raymond Avenue).[63]

Meanwhile, the philanthropic and civic reform efforts begun by women during the 1880s continued, and existing organizations expanded their services. In September 1891, the Women's Industrial Exchange opened at 213-223 South Broadway (not extant) as a consignment store for goods made by the residents of the Flower Festival Society Boarding Home. This expanded on the showroom idea at the boarding home itself and was initially successful. The women received 90 percent of the proceeds with ten percent defraying the operating expenses of the house. Sales were brisk and in December of 1891 they had earned more than $2,600.[64] The

The Potomac Block building (213-233 South Broadway, not extant) in which the Women's Industrial Exchange was located and the Friday Morning Club rented a meeting room in the 1890s. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

[60] Some evidence indicates Shaw and her partner Cora Scott Pope resided in a house at 200 N. Avenue 66 around the time of the 1896 California suffrage ballot initiative.
[61] Gilman moved to Pasadena in 1888 suffering from depression associated with her marriage. She moved to San Francisco in 1894.
[62] Pixley, "A History of Los Angeles Women," 94.
[63] Information on the relocation was provided by local historian Laura Meyers and confirmed with building permits.
[64] Williamson, *Ladies Clubs and Societies in 1892*, 50.

Women's Industrial Exchange also leased meeting space to the Friday Morning Club to supplement its income.

The WCTU's Ransome House moved locations several times during the 1890s. In 1891, it moved to 1928 Bonsallo Street. In 1892, it relocated to 2129 South Norwood Street where nearly 50 people lived in the house, 18 of whom were children. By 1898, it moved to 136 East Jefferson Street, then 134 East 31st Street a year later. In 1903, the WCTU-sponsored organization was finally able to construct its own building at 200 East Avenue 54. Of the six locations associated with Ransome House, only the third location at 2129 South Norwood Street (Contributor, University Park Historic Preservation Overlay Zone [HPOZ]) is extant.

These enterprises provided important financial and management experience key to the independence of women. Unlike early women's societies which merely raised the money then turned it over to men to administer and manage, women involved with the Ransome House, Industrial Exchange, and later the Athletic Club, handled administration and gained invaluable financial literacy and management skills in the process.

The Settlement Movement

The settlement movement, a reformist social movement that began in the 1880s, also took hold in Los Angeles during this period, with the founding of the Los Angeles College Settlement Association in 1894. An important force in the city's early public health programs for Los Angeles' poor residents, the Settlement Association was located at 758-766 North Hill Street (not extant), northwest of the Plaza in what is now Chinatown.[65] Under the leadership of Maude B. Foster (1865-1902), the organization facilitated the City becoming the first municipality in the United States to fund a public health nursing program. One area of focus was providing pre- and post-natal care to poor women.

Women's Suffrage

By the mid-1890s, there was a well-organized women's movement in Los Angeles and suffrage gained significant traction. Several new suffrage groups emerged including the College Equal Suffrage League (founded by women alumni of the state university) and the Political Equity League (founded by men but open to both sexes). In 1892, the Women's Parliament of Southern California was formed to further women's public work and acted as an umbrella organization for all of the women's associations in the region. The Women's Parliament rapidly transformed into a suffrage organization. In March 1893, the Friday Morning Club voted to endorse a suffrage bill under consideration by the California legislature and the organization officially supported suffrage moving forward.

[65] Jennifer Lisa Koslow, *Cultivating Health: Los Angeles Women and Public Health Reform* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 21.

A galvanizing national event appears to have been the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. From all parts of the country activists including clubwomen, temperance advocates, settlement workers, philanthropists, labor activists, and suffragists attended the event. One of the exhibit pavilions, "The Woman's Building," contained exhibits by and about women. Women lobbied the U.S. Congress and a National Board of Lady Managers was formed to oversee women's representation at the Exposition. Each state had representation, with seven women coming from California. One of the California representatives was Los Angeles' Olive A. Cole (1833-1918), wife of Senator Cornelius Cole and a Friday Morning Club member.

In April 1894, in anticipation of a constitutional amendment in the next state legislative session, the Los Angeles Woman's Suffrage Association called a convention of all Southern California suffrage societies to help coordinate their efforts. Suffragists worked hard on behalf of women's right to vote, but in the November 5, 1896 election the amendment was defeated by 26,746 votes. The majority of votes against suffrage came from northern California. All of the Southern California counties passed the amendment — with Los Angeles County giving it the largest favorable majority of 4,600 votes.[66] Author Gayle Gullett offers, "much of the credit belonged to the Los Angeles women, who ran their own campaign and ran it well."[67]

There are many theories about the differing results in the northern vs. southern parts of the state. San Francisco efforts were hampered by the organized opposition of the Liquor Dealers League who believed suffrage would lead directly to prohibition. Some scholars argue that Los Angeles suffrage leaders strategically avoided a close alliance with the WCTU, preferring to keep suffrage and temperance separate.[68]

Other reasons for defeat included northern suffragists' failure to actively involve lower- income women in the campaign. Little effort appears to have been made by the predominantly white, upper-middle class and wealthy women to connect with the working classes, and the suffragists' nativism was off-putting to many workers who were of Irish and Italian descent. Yet, in Los Angeles, Caroline Severance exerted her influence and worked with multiple organizations such as the Christian Socialists and the People's Party to reach voters of all ethnicities and socio-economic status. Exclusion was a mistake that would not be replicated in future efforts.

The defeat was a tremendous blow to women. Membership in women's clubs and organizations plummeted and many lost financing. The Woman's Suffrage Association of Los Angeles was hit particularly hard in the ensuing days after the election. The Friday Morning Club continued activities, but no longer publicly called for a vote on suffrage. Newspaper articles on the topic grew fewer, and in Los Angeles, "the demand for suffrage was silenced for the next four years."[69] "Women's Suffrage is Deasatated," proclaimed the *Los Angeles Herald* in 1896.[70] As Gullett described, clubwomen began to

[66] Stanton and Anthony, *History of Women's Suffrage*, 500.
[67] Gullet, *Becoming Citizens*, 96.
[68] Pixley and Gullet take opposing viewpoints on this.
[69] Pixley, "A History of Los Angeles Women," 127.
[70] "Woman's Suffrage is Dead," *Los Angeles Herald*, March 13, 1897, 1.

describe their work as "civic altruism," rather than political in nature. The women chose the term civic to declare that they were "building a new public space, a civic arena in which citizens (women and men) concerned with the public good could build a moral, humane and harmonious America."[71]

However, the camaraderie and bonding women experienced in the suffrage fight continued to manifest itself in a strong Los Angeles women's club movement. By September of 1899, the Friday Morning Club laid a cornerstone for its own permanent Mission Revival-style clubhouse at 930-940 South Figueroa Street (not extant).[72] The clubhouse was used as a venue for many women's suffrage meetings and events by other organizations.

L: Friday Morning Club members laying the cornerstone for their new clubhouse on September 14, 1899. Caroline Severance is at the stone. R: The Mission Revival- style clubhouse of the Friday Morning Club at 938-940 Figueroa Street (not extant). Source for both: Los Angeles Public Library.

In the late 1890s, even the non-political women's clubs broadened their interests from arts to include the study of social issues. For example, at the Ebell Club, Mrs. Lou V. Chapman led a study group against socialism. Another Ebell Club member, Clara Bradley Baker Wheeler Burdette (1855-1954), created the California Foundation of Women's Clubs (CFWC) in January of 1900 to build a statewide reform organization.[73]

Broadening the Movement

Gradually progressives, women of color, and men all started to form stronger connections with the Los Angeles suffrage movement. Each of these groups recognized suffrage existed at the intersection of their common causes: labor relations, working conditions, civil rights, and corruption in city government.

Around the turn of the 20th century, the cause of suffrage began to receive strong support from socialist women in Los Angeles, who broadened the movement to include working class women. Caroline Severance was closely associated with the Christian Socialists, and the newly-formed Women's Socialist League brought additional voices to the fight. According to author and historian Sherry Katz, the women with "dual commitments" of advancing socialism and women's rights saw suffrage as a "well-organized

[71] Gullet, *Becoming Citizens*, 107.
[72] The building was designed by architect Arthur Bennett Benton. It was relocated to 927 South Menlo Avenue in 1922.
[73] Burdette lived at a home called Sunny Crest in Pasadena.

platform with the possibility of humanitarian socialist reforms," including the empowerment of the working class, organized labor, and "civic maternalism."[74] The result was that they organized autonomous socialist women's clubs.

Katz describes the role of socialist women in Los Angeles:

> After the turn of the 20th Century, local activists built a network of autonomous socialist women's clubs under the umbrella of the Socialist Union of California and worked within the male-dominated socialist movement as well as the women's movement. They played a prominent role in women's suffrage as they helped to broaden the movement's base among working class women, garner support from trade unions, etc.[75]

In August 1902, Socialist women instigated the suffragist's first militant action in the new century when they asked suffragists and temperance advocates to join them in a protest meeting at City Hall.

Increasingly, the California suffragists caught the eye of the national leaders. The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) sent New York leader Gail Laughlin out west to help reorganize the women and to recommit to the cause. In 1904, regional groups were consolidated into the California Suffrage Association, and their convention was held in Los Angeles. National observers of the movement agreed that victory in California would be a turning point in the national campaign for enfranchisement. In 1905, Susan B. Anthony came to Venice, California[76] and attracted a crowd of some 3,500 women.[77] The afternoon symposium at the Venice Auditorium on the Abbott Kinney-built pier (not extant) found Anthony and Reverend Anna Shaw sharing the stage with Caroline Severance; Bertha Hirsch Baruch (1896-1947), President of the County Equal Suffrage Association; and Mabel V. Osborne (1866-1905), President of the Los Angeles City Equal Suffrage Association. The Venice symposium and Osborne's attempt to re-organize local suffrage efforts caused a rift between the city and county suffrage associations, leading to a nervous breakdown for Osborne who was hospitalized and died shortly thereafter. Osborne had been Vice President of the state suffrage association and one of the most active workers for women's rights in Southern California.[78]

Women of color, who were barred from participating in the Los Angeles women's clubs, began to rally around the issue of suffrage and formed their own organizations such as the Sojourner Truth Industrial Club, Progressive Women's Club, the Helping Hand Society, and the Stickney Women's Christian Temperance Union.[79] A 1904 Progressive Women's Club meeting featured a tribute to "noble womanhood" by a male guest speaker. Meetings appear to have been held at members' homes including that of Laura V. Brown, widow of Charles W. Brown at 1522 11th Place (not extant).

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[74] Sherry Katz, "Socialist Women and Progressive Reform" in *California Progressivism Revisited*, ed. William Deverell and Tom Sitton (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 117.
[75] Katz, "Socialist Women and Progressive Reform," 118.
[76] Venice was an incorporated city until 1925 when it was consolidated with Los Angeles.
[77] "Thousands Hear Suffrage Leaders," *Los Angeles Herald*, August 2, 1905.
[78] "Suffrage Leader Dies of Worry," *Los Angeles Herald*, September 8, 1905.
[79] Delta Sigma Theta, founded at Howard University in 1913, spawned suffrage organizations in some cities; however, the Los Angeles chapter was not formed until 1927.

Key among the African American clubs was the Sojourner Truth Industrial Club, founded in 1904 to improve the low wages and bad working conditions faced by black women. To address the childcare needs of working African American women, the Woman's Day Nursery Association was formed in January of 1907 at the Wesley Chapel AME Church (778 South San Julian Street, not extant). In 1908, the group opened its first nursery facility, followed by a new location circa 1909 that offered supervised play, lunch, and a light supper.[80]

By 1912, members of the Sojourner Truth Industrial Club had raised nearly $3,000 to purchase a working girl's home in the city at 1119 East Adams Boulevard (extensively altered). Under the leadership of Mrs. Margaret D. Scott (1862-1969), plans for a two-story Mission-Revival style home with bell tower were drawn by architects Gentry & Schultz. In addition to providing a reasonably-priced place to live, it was an educational venue and social center. Plans called for a gymnasium as well, but it is unknown if this was realized in the 1912 building.[81]

As reported by scholar Gayle Gullett in her examination of African American newspaper women in Los Angeles, African American journalist Eloise Bibb Thompson (1878-1928) wrote in a column for the *Los Angeles Tribune* that the Sojourner Truth Industrial Club was a necessity because "…single black women had found it difficult, even painful, to find safe places to live in Los Angeles" due to racism and sexual harassment.[82]

Charlotta A. Spears Bass (1874-1969) was the first woman in the U.S. to run an African American newspaper (*The Eagle*, a.k.a., *The California Eagle)*, where she started working c. 1912. Bass supported the cause of suffrage as a means of social change for communities.[83] She aided the suffrage movement by publishing pro-suffrage editorials and encouraging black men to vote. Bass was the subject of a poem about women's rights by fellow suffragist and poet Eva Carter Buckner (1863-1946):

> Oft we hear the mooted question "Now what is a woman's sphere? What should be her work, her calling?" And some answers are so queer. Very much like—well you've heard it to a certain people said, "just to this, or that you're suited, Be not by your impulse led…We believe a woman's calling is whate'er she choose to do, Just so long as it is noble, and to self she can be true…[84]

Charlotta Spears Bass (1874-1969). A suffragist, she became the first woman to run an African American newspaper. Source: Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research.

[80] "The Negro Women in Los Angeles and Vicinity—Some Notable Characters," *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 1909, I114.
[81] "Will Assist Negro Girls," *Los Angeles Times*, April 13, 1906, I111.
[82] Gayle Gullett, *Narratives of Modernity and Black Women's Sexuality: African American Newspaper Women, Los Angeles, 1914*, (Presented at the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, Hawaii, July 2007), 6.
[83] Smithsonian National Museum, accessed April 4, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/NMAAHC/posts/532717593445907.
[84] "Original Poem," *California Eagle*, September 29, 1917, 4.

Buckner, a widow, lived on North Burlington Avenue from the mid-teens through the 1920s. Bass and Buckner were joined in suffrage efforts by Mrs. Beatrice Sumner Thompson (1880-unknown) who was also Secretary of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1918-1919.[85]

An important Latina participant in the movement was Maria G.E. (Guadalupe Evangelina) Lopez (1881-1997),[86] a Spanish-language translator for the suffrage movement during the 1911 statewide campaign.[87] Serving as President of the College Equal Suffrage League, on October 3, 1911, Lopez became the first woman to make a Spanish-language speech on suffrage in California at the Votes for Women Club rally at the Plaza de Los Angeles.[88] Lopez also "instituted a campaign among the Spaniards and the Mexicans and toured the state giving suffrage lectures in Spanish."[89] Lopez was a teacher at Los Angeles High School, focusing on English as a second language.[90]

Lopez was also a member of the Los Angeles-based Votes for Women Club alongside Mrs. Cora Lewis, Mrs. Martha Salyer, Clara Shortridge Foltz, and Mary Foy. Formerly known as the Equality Club, the organization changed its name in 1910 and met weekly in Room 95 on the fifth floor of the Bryson Block Building at 145-147 South Spring Street (not extant). In July of that year, the club's regular meeting location switched to 915 South Olive Street (not extant). By 1911, the club had moved to a first-floor suite in the Merchants Trust Building at 207-211 South Broadway (not extant).

In addition to socialists and women of color, Los Angeles men (specifically male reformers) began to support suffrage for women in the first decade of the 20th century. In 1910, millionaire John H. Braly (c.1835-1923) organized the second Los Angeles Political Equity League (PEL) with Katherine Philips Edson (1870-1933) as "the male suffrage arm of Republican insurgency."[91] The first Los Angeles Political Equity League, under the leadership of Ella Ruddy, had established an alliance between suffrage and the "good government" movement spawned by the 1909 resignation of Mayor Arthur Cyprian Harper (1866–1948) on corruption charges. At a rally held just days before the election, suffragist Margaret Le Grange (1899-1974) declared that "it was the duty of women to go into politics to help break the hold of men, machines and bosses who control public offices for private gain and to the determent of all people."[92]

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[85] Delilah L. Beasley, *The Negro Trailblazers of California* (Los Angeles: Delilah L. Beasley, 1919), 235.
[86] Through marriage she became Maria de Lopez Lowther, also known as Maria de Lopez de Lowther.
[87] Eileen V. Wallis, *Earning Power*: *Women and Work in Los Angeles, 1880-1930 (*Reno, NV, University of Nevada Press, 2010), 25-26.
[88] American Commonwealth Co., *Women's Who's Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary American Women of the U.S. and Canada, 1914-15* (New York: American Commonwealth Co., 1915), 499.
[89] "Angeleno Beauties Proposed for Place in Suffrage Parade," *Los Angeles Herald*, April 12, 1913.
[90] Maria de G.E. Lopez is listed in the 1911 and 1912 *Los Angeles City Directory* as residing at her family's home in San Gabriel. Her city residence while a teacher at Los Angeles High School is currently unknown.
[91] Gullet, *Becoming Citizen*s, 182.
[92] *Los Angeles Herald*, December 3-4, 1909, n.p.

Home of Katherine Philips Edson, 950 W. 20th Street. Edson was one of the most visible and influential social reformers of the early 20th century. Her home served as the headquarters of the second Political Equity League before they moved to the Story Building.

The second Political Equity League initially operated out of Edson's home at 950 West 20th Street (Contributor, University Park HPOZ; Contributor, National Register of Historic Places Twentieth Street Historic District) until it found a home in the Story Building at 610 South Broadway (Contributor, National Register of Historic Places Broadway Theater and Commercial District). The PEL was the largest and most active organization of the final campaign for suffrage.[93] Important and visible members of the League included Mrs. Grace C. Seward Simons (c. 1867-c. 1930; later a President of the League), Josefa H. Tolhurst (Mrs. Shelley Tolhurst, 1864-1956), Dora Fellows Haynes (Mrs. John R. Haynes, 1859-1934), and Rose W. Baruch (1869-1954).[94]

Another man who embraced the suffrage movement was the St. Louis publisher and land developer Edward Garner Lewis (1869-1950). Believing that suffrage would "…create a need for education and other programs that addressed women's issues," he established the American Woman's League nationally in 1908 and began selling members the *Woman's National Daily*.[95] It offered a wide range of services to members including a correspondence school, chapter houses, and a loan and relief fund. Local chapters were established across the nation, including a Los Angeles chapter, also known as the "E.G. Lewis Chapter."[96] Chapter meetings were held in a variety of locations around Los Angeles. By 1910, the Los Angeles chapter was managed by Pearl Adams Spaulding out of offices on the fourth floor of Blanchard Music Hall at 235 South Broadway (altered) where they now also held chapter meetings.

Perhaps because of its ties with publishing, the League received a weekly column in the *Los Angeles Herald*. In 1910, the Los Angeles chapter, the largest in the League, won a contest held by the *Herald* for a bungalow at 1832 West 49th Street, which became the chapter house, meeting place, and center of operations. It was the first League chapter house on the west coast.[97] In 1911, Jennie Van Allen (c.1888-1941), League member and ardent suffragist (and the winner of the bungalow), formalized a suffrage agenda for the Los Angeles Chapter and encouraged working with the Political Equity League.[98]

[93] Jacqueline R. Braitman, *Katherine Philips Edson: A Progressive Feminist in California' Era of Reform* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 123.
[94] None of the residences associated with these early suffrage advocates (except for the Pasadena-based Seward Simons) are extant. Their profiles as wealthy clubwomen, much like Caroline Severance, meant that many of them lived in residences in the University Park area around the University of Southern California, the majority of which have been demolished.
[95] Jennifer Eastman Attebery, "National Register Nomination, American Woman's League Chapter House," 1986, Item 8, page 1.
[96] Men were allowed to be members of the League but not granted voting rights.
[97] "American Woman's League," *Los Angeles Herald*, August 7, 1910, 33.
[98] "Make Editors Phone Victims," *Los Angeles Times*, March 3, 1911, I17.

Financial Literacy

The Progressive Era was a time of growing concern about the social and financial independence of women. Several notable advancements for financial literacy for women took place in Los Angeles in the late-19th and early 20th centuries. In 1891, Juana A. Neal (c.1840-1910) created a "Woman's Department" in the California Life Insurance Company. A Friday Morning Club member, Neal was charged with marketing insurance policies to women.[99] Neal would go on to be a noted suffrage advocate in Los Angeles.[100]

In 1905, Mrs. Pearl Adams (1850-1930), a veteran businesswoman from Illinois, arrived in Los Angeles where she became a promoter and later President of the California Business Woman's Association. In this role she was an early educator and activist for women's financial literacy in a city she described as a place "…where there are so many unscrupulous people ready to take advantage of inexperienced business women."[101] Prior to coming to Los Angeles, she was the first American woman to take charge of the legal department at a state bank, the first woman law librarian, and among the first women appointed notary public.[102] In 1905, she created the Woman's Department at the Merchants Trust Company in Los Angeles, then founded the Woman's Department of the Columbia Trust Company at 311 West 3rd Street (not extant) where she often held meetings of the Business Woman's Association.

Japanese Women Taking Care of Women

In the early part of the 20th century, it is estimated that some 20,000 Japanese women came to Los Angeles as "picture brides" for the predominantly male Japanese migrants that had come to the area in the early years of the 20th century.[103] Because Japanese were generally denied access to health services by area hospitals and doctors, the Japanese community had to rely on its own for care, especially in childbirth. A number of women who immigrated were *sanba*, or midwives. Rooted in the Japanese health care movement of the early 20th century that sought to professionalize and license the practice of midwifery to maintain the health of women and babies, *sanba* attended women in childbirth, were involved in prenatal and postnatal care, and provided infant care for newborns. In 1903, Tsuneko Okazaki became the first Japanese state-licensed midwife.[104] Within ten years, there were at least 18 Japanese midwives with significant practices in Los Angeles.[105]

[99] Akers, *Caroline Severance*, 162.
[100] "All Pull Together: Slogan of Great Suffrage Army," *Los Angeles Herald*, August 14, 1911.
[101] "Business Woman Achieves Success," *Los Angeles Herald*, April 19, 1908.
[102] "Los Angeles Business Women," *Los Angeles Herald*, March 13, 1910.
[103] *Rafu Shimpo*, *Through the Pages of the Rafu Shimpo* (Los Angeles: Rafu Shimpo, 2003), 62.
[104] William M. Mason and John A. McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, 1969), 9. This source refers to Okazaki as "the first state-licensed midwife;" it is presumed she was the first licensed midwife of Japanese ethnicity, but the source is unclear.
[105] For more information about the Japanese community in Los Angeles, see the SurveyLA *Japanese Americans in Los Angeles* Historic Context Statement.

Labor Reform

In 1901, the predominantly-female workforce of the Excelsior Steam Laundry (424 S. Los Angeles Street) participated in a laundry workers' strike that called attention to poor working conditions in the city's seven major laundry companies. Strikers called for a closed shop agreement, a ten-hour work day, and equal pay for women and men. The laundry strike set the stage for future labor disputes that would roil Los Angeles in subsequent years.[106]

Justice Reform

In addition to supporting professional women, Los Angeles boasted a group of reformers at the forefront of the national campaign to eliminate female delinquency. Los Angeles clubwomen also led the movement to establish the first juvenile court system resulting in the passage of the California Juvenile Court Law in 1903. These courts focused more on reform than punishment and included staffing by female probation officers. They were the first to gain control over the female juvenile justice system — establishing women professionals in the police department, juvenile courts, and correctional facilities for delinquent girls.[107]

Alice Stebbins Wells, the first police woman in Los Angeles. Source: Los Angeles Police Department Museum Archive.

In 1910, Los Angeles became the first city in the country to hire a uniformed policewoman, Alice Stebbins Wells (1853-1957), on a full-time basis.[108] By 1912, five women police officers were patrolling the city streets including Aletha Gilbert (1870-1931), Nellie Tarbell, and Mrs. R.D. Shatto. Although the women enjoyed the full authority of their male counterparts, their primary responsibilities were protective work for women, children, and the home including surveillance, arrest, and detainment of women and young girls suspected of illegal activity. Policewomen were also responsible for the questioning of women in custody.

Other early pioneer Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) policewomen included Lorl Boyles (1881-1969), Marguerite Curley (1887-unknown), Juanita Edwards (1898-1957), Elizabeth Feeley (1874-1927), Elizabeth Fiske (1895-unknown), Anna Hamm (1869-1951), and Lucille Shelton (1885-1940).[109]

[106] See the SurveyLA *Central City Community Plan Area* Survey Report.
[107] Mary Odem, "City Mothers and Delinquent Daughters," in *California Progressivism Revisited*, eds. William Deverell and Tom Sitton (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 177.
[108] Wells remained with the force until her retirement in 1940. Much of this time she lived at 340 N. Laveta Terrace.
[109] Janis Appier, *Policing Women: The Sexual Politics of Law Enforcement and the LAPD* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1998), 65.

Georgia Robinson (seated, center), first African American Los Angeles Police woman in Los Angeles in 1923. Source: Los Angeles Police Department Museum Archive.

Los Angeles was also the first city to hire an African American policewoman, Georgia A. Robinson (c.1879-1961). After seven months of volunteering, Robinson was hired by the juvenile bureau of the LAPD. Born in Leadville, Colorado, Robinson was known as "the woman Booker T. Washington of Los Angeles."[110] She worked for suffrage in Leadville and was the first African American to attend a state convention there. In Los Angeles, she was a founding member of the executive board of the Woman's Republican League and instrumental in organizing Republican clubs for black women all across Los Angeles County. She also organized the Civic and Protective League. Of her police work she said:

> In my present position I expect to accomplish much good. In fact, so much has already been done through this new office that there is no end to its possibilities. My great aim is to insist on girls getting an equal break in delinquency cases with the men and to do everything possible to save these young girls from a court record.[111]

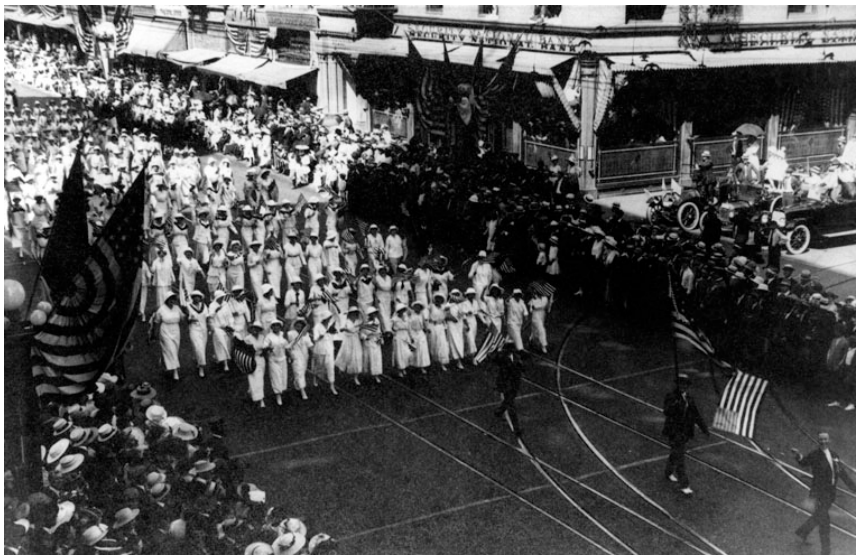
During her career with the LAPD, Robinson resided at 969 South Mariposa Street (not extant). She retired from the force in 1929 after she was blinded from injuries she received while breaking up a fight in the women's jail.[112]

[110] "First Colored Lady Officer: City Gives Job to Able Feminist," *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1916, I6.
[111] Ibid.
[112] "Obituaries," *Los Angeles Times*, September 28, 1961, B12.

The Final Push for Suffrage

To win the vote in California, women had to achieve two different political objectives: 1) persuade the state legislature to put the question on the ballot, and 2) persuade men to vote for it. California women achieved the first objective through their vital support to the state's progressives found mostly in the liberal wing of the Republican Party. Hiram Johnson (1866-1945), elected governor in 1910, complied. The accomplishment of the second goal came through deciding votes from the working-class districts of Los Angeles.

Suffrage events and rallies increased in frequency and attendance as the October 1911 election approached. In February of 1911, a debate was held at the Friday Morning Club where Mrs. George A. Caswell, President of the California Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage debated Mary Seward Simons, then President of the Political Equity League. The anti-suffrage movement in Los Angeles was organized and spearheaded by the California Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage located at room 322 of the Exchange Building at 321 West Third Street (not extant). Many such debates were held for clubs and organizations in locations all over Southern California. The organization also mounted a large advertising campaign in the *Los Angeles Times*.



Undated photo of suffrage march through the streets of downtown Los Angeles.
Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

A large suffrage picnic was held in Echo Park on June 29, 1911, followed by "the largest demonstration in favor of woman suffrage ever held in the southern part of the state" on August 1.[113] This event took place in the spacious garden of Katherine Hooker (Mrs. John D. Hooker) at 325 West Adams Boulevard (not extant). Some 1,000 women attended and "officers in the various suffrage clubs of the city and state and invited guests of distinction were present." Later that month, a large suffrage rally was held in

[113] "One Thousand Women, Gathered in Spacious Gardens, Hold Southlands Greatest Rally in Suffrage Cause," *Los Angeles Herald*, August 2, 1911.

St. Marks Plaza in Venice, which was located at the intersection of Windward Avenue and Ocean Front Walk. An even bigger rally, with approximately 4,000 attendees was held on September 30, at the Temple Auditorium Building at 427 West 5th Street (not extant), where 500 women were turned away.

On October 10, 1911 women were accorded the right to vote in California by a margin of 2,051 votes. Once again, San Francisco and Alameda Counties reported adverse majorities and early in the count, passage looked doubtful. In contrast, suffrage passed handily in Los Angeles, with 15,472 votes for and 13,695 votes against.[114] Voter turnout was high; about one-third of those registered in Los Angeles cast a ballot.[115] As the *Los Angeles Herald* described:

> In Los Angeles city, the heroic fight was won by the women in spite of knifing by professed friends and in spite of the bitter opposition of certain fearful interests. The incomplete returns in as the new day dawned showed the city on the credit side of the book with apparently 1,800 votes. If it was a defeat it was a glorious and heroic one and every woman who battled for her rights in this end of the state can wear a proud front today.[116]

With passage in question, suffragists gathered at "Suffrage Headquarters" the Choral Hall in the Auditorium Building (the home of the Political Equity League since February 1911) located at 427 West 5th Street (not extant) to hear the latest returns and eventually to celebrate victory. Celebration songs filled the air as thousands of women's voices accompanied Charles Farwell Edson at the organ.[117]

Louise Carr, Mary Seward Simons, Bess Munn, Mrs. J.W. Smith, Mrs. E.T. Wilkes, Mrs. Berthold Baruch, and Anna Bock strike a victory pose at Choral Hall, Auditorium Building, the home of the Political Equity League also known as "Suffrage Headquarters," located at 427 West 5th Street (not extant). Source: *Los Angeles Herald*, October 13, 1911.

[114] "The Vote in Los Angeles," *Los Angeles Herald*, October 11, 1911.
[115] Ibid.
[116] "Majority in Southland a Tribute to Women's Great Fight for Rights," *Los Angeles Herald*, October 11, 1911.
[117] "Suffragists Celebrate Big Victory," *Los Angeles Herald*, October 13, 1911.

After so many years of activism, Caroline Severance described the feeling of victory in the *Los Angeles Express*: "Words do not fitly measure the depth of my joy over the triumph for the right at Tuesday's election…we have come to the dawn of a glorious tomorrow."[118]

Los Angeles women were immediately called upon to exercise their new right, as the December 1911 Los Angeles Mayoral election became the first test for women voters. They made a significant difference: incumbent "Good Government"[119] candidate George Alexander (1839-1923) won over Socialist Job Harriman with 55 percent of his votes from women.[120]

Los Angeles' civically engaged women helped deliver the right to vote to hundreds of thousands of women across the state of California. By engaging with a slightly broader coalition of women than they had in the 1896 referendum, Southern California women were able to persuade voters that women were capable of engaging and leading in the key issues of the day. Progressive action in protecting working-women, improving the juvenile justice system, and organizing and managing club finances and activities set the stage for a new era of women's civic participation.

Women and Civic Involvement, 1912-1920

Immediately after winning the right to vote, activist efforts turned to voter registration and equipping women with knowledge of government, civics, and current events. Leading the voter registration charge was the California Federation of Women's Clubs (CFWC) that had become the most powerful women's association in the state with over 25,000 members from 318 affiliates. In the fall of 1912, the CFWC called for the establishment of a Women's Legislative Council (WLC) to endorse a number of bills during each state legislative session; 53 organizations signed on including the WCTU, the YWCA, California Congress of Mothers, and the National Child Labor Committee.[121]

The League of Women Voters also proved to be an important and influential organization for Los Angeles women, succeeding the powerful suffrage organizations on civic matters. The purpose of the bi-partisan organization was to ensure a coalition of women voters who were well informed on the issues they should champion and would face at the ballot box. In 1919, a state branch of the League was formed under the chairmanship of Mrs. Robert J. Burdette.[122] Those present at the formation of the state League at the Friday Morning Club were a who's who of Los Angeles area clubwomen and ardent suffragists: Mrs. Herbert A. Cable, Mary E. Foy, Margaret Sartori, Mrs. J.T. Anderson, Mary Seward Simons, Clara Shortridge Foltz, Mrs. E. R. Brainerd, Frances Noel, and Mrs. Charles Farwell Edson. The League took up issues such as the protection of women in industry, child welfare, and social hygiene.[123] Under the auspices of the state league, F. Josephine Stevenson, a Pasadena-based attorney, took an

[118] *Los Angeles Express*, October 12, 1911, 6 as quoted in Akers, *Caroline Severance,*256.
[119] The "Good Government" movement gained traction after Los Angeles Mayor Arthur Cyprian Harper (1866–1948) resigned in 1909 in the face of corruption charges.
[120] Wallis, *Earning Power*, 98.
[121] Katz, "Socialist Women and Progressive Reform," 120.
[122] Burdette lived in Pasadena.
[123] Social hygiene is defined as the practice of developing measures designed to protect and improve the family as a social institution, specifically measures aimed at the elimination of venereal disease and prostitution.

active role in lobbying for fair and unified laws protecting the civil rights of women across the country such as the idea of community property.

Suffrage activists now turned their attention to other issues important to Los Angeles women. Katherine Philips Edson (1870-1933), an organizer and suffrage activist through the Friday Morning Club, was a catalyst for creating a legislative agenda for the CFWC.[124] At the Friday Morning Club, Edson had chaired the important Public Health and Industrial and Social Conditions committees. One of her most famous proposed reforms was a citywide clean milk initiative to combat infant mortality.

Edson transformed clean milk into a woman's issue and harnessed the power of the coalition. For decades, women *produced* the items necessary for food. In the 20th century, however, they *purchased* them. The daughter of a physician, Edson studied the conditions and found that the area's milk supply was contaminated with bacteria produced by tuberculosis-ridden cows. She found the industry was unregulated and a potential danger to consumers.[125]

Although the clean milk initiative was defeated at the ballot box, Edson moved from local to state, and ultimately, to federal positions in government. Governor Hiram Johnson appointed her to the Bureau of Labor Statistics and she immediately began an investigation into working conditions and wages for women and children in industry. She also served on the Industrial Welfare Commission from 1914-1931. As such, she was one of the most visible female progressives in California.[126]

Undated photo of Mary Simons Gibson (1855-1930). Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

Another woman who moved from suffrage activism to governance was Mary Simons Gibson (Mrs. Frank Gibson, 1855-1930). Gibson had worked with Severance on many reform projects and was a founding member of the Los Angeles Woman's Club and the Friday Morning Club. Governor Hiram Johnson appointed her to the Immigration and Housing Commission in 1913. Gibson used the investigations and studies produced by the clubwomen in Los Angeles to create tenement housing legislation, a program to provide city-appointed visiting nurses, a juvenile court

[124] Rafferty, "Los Angeles Clubwomen and Progressive Reform," 160.
[125] Fellow reformer Laura M. Locke represented the region's dairy association.
[126] Rafferty, "Los Angeles Clubwomen and Progressive Reform," 161.

system, and a playground commission. Gibson helped found the League of Women Voters in California. She was also known for her practice of encouraging women to teach immigrant women how to be American wives and mothers, which was viewed as crucial to their Americanization. In 1916, Katherine Philips Edson referred to Gibson as "the most important woman in Southern California politically."[127]

Dora Fellows Haynes (1859-1934), wife of the progressive John R. Haynes (1853-1937)[128] and founding member of the Friday Morning Club, Women's Athletic Club, and Equality League established the Los Angeles branch of the League of Women Voters in 1921 alongside Irene Taylor Heineman (Mrs. Arthur S. Heineman, c. 1881-1960).[129] Haynes and her husband came to Los Angeles in 1887 as part of the wave of migration from the East and Midwest. The League met frequently at the Friday Morning Clubhouse. Haynes also was instrumental in fundraising for the Elizabeth A. Follansbee Memorial at Children's Hospital.

In addition to influencing the agendas of civic-minded women's clubs, some clubwomen ran for office. In the mid-teens, a number of socialist women were candidates for municipal office, including Frances Nacke Noel (1873-1963), a prominent suffragist and labor activist; Mila Tupper Maynard (1864-1926), a former minister and journalist active in the suffrage movement; and Emma J. Wolf (1906-1977), a former nurse and leader of the Child Labor Department of the California Congress of Mothers.

In 1915, Estelle Lawton Lindsey (1868-1955) was elected to the Los Angeles City Council. She was the first woman elected to a city council of a major metropolis. In Los Angeles she was the first woman City Council president, first woman to be named acting mayor, and was also a writer for the *Los Angeles Record* and, later in life*, the Los Angeles Express*.[130] Lindsey had been a member of the Christian Socialist Forum in the early teens, before a rift in the party caused her expulsion.[131] Running for City Council as an independent, she received the support of her network of socialist women, labor activists, and women's clubs.[132] During her tenure on the Council, she focused on measures intended to protect women including public health initiatives, anti-prostitution law enforcement, city services for impoverished women, and female deputies in law enforcement. Lindsey's home while a member of the City Council was located at 2416 Echo Park Avenue.

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[127] Katherine Philips Edson to Harriet Vittum, September 6, 1916, box 1, Edson papers, Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.
[128] Haynes and her husband ultimately established the John R. and Dora Haynes Foundation that funds civic engagement projects to this day.
[129] Irene T. Heineman would go on to become assistant superintendent of public instruction in California. Arthur S. Heineman was a prominent local architect.
[130] "Mrs. Lindsey, First L.A. Councilwoman, 87, Dies," *Los Angeles Times*, November 28, 1955, A6.
[131] "Socialists to Read Her Out," *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 1914, I12.
[132] Sherry Katz, "Redefining the Political: Socialist Women and Party Politics in California," in *We Have Come to Stay*: *American Women and Political Parties, 1880-1960*, eds. Melanie Gustafson, Kristie Miller, and Elisabeth Israels Perry (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 23.

In October 1914, Los Angeles Police Chief Charles Sebastian established the City Mother's Bureau. Staffed by "City Mother" Aletha Gilbert[133] and two other policewomen (known as the Assistant City Mother and Chief Investigator), it was a confidential office where parents could come for assistance if they had concerns about their daughters without having to file an official police report. Issues ranged from runaways, to promiscuity, drinking, or drug use. Although a department within the police force, it was initially located in Normal Hill Center at 501 South Grand Avenue (not extant),[134] rather than a police station, to remove associated stigma.[135] The City Mother conducted investigations of dance halls, movie theaters, vaudeville shows, and other amusements. Nationwide, other City Mothers patterned their role after the Los Angeles model.[136]

MY EXPERIENCE AS COUNCILWOMAN

BY ESTELLE LAWTON LINDSEY.

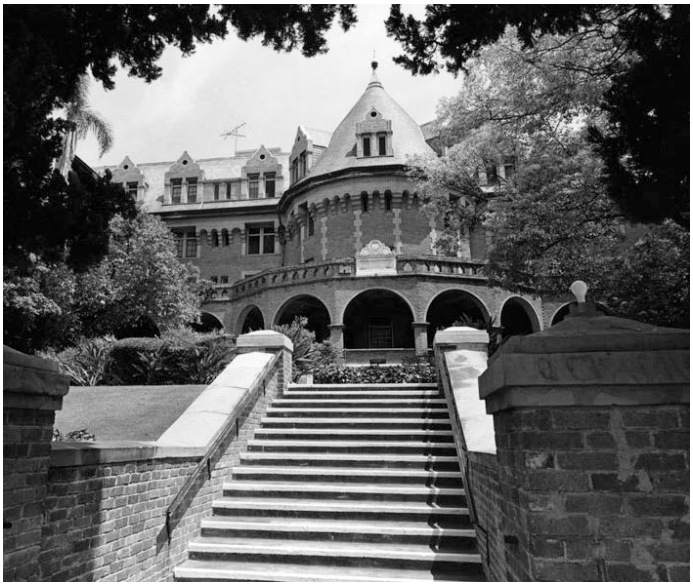
Only Councilwoman in a First-Class City.

Estelle Lawton Lindsey (1868-1955), the first woman elected to the Los Angeles City Council, and the first woman elected to the city council of a major metropolis. Source: Milwaukee Journal, December 15, 1915.

Los Angeles clubwomen assisted the City Mother's office by raising funds and lobbying for women judges. Caroline Wright Foster (Mrs. Ernest K. Foster, c.1866-c.1927), a member and past-president of the Friday Morning Club and head of the Juvenile Protection Association in Los Angeles, pressured Sacramento to support the California Juvenile Court Law, which passed in 1915. Orfa Jean Shontz (1876-1954) became the first female probation officer of the Los Angeles County Juvenile Court and the first female presiding Judge of the same institution. When Shontz left in 1920 to become City Clerk of Los Angeles, social worker Miriam Van Waters (1877-1974) replaced her.[137] Van Waters became a leading local and national figure in juvenile justice reform through her writings and professional work in Los Angeles.

[133] Gilbert's home from the end of her career is located at 600 W. 43rd Place.
[134] Normal Hill got its name in 1882, when the California Branch State Normal School moved into a five-story building atop its summit.
[135] Over time, the City Mother's Bureau moved to the Hub Building on Main Street and ultimately to the new City Hall. It continued as a separate division until 1928, when it was made a unit of the Crime Prevention Division. By the late 1930s, the number of applicants decreased significantly.
[136] Margaret Saunders, "A Study of the Work of the City Mother's Bureau of the Los Angeles Police Department" (master's thesis, University of Southern California, June 1939), 21.
[137] Shontz and Van Waters maintained a close personal relationship and their home, the Colony, in Glendale, became a gathering place to strategize about reform.

In 1919, Van Waters founded the San Fernando Valley's El Retiro School for Girls (13161 North Borden Avenue, not extant), one of the most progressive reformatories in the country.[138] Organized on the cottage system (as opposed to the congregate system),[139] Van Waters staffed the school with young college women who administered a program of academic training, cultural development, and recreation rather than moral condemnation. The Los Feliz Hospital, a City-funded women's only incarceration facility to treat arrestees with sexually transmitted diseases and provide "moral guidance," had been established on the northern slopes of Elysian Park in 1918 at what would become 1450 West Riverside Drive (not extant).[140] In the nonprofit sector, in 1912 the YWCA opened the Mary Andrews Clark Memorial Home at 306-336 South Loma Drive (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 158; National Register of Historic Places) with funds donated by William Andrews Clark.[141]



L: The Mary Andrews Clark Memorial Home (306-336 South Loma Drive) opened in 1912, designed by Arthur B. Benton. City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 158. R: Dr. Etta Glass Gray, founder of the first women's clinic in Los Angeles, photographed in 1940. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

[138] Prior to 1910, the only institutions for "wayward" girls in Los Angeles were faith-based: Truelove Home, Florence Crittenton Home, and House of Good Shepherd.
[139] The cottage system is a late-19th century planning principle for institutions that placed numerous individual buildings within landscaped gardens to create a serene, homelike environment for residents. It reflects the theory of environmental determinism — the idea that the environment, including architecture and landscaping, shapes behavior.
[140] No supportive investment in infrastructure was provided during the 1920s. It was condemned by a grand jury in 1924 and ultimately closed in 1932.
[141] The building permit dates to 1911, but according to the Los Angeles Public Library, it officially opened in 1912. The building was designed by Arthur B. Benton.

In 1916, a number of Los Angeles activists led by socialist women established the Los Angeles Chapter of the American Birth Control League. The national organization, founded by Margaret Sanger (1879-1966), suggested the correlation between "an uncontrolled birth rate and the great national problems of maternal mortality, infantile mortality, child labor, poverty, mental defects and crime."[142] Contraception was illegal in California and across the nation. The goal of the organization was to disseminate contraception information via mail and a network of clinics; however, a Los Angeles clinic was not founded until 1924 by Dr. Etta Glass Gray (1880-1970) at 130 South Broadway (not extant).[143] Gray had been state chairman of the American Women's Hospitals during the late 1910s. Far from egalitarian in its work, the work of the American Birth Control League was plagued by eugenicist overtones.

Although most birth control clinics were sponsored by white people for white women, California was one of two states where clinics were operated by and for African Americans.[144] Dr. Ruth Janetta Temple (Mrs. Otis Banks, 1892-1984), the first black woman physician in Los Angeles, and her husband Otis Banks formed the Temple Health Institute in a six-room bungalow in 1934 at 4920 South Central Avenue (altered).[145] Dr. Temple was working for the City of Los Angeles Maternity Service and asked the City for funds to start a clinic in Southeast Los Angeles. After being told there were no funds available, Dr. Temple and her husband borrowed money and started the clinic themselves. The clinic offered birth control as well as pre-and postnatal care. Dr. Temple went on to become the founder of the Community Health Association and Community Health Week. Another clinic, the Outdoor Life Clinic (location unknown) was a tuberculosis clinic that added contraception to its services.[146]

During this period, women increasingly asserted their rights as citizens. In 1916, the *Los Angeles Herald* identified ten laws that California women voters had helped to enact. They included raising the age of consent to eighteen, requiring fathers to support illegitimate children, the mother's pension law, teacher's pension law, joint guardianship law, requirement of a wife's signature to garnish a husband's wages, and raising the age of child workers from 12 to 15.[147] In 1917, California women earned the right to serve on juries.

Harnessing War and Pandemic to Demonstrate Citizenship

Prior to the United States' involvement in World War I, the clubwomen of Los Angeles were divided on the issue of U.S. intervention in the conflict. The WCTU, for example, opposed the war, and the Friday Morning Club was against militarism, whereas the Ebell Club lobbied for preparedness. Once the country became involved, however, the differences largely dissipated, and women's club leaders embraced the war effort as an opportunity to demonstrate their civic engagement. Los Angeles clubwomen now employed the organizational network suffrage had created on behalf of the war effort. As described by scholar Lynn Dumenil, Los Angeles clubwomen "…took an active role in defining their voluntary war

[142] "Birth Control Study Is Urged," *Los Angeles Times*, March 30, 1935, 4.
[143] "Birth Control Joan Here," *Los Angeles Times*, December 1, 1928, A8.
[144] Cathy Moran Hajo, *Birth Control on Main Street* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 88.
[145] "Dr. Ruth Temple, Pioneer Crusader for Health, Dies," *Los Angeles Times*, February 11, 1984, D1.
[146] Hajo, *Birth Control on Main Street*, 89.
[147] Ella Wheeler Wilcox, "Women as Voters," *Los Angeles Herald*, April 10, 1916.

service, cast it in gendered, maternalist terms and harnessed it to their agendas of reform, suffrage and organization."[148]

The Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense (WCND) was the national intermediary organization through which the federal government coordinated voluntary associations throughout the country. Under WCND Chairwoman Mary H. Anderson (Mrs. J.T. Anderson), the local branch of the WCND harnessed the power of 29,000 Los Angeles clubwomen in their efforts.[149] These efforts included a door-to-door canvassing/census program to be used for food conservation, selling bonds, or other wartime programs. Frances P. Noel, local clubwoman and socialist, was also active with the WCND, insisting that efforts to assure the health, well-being, and equal pay of workers was central to the agenda.

Women as war workers was not, however, as pressing an issue in Los Angeles as in eastern cities, where women replaced men in industrial work due to men's conscription. Los Angeles' industrial complex was relatively underdeveloped during World War I; however, the city would have its turn 25 years later during World War II.

The WCND's greatest campaign in California was the Children's Year program of 1918, part of a national WCND effort to protect children as a patriotic measure. On a local level, the Los Angeles WCND responsibilities included "weighing and measuring children, ensuring the California birth registration law was implemented, lobbying successfully for public health nurses, and distributing reams of information from Washington.[150]

The President of the Friday Morning Club, Gladys Lobinger (Mrs. Andrew S. Lobinger, 1895-unknown) called volunteer war work an instrument "by which all American womanhood will be encouraged to cooperate in war service as enfranchised, responsible citizens."[151] The YWCA and the WCTU, on the other hand, used the efforts to promote their agendas of moral reform, including sexual morality for women.

Although women of color were barred from the WCND, African American women in Los Angeles did not organize into a separate council of defense as they did in many other cities.[152] The Sojourner Truth Club filled the gap by offering African American women a structure for contributing to the war effort.

[148] Lynn Dumenil, "Women's Reform Organizations and Wartime Mobilization in World War I-Era Los Angeles," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* vol. 10, no. 2 (April 2011): 222.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Dumenil, "Women's Reform Organizations," 227.
[151] "The Club Woman, State Council of Defense Number" [n.d.] p. 11, Box 22, John Randolph Haynes Collection, Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles Friday Morning Club Collection.
[152] Dumenil, "Women's Reform Organizations," 221.

Los Angeles Red Cross volunteers meet troops at the train station. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

Much of the volunteer efforts were coordinated through the local Los Angeles chapters of the Red Cross. The Los Angeles Red Cross Parade of May 1918 was a striking example of the ways in which American women demonstrated both their patriotism and citizenship. The *Los Angeles Times* called it "a seven-mile tribute to Women's Work in War."[153] Japanese and Jewish women had their own Red Cross auxiliaries and Latina women worked for the Red Cross at Brownson House, a Catholic settlement house at 713 East Jackson Street (not extant). African American women formed the Harriet Tubman Red Cross auxiliary.[154]

Despite the distraction of war, many of Los Angeles' suffrage activists continued the battle that would grant their sisters the right to vote, and in 1919, all U.S. women earned that right.[155] With the ensuing passage of the Volstead National Prohibition Act in 1920 forbidding the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors, many women felt the temperance battle was over. Membership in the WCTU dropped dramatically.

During the decade after suffrage, Los Angeles women used their new power to reform city government, pass family protection laws, devote their lives to public service, establish juvenile justice reform, campaign for national suffrage on behalf of their American sisters, and demonstrate their civic engagement through the war effort. Legislative milestones, both state and federal, were the ripened fruit of the Progressive Era. The coming era between the wars would bring economic boom and bust and the realization that the "Great War" would not be the only one.

[153] "Great Pageant Drives Home Message of the Red Cross," *Los Angeles Times*, May 19, 1918,
[154] Dumenil, "Women's Reform Organizations," 237.
[155] Historians attribute the influx of women into the workplace during World War I as a contributing factor in gaining national suffrage.

A Movement Dissipates, 1921-1941

With both enfranchisement and temperance in the rear-view mirror, women had fewer reasons to be activists. As described by historian Judith Rafferty, following their achievements on suffrage and temperance, much of the political solidarity among women evaporated and differences in approaches to solving post-World War I problems fractured the community.[156] In contrast, historian Nancy Cott suggests that the notion of a malaise affecting the 1920s women's movement is overstated and that reforms were simply less progressive.[157]

The idea of an equal rights amendment to the U.S. Constitution captured the energy of some women during this period. In 1923, a newly re-organized/re-founded National Woman's Party introduced the first equal rights amendment to Congress. The amendment stated: "men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."[158]

By 1925, Los Angeles was "…regarded as a citadel of feminism in this country."[159] The high profile of Los Angeles feminism may well be attributed to the significant population growth experienced in the city during the period. In the early 1920s, the population of L.A. surpassed that of San Francisco, becoming the largest city on the west coast and the tenth largest in the nation. The growth of Hollywood and the entertainment industry also brought thousands of women to Los Angeles. Historian Hilary Hallett identifies that by 1920, Los Angeles was the only western city where women outnumbered men. Hallett characterizes the population of women during this period: "the city's female residents were unusual…nearly one in five was divorced or widowed. Single women tended to work outside the home more than their married counterparts [and] this helps to explain what one demographer called the most noteworthy characteristic of the Los Angeles labor force: the high number of women who worked after the age of twenty-five."[160]

The city's feminist reputation may also be attributed to how widely the effect of the Friday Morning Club's activities were felt; by 1924, 33 club members were serving in city government, 17 were working at the state level, and three were in federal government roles. Among these members were Mable Walker Wildebrandt, assistant Attorney General of the United States; Mrs. Seward Simons, California State Chairperson of Industrial Relations; Martha Nelson McCain (1861-1942), Superintendent of the Women's Division of the Federal Labor Bureau; Margaret Sartori, member of the University of California Board of Regents; and Mrs. John A. Abramson, president of the Los Angeles City Planning Commission.

[156] Rafferty, "Los Angeles Clubwomen and Progressive Reform," 165.
[157] Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (Athens, GA: Vail-Ballou Press, 1987), 8.
[158] Susan D. Becker, *The Origins of the Equal Rights Amendment* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 6.
[159] "Equal Rights," *Los Angeles Times*, November 15, 1925, B4.
[160] Hilary Hallet, *Go West, Young Women!* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013), 13.

The 1920s brought prosperity to the country generally, and that prosperity extended to Los Angeles' clubwomen. The combination of wealth and empowerment resulted in a "building boom" for gendered women's spaces. Unlike many of the more residentially-scaled women's club projects of the 1910s (e.g. the Eagle Rock Women's Twentieth Century Club House, 5105 North Hermosa Avenue; City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 537; National Register of Historic Places; and the Women's Club of Hollywood, 1741-1751 North La Brea; City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 604, National Register of Historic Places), these buildings were large, visible statements about the place of women in the city of Los Angeles.[161]

Eagle Rock Women's Twentieth Century Club House, 5105 North Hermosa Avenue, listed in the National Register and City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 537. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

In 1921, the Los Angeles Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) established the Twelfth Street Center for young African American girls and women at 1108 East 12th Street (not extant).[162] A successful fundraising campaign led to the purchase of a two-story brick building, and conversion of the existing facility to include a recreation room, clubroom, and housing quarters.[163] Prominent African American women in the community had been calling for such facilities since 1918, when Mrs. Eugene Walker and policewoman Georgia A. Robinson challenged the community.[164]

In 1922, the Japanese YWCA purchased a residence at 2616 East Third Street in Boyle Heights and transformed it into a residential dormitory and meeting place for club socials for single Japanese girls.[165] Social clubs for Japanese girls rose in number during the period as first generation Japanese American women (Nisei) were coming of age. These clubs were primarily social and cultural in nature, rather than focused on civic engagement. However, many of the clubs had a community service component — raising money for orphanages or providing toys for needy families.

[161] An example of a large-scale private clubhouse and apartment built during the period is the Los Angeles Nurses Club (1924, John L. Frauenfelder; Historic-Cultural Monument No. 352; National Register of Historic Places) at 245 South Lucas Avenue in the Westlake district of Los Angeles.
[162] Address found in the *Los Angeles City Directory* of 1925.
[163] That same year, in 1921, Katherine Barr founded the Los Angeles Urban League.
[164] "There Should and Will Be a Y.W.C.A. for Our Girls," *California Eagle*, December 28, 1918, 6.
[165] Valerie J. Matsumoto, *City Girls: Nisei Social World Order in Los Angeles, 1920-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 27.

During the prewar period, few Japanese American women were active in traditional electoral politics. Older women who had immigrated from Japan were barred from citizenship and this negatively impacted the engagement of the generation of Japanese American women born in America.[166] A rare example of a Japanese American woman involved in politics was Ruth Kurata, who served as charter president of the Los Angeles Japanese American Young Democratic Club in 1938.[167]

In 1922, officers of the Friday Morning Club secured a $350,000 loan for a new clubhouse after raising $200,000 for the project.[168] The club considered many alternative locations during the 1910s, but ultimately decided against smaller, more residential properties and locations in favor of an urban statement that more accurately reflected the influence of its members in civic affairs since the passage of suffrage. Scholar Amelia Crary, whose dissertation studied the architecture of women's clubs including the new Friday Morning Club building, observed that unlike the mostly social Ebell Club, the Friday Morning Club required physical proximity to Downtown.[169] The new clubhouse at 938-940 South Figueroa Street (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 196; National Register of Historic Places) was designed by the architecture firm Allison & Allison. It is a five-story, Renaissance Revival-style building that had a grand two-story foyer, an ornate 1,400-seat auditorium, a library, a 500-person banquet hall, and a row of suites on the top floor. It opened in 1923 and was often filled to capacity during events.[170]

The second clubhouse of the Friday Morning Club at 938 S. Figueroa Street. Source: Library of Congress, Historic American Building Survey; photograph by Julius Shulman.

YWCA Hollywood Studio Club at 1215 North Lodi Place, Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 175; National Register of Historic Places. Source: Office of Historic Resources.

In 1925, the YWCA constructed the YWCA Hollywood Studio Club at 1215-1233 North Lodi Place (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 175; National Register of Historic Places). In 1926, the organization constructed an Italian Renaissance Revival-style hotel exclusively for professional women at 939-941 South Figueroa Street, consolidating and expanding previous

[166] Matsumoto, *City Girls: Nisei Social World Order in Los Angeles*, 8.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Davis, "An Era and Generation of Civic Engagement,"157.
[169] Amelia Crary, "Women's Clubs in California: Architecture and Organization, 1880-1940" (PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 2016), 33.
[170] Amelia Crary's dissertation cites an article "Catholic Club Buys Building," in the *Los Angeles Examiner* of May 10, 1922 that the Catholic Women's Club purchased the old Friday Morning Club building and moved it to the corner of San Marino Street and Menlo Avenue (927 Menlo Avenue) in the Westlake district. It has been substantially altered and is now used as a church.

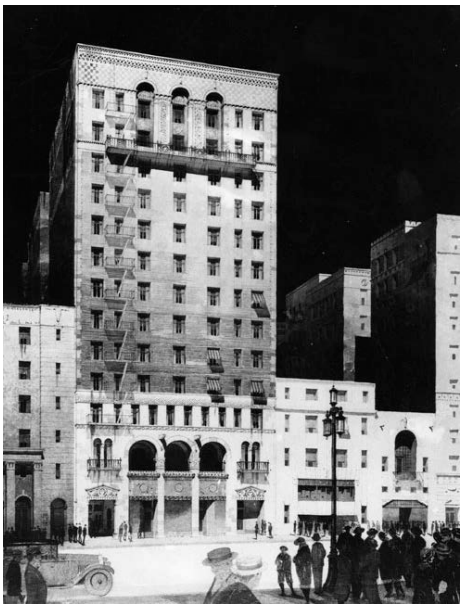
facilities at 923 and 1007 ½ South Figueroa Street (neither is extant). Designed by architects Stanton, Reed and Hibbard, the hotel included dining facilities, a writing salon, lounge, and patio. At the time, the construction of the hotel represented one of the largest financial transactions undertaken by an organized group of women.

In 1926, as the women's counterpart to the male-dominated Los Angeles Athletic Club, the Women's Athletic Club was constructed at 829-839 South Flower Street (Allison & Allison, not extant). The $750,000 Italian Renaissance Revival-style structure was financed by its woman members with additional support through the Los Angeles branch of the Bank of Italy. It was the first time in the United States that such a large financial arrangement was made by women alone.[171] Additional funding was arranged through the Women's Banking Department at the Bank of Italy.[172] While women's banking was offered in Los Angeles and several cities on the east coast, the scope was primarily home economics rather than "a complete women's bank," as was provided through the Women's Banking Department the Bank of Italy.[173] The department was located on the second floor of the bank at 649 South Olive Street (1923, Morgan, Walls & Morgan; City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 354) under the leadership of Grace S. Stoermer (1886-1961). Stoermer had been the first woman in the United States elected as Secretary of the State Legislature prior to being selected by Amadeo P. Giannini (1870-1949), President of the Bank of Italy, to lead the Los Angeles Women's Banking Department.[174]

In addition to segregated athletic facilities, the Women's Athletic Club featured residential offerings, large banquet facilities, and a dining room for women. It also provided meeting space for many local women's organizations including the California League of Women Voters and California League of Business and Professional Women.

L: The roof garden of the Women's Athletic Club (1926, Allison & Allison). R: Interior of the Women's Athletic Club. Source for both: Los Angeles Public Library.

[171] "New Clubhouse Warming Given," *Los Angeles Times*, April 30, 1925, A12.
[172] As previously discussed, Pearl Adams Spaulding had created a Woman's Department at the Merchants Trust Company in 1905. The differences between these two entities is currently unknown.
[173] "Woman's Bank Run by Women Novel Feature," *Los Angeles Times*, March 16, 1923, I11.
[174] In 1930, The Women's Banking Department was folded into the general banking department and Stoermer was named Assistant Vice President to the Bank of America.



L: The Italian Renaissance Revival-style YWCA building (1926, Stanton, Reed and Hibbard) at 939-941 South Figueroa Street (not extant). Source: Los Angeles Public Library. R: Women's Athletic Club at 829-839 South Flower Street (1926, Allison & Allison, not extant). Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

In 1927, the California Federation of Women's Clubs, which had been operating out of the Chamber of Commerce building, purchased a 1913 residence at 2103 South Hobart Boulevard (not extant) in West Adams Heights for administrative and social functions.[175] The same year, the WCTU built a large home for aging women in Eagle Rock. The Eagle Rock Women's Christian Temperance Union Home (2225-2245 W Norwalk Avenue) is City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 562.

California Federation of Women's Clubs at 2103 South Hobart Boulevard (not extant). Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

Not to be outdone, the Ebell Club of Los Angeles hired Sumner P. Hunt of Hunt & Burns to design the new Wilshire Ebell Club for its members at 741-743 South Lucerne Boulevard (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 250; National Register of Historic Places). The location in the Windsor Village community of Los Angeles was an acknowledgement of the westward movement of residential development during the period. The 1927 Mediterranean Revival-style building included the 1,300-seat Wilshire Ebell Theatre. The club insisted on using women landscape architects to design the gardens, hiring South Pasadena-based Florence Yoch (1890-1972) and Lucile Council

[175] The California Federation of Women's Clubs remained in this location until 1957, when it redistricted and sold the headquarters.

(1898-1964). Yoch and Council began their partnership in 1925 and designed numerous public gardens and prominent residential commissions, many for movie moguls.

Eagle Rock Women's Christian Temperance Union Home, 2225-2245 W Norwalk Avenue, Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 562. Source: Office of Historic Resources.

Wilshire Ebell Club at the 1927 opening. Image is taken from Wilshire Boulevard looking south west on Lucerne to Eighth Street. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

The 1929 stock market crash brought the building boom for gendered women's spaces to a swift close. Many of the affluent clubwomen found their finances imperiled. Women's groups turned their attention primarily to the economic crisis of the Great Depression and then to the growing threat of fascism throughout the world. As a result, the battle for women's rights was secondary to other concerns. During this period, federal programs instituted under the New Deal helped to lay the groundwork for advancements for women,[176] and many women were able to effect change through jobs and other opportunities in government organizations.

[176] David B. Wolner, "Feminomics: Breaking New Ground – Women and the New Deal," Roosevelt Institute, accessed August 2018, http://rooseveltinstitute.org/feminomics-breaking-new-ground-women-and-new-deal/.

An early feminist cause during the Depression was the replacement of working women with unemployed men. Around 1932, Dr. Ruth Lundeen Memmler (1900-1999) and other professional women formed the Southern California branch of the National Women's Party.[177] Women of all ethnicities who participated in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) during the 1930s helped advance their rights as workers and women.[178]

The 1930s marked a major turning point in the history of labor in Los Angeles, heralding the rise of a powerful union movement, including efforts by women in industries with predominantly female workers. In fall 1933, Latina dressmakers in Los Angeles initiated the formation of an International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) local, which was headquartered at 1108 S. Los Angeles Street where union members were registered, organized into shop groups, and issued identification cards which provided them with access to meals, groceries, and a weekly cash allowance.[179] Dressmakers belonging to the union went on strike, which significantly influenced the treatment of women employed in the garment and textile industries.

During the mid- to late-1930s as economic opportunities improved, the feminist cause was taken up mostly by business women. The Business Women's Legislative Council of California, headed by Alberta Gude Lynch (1876-1946), fought for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, ending discrimination against married working women, and pensions for housewives. The club's purpose was to "assist in bringing about and maintaining equal opportunity under the law for men and women in business, in industry, and in the professions and to oppose discriminatory legislation, rules and regulation."[180] In 1935, Lynch broadened the membership of the group beyond business women to include anyone interested in feminist causes.[181] The Council convened in a variety of locations, including the Women's Athletic Club, to hear out-of-town speakers.

[177] "Activist Looks at Early Struggles and ERA Battles," *Los Angeles Times*, July 16, 1978, GB1.
[178] See the SurveyLA *Labor History Historic Context.*
[179] See the SurveyLA *Labor History Historic Context* and the SurveyLA *Central City* Survey Report.
[180] "Council to Campaign for Equal Rights Act," *Los Angeles Times*, May 18, 1937, A5.
[181] "Business Women's Legislative Council Votes for Broadened Membership," *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 1935, A7.

By 1940, it had been a generation since women had earned the right to vote. Young women with short skirts, trousers, short hair, cigarettes, and cocktails were a concern to older feminists who viewed their pleasure-seeking, taboo-breaking ways as a younger generation's disregard for the strife of early feminists. As described by author Susan D. Becker, "In both the twenties and the thirties, feminism seemed increasingly old-fashioned, perhaps irrelevant to most Americans."[182] Although the effect of the Great Depression was somewhat mitigated in Los Angeles by the booming motion picture industry, it would take a new war effort to restore full economic vibrancy to the city and the country.

International Ladies Garment Workers Union convention in Los Angeles, undated photo. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

Workplace Emancipation and Contraction, 1942-1945

The entry of the United States into World War II marked a turning point in women's rights to work outside the home. Although local activists such as Jane C. Humphreys (1869-1957), founder of the California Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, continued to beat the drum for the Equal Rights Amendment and focus on topics such as equal pay for equal work, it took a worldwide calamity to demonstrate women's real place in the workforce. The wartime production machine in the U.S. required the employment of hundreds of thousands of women.

The aircraft industry in Southern California, in particular, employed thousands of men who were eventually called into service and replaced by women — including women of color. The largest employers included Douglas Aircraft Co., Lockheed, Vega, and Vultee, supported by a host of other component and war-related manufacturing companies. By the end of 1942, it was estimated that 151,800 women were employed in California factories.[183] Those numbers skyrocketed in the years following, with 50,000 women workers employed by Douglas Aircraft alone by spring of 1943.[184] By February 1944, the number of California women employed in the industrial war effort totaled more than 300,000.[185]

[182] Becker, *The Origins of the Equal Rights Amendment*, 6.
[183] "Women Workers Increase in Plants," *Los Angeles Times*, December 6, 1942, 7.
[184] "Dance Pose Suggests Sore Muscles Cure," *Los Angeles Times*, March 25, 1943.
[185] "Worker Peril Seen in Equal Rights Angle," *Los Angeles Times*, February 10, 1944, A7.

L: Workers leaving the Lockheed Vega plant, June 1942. Note the high percentage of women in the group. Source: Library of Congress. R: Women workers, left to right, from Douglas Aircraft, American Screw Co., and Vultee Aircraft. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

Latinas already living in Southern California benefited from the demand for wartime workers as well. Many who had previously been employed in seasonal or domestic work now had higher paying defense job options. Defense jobs were also a gateway to a wider world for many younger Latinas who were sheltered in strong patriarchal families. Defense jobs provided a steady income and a sense of stability for many Latino families. Lockheed Aircraft Corp Plant #2 at 2060 East 7th Street employed many Latinas.[186]

As author Elizabeth R. Escobedo points out, defense plants were integrated cross-cultural workplaces where women of color worked side-by-side.[187] Latinas, African American, Chinese American women and Filipinas worked in the plants with the white women.[188] Chinese American, Rose Wong, was one of them.[189] Through the racial and gender integration of the workforce, women workers helped bring equality to the workplace.

African Americans migrated to Los Angeles in significant numbers during this period in search of defense employment. Organized campaigns such as the NAACP's "Double V" campaign from 1942, encouraged African Americans to fight fascism both internationally and domestically.

[186] Elizabeth R. Escobedo, *From Coveralls to Zoot Suits* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 78.
[187] Ibid., 87.
[188] Japanese American women, like all individuals of Japanese descent, were incarcerated in camps.
[189] As described in *Linking Our Lives*, Chinese women were not prevalent in defense department jobs due to being mistaken for Japanese and were often the targets of racist comments.

African American "Rosie the Riveters" at the Lockheed Vega plant, June 1942. Source: Library of Congress.

Dr. Veda Somerville (1885-1972), long-time Los Angeles resident, was the chairman of the Los Angeles Chapter of the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission (FEPC). The FEPC was created in 1941 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to ban discriminatory hiring practices by agencies and companies engaged in war-related work. Her work in that capacity affected the lives of thousands of African American women in the local war workforce.[190] After becoming the first African American woman to graduate from the USC School of Dentistry in 1918, Somerville dedicated herself to civil rights and community service, helping to found Pilgrim House, a transitional home for wartime migrating women and children at 120 North San Pedro Street[191] (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 312; Contributor, National Register of Historic Places Little Tokyo Historic District).[192]

After receiving basic vocational training, women worked on the assembly lines operating hand presses, cutting, soldering, assembling motors, and most famously, riveting. The image of Rosie the Riveter along with the slogan "We can do it" was both a sign of patriotism and women's empowerment. As more women entered the wartime workforce and gained new skills such as welding, women infiltrated the shipyards as well.

Among the local ship builders who employed women war workers was California Shipbuilding Corporation in a shipyard at a dock facility near Seaside Avenue in San Pedro.[193] The Los Angeles Shipbuilding Company and Dry Dock Corporation at 1201 Regan Street in San Pedro employed the first female 75-ton portable crane operator.[194] Vocational training for women ship builders was provided at the Shipbuilders Technical Institute at 1009 West 7th Street (not extant). Downtown Los Angeles was home to many technical training institutes that marketed themselves to women including the California Aircraft Institute at 1121 W. Pico Boulevard (not extant), and A.T.S. school of electrical component assembly at 1823 S. Hope Street.

[190] "Local Groups Mobilize in Drive for Permanent National FEPC," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, May 15, 1947, 2.
[191] This portion of San Pedro Street was later renamed Judge John Aiso Street.
[192] Pilgrim House later relocated to 150 North Los Angeles Street (not extant). Dr. Veda Somerville and her husband Dr. J.A. Somerville also built and owned the Dunbar Hotel (a.k.a., Somerville Hotel), City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 131 and listed in the National Register of Historic Places.
[193] "The Civilian Side," *Los Angeles Times,* May 1, 1943, D3.
[194] "Wife to Run Huge Crane," *Los Angeles Times*, March 14, 1944, A3.

To serve the needs of women defense workers, Barker Bros. furniture established six "activity houses" in neighborhoods in and around Los Angeles for the members of the Aircraft Women's Club. The houses, furnished entirely by the retailer, were offered as meeting places for women associated with war production for lectures, classes, and patriotic projects. Established in 1942, three of the six houses were in Los Angeles including 5320 Hartwick Street in Eagle Rock, 11066 Lorne Street in Sun Valley (not extant), and 5916 Melrose Avenue, Hollywood.[195] A seventh activity house was opened later that year at a currently unknown residence in Venice.[196]

A key element driving the expansion of women in the workforce in Southern California was the passage of the War Production Act in February 1943. In 1939, a state law passed prohibiting women from working more than eight hours per day or 48 hours per week. With aircraft plants operating 24 hours per day, women were not allowed to work overtime for additional pay. The 1943 War Production Act authorized the Governor to issue a permit to an employer allowing women to work more hours than permitted under the law, if the work would further production in support of the war effort and not risk the health and safety of the women workers.

In addition to the War Product Act Legislation, interest in an Equal Rights Amendment was rekindled during this period. However, positions were bifurcated. At a meeting of Los Angeles women in 1943 that included the League of Women Voters, National Woman's Party, and the University Women's Club, one side insisted that the amendment was "the most permanent, effective and dignified method of granting women civil equality." The other side believed that its adoption would result in the demise of protective provisions for women and spawn litigation.[197]

By V-E Day, 19,000,000 American women were employed in the industrial workforce.[198] In the waning days of the War, discussion turned to how women would adjust to becoming homemakers after veterans returned to claim their jobs. Even women who had worked prior to World War II were reluctant to return to industries previously classified as "women's work," such as nursing, teaching, library science, domestic service, clerical work, or waitressing where substandard working conditions were common.[199] By 1944, African American women in domestic service positions decreased 15.3%, while their employment in defense work increased by 11.5%.[200] "Workers who have had better plant environment and higher pay," it was explained "are loath to go back to $16 a week, extreme irregularity of work and poor conditions."[201] Women began to understand they should not be discriminated against and that they should decide for themselves whether to stay on as wage earners.

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[195] "'Activity Houses' Open Today for Women in War Industries," *Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 1942, A2.
[196] "Store Gives Activity Homes to Women War Workers," *Los Angeles Times*, September 23, 1942, B6.
[197] "Women Seek Best Way to Get Full Equal Right," *Los Angeles Times*, September 3, 1943, A7.
[198] Bess M. Wilson, "Employment Opportunities Reflect Gains for Women," *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 1946, A5.
[199] Bess M. Wilson, "Women Workers' Status in Future Analyzed," *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1944, A5.
[200] National Women's History Museum, https://www.nwhm.org/resources/general/working-defense-industry, accessed April 4, 2018.
[201] Wilson, "Women Workers' Status in Future Analyzed."

These attitudes were commonplace among Los Angeles women. A 1944 survey of female Lockheed factory workers indicated that 48 percent of women wished to remain in their jobs.[202] Susan Laughlin, a Lockheed woman's counselor described how women who elected to return to home life were forever changed:

> Women who return home will definitely be more alert to the world around them. They will not sink back into the rut they were in at the outset of the war. They will have a civic pride…They will seek the companionship of other women, but not from a social point of view. It will be a civic and a political one. They all are talking politics in the rest periods and lunch hours now.[203]

As production schedules slowed and companies retooled for postwar production needs, many Southern California companies laid off their women workers and replaced them with returning service men. Scholars Kossoudji and Dresser found "women were laid off from industrial firms disproportionately, and women with seniority rights were not recalled, nor were new women hired when postwar production expansion was associated with new hiring."[204] At some aircraft plants, women were gathered in the large assembly areas and asked to return their tools and badges. In Los Angeles' aircraft plants the proportion of women declined from 40 percent at peak production to 11.9 percent in 1948.[205] Some companies ceased to employ women in industrial roles at all; the General Motors plant in Van Nuys excluded women production-line workers until 1970.[206]

Although they were unable to retain their jobs in the aircraft industry, women did not lose all the ground they had made into industrial sectors. Even though they were considerably fewer in number, relegated to non-male jobs and paid less, women still made more than they had before the war in jobs defined as traditional "women's work." The situation for African American women improved, as their numbers in domestic labor declined and positions in durable manufacturing increased.[207]

Wartime also mobilized new communities of women for relief efforts. Chinese American women became civically engaged in wartime relief efforts for World War II and the Sino Japanese War (1937-1945). Clubs such as the Chinese Women's New Life Movement, the Mei Wah Club, and the Los Angeles Chinese Women's Club collected money, clothes, and medical supplies for China and sold U.S. war bonds.[208] However, participation in these clubs and the women's auxiliaries of men's clubs was primarily

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[202] Lucile Leimert, "Return to Homes Planned by Most Women Workers," *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1944, B1.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Sherrie A. Kossoudji and Laura J. Dresser, "The End of a Riveting Experience: Occupational Shifts at Ford After World War II," *American Economic Review* 82, (1992): 519-25.
[205] Roland Ezri, *Equal Partners*, Morrisville, NC: Lulu Enterprises, Inc., 82.
[206] Nancy A. Nichols, "Whatever Happened to Rosie the Riveter?" *Harvard Business Review* (July-August 1993), https://hbr.org/1993/07/whatever-happened-to-rosie-the-riveter.
[207] Sherna B. Gluck, *Rosie the Riveter Revisited* (Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1987), 261.
[208] Lucie Cheng et. al., *Linking Our Lives: Chinese American Women of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, 1984), 25.

social in nature.[209] The New Life Movement was an especially important club for the engagement of Chinese women. As Lily Chan, the first president of the Los Angeles New Life Chapter said, "We mobilized women to do civic affairs, breaking the ice in our community. We weren't ERA or anything, but we encouraged women to get involved. I think we helped give [Chinese] women the push."[210]

The Los Angeles Chinese Women's Club and Juniors was founded in 1944. It modeled itself after white women's clubs and was the first non-Caucasian organization to be admitted into the California Federation of Women's Clubs in 1947.[211] In 1949, the Club established a building fund for a meeting house; however, they were unsuccessful.[212]

World War II marked a paradigm shift for working women in America. Los Angeles' women defense workers played a significant role in shaping women's rights for the second half of the 20th century. Within a short period of time, women assumed the positions of men, learned new skills, managed households alone without husbands and fathers, and demonstrated to themselves and others that they could participate more equally in society than traditional gender roles had ever permitted.

Suburbanization and Conservatism, 1946-1959

Despite the advancements made by women in the workplace during World War II, the postwar period was largely a regressive one for women's roles as most women married, had families, and attempted to live the suburban dream. The period has been described by some historians as a "return to normalcy" required by the tumultuous upheaval of World War II. Author D'Ann Campbell describes the national need for normalcy as the key reason that the wartime potential for women's changing roles in work was never fully realized.[213] Yet, recent scholarship, including work by Joanne Meyerowitz, shows that despite an emphasis on traditional roles, subtle yet important changes were taking place in postwar social and economic conditions that should not be considered a mere retrenchment of feminism. Pockets of women's activism remained on issues such as working-class feminism on behalf of women working in female-dominated jobs, an anti-nuclear movement, civil rights reform, and community betterment. Much of this activity was couched in the guise of a new maternalism framed in women's roles as the primary caretakers of children. While it may have lacked the ferocity of the suffrage movement or second wave feminism, the postwar period is a bridge to later women's rights activism.

[209] Club meetings and activities featured in the *Los Angeles Times* suggest that they were often hosted in private homes of club members or in churches. The first meeting of the Los Angeles chapter of the Women's New Life Movement Association was in 1938 in the Chinese Presbyterian Church at 631 East Adams Boulevard.
[210] Cheng et. al., *Linking Our Lives: Chinese American Women of Los Angeles,* 96.
[211] Ibid., 104.
[212] Ibid., 105.
[213] D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 4.

Although the overwhelming population of women (especially married women) did not work outside the home, enough pioneers appeared to spark national debate and growing momentum. Employment of married women grew during the 1950s and by 1960, 35 percent of married women aged 35-44 and 38 percent of women 45-54 worked for wages.[214] In Los Angeles, more than 2,200 women in posts ranging from secretaries to rocket scientists worked at Rocketdyne's 45-acre complex 6633 North Canoga Avenue built in 1955 (not extant).[215]

The December 24, 1956 double issue of *Life* magazine, entitled "The American Woman: New Achievements and Troubles," was entirely dedicated to the topic.[216] There was a multi-page spread asserting the husband's perspective and his dominance in the relationship dynamic, "My Wife Works and I Like It." Among the many articles were two point-counterpoint opinion pieces written by women. The first, entitled "Women Are Wonderful," extolls the virtues of women but acknowledges "it's a man's world."[217] The second, entitled "Women Are Misguided," decries the sex as "waging a shrill, ridiculous war over the dead issue of feminism."[218]

Among the married women who entered the labor force, equal pay for equal work was virtually non-existent. Professional jobs remained largely closed off to women. As of 1960, for example, only three and a half percent of lawyers and two percent of business executives were women.[219] This can be directly traced to a widening college opportunity gap after World War II. The GI Bill, which provided tuition support and other types of incentives to servicemen was a major factor; 97 percent of tuition recipients were men.[220] Women were also excluded from private scholarships and subject to discriminatory quotas. In 1958, U.S. lawmakers passed the National Defense Education Act that made gender-neutral college loans available to women.

[214] Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 38.
[215] Christina Rice, *Defining Their Identity: The Changing Roles of Women in the Post-War Era as Documented by the Valley Times Newspaper* (Los Angeles: Photo Friends Publications, 2016), 9.
[216] "The American Woman: New Achievements and Troubles," *Life*, December 24, 1956.
[217] Phyllis McGinley, "Women Are Wonderful," *Life*, December 24, 1956, 72.
[218] Cornelia Otis Skinner, "Women Are Misguided," *Life*, December 24, 1956, 73.
[219] "Feminism Reborn," accessed April 9, 2018, http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3341.
[220] Scholars Strategy Network, Deondra Rose, "The Development of U.S. Higher Education Policy and Its Impact on the Gender Dynamics of American Citizenship" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2012), accessed January 19, 2018, http://www.scholarsstrategynetwork.org/sites/default/files/ssn_key_findings_rose_on_gender_equality_in_higher_education.pdf.

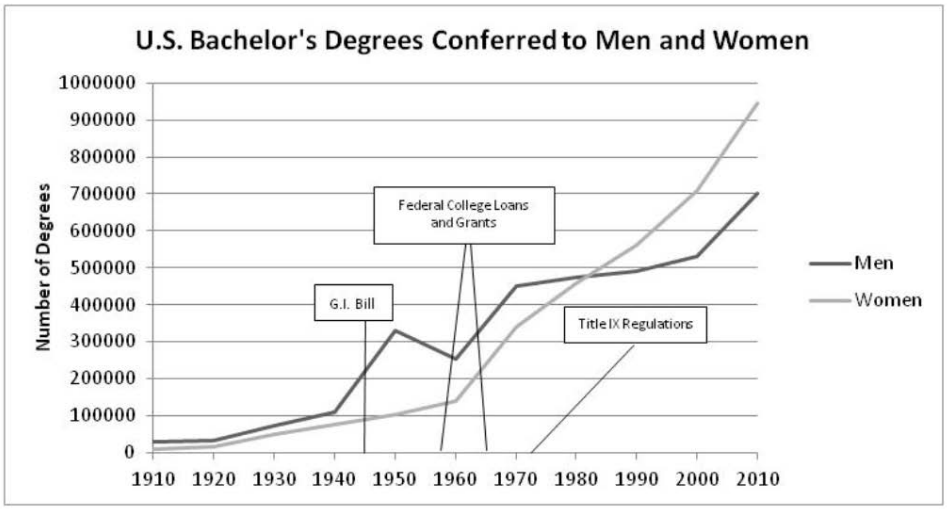

Figure 2: Deondra Rose, "The Development of U.S. Higher Education Policy and Its Impact on the Gender Dynamics of American Citizenship," PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 2012.[221]

In 1957, members of the School Women's Council of Los Angeles attended an open hearing of the National Education Association in Philadelphia to call for the NEA's endorsement of the ERA. As described in the *Los Angeles Times* the women spoke plainly, "Gentlemen, if you don't want to give us our rights, then *you* take over the job of teaching and rearing — and bearing — our children. It's a job we will be glad to give you." [222] The women also argued for the ERA on the grounds that it would outlaw commonly used teaching contracts that forbade women to marry.[223]

The ongoing national battle for an Equal Rights Amendment continued during the 1950s with support from the National Woman's Party;[224] however, the movement splintered somewhat over the Hayden Amendment. A modification to the essential wording of the Amendment by Arizona Senator Carl Hayden, the rider specifically referenced the female sex — which opponents feared could nullify the gender equality of the language in the original Amendment. The ERA spent the decade in legislative limbo in the House and Senate chambers ultimately lacking the congressional support necessary for potential ratification by the states.[225]

[221] Rose, "The Development of U.S. Higher Education Policy and Its Impact on the Gender Dynamics of American Citizenship."
[222] "LA Equal Rights Group Demands NEA Support," *Los Angeles Times*, July 2, 1957, 10.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Scholars such as Nancy Meyerowitz argue that the National Woman's Party was ineffective and elitist, unable to attract a new generation of women.
[225] A Constitutional amendment required both a two-thirds vote of Congress and ratification of 36 of the then 48 states.

During this period women's clubs remained active, but most were not as involved in activism as they had been at the turn of the century.[226] In 1951, the once-mighty WCTU, no longer housed at the Temperance Temple Downtown, dedicated the third location of their state headquarters at 551 South Kingsley Drive in a converted Craftsman house.[227] The group had relocated from the Temple to their second headquarters at 1018 West 8th Street (not extant) in 1948 before moving again to Kingsley Drive. The new headquarters was dedicated on March 14, 1951, with approximately 300 WCTU members and friends attending the ceremonies.

Third State Headquarters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union located at 551 South Kingsley Drive. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

In Los Angeles, the most visible supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment during this period were the Los Angeles chapter of the National Woman's Party and the Business and Professional Women's Club (BPWC) who championed the Amendment without the Hayden rider. The regional BPWC was divided into a number of active neighborhood clubs including the West San Fernando Valley, North Hollywood, Tarzana, Sunset District, Sierra Mar District, and many others. By 1957, the state BPWC was under the leadership of Los Angeles-based attorney Evelyn E. Whitlow (1915-1979) who made the ERA the number one legislative priority.[228]

L: Formation of Reseda Business and Professional Women's Club in 1950. Left to right, Murielle Carroll, Daisy Benthey, Jean Wall, President; and Rose Berman. M: Mrs. Ida M. Rieger (right), President of the North Hollywood Business and Professional Women's Club, presents woman of the year award in 1957. R: Mrs. Helen Soares, right, Valley president of National Woman's Party unit, interviews Mrs. Ernestine Hale Bellamy of Boston, left, and Mrs. Amelia Himes Walker of Winter Park, Fla., on views favoring Equal Rights Amendment for women now before U. S. Congress. Source for all: Los Angeles Public Library.

[226] Newly established women's clubs in postwar suburbs in the San Fernando Valley, for example, were primarily social rather than activist in nature.
[227] According to assessor records the building is still owned by the WCTU.
[228] "BPWC Scans Work Laws," *Los Angeles Times*, January 2, 1957, A2.

Rosalind (Roz) Wiener Wyman (b. 1930) the second woman ever elected to the Los Angeles City Council and one of the youngest elected officials of a major U.S. city, as well as the first Jewish Council member in 53 years. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

Other local clubs supporting the amendment included the Southern California branch of the National Women's Party (California Chairman in 1957, Marjorie Longwell, resided in Los Angeles), the American Association of University Women, and the Friday Morning Club.

Women re-established their place in city governance during the 1950s with the election of the first women City Council members since Estelle Lawton Lindsey. In 1953, Rosalind (Roz) Wiener Wyman (b. 1930) was elected to represent the West Los Angeles area.[229] Wyman was instrumental in moving the Dodgers from Brooklyn to Los Angeles, reaching out initially to Walter O'Malley, owner of the franchise, and then leading the "cliffhanger vote" that established Chavez Ravine as the site of Dodger Stadium.[230] Later that same year, Harriett Davenport (c.1898-unknown) succeeded her husband on the council after he died suddenly and she was appointed to the position via a closed caucus council vote.[231]

Momentum for the growing Civil Rights movement resulted in increased civic engagement by African American women in Los Angeles. Almena Lomax (1915-2011), civil rights activist, journalist, and founder of the *Los Angeles Tribune* newspaper, was a California delegate to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1952. The Women's Political Study Clubs of Los Angeles and California, called "dedicated and inspired women to the political, social and economic advancement of Negroes," were a force within the community.[232] Mrs. Bettye Hill was active organizing meetings and speakers for these clubs at various community churches. The Mary Bethune Women's Democratic Club was founded in 1956 led by Ruby Berkeley Goodwin.

Within the Latina community, the mixed-gendered civil-rights organization, Community Service Organization (CSO), was a vehicle by which "women's issues [such as] neighborhood safety, education and healthcare moved to the center of their civic activism."[233] Although leadership positions were commonly held by the men and supportive, behind-the-scenes activities were the purview of women, Los Angeles' Hope Mendoza Schechter was a notable exception. After relinquishing her defense plant job, Schechter worked in the garment industry where she became a worker's rights activist and then a founder of the CSO.

[229] Wyman served on the City Council from 1953 to 1964.
[230] "The Unsinkable Roz Wyman," *Los Angeles Times*, August 13, 2000.
[231] "Davenport Widow Gets Council Seat," *Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 1953, 1.
[232] "Political Digest," *Los Angeles Sen*tinel, October 4, 1956, A10.
[233] Meyerowitz, ed. *Not June Cleaver*, 7.

Another issue around which Latinas were active and visible was in voter registration efforts. After the unsuccessful run of Edward R. Roybal for city council, CSO women mounted a voter registration drive in Boyle Heights, Lincoln Heights, and other parts of east Los Angeles. Both Hope Mendoza and Eliza Baker were instrumental in the registration of thousands of new voters. CSO Neighborhood Improvement Committee Chairwoman, Bertha Villescas fought for streetlights, sidewalks, and traffic lights on behalf of neighborhood children. Maria Marichilar, chair of the CSO's Health and Welfare Committee, worked on issues such as polio vaccinations within the community.[234] In many ways, the women of the CSO laid the groundwork for Chicana feminists a decade later.

Although many women returned to more traditional gender roles after World War II, a small but persistent group of women sought work outside the home, higher education, and continued their civic engagement — often through social justice, civil rights, or labor issues. Rather than regard the period as one of complete dormancy for women's rights, it created the enabling environment for the next historic phase for women.

Reawakening and Activism: Second Wave Feminism in Los Angeles, 1960-1980

> If I am right, the problem that has no name stirring in the minds of so many American women today is not a matter of loss or femininity or too much education, or the demands of domesticity. It is far more important than anyone recognizes…it may well be the key to our future as a national and a culture. We can no longer ignore that voice within that says "I want something more than my husband and my children and my home."[235]
>
> Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, 1963

Various scholars trace the beginnings of second wave feminism or the Women's Liberation Movement to a confluence of events in the 1960s. These include the 1960 approval of the first oral contraceptive, Enovid, by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) that gave women more control over their childbearing destiny; the rise of women in the labor force; President Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women pointing to the significant inequality between men and women in the American workplace; the establishment of a national citizen's advisory council; and the arrival of Betty Friedan's (1921-2006) book, *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963. Friedan's book disrupted the consensus that a woman's place was in the home. Education was also on the rise among women during this period. After the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965, more than two million women pursued degrees across the United States during the ensuing five years (see Figure 2).

[234] Margaret Rose, "Gender and Civic Activism in Mexican American Barrios," in *Not June Cleaver*, ed. Joanne Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 193.
[235] Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963), 22.

Historians Rosalynn Baxandall and Linda Gordon correctly identify that "Women's Liberation was the largest social movement in the history of the U.S…the women's liberation movement, as it was called in the 1960s and 1970s, or feminism, as it is known today, reached into every home, school and business…it permanently altered the landscape."[236]

Betty Friedan speaks to the Valley Branch of the American Association of University Women in April of 1964. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

Baxandall and Gordon also posit that the late 1960s women's movement emerged "…in two separate streams with two distinct sets of roots."[237] The first stream, equal rights/NOW, was an outgrowth of the women's networks of WWII and the growth of labor unions in the early 1960s. Labor and women's activist Esther Peterson (1906-1997) was an advisor to President Kennedy and influenced the emergence of the equal pay Bill from Washington in 1963. Equal pay was underscored by the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which codified that employers could not discriminate based on sex.[238] Subsequently, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was established to investigate discrimination complaints; however, the EEOC largely failed to enforce sex discrimination laws. This inspired Friedan and her colleagues to establish the National Organization for Women (NOW). Members of this stream of the movement were largely older, educated white women of middle-class or upper middle-class backgrounds. Many were professionals.

The second stream identified by Baxandall and Gordon was the more radical women's liberation movement. Many of the women involved in this branch came from civil rights backgrounds and the New Left. These women were younger, and more radical than their equal rights/NOW counterparts. Many were college students and women of color. Included here are also lesbian feminists, whose activism not only advanced women but LGBTQ rights as well.

Like suffrage activists before them, 1960s feminists revived the battle for legal equality but expanded that to include sexuality, gender power dynamics, financial independence, reproductive rights, and violence against women. There were also tensions between the two movements regarding inclusivity and controversial issues such as women's reproductive rights, and health and wellness. Lesbian oppression was also a significant issue over which the two factions separated. NOW initially did not embrace the issue for fear of alienating public support for the broader women's equality issue.
As a result, the radical feminists of the women's liberation movement were responsible for the founding of many local women's groups and women-controlled institutions for Euro-American, African American, Asian American, and LGBTQ women.

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[236] Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon, "Second-Wave Feminism," in *A Companion to American Women's History*, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 414.
[237] Ibid.
[238] As well as race, color, national origin, and religion.

In addition to tensions between the two feminist factions, not all women were united behind the idea of second wave feminism and the greater women's liberation movement. Second wave feminism experienced opposition from a small, determined group of women who felt the need to protect their choice to remain non-working housewives and rallied against the ERA. Debate over the ERA intensified the anti-feminist opposition. The most famous national spokespeople in this regard were Phyllis Schlafly (1924-2016) and Anita Bryant (b. 1940). In Los Angeles, Maureen Startup, Chairman of California Stop ERA, was a visible opponent.

Rise of Second Wave Feminist Organizations

The following section examines the leading second wave feminist organizations that were primarily political or activist in nature. While it is acknowledged that the dialogue on feminism reached far beyond these organizations to social or collegial organizations, the emphasis here is on those that were change leaders in the movement.

National Organization of Women (NOW)

In 1966, Friedan formed the National Organization for Women (NOW), the leading organization of the legal rights branch of the movement. The group's mission was to bring women into the mainstream of American society in equal partnership with men with full legal equity.[239] New York, Boston, and Chicago emerged as hotbeds of feminism and Los Angeles quickly established itself with its own national reputation. In 1967, NOW ratified its Women's Bill of Rights, which focused on addressing many of the issues facing American women — opportunity for equal employment, adequate childcare facilities, equal opportunity to pursue higher education, the right of women in poverty to obtain job training, and reproductive rights.[240]

Although the board had met previously at members' homes, the first official meeting of the Southern California Chapter of NOW was held April 1, 1967 at Clifton's restaurant in Century City (10250 West Santa Monica Boulevard, not extant).[241] Subsequent general membership meetings were regularly held at restaurants, including the Century House Restaurant at 10250 West Santa Monica Boulevard (not extant),[242] and in 1969, at the Original Barbecue restaurant at 801 South Vermont Avenue (not extant). Soon membership growth outpaced the occupancy levels of these venues; the general membership of NOW met in 1970 and 1971 at the California Federal Bank Building, 5670 Wilshire Boulevard, in the

[239] "Group Forms to Push Equality for Women," *Los Angeles Times*, October 31, 1966, 11.
[240] Architectural Resources Group, "Standard Oil Company Department Building/Woman's Building," City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument Nomination Continuation Sheet, 11.
[241] Daphne Spain, *Constructive Feminism: Women's Space and Women's Rights in the American City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016), 37. The restaurant was located in the Westfield Century City Mall from 1966-1986. The business is no longer extant, and the shopping center has since been substantially altered.
[242] The restaurant was located in the Westfield Century City Mall. The business is no longer extant, and the shopping center has since been substantially altered.

third-floor Auditorium/Cafeteria.[243] Chapter board meetings appear to have been held at board members' homes.

By 1971 there were approximately 20 NOW chapters in Southern California with membership of about 2,000 women.[244] Over time, several community-based NOW chapters were established including the Hollywood, Beach Cities, and San Fernando Valley chapters.

Virginia A. "Toni" Carabillo (1926-1997) was a significant figure in the feminist movement in Los Angeles and nationally. Carabillo served as founder and first president of the Los Angeles Chapter of NOW (1968-1970, 1980-1982),[245] was a member of NOW's national Board of Directors (1968-1977) and served as Vice President (1971-1974), and chaired NOW's National Advisory Committee (1975-1977). Carabillo's partner Judith K. Meuli (1938-2007) was the designer of the "Brassy," the women's movement's signature symbol of an equal sign within the gender symbol for woman. Meuli and Carabillo's Los Angeles home at 1126 South Hi Point Street (Contributor, Carthay Square HPOZ) was an important early gathering place for women's rights advocates and the site of their business, Graphic Communications (a.k.a., Women's Heritage Series, Inc.), which published the *Woman's Almanac* in 1970 and other feminist literature.[246] As described in Carabillo's own writing in her scrapbook, "1126 HiPoint has a reputation as NOW's party house and [for] rabble rousing."[247]

L: Home of Toni Carabillo (1926-1997) and Judith K. Meuli (1938-2007) site of NOW parties, educational events and NOW organizing work at 1126 South Hi Point Street. R: Undated national NOW membership taskforce meeting at 1126 South Hi Point Street. Source for both: Toni Carabillo and Judith Meuli Papers, ca.1890-2008, MC 725. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

[243] LA Women's Liberation Movement Collection, *NOW News* 1970-1971, Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.
[244] "A New Target For NOW," *Los Angeles Times*, August 21, 1970, E1.
[245] Other presidents of the Los Angeles Chapter of NOW during the 1970s included Virginia Carter, Shelly Mandell, and Gloria Allred (b. 1941).
[246] Carabillo and Meuli's archive is located at Harvard University. Materials include images of early Los Angeles feminists gathered at their home.
[247] Toni Carabillo and Judith Meuli Papers, ca.1890-2008. MC 725, folder #. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Protests and demonstrations were an important and visible part of activism. In particular, 1968 to 1970 were significant for a number of protests by women that captured media attention.[248] Nationally, this included the protest of the Miss America Pageant for both sexism and racism and the display of a banner during the show's broadcast on live TV reading "Women's Liberation."

In 1969, Los Angeles NOW members staged a sit-in at the Polo Lounge in the Beverly Hills Hotel against the bar's policy prohibiting women from entering the bar unless accompanied by men.[249] In June of the same year, the chapter demonstrated at the *Los Angeles Times* building, protesting segregated classified ads.[250] At the time, the newspaper listed separate sections on "Jobs of Interest to Women" and "Jobs of Interest to Men." The Los Angeles event was patterned after a similar protest at the *New York Times*.

Newsweek reported that "1970 was the year in which the American women became intellectually aware of the modern feminist movement."[251] Los Angeles feminists were on the cutting edge of that movement. Jeanne Cordova (1948-2016), an early lesbian feminist who founded the *Lesbian Tide* newsletter described Los Angeles' special place in the feminist movement:

> Theory came out of the East Coast where feminists read and wrote more; fleshing out of institutions occurred in LA due to more space and greater financial backing. There were strong connections to gay men, married lesbians and the movie industry…a large counter-culture Jewish community…these factors built whole maps worth of institutions not possible elsewhere.[252]

On August 26, 1970, Los Angeles women participated in Betty Friedan's "National Woman's Strike Day" to mark the 50th anniversary of winning the vote and "signal the start of a major political effort for the liberation of the women of the United States of America."[253] In Los Angeles, 2,500 women marched from the new Federal Building at 11000 Wilshire Boulevard to the Janss Steps on the UCLA campus. Public protests continued throughout the 1970s, and at each one, women were visible in the streets of Los Angeles with signs promoting equality, equal employment, abortion, and child care. Local protests included women picketing the State Department of Human Resources at 1525 South Broadway and the Federal Building at 300 North Los Angeles Street. Guerilla theater performances were frequently part of these protests. In August 1975, women marched at the City Hall Mall (201 North Los Angeles Street) to mark the 55th anniversary of suffrage.

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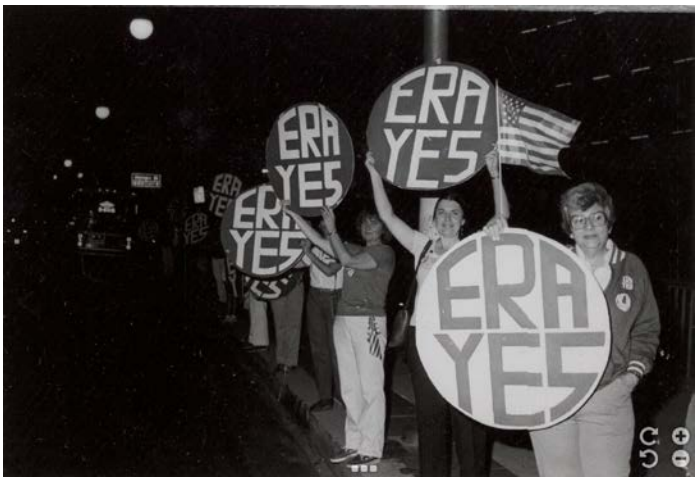
[248] Historians generally agree that feminism became an organized political movement in 1968; 1970 was the year that it became a mainstream, publicly acknowledged movement.
[249] Mary Reinholz, "Storming the All Electric Doll House," *Los Angeles Times*, Jun 7, 1970, N54.
[250] Factions within the organization were already emerging. Dorothy Gilden penned an opposition op-ed to this demonstration in the *Los Angeles Times* that accused the organization of phony problem solving.
[251] "Feminist Yearbook," *Newsweek*, November 16, 1970, 113.
[252] Notes of Jeanne Cordova Interview March 17, 2010, provided by Lynn H. Ballen in email to the author, April 11, 2018.
[253] David M. Dinsmore, "When Women Went on Strike: Remembering Equality Day, 1970," *Ms. Magazine* (blog), accessed August 26, 2010, http://msmagazine.com/blog/2010/08/26/when-women-went-on-strike-remembering-equality-day-1970/.

Over time, the Los Angeles chapter of NOW operated a Center/Offices in several locations: first the Now Center for Women's Studies in 1971 at 8864 West Pico Boulevard (not extant), then in the Woman's Building (1727 North Spring Street, City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No.1160),[254] and later in several offices in the building at 8271 West Melrose Avenue.[255]



Undated photo of protest at the Los Angeles Federal Building at 11000 Wilshire Boulevard. Source: Toni Carabillo and Judith Meuli Papers, ca.1890-2008; item description, dates. MC 725. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Women's Center/
Women's Liberation Center

As a counterpoint to NOW, the more radical women's liberation branch of the movement founded less formal and structured groups. Ann ForFreedom (née Herschfang, b. 1947) was an early activist who established a women's liberation group that met at UCLA in 1968.[256] In the fall of 1969, Joan Ellen Hoffman Robins (b.1947), along with Dorothy Bricker and Marianne Yatrovsky, established one of the first consciousness-raising groups in Los Angeles.[257] Initially, they convened at the Haymarket Center, a well-known headquarters for a Silver Lake leftist group, at 507 North Hoover Street (altered).[258] As the group grew, they moved meetings to a church in South Los Angeles.[259]

An important new organizing principle of the women's liberation movement was the idea that "the personal is political." The phrase became a rallying cry emphasizing that the connections between personal experience and larger social and political structures. Unlike early 20th century meetings that mostly involved hearing from experts, the new feminism used consciousness raising techniques and "rap sessions" to help women open up about their own experiences with discrimination and empower them as a group. The collected experiences were analyzed to chart the social conditions common to women as an oppressed group. As a result, the importance of gendered spaces increased as safe spaces where women could discuss, explore, and learn together. Robins, Bricker, and Yatrovsky's next move was to establish a permanent women's center location.[260] The building itself was to have symbolic value as "visible evidence that 'something is being done' about women's problems and needs, drawing women from the shadow and adding legitimacy to the movement."[261] The Center was to be "…a place of central

[254] The Woman's Building is one of the few resources noted in this context that was designated specifically for its association with women's history.
[255] The building was designed by architect Daniel L. Dworsky in 1957.
[256] Spain, *Constructive Feminism*, 54-55.
[257] Finding Aid to the Joan Robins papers, 1972-1991, UCLA Library Special Collections.
[258] "Anti-Castro Raiders Blamed for Arson at Leftist Headquarters," *Los Angeles Times*, April 15, 1970, A1.
[259] The location of the church is unknown.
[260] Robins was also the author of the *Handbook of Women's Liberation* in 1968, available only through the Women's Center.
[261] *LA Women's Liberation Center News*, Second Anniversary Insert, c. 1972. LA Women's Liberation Movement Collection, 1970-1976, Southern California Library of Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.

communication…a kind of nerve center to inform all persons in the Los Angeles area who are involved a woman's struggle to become full, human and free."[262] Feminist organizations seldom had the resources to buy property or construct new buildings, so they typically rented existing buildings and converted them to their needs.

A duplex at 1027 South Crenshaw Boulevard[263] was selected by Robins, Bricker, and Yatrovsky for the Women's Center (a.k.a., Women's Liberation Center) and it opened on January 11, 1970 (extensively altered).[264] By August of 1970, more than 1,500 women were affiliated through feminist groups or the Center's newsletter.[265] By 1972, that newsletter had the largest circulation and national readership of any feminist publication, with 2,700 subscribers. A year later it became the *Sister* newspaper.[266]

The Women's Center offered a speakers' bureau, bookstand, open rap sessions, and a Women's Liberation School "to help women function autonomously and understand the nature of their oppression."[267] Teachers at the school resided all over Los Angeles, and included Ann ForFreedom (14 East Wavecrest Avenue, Venice), Hannah Lerman (10480 West Santa Monica Boulevard, not extant), Judy Freespirit (née Ackerman, 25 East Navy Street, #9, Venice), Joan Hoffman (1969-1985 North Whitley Avenue, Hollywood; Contributor, Whitley Heights HPOZ; Contributor, National Register of Historic Places Whitley Heights Historic District), Avril Adams (3330 West Hamilton Way), and Regina Barton (1225 South Hi Point Street; Contributor, Carthay Square HPOZ).

The Women's Center was the weekly meeting place for "Gay Women's Liberation" (a.k.a., Gay Liberation Front) an early lesbian feminist group led by Rita Goldberger that "…educated the public about homosexuality as a valid lifestyle."[268] The group became the first feminist lesbian group in Los Angeles, "The Lesbian Feminists."[269] The Center was also the location of the Women's Liberation Inter-Group Council, an intermediary group of feminist organization leaders such as Margaret Wright.[270] In addition to the workshops held at the Center, a speaker's bureau was organized to reply to external requests for workshops. Many of the workshops were held at St. Paul's Methodist Church at 1200 South Manhattan Place (Contributor, Country Club Park HPOZ).

Evidence of the tensions between the legal rights/NOW branch of the movement and the women's liberation branch occurred locally when the Southern California NOW chapter withdrew its support for the Women's Center on Crenshaw because it was seen as too leftist. As a result, NOW opened its own center on Pico Boulevard.

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[262] Ibid.
[263] The original Women's Center sign was discovered and presented to the June Mazer Archive in November of 2009.
[264] *LA Women's Liberation Center News*, Second Anniversary Insert, c. 1972. Building permits show the address as a duplex with a residence and office.
[265] Spain, *Constructive Feminism*, 58.
[266] Ibid.
[267] *LA Women's Liberation Center News*, Second Anniversary Insert, c. 1972
[268] *Women's Liberation Center Newsletter*, vol. 1, no. 8, December, 1970, 2. The newsletter is housed at the Southern California Library, 6120 Vermont Avenue. At the time of this study, issues were located in an unmarked, uncatalogued box.
[269] Notes of Jeanne Cordova Interview March 17, 2010, provided by Lynn H. Ballen in email to the author, April 11, 2018.
[270] *Women's Liberation Center Newsletter*, vol. 1, no. 10, February, 1971, 4.

The Women's Center on Crenshaw became home to the beginning of the women's self-help movement and the site of Women's Self-Help One. Women's Self-Help One became a model for the national Self-Help movement; by 1975, there were more than 40 clinics nationwide.[271] Founded in 1971 by six women, including Carol Aurilla Downer (b. 1933) and Evelyn Lorraine Rothman (1937-2007), the clinic was initially part event and part place, calling on women to take control of their own bodies. Combining techniques of consciousness raising and education and self-examination, women were taught about contraception, their bodies, and reproductive systems. Established in a former back bedroom of the Women's Center at Crenshaw, the clinic was purposefully designed to be a non-medical setting, with homey furniture and a playground for children. It was meant to be an alternative to the male-dominated medical profession. Women who worked at the Crenshaw Center lived communally, sharing housing and stretching their small wages and the food provided at the center.

The self-help clinic concept received broad exposure in the feminist movement during the summer of 1971, when the NOW convention was held in Los Angeles. Afterwards, women made pilgrimages to Los Angeles to learn the techniques first-hand. Later, a decentralized coalition known as the Federation of Feminist Women's Health Clinics (FWHC) shared materials and best practices and met annually in Los Angeles each summer for political education.[272]

Two unidentified women in front of the Feminist Women's Health Center, exact location unknown (undated). Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

From the beginning, the Clinic was under police surveillance, culminating with the arrest of Downer on live television and charges by the California Board of Medical Quality Assurance for practicing medicine without a license. The Clinic moved to its second location at 746 South Crenshaw Boulevard (not extant) in 1973. In 1974, it moved to its third and final location at 1112 South Crenshaw Boulevard. An arsonist burned the building in 1985 and it never reopened.

Second Wave Feminism and Inclusivity

Like earlier women's rights movements, second wave feminism generally, and the legal rights branch specifically, was criticized for its lack of inclusivity. Reports of married women feeling criticized and unwelcome in some settings were common. Women of color felt they had less in common with their white sisters who were not still struggling with their civil rights. Lesbians faced a similar predicament – discrimination based on their gender and sexuality. Initially, NOW tried to distance itself from lesbian

[271] Spain, *Constructive Feminism*, 111-112.
[272] Michelle Murphy, "Immodest Witnessing: The Epistemology of Vaginal Self-Examination in the U.S. Feminist Self-Help Movement," *Feminist Studies* vol. 30, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 123.

women fearing they might discredit and distract from the organization's ability to champion the rights of women and achieve political change. However, in 1971, prominent lesbian members of NOW, including Los Angeles feminist Eve Norman (b. 1935) called for a vote to affirm that lesbian oppression was a feminist issue. It passed overwhelmingly, and lesbian feminists became a significant force in the second wave feminist movement nationally and in Los Angeles.[273] NOW issued a resolution that read, "Lesbians have never been excluded from NOW, but we have been evasive or apologetic about their presence within the organization. Afraid of alienating public support, we have often treated lesbians as the step-sisters of the movement."[274]

Lesbian feminist marchers in front of the First African Methodist Episcopal Church (2270 South Harvard Boulevard) in 1977. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

A number of scholars have written about the nature of the separate feminist movements in the African American and Latina communities. As Benita Roth points out in her book *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave*, black and Chicana feminism grew as a consequence of participation in the simultaneous Civil Rights/Black Freedom or Chicano Movements, respectively.

Many African American feminists were working within the larger Black Liberation or Black Power movements, believing feminism was inherent in the anti-racist struggle. Some tried to incorporate a feminist agenda into these movements and were met with resistance, as these movements were characterized by strong masculine discourse and the belief that truly revolutionary black women were the supportive ones.[275] Likewise, black feminists viewed white middle-class women as out of touch with those who did not enjoy race or class privilege. Although sympathetic to some aspects of the white feminist struggle, most African American women declined to organize within or alongside white feminist groups. Many avoided using the feminist label, to avoid the polarizing national debate. Black feminists largely functioned in unorganized, decentralized groups doing consciousness-raising at the local level.

The pragmatic result of this was that few national organizations of black feminists emerged or were sustained. A local African American voice promoting feminine progress was Ferrol Bobo Starks (1908-2006), President of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). A nurse and a teacher, in the early 1960s she held many NCNW meetings at her home at 1466 West 50th Street. The National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) was founded in New York in May of 1973. By 1974, there

[273] For more information about the intersection of the feminist and LGBT rights movement, see the SurveyLA *LGBT Historic Context Statement*.
[274] LA Women's Liberation Movement Collection, 1970-1976, Box 1, Folder 9, Southern California Library of Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.
[275] Benita Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 76.

were eight local chapters including one in Los Angeles, but there is little known about the chapters.[276] The NBFO fell apart in 1975, but by some accounts, the Los Angeles chapter kept the name alive and worked toward change until the late 1970s.[277] In 1973, Wilma Miller[278] attempted to form a Los Angeles chapter of the San Francisco-based Black Women Organized for Action. There is currently no evidence of her success. Meeting locations for these groups do not exist in the currently available written record, although some evidence suggests that members' homes were the most common meeting places.

Althea Scott (1928-2004) was a Los Angeles-based black feminist who advocated alongside a small group of friends. A radiology technician and a member of the Orange County chapter of the NBFO, she was also the host of "Ad Lib," a feminist talk show airing on KTTV/Los Angeles in the mid-1970s. Scott described her feminist kinship with white women: "We don't have to be Siamese twins to be sisters."[279] However, she acknowledged the challenges and the need for an ongoing dialogue between African American and Caucasian feminists wondering, "how can a liberated woman rush to a meeting leaving her black maid at home to look after the children and then wonder where all the black sisters are?"[280]

Margaret Wright (1921-1996) espoused feminist principles, played an active role within the Black Power movement, and fought for equal education against the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) system from her home at 3831 South Woodlawn Avenue. As an activist in the group Women Against Repression, she "confronted issues from battering to inequalities in household chores."[281] Wright argued that black women had to work for wages and be responsible for the household, yet they were told the struggle for black liberation was "a man's job."[282] "In black women's liberation," Wright described, "we don't want to be equal with men, just like in black liberation we're not fighting to be equal with the white man. We're fighting for the right to be different and to not be punished for it." [283]

Yvonne Brathwaite Burke (b. 1932) was an outspoken advocate for the ERA and its impact on job equality dating back to the late 1960s. Burke (D-Los Angeles) was the first African American woman to serve in the state legislature and was one of the first to represent the west in the U.S. Congress. Still other African American feminists worked through professional organizations. Los Angeles attorney Sandra L. Carter served as the first president of Black Women Lawyers and championed women's rights as a top priority. Another voice for Black Feminism in Los Angeles was Emily F. Gibson, a freelance writer and columnist for the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, who summed up the community's lack of enthusiasm for the Women's Liberation movement as "Why join when being equal to a black man offers no advance?"[284]

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[276] Ibid., 109.
[277] Kimberly Springer, *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968-1980* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 212.
[278] Nine Wilma Millers from Los Angeles are listed in the U.S. Social Security Death Index.
[279] Betty Liddick, "Black Lib: Sisters Going Their Own Way," *Los Angeles Times*, July 8, 1973, I1.
[280] "Blacks vs. Feminists," *TIME*, March 26, 1973, 64.
[281] Robin D.G. Kelley and Earl Lewis, eds., *To Make Our World Anew: A History of African Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 551.
[282] Kelley and Lewis, *To Make Our World Anew*, 551.
[283] Gerda Lerner, ed., *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 608.
[284] Emily F. Gibson, "Missing Minorities Question Women's Lib," *Los Angeles Times*, September 15, 1975, B5.

In addition to her work for the black liberation movement, Angela Davis (b. 1944) was outspoken on the topic of second wave feminism. "The battle for women's liberation is especially critical with respect to the effort to build a black liberation movement," explained Davis, who taught briefly at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). "As black women we must liberate ourselves and prove the impetus for the liberation of black men from this whole network of lies around the oppression of black which serves only to divide us, thus impeding our black liberation struggle."[285]

Gloria Molina seated next to activist and politician Tom Hayden (1939-2016). Source: Toni Carabillo and Judith Meuli Papers, ca.1890-2008; item description, dates. MC 725. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Chicana feminism developed separate organizations from the black and Caucasian feminists. One of the first Chicana feminist groups in the nation was *Las Chicanas de Aztlan*, a 1968 consciousness raising group at California State University Long Beach (CSULB)[286] founded by Leticia Hernandez and Ana Nieto-Gomez.[287] Later it published a newsletter *Las Hijas de Cuauhtemoc* (The Daughters of Cuauhtemoc); the organization became synonymous with the publication as it expanded its reach beyond the campus across the Latina feminist community. When *Las Hijas de Cuauhtem* ceased publication in 1971, a new feminist journal, *Encuentro Femenil*, took its place. The journal's editorial staff included Anna Nieto-Gomez (b. 1946), Martha Lopez, Corinne Sanchez, and Los Angeles feminist activists Adelaida R. Del Castillo and Francine Holcom.

These "feministas" desired greater political presence in the Chicano movement – leaders of which believed Chicano cultural preservation required men take on strong public roles backed by supportive women who remained out of the spotlight. Chicana feminists provoked negative reactions from Chicano men who labeled them Anglicized sellouts.[288] As described by author Maylei Blackwell, "The roots of Chicana feminism emerged from the community, traveled through the university and returned to the community across broader visions of social change."[289]

[285] "Angela Davis Speaks from Prison," *Guardian Independent Radical Newsweekly*, December 26th, n.d., n.p.
[286] This was the first generation of Chicanas to go to college. Historian Mayli Blackwell cites the importance of this factor in the development of working class forms of feminist consciousness.
[287] Betina Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 129.
[288] Ibid., 158.
[289] Mayli Blackwell, *¡Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011), 195.

The most important and visible Chicana feminist organization was the *Comision Feminil Mexicana Nacional* (Mexican Women's Commission or CFM) founded in October of 1970 by Francisca Flores. Various chapters were established throughout California including the Los Angeles Chapter, East Los Angeles Chapter, Rio Hondo Chapter, and Pasadena Chapter. CFM quickly established the Chicana Service Center at 435 South Boyle Avenue – the first employment center run by Chicanas for Chicanas – providing job training and employment opportunities. Founded by Diane Houguin, the Center fit well into the CFM's charter to "…promote programs with solutions to female problems and those confronting the family."[290]

The CFM would go on to establish the *Centro De Niños* in 1972, at 379 South Loma Drive (not extant), which was run by Sandra Serrano Sewell (c. 1945). The *Centro De Niños* started as a childcare center but evolved into a child development center with a strong curriculum. Sewell also founded the Pasadena CFM chapter and was elected president of the CFM national organization in 1977. Other feminists associated with the early organization included Gloria Molina (b. 1948), Vi Munoz, Frances Bojorquez, and Lilia Aceves, who all lived in the San Gabriel Valley area.

In May 1971, in preparation for the first National Chicana Conference to be held in Houston, a regional conference was held at California State University Los Angeles (Cal State LA) by Chicana groups from three different colleges. More than 200 Chicanas attended. At the Houston conference later in the month, a schism developed within the Chicana feminist community; several participants from Cal State LA and UCLA walked out in protest that the social issues they faced were as a people, not by gender. As a result, the Chicana feminist movement lost cohesion and momentum.

In addition to the important Chicana Feminists in Los Angeles described above, Corinne Sanchez, a feminist advocate associated with the mid-1970s Chicana rights group *Poder Feminino*, also served as Deputy Director of the Chicana Service Action Center, was a delegate to the National Woman's Conference in Houston in 1977, and served as director of *El Proyecto del Barrio*, a rehab and social services center in Pacoima.

In January 1971, the main newspaper of the Asian Power movement, *Gidra*, published a special "Woman's Issue" entitled "Liberation" that focused the reduction of third world women to racist and dehumanizing stereotypes by American society. Their published statement protested the relegation of Asian women as a cheap labor force and an objectified submissive population promoted by the advertising industry. May Chen, Eileen Fat, Linda Fujikawa, Carol Hatanaka, Patti Iwataki, Vivian Matsushige, Carol Mochizuki, Jeanne Nishimura, Candice Ota, Wendy Sahara, Mary Uyematsu, Evelyn Yoshimura, Amy Murakami, Linda Iwataki and Merilynne Hamano Quon were among the Asian feminists who signed the declaration.[291] These women all participated in a consciousness raising session that led to the creation of the Women's issue.

[290] Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism*, 142.
[291] *Gidra*, vol. II, no. 1 (January 1971): 2.

In 1971, the Asian Sisters drug-abuse program for Japanese American women was created by Merilynne Hamano Quon (b. 1948. In 1972, Quon received federal funding to start the Los Angeles Asian American Women's Center.[292] Located at 722 South Oxford Avenue (not extant), it expanded services beyond drug prevention to include health and education counseling, and childcare specifically for Asian American women. The Center published a newsletter, the *Asian Women's Center Newsletter*, and continued operation through 1976.

Other Leaders, Organizations and Spaces

In June 1970, the *Los Angeles Times* identified the city's leading "Women Liberationists." They included Dorothy Gilden, organizer of Los Angeles' first feminist Mother's Day march and workshop leader on working women at the Women's Center on Crenshaw; the aforementioned Margaret Wright; Lana Clark Phelan (née Kahn, 1920-2010), co-author of *The Abortion Handbook* and a candidate for the state legislature; Joan Robins; and Sylvia Boltz Tucker (1910-1992), an educator and UCLA professor on the topic of women. In addition, Los Angeles resident Dr. Mary Sinclair Crawford (1879-1964) was third Vice President of the National Woman's Party in 1960.

In early 1971, Del Whan and Virginia Hoeffding opened the first location of the Gay Women's Service Center at 1168 North Glendale Boulevard (extensively altered) in the Echo Park neighborhood. Later that year, the Center moved to 1542 North Glendale Boulevard (not extant).[293] The Alcoholism Center for Women, a pioneering residential treatment center for women and important in the lesbian community, was established at two adjacent residences at 1135-1141 and 1147 South Alvarado Street (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument Nos. 327 and 328).

The former Thomas Potter Residence at 1135-1141 South Alvarado Street, which became the home of the Alcoholism Center for Women. City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 327. Source: Office of Historic Resources.

[292] Chinese American Museum, "Roots: Asian American Movements in Los Angeles 1968-80s," exhibition January 19 – August 13, 2017, accessed July 11, 2018, http://camla.org/past-exhibits/.
[293] More information about Gay and Lesbian rights movements in Los Angeles can be found in the SurveyLA *LGBT Historic Context Statement*, September 2014, accessed April 2018, http://www.preservation.lacity.org/files/LGBT%20Historic%20Context%209-14.pdf.

Over time, a number of women's centers sprang up around Los Angeles. This includes the Westside Women's Center at 218 East Venice Boulevard, which opened in 1972.[294] Each center functioned as an organizing and educational place where women could share their stories and galvanize around the need for social change. It was common for these centers to provide education on topics including women's history, self-defense, legal counsel on divorce, financial literacy, etc. Many of these centers enjoyed relatively short tenures, as they were dependent upon volunteers for staff. Still other, less activist centers, such as the nonprofit Everywoman's Village at 5650 Sepulveda Boulevard (not extant) in Van Nuys, offered courses to women whose education was interrupted by marriage and motherhood. Founded by three San Fernando Valley housewives in 1963, courses included money management, psychology, dancing, and astrology. By 1977, it offered over 200 classes and welcomed husbands and children.[295]

Women's resource centers were also often opened on college campuses. By 1977, Cal State LA, Pierce College, UCLA, and Los Angeles Valley College all had centers providing information and referral services for questions about health, legal matters, professional or career choices, and personal problems.[296] The American Association of University Women (AAUW) was among the women's organizations that included a strong feminist agenda. The San Fernando Valley branch of the group sponsored awareness-building events as well as individual growth classes through the Center for New Directions at Los Angeles Valley College.[297]

The pervasiveness of the second-wave feminist movement as a cultural phenomenon also permeated mainstream women's organizations in a way that suffrage had not sixty years prior. Feminist advocates and guest speakers were often invited to speak to women's club members as part of a larger programming schema.

[294] "Center for Women to be Opened," *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1972, WS9. According to notes from Jeanne Cordova, the Venice location closed circa 1974, and moved to 237 Hill Street in the Ocean Park area of Santa Monica.
[295] "Around Our Campuses," *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 1977, L34.
[296] Building and expansion programs over the last twenty years have resulted in the demolition of many of these older campus buildings. Resources associated with campus women's centers are believed to be rare.
[297] "Individual Growth Classes," *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 1977, I9.

Fight for Reproductive Rights

One of the hottest issues for the movement was the issue of women's reproductive rights. Although a "therapeutic abortion law" passed in California in 1967 allowing for abortion where pregnancy resulted from rape, certain cases of statutory rape, and cases where the physical and/or mental health of the mother might be endangered, women continued to advocate for greater abortion rights. In March 1970, both NOW and the Women's Liberation Front (a UCLA-based feminist group) [298] supported the establishment of a free abortion clinic in West Los Angeles at 11914 ½ West Santa Monica Boulevard by Dr. John Gwynne as an act of protest. Just days after opening, it was closed and the staff arrested.

The Feminist Women's Health Center at 6411 West Hollywood Boulevard (not extant), 1983. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

With the Supreme Court decision on Roe v. Wade in 1973, many new clinics started providing abortions. By now, the Women's Self Help Clinic operated two locations on Crenshaw and signs reading "Women's Choice Clinic" became the symbol of legalized abortion in the city. Other Los Angeles clinics included the Feminist Women's Health Center in Hollywood (6411 West Hollywood Boulevard), T.H.E. Clinic for Women (2950 South Western Avenue), neither of which are extant. Only the Women's Clinic at 6423 Wilshire Boulevard and the Panorama Women's Medical Group in the San Fernando Valley (8215 North Van Nuys Boulevard) remain.

Feminist Art and Culture

In 1970, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) became the lightning rod for the feminist art movement when it mounted its exhibit "Art and Technology." Featuring seventeen men and no women, the show was a tone-deaf icon of establishment inequality during the fight for women's liberation. In response to her own experience that women artists were not taken seriously, that same year, painter Judy Chicago (née Cohen, b. 1939), founded the Feminist Art Program at Fresno State College (now Cal State Fresno). It was the first program in the country to incorporate feminism with art. The program taught art in a collaborative environment without the intimidation of men. The program relocated to the California Institute of the Arts (Cal Arts) in 1971. That same year, Joyce Kozloff (b. 1942) formed the Los Angeles Council of Women Artists, which included women artists, filmmakers, collectors, and teachers to challenge LACMA's underrepresentation of women.

[298] According to the Jewish Women's Archive, the Women's Liberation Front at UCLA founders included Sharon Baron Nestel who was a feminist active in organizing Jewish women. Other sources also include Devra Weber as a founder of the organization.

Judy Chicago and her colleagues at Cal Arts created Womanhouse in Hollywood in 1972 (523 North Mariposa Street, not extant). For the month of February, a former residence was transformed into 17 rooms of exhibits and performances by women artists. According to Chicago, it was "the first feminist art statement focusing exclusively on the nature of female experience."[299]

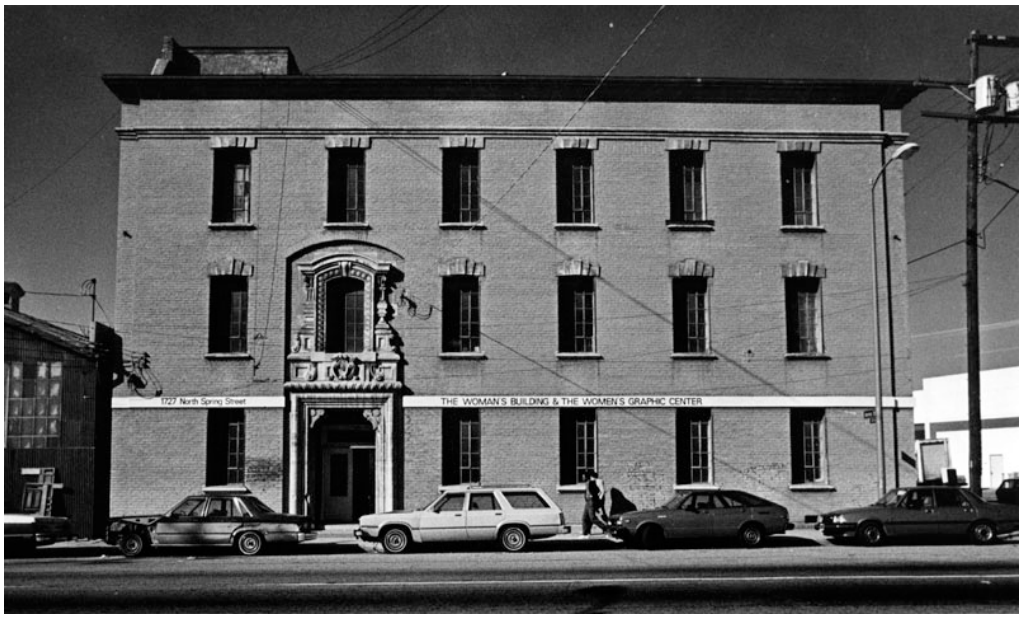
As an outgrowth of the feminist art movement, Womanspace, the first space for the exhibition and performance of women's art on the west coast (and one of the first in the United States), opened in 1972 in a former Laundromat at 11007 West Venice Boulevard. The debut exhibition on February 5, 1973 featured works by 60 women artists. In April 1973, Womanspace presented an exhibition called "Black Mirror" which featured African American feminist artists including Los Angeles-based Betye Saar (b. 1926), Gloria Bohannon, Marie Johnson (b. 1920), Suzanne Jackson (b. 1944), and Samella Lewis (b. 1924).[300] The space also presented films, music, dance, lectures, and consciousness raising workshops. By 1973, membership had grown to 1,000.[301]

In 1973, Chicago, graphic designer Sheila Levrant de Bretteville (b. 1940), and art historian Arlene Raven (b. 1944) founded the Feminist Studio Workshop — the first independent school for women artists. The group leased the former Chouinard Art School building from Cal Arts (743 South Grand View Street, City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 154) and established the site of the first Los Angeles Woman's Building — the first independent feminist cultural institution in the world.[302] In addition to developing art-making skills (visual arts, writing, performance art, video, graphic design, and the printing arts), the school also focused on the development of women's identity and sensibility. As described by Sheila de Bretteville:

> All of the rooms of the building opened onto the courtyard at the center of the building — an egalitarian model of equal participation. From my perspective this was a perfect combination of form and content…I saw the physical form and space as a reflection of the engaged and connected spirit of the Woman's Building, supporting the different agendas and varieties of women's organizations housed there.[303]

[299] Susan Stocking, "Through the Feminist Looking Glass with Judy Chicago," *Los Angeles Times*, July 9, 1972, X18.
[300] "Black Mirror at Womanspace," *Los Angeles Sentinel*, April 12, 1973, B4A.
[301] Barbara Riker, "An Art Center for Women Only," *Los Angeles Times*, July 22, 1973, WS1.
[302] Architectural Resources Group, "Standard Oil Company Sales Department Building/Woman's Building, City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument Nomination," July 2017, 16.
[303] Marguerite Elliot and Maria Karras, eds. *The Woman's Building & Feminist Art Education, 1973-1981* (Los Angeles: Otis College of Art and Design, 2011), 35.

The Woman's Building was named after the 1893 Chicago Exposition building designed by Sophia Hayden. By late 1973 it was the hub of the feminist art movement in Los Angeles with the school, six galleries, a feminist bookstore, a women's improvisation workshop, a theater group, offices for five women's publications, and an auditorium housed within. Occupants included the Los Angeles Feminist Theater,[304] The Associated Women's Press (*Momma*, *Womanspace Journal*, *Women & Film*, *Sister,* and *The Lesbian Tide*), Grandview I Gallery, Grandview II Gallery, Gallery 707, and Synergy Trust. It would later house the Woman Tours travel agency and the Women's Graphic Center. The Women's Graphic Center, founded by de Bretteville, provided a place for women artists, writers, and designers to access the skills and equipment necessary to produce their material in multiple. The building also housed the Center for Feminist Art Historical Studies formed by Arlene Raven and Ruth E. Iskin.



Woman's Building at 1727 North Spring Street in 1983. City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 1160. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

When Cal Arts leased the building to a Korean Church in 1975, the women moved into a new building Downtown at 1727 North Spring Street (1914, City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 1160). Students provided the sweat equity for the renovation of the building, which was the former Standard Oil Company Sales Department Building. In 1978, Kate Millet's sculpture, "Great Ladies," was placed on the top of the building to commemorate the Fifth Anniversary of the Feminist Studio Workshop. For the next 20 years, the Woman's Building housed a number of groups mostly dedicated to women's causes including Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW). The Feminist Studio Workshop also created an extension program that offered workshops in dance, journal writing, self-defense, and financial literacy.

[304]The Feminist Theater established a small but strong subculture in Los Angeles during the 1970s. Group performances, dances and one-woman shows were all popular. Noted troupes included Bread and Roses Theater, Thank You Theater, In the Works, R. Toad Road and Trucking Company.

The feminist theater movement took hold in Los Angeles in 1970 with the formation of the Los Angeles Feminist Theater (LAFT). Led by Sarah Sappington Kuhn (1935-2003), the troupe started out performing reviews of original sketches, poems, and songs with a feminist perspective that called attention to the problems women were facing in society and drawing on elements of agitation-propaganda theater. LAFT works were often known as "performances" akin to but differentiated from "happenings."[305] The group performed at the opening of the NOW Center on Pico and several times at the Evergreen stage at 5060 West Fountain Avenue. Members of the troupe also regularly turned up at protests. By the end of 1973, the theater group consisted of some 40 women, men, and children and moved into the Woman's Building.

While the LAFT was perhaps the most visible and dominant force, many small feminist theater productions took place in venues all over the city. Jackie Goldberg headed the Bread and Roses Theater, Liebe Gray the Thank You Theater, Rebecca Goldstein the Women's Ensemble, and Ellen Snortland an LA branch of the Santa Barbara-based Theater of Process Theater. Synthaxis Theater Company at 6468 West Santa Monica Boulevard was a leading feminist theater whose work was featured prominently in feminist newsletters. Among the most appreciated Los Angeles feminist playwrights were early contributor Morna Murphy whose play "Only A Woman" told the story of suffrage, and Susan Miller, known for her one-woman play, "My Left Breast." They both received federal arts grants for their work. Toad Road and Trucking Company was a feminist dance troupe.

One of the venues that consistently supported feminist art performances was the Ash Grove at 8162 West Melrose Avenue. In the early 1970s the club hosted many local and San Francisco-based feminist entertainers. In October of 1971, Ash Grove hosted the Women's Multi-Media Festival. The event brought together music, film, theater, dance, poetry, and arts and crafts for exhibits and nightly performances. It also hosted the "Women and the War" informational event in November of that year.[306] Although chiefly known as a folk music club, Ash Grove also became known for its association with politically-based entertainment which may have led to a number of suspicious fires that closed the club in 1973. Later in the 1970s, the void was filled somewhat by mainstream clubs such as the Troubadour that hosted LA-based feminist comedienne Ivy Bottini (b. 1926) and feminist singer-songwriter Maxine Feldman (1945-2007).

In August 1972, Ash Grove hosted Harrison and Tyler, the first lesbian feminist comedy duo. Based in Los Angeles, Robin Tyler (b. 1942) and Patty Harrison (unknown-2018) appeared in coffee houses, colleges, and clubs, and were regulars on the *Kroftt Comedy Hour*. They signed a contract for a pilot with ABC but the project was shelved due to their anti-establishment material. In 1977, they were profiled alongside Joan Rivers, Phyllis Diller, and Totie Fields in the *Los Angeles Times* as important women in comedy. Tyler and Harrison also produced Maxine Feldman's early lesbian feminist anthem "Angry Atthis." Robin

[305] A happening is a performance, event, or situation meant to be considered as an art. Happenings take place anywhere (from basements to studio lofts and even street alleyways), are often multi-disciplinary, with a nonlinear narrative and the active participation of the audience.
[306] *Women's Liberation Center Newsletter*, vol. 2, no. 4, November 1971, 2.

Tyler and Diane Olson's marriage was the subject of a landmark 2004 lawsuit by feminist attorney Gloria Allred (née Bloom, b. 1941) challenging the ban on same sex marriage, *Tyler et. al. v County of LA*.

Olivia was a lesbian feminist record production company in a male-dominated profession. Employing only women, it produced albums for feminist artists such as Cris Williamson (b. 1946) and Meg Christian (b. 1946). Originally founded in Washington D.C., Olivia moved to Los Angeles where it was run out of a house at 1053 South Fedora Street in the Wilshire district for two years prior to relocating to the Woman's Building on Spring Street in 1975.[307] Well-known artists from the label include Cris Williamson, Lucie Blue Tremblay, Tret Fure, Dianne Davidson, Nancy Vogl, and Deidre MaCalla. Olivia later moved to Oakland, California and focused on concert promotion instead of record production.

The movement produced a groundswell of feminist literature as well. Los Angeles was home to Wollstonecraft, Inc., a feminist publisher of fiction and non-fiction books co-founded by Ivy Bottini. Los Angeles-based feminist authors included the artists Kate Millett (*Sexual Politics*, *Flying*, *Sita*) and Judy Chicago (*The Dinner Party*, *Through the Flower*). Wollstonecraft was located in an office building at 6399 Wilshire Boulevard.[308]

Feminist Businesses

As evidenced by some of the tenants of the Woman's Building, the feminist movement spawned several feminist businesses. The most important of these were feminist bookstores. As with the earlier suffrage movement, access to literature was an important aspect of coalition building. Women's centers often included libraries of materials. Feminists Simone Gold, Gahan Kelley (b. 1944), and Adele Wallace had all been frequent visitors to the Crenshaw Center. In 1972, they opened the first location of Sisterhood Bookstore at 1915 South Westwood Boulevard. Later the store moved to a new location in Westwood at 1351 South Westwood Boulevard. Of the Sisterhood Bookstore in Westwood, scholar Daphne Spain writes "Sisterhood offered resources that sustained feminist identity and activism that legitimized women's roles."[309] Sisterhood also opened two branch stores, one in the Woman's Building and one in the San Fernando Valley located at 13716 West Ventura Boulevard. Other Los Angeles feminist bookstores included Between the Lines (9028 North Tampa Boulevard, not extant); Bread and Roses (13812 West Ventura Boulevard); Everywoman's Feminist Center/Bookstore (1043-B West Washington Boulevard); and Feminist Horizons (10586 ½ West Pico Boulevard).[310]

According to Daphne Spain, feminist bookstores contributed more than assembling books about women in one location; they created demand for women's literature, fueled the development of women's studies, and became de facto community centers for women. They invited women to speak, play music, gather, and meet one another. Feminist bookstores also sold tickets to feminist concerts, events, and

[307] "About Women: Grand Opening at the Women's Building," *Los Angeles Times*, December 7, 1975, E4.
[308] The building was designed by Stiles O. Clements and completed in 1952.
[309] Spain, *Constructive Feminism*, 102.
[310] According to the *Los Angeles Times*, by 1983, 80 feminist bookstores existed across the U.S.

fundraisers. The bulletin boards of feminist bookstores became resource centers for women seeking social services.[311]

Bookstores were not the only businesses targeted to a feminist clientele. Estalita Grimaldo's travel agency, WomanTours, first opened in 1973 at 6191 North Figueroa Street in Highland Park (Contributor, Highland Park-Garvanza HPOZ), and then moved to 5314 North Figueroa Street (Contributor, Highland Park-Garvanza HPOZ) in January 1974. WomanTours provided individual and group travel planning for feminist women and lesbian feminists, including keeping a list of potential traveling companions.

Colleen McKay's Women's Saloon and Parlor (4908 West Fountain Avenue) was the first feminist restaurant — providing a safe place for women to dine alone or with other women. According to Jeanne Cordova, the founder/editor of the *Lesbian Tide*, "the Saloon operated as a de facto women's center (in addition to Crenshaw) during the height of the movement when women looking for places to hangout; guaranteed no men and sloppy clothes [were] okay."[312] The Westwood-based Los Angeles Feminist Federal Credit Union was established in 1975 at 1434 South Westwood Blvd. and provided loans to women without their own credit histories (often due to marriage and then divorce).[313] It began with $5,000 in shares from 160 members and funded microloans to women.[314] Other businesses included the L.A. Women's Switchboard feminist answering service, and the Coffee House Photo Gallery, both based in the Woman's Building.

The Rise of Women's Studies

Another manifestation of second wave feminism (and a contributor to it) was the emergence and formalization of women's studies programs at colleges and universities. The first accredited women's studies course in the nation appeared in the spring catalog of Cornell University in March 1969. California colleges and universities soon followed. The first women's studies program in Southern California was established at CSULB in 1970. A program was founded at UCLA in 1975, and at California State University Northridge (CSUN) in 1976. Sondra Hale, a feminist and the first women's studies professor at CSUN, characterized the CSULB program as activist, the UCLA program as academic and detached from activism, and the CSUN program as somewhere in between.[315]

Hale also described the field's role in feminism: "We vainly thought we were a revolutionary force…it wasn't just about Women's Studies; it was really about changing society. I'm positive that every single person in our program thought that we could be a microcosm of what the society could look like — egalitarian to the hilt."[316] Even the teaching style was rooted in the feminist process; ideas came from within the participants (in this case, students). As a result, campuses were frequently the site of women's resource centers, gathering places for one-on-one counseling, and seminars on legal rights,

[311] Spain, *Constructive Feminism*, 96.
[312] Notes of Jeanne Cordova Interview March 17, 2010, provided by Lynn H. Ballen in email to the author, April 11, 2018.
[313] The first federal feminist credit union was established in Detroit in 1973.
[314] *NOW News*, August 1976.
[315] Sondra Hale, interview by Susan McKibben, "TEI Project, UCLA, Center for the Study of Women and the UCLA Oral History Archive Project," March-August 2011.
[316] Ibid.

financial literacy, and workforce integration. In 1972, Sheila Kuehl (b. 1941) co-founded the Women's Resource Center at UCLA (Room 2, Dodd Hall, 390 Portola Plaza). The third location of the Center for New Directions at CSUN remains at 7112 North Owensmouth Avenue. However, many campus resource centers no longer exist.

Violence Against Women

One of the important issues for feminists during the 1970s was violence against women. Whether domestic, physical, mental, or rape, crimes of violence against women remained under wraps for decades as they were seen by law enforcement as family issues not prosecutable under the law. Violence against women was an example of an issue that surfaced during the consciousness-raising sessions offered at women's centers and other support groups. Women had nowhere to go to escape abuse; there were no battered women's shelters available.[317] As of 1978, the *Los Angeles Times* reported there were just 30 beds for women needing shelter in Los Angeles County.[318] By the end of the 1970s, violence against women had become a major feminist issue. Feminists became crucial in teaching women self-defense, establishing rape crisis hotlines, and creating shelters.

The Crenshaw Center was the initial home of the Anti-Rape Squad, a guerilla effort to expose and publicize the crime and provide rides to hitchhiking women. Organized by Joan Robins, it later moved to the Westside Women's Center. In 1973, it was formalized as the Los Angeles Commission on Assaults Against Women at the first Los Angeles Conference on Assaults Against Women held at St. Alban's Episcopal Church at 580 South Hilgard Avenue in Westwood. The Commission on Assaults Against Women also ran the city's first rape crisis hotline.[319] In 1975, Robins became their Director of Education and a visible spokesperson on the topic. Other hotlines established included the Woman Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) Hot Line, the Rape Crisis Hotline, the East Los Angeles Rape Hotline (the first Spanish-language hotline), and the South Bay Hotline.

The location of shelters in Los Angeles is difficult to determine because they were purposefully kept secret — handled through word of mouth or referrals to protect women from their abusers. Small shelters such as the Women's Shelter at 745 South Oxford Avenue (not extant) was established in 1972.[320] The first well-publicized battered women's shelter in Los Angeles was the Sojourner Shelter (location unknown),[321] established circa 1973.[322] The Good Shepard Women's Shelter (location unknown) began operating in 1977. That same year, Haven Hills (location unknown), the first resource for battered women in the San Fernando Valley began organizing under the leadership of two Canoga Park Women's Club members, Jacquie Gordon and Cheryl Cornell.[323] In 1978, funds for "the first Los Angeles shelter for battered women" were allocated by the Los Angeles City Council; the shelter was

[317] According to Spain, the shelter movement started in London in 1971. It established its first U.S. foothold in Boston.
[318] "About Women," *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 1978, E8.
[319] Spain, *Constructive Feminism*, 63.
[320] *LA Women's Liberation Center Newsletter*, vol. 1. no. 2, 6, 1972.
[321] A *Los Angeles Times* article from 1981 indicates the shelter was located in West Los Angeles. While no address has yet been identified, it is known that a call for volunteers was held at Santa Monica's Ocean Park Community Center in 1978.
[322] "Battered Women Shelter Plans Birthday Brunch," *Los Angeles Times*, June 25, 1981, 121.
[323] "Haven Hills – A Shield for Battered Women," *Los Angeles Times*, July 20, 1980, V1.

operated by the Rosasharon Foundation under the direction of Beverly Monasmith (location unknown).[324] In 1979, a shelter in east Los Angeles was also operated by the Chicana Service Action Center (location unknown).[325] In 1980, a shelter was opened in a converted garage and two small apartment buildings (location unknown).

Second Wave Feminism and the Media

Communications and print media were essential to the growth of second wave feminism, a lesson learned during the suffrage movement. Feminists replaced flyers and handbills with newsletters, magazines, and resource directories. Much of local feminist print media was simply-designed, grass-roots materials produced in the homes of individual editors or at various women's centers. New media such as radio and television also started to play an important role in raising awareness for the cause. With the women's movement coming of age at approximately the same time as viewer-sponsored television, i.e., the transition from VHF channels to public television, feminist programming was an important part of the transition.

One of the earliest feminist newspapers in Los Angeles, *Everywoman,* published its inaugural issue in May of 1970. Known as a "radical feminist newspaper," some subscribers were reported by the *Los Angeles Times* as having requested that it be delivered in a plan brown wrapper.[326] The newspaper took its name from the Everywoman Feminist Center and Bookstore at 1043-B West Washington Boulevard, but listed its mailing address as 6516 West 83rd Street, a residence. Ann Forfreedom was the only paid staff member and the newspaper relied on the work of volunteers such as Vicki Comer, Emilie Diehl, and Gail Williamson. *Everywoman* offered feminist news, articles, fiction, poetry, art, and reviews.

Other major feminist media included the *California NOW News*, the newsletter of the state organization, and *NOW News*, the newsletter for the Los Angeles Chapter. The managing editor during the early years of *NOW News*, Leonore Youngman, resided at 1748 Griffith Park Boulevard (not extant) during her tenure. Initiated by Nancy Robinson in 1970, the *L.A. Women's Liberation Center Newsletter* was another grass-roots publication offering a detailed calendar section of workshops at the Center and other locations. As noted above, by 1972 the Crenshaw Center's newsletter had 2,700 subscribers, the largest circulation and national readership of any feminist publication. A year later it became the *Sister* newspaper.[327] *Sister* staff included Joan Robins, Sue Talbot, Dixie Youts, Donna Cassyd, and Cheryl Diehm, among others.[328]

[324] "About Women," *Los Angeles Times*, January 15, 1978, E8.
[325] "Rose Bird to Speak at Benefit for Shelter," *Los Angeles Times*, March 16, 1979, F16.
[326] "Feminist Newspaper: No Laughing Us Off," *Los Angeles Times*, November 26, 1970, G1.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Notes of Jeanne Cordova Interview March 17, 2010, provided by Lynn H. Ballen, email to the author, April 11, 2018.

Other feminist periodicals include *Womanspace*, a magazine associated with the Womanspace gallery at 11007 West Venice Boulevard. Edited by Ruth Iskin and designed by Deborah Sussman, the magazine outlined the almost daily events happening at the gallery and provided in-depth articles on the exhibits and related art news. Another important feminist publication was *Chrysalis*, a magazine of women's culture published c. 1977 at the Los Angeles Woman's Building by co-editors Susan Rennie and Kristen Grimstad.

One of the most important media outlets for feminism in Los Angeles was KPFK-FM radio, the second station in the Berkeley-based Pacifica radio syndicate of listener-sponsored stations. KPFK began broadcasting in Los Angeles in 1959, and featured several important series focused on women's lives and experiences. The studio, located at 3719-3723 North Cahuenga Boulevard, was the site of programming including "A Woman's Place" (1966-1967), "Lesbian Sisters" produced by Helene Rosenbluth (c. 1973-1986), "Women in the Arts" (1971), and Clare Spark's series "The Sour Apple Tree," broadcast through the 1970s. In the 1971 program "Sadie and Maude," two African American women, Jeanette Henderson and Linda Taylor, discussed Black Liberation and its relationship to white women's liberation. A series known as "Focus on Feminism," produced by Marcianne Miller, offered a personal look at how the feminist movement affected the daily lives of women and men reporting on "what's happening and who's who in the Los Angeles feminist movement."[329] In January 1972, the station devoted itself to "Women's Month" by having women take over all of the broadcast functions at the station. Programming included 60 special programs "concerned with female identity and achievements as well as more obvious aspects of the Women's Liberation Movement."[330] The event was spearheaded by Ruth Hirschman (née Seymour, c. 1935), KPFK's director of programming.

Early in the movement, a number of women banded together to form Women for Equality in Media (WFEM) with offices in an apartment complex at 2000 North Highland Avenue (1926, City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 397).[331] Led by Francine Parker (1925-2007), the WFEM led a protest of the American Film Institute (AFI) for the lack of involvement of women and a failure to admit them to the AFI Center for Advanced Film Studies. In 1971, Parker became the 11th woman admitted to the Directors Guild of America.[332] She was later a director on the feminist television show, "Cagney and Lacey."

In 1978, with the deadline of March 1979 for ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment looming, feminists turned to Hollywood for help in spreading the word on the ERA. The *Los Angeles Times* reported on Virginia Carter (1936), Chairwoman of the California ERA Campaign Committee, and actors Carol Burnett (b. 1933), Valerie Harper (b. 1939), and Karen Grassle (b. 1942), delivering pro-ERA messages in

[329] The American Women Making History and Culture: 1963-1982 Collection," Pacifica Radio Archive Finding Aid, accessed April 2018, http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c83f4v6g/dsc/#aspace_KPFK_American_Women.
[330] "60 Special Programs: How to Dial Women's Lib," *Los Angeles Times*, January 27, 1972, G6.
[331] The building was designed by F. Pierpont Davis and Walter S. Davis.
[332] The first woman to join the Directors Guild of America was Dorothy Arzner, who was one of the very few female motion picture directors working during the Golden Age of Hollywood. In 1936, Arzner became the first woman to join the newly-formed Directors Guild of America. She resided at 2249 North Mountain Oak Drive (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 301) with her partner, screenwriter and choreographer Marion Morgan.

upcoming interviews.[333] Carter understood the power of Hollywood from her role as television producer Norman Lear's Director of Creative Affairs at Embassy Television, in which capacity she integrated feminist messages into Lear's TV series such as "All in the Family" (1971-1979) and "Maude" (1972-1978). Bea Arthur (1922-2009), lead actress in "Maude," became a feminist icon.

Television scholars recognize the role of actress Mary Tyler Moore's (1936-2017) production company, MTM Enterprises, in shaping public perceptions of feminism during the 1970s.[334] Beginning with the "Mary Tyler Moore Show" (1970-1977) viewers were introduced to "television's first sustained representation of the cultural influence of the women's liberation movement," in Mary Richards, a young, professional woman.[335] Other MTM spin-off shows (all filmed at CBS Studio Center, 4024 Radford Avenue) such as "Rhoda" (1974-1978) and "Phyllis" (1975-1977) continued the trend of focusing on women's changing roles in society. Other popular TV shows such as "One Day at a Time" (1975-1984) and "Alice" (1976-1985) featured single, working mothers — roles all but invisible on television prior to second wave feminism.

Harnessing Women's Political Clout

In addition to the feminist and women's liberation groups throughout Los Angeles, groups of women voters also rallied to promote the women's agenda and the Equal Rights Amendment, stimulate voter turnout, and support women candidates for public office. Two of the most visible groups were stark contrasts: the older, established League of Women's Voters and the newer, brasher Women's Political Caucus.

The National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) formed first as a national organization to "reflect the new political militancy of the Women's Liberation Movement,"[336] and then began creating local chapters around the country. The Women's Political Caucus, Southern California Region held its first meeting in October 1972 at the First AME church at 2270 South Harvard Boulevard.[337] There was considerable cross-membership between NOW and the Caucus. A former national board member of NOW, Ruth Ehrlich became state chairman of the Women's Caucus. Other early leaders included Myhrlie Evers (b. 1933),[338] Toni Kimmel, and Mary Clarke of Women Strike for Peace. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke was also an outspoken member. Over the years, Caucus meetings and informational gatherings were held in various locations from school auditoriums to the community rooms of savings and loans. By

[333] "Stars Prep for Final Push on ERA," *Los Angeles Times*, May 16, 1978, G1.
[334] Lauren Rabinovitz, "Sitcoms and Single Moms: Representations of Feminism on American TV, *Cinema Journal* 29, no. 1 (Fall 1989): 3-19.
[335] Bonnie Dow, "What Mary Tyler Moore Did for Women," *U.S. News and World Report*, January 26, 2017, accessed April 2018, https://www.usnews.com/opinion/op-ed/articles/2017-01-26/mary-tyler-moore-was-a-trailblazer-for-feminist-tv.
[336] Women's Caucus, League of Voters in Financial Crisis," *Los Angeles Times,* December 10, 1972, D22.
[337] *NOW News*, October 1971.
[338] Myrlie Evers, the widow of Medgar Evers, was a civil rights activist who moved to Claremont, California in 1967. She became an ardent activist for educational equality and in 1975 she moved to Los Angeles where she became community affairs officer for the Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO).

1973, there were some 20 chapters of the Women's Political Caucus in Southern California.[339] In 1977, activist lawyer Gloria Allred was legislative coordinator for the NWPC of Los Angeles.

L: League of Women Voters Registration Drive in San Fernando Valley in 1960. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

In contrast, the Los Angeles League of Women Voters was less formally aligned with the women's liberation movement; however, it continued to advocate for expanding the role of women in government through both voting participation and candidacy. Its primary focus was on voter education. Common issues for the period included poverty, race relations, educational inequality, pollution, parks and recreation, and affordable housing. Issue-based meetings were often held at the homes of League members or community rooms of grocery stores, financial institutions, and golf clubs.

The power of the women's vote and volunteerism help elect some notable public servants who started their careers during this period. Pat Russell (b. 1923) was elected to City Council and was the first woman to become City Council President. Maxine Waters (b. 1938) was first elected to the California State Assembly in 1976, and in 2016 was elected to her 14th term in the United States House of Representatives. Los Angeles City Councilmember Roberta Frances Horowitz, a.k.a., Bobbi Fiedler, (b. 1937), former anti-school busing advocate and founder of the organization BUSTOP, was elected to the Los Angeles City Board of Education in 1977. Her colleague, Roberta Weintraub, was elected president of the Board of Education in 1979. Joy Picus (Mrs. Gerald Picus, born c. 1930), who had been an active member of the Los Angeles League of Women Voters, served on the City Council from 1977 to 1993, working on issues including pay equity, child care, and family leave. Gwen Moore was elected to the California State Assembly in 1978, serving until 1994.

The Rise of Legal Activism

During the mid-1970s, the women's movement transitioned from consciousness-raising to legal activism. Perhaps the most visible voice for the latter was feminist lawyer Gloria Allred. The former Los Angeles NOW president began defending women's rights in the legal system and became president of the Women's Equal Rights Legal Defense Fund (WERLDEF). The WERLDEF's goal was to educate women about equal opportunity laws and obtain assistance in prosecution of rape and battery cases. Allred leveraged her representation of women's cases as a platform for equal rights — often engaging with media to enhance visibility. Allred has successfully represented many cases involving injustice to

[339] "Women's Caucus Sets First State Convention," *Los Angeles Times*, September 10, 1973, D6.

women. Her firm, Allred, Maroko & Goldberg has now handled more cases involving women's rights than any other private law firm in the nation.

In May 1975, NOW announced its move to the new NOW Center at 8271 West Melrose Avenue. During the mid-to-late 1970s, the Center served as the location of consciousness raising sessions and lectures on topics such as child care, legal rights, insurance laws, and family law (divorce, custody, etc.). Shortly after moving to the Melrose location, Gloria Allred became President of the L.A. chapter from 1977 and 1978.

L: Toni Carabillo speaking at an ERA Walkathon in 1979. Source: Toni Carabillo and Judith Meuli Papers, ca.1890-2008; item description, dates. MC 725, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. R: Women protest at a march in Century City, c. 1982. Source: Los Angeles Public Library.

A Final Push for the ERA

In 1978, Congress extended the ERA ratification deadline to June 30, 1982. NOW immediately changed its strategy from localized pre-ratification lobbying efforts in individual states to a national educational strategy. Los Angeles' feminists worked tirelessly to support ratification through fundraisers and awareness building. In the late 1970s or early 1980s, NOW established a thrift store at 1238 South La Cienega Boulevard to help raise funds.

A milestone event occurred on August 22, 1981 when the "Last Walk for the ERA" combined a parade of 12,000 down the Avenue of the Stars in Century City led by Betty Ford, Maureen Regan, and Toni Carabillo with a Walkathon of 5,000 people that raised $300,000. Despite these efforts, no additional states ratified the amendment during the extension period. The ERA had again been defeated, largely due to lack of support by southern states.[340]

Second wave feminism was one of the most influential socio-cultural movements of the 20th century. It irreversibly changed society's perception of women, sexuality, and contributed to more equitable

[340] Even though the Equal Rights Amendment was technically "defeated" in 1982, at the time of this study, the fight continues. In 1992, when the 27th Amendment – first been proposed in 1791 – was finally adopted, proponents of the ERA started a new effort to encourage more states to ratify – rejecting the idea that there could be a deadline for an amendment to the United States Constitution. In 2018, Illinois became the 37th state to ratify the ERA, putting the legislation one state away from adoption.

gender roles between women and men. It was a significant milestone in the empowerment of women and it made strides in reproductive rights, legal rights, pay equity, the reduction of violence against women, and established women's studies as a legitimate academic discipline. While it may not have achieved all of its goals, it forever changed how modern women live their lives. Los Angeles feminists not only impacted the success of the national movement, they made significant contributions in the areas of feminist art, music, and literature and in civil rights for Chicanas, African American women, and lesbians.

Conclusion

During the conservative Reagan Era of the 1980s, the vision of feminism began to fade. Militant anti-abortion activists besieged feminist women's health centers. The Woman's Building and other arts institutions faced a difficult political, social, and economic climate when funding for national arts programs was curtailed. After a series of financial setbacks, the Woman's Building closed its doors in 1991.

That same year, when Anita Hill (b. 1956) garnered national attention by accusing United States Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment, new feminist voices began to once again appear in the landscape. Third-wave feminism, as it is known, differentiated itself from past movements by recognizing a diverse set of female identities including embracing women of color. Less about political change than previous waves, the third wave focused more on individual identity.

In 2017, the women's rights movement once again gained national attention. On January 21, 2017 women marched on Washington, D.C., in Downtown Los Angeles, and in other cities around the country to advocate for women's rights in the wake of the 2016 presidential election. Later that year, sexual harassment became headline news as allegations against movie mogul Harvey Weinstein and others inspired the Me Too movement across the entertainment industry and beyond. In 2018, the Time's Up social media movement proves that the fight for women's rights lives on, one hundred years after the national passage of the 19th amendment.

PROPERTY TYPES AND ELIGIBILITY STANDARDS

This section assists with the identification and evaluation of properties that may be significant for their association with women's rights in Los Angeles. The themes and associated eligibility standards focus on individuals and properties that have a specific association with the advancement of women's rights. Women who made significant historic contributions to areas outside of women's rights are not included here; however, they may be documented in other relevant contexts and themes of the citywide historic context statement.

A wide range of property types has been identified and the different types are referenced throughout the context narrative (see Appendix B: Women's Rights Known and Designated Resources list). In general, property types associated with women's rights in Los Angeles that meet the eligibility standards for significance (detailed below) date from the late 19th century through the 1970s and cover the period from the first wave of feminism through the second wave of feminism. Resources from the late 19th and early 20th centuries are rare; most from this period are not extant or have been significantly altered. A large percentage of resources date from the period 1960-1980.

As indicated in the Known and Designated Resources list, many extant women's club are already designated under local, state, and/or federal programs. Other identified resources may be designated but were not specifically recognized for their association with women's rights as part of the designation process.[341] These designations may be amended over time to include this association.[342]

Eligibility standards for property types were developed based on knowledge and comparative analysis of physical characteristics and/or historical associations. The integrity requirements and considerations below take into account rarity of resources, knowledge of their relative integrity, and significance evaluations based on eligibility under Criteria A/1/1 and B/2/2. Some resources may also be significant under Criterion C/3/3 for their architectural merit and/or the work of noted architects and designers. This is particularly relevant for purpose-built structures commissioned by women's clubs, YWCAs, and other women's organizations. As such, properties significant for their architectural quality may also be evaluated under themes within the Architecture and Engineering context.

[341] Many resources have been designated for their architectural merit and the work of noted architects.
[342] As well, properties identified as features within designated HPOZs (Historic Preservation Overlay Zones) may be individually significant.

Theme: Prominent Persons in Women's Rights in Los Angeles

Summary Statement of Significance: A resource evaluated under this theme is directly associated with the productive life of a woman whose work promoted and supported women rights in issues relating to: suffrage, public health and women's health services, juvenile justice and justice reform for women, child welfare, labor laws, politics, workplace equality, care for immigrant women and children, second wave feminism, and others. Individuals may be important in a wide range of areas of significance including, but not limited to: Commerce, Art, Politics, Literature, Performing Arts, Entertainment, Communications, Education, Health/Medicine, and Ethnic Heritage. Other areas may be identified. Individuals include important civic leaders, activists, business owners, educators, doctors, lawyers, politicians, actors, writers, journalists, and artists. While the historic context narrative identifies numerous persons significant in the history of women's rights whose associated properties may be evaluated under this property type, more may be identified with additional research.

Period of Significance: 1875 - 1980

Period of Significance Justification: 1875 is the earliest period for known resources identified under this theme. The end date for SurveyLA is 1980 and may be extended over time as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations: Citywide in scattered locations including South Los Angeles, Southeast Los Angeles, Westlake, Echo Park, Wilshire, Hollywood, Venice.

Area(s) of Significance: Social History, Ethnic Heritage, Art, Politics, Commerce, Literature, Performing Arts, Entertainment, Communications, Education, Health/Medicine, Other

Criteria: NR: B CR: 2 Local: 2

Associated Property Types:
Residential
Commercial
Institutional
Industrial
Sites

Property Type Description: Properties associated with persons significant in the history of women's rights in Los Angeles include single-family and multi-family residences as

well as commercial, institutional, and industrial buildings, and sites of protests and demonstrations. Most of those identified are single-family residences owned or occupied by prominent women. The residences often have also served as important meeting places.

Property Type Significance: See Summary Statement of Significance above.

Eligibility Standards:

- Directly associated with the productive life of a woman who played a significant role in promoting and supporting women's rights
- Individual must be proven to have made an important contribution to one or more areas of significance as it relates to women's rights and improving the lives of women and children
- Individual must have lived in or used the property during the period in which she achieved significance
- Contributions of individuals must be compared to those of others who were active, successful, or influential within the same context
- Each property associated with someone important should be compared with other properties associated with that individual to identify those resources that are good representatives of the person's historic contributions
- For multi-family residential properties, the apartment or room occupied by the person must be readable from the period of significance
- Properties associated with the lives of living persons *may* be eligible, if the person's active life in their field of endeavor is over AND sufficient time has elapsed to assess both their field and their contribution in a historic perspective
- Was constructed or used by women promoting issues relating to women's rights during the period of significance

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- May also be a significant example of an architectural style and/or the work of a noted architect/designer
- For the National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association
- Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses)
- Integrity is based on the period during which the person was associated with the property
- Some original materials may have been altered or replaced

- Because of the rarity of resources dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, resources from that period may have fewer extant features

Theme: Business and Commerce

Summary Statement of Significance: A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of Commerce and Social History for its association with Los Angeles businesses and business organizations that provided goods and services that catered to women and supported and promoted issues relating to women's rights. Some properties may also be significant in the areas of Ethnic History and LGBT History. The individuals who established these businesses and associations often emerged as leaders in women's rights and may also be significant under Criteria B/2/2. Women-owned businesses that did not have a specific association with women's rights, or properties that are associated with pioneering women in business or industry may be significant under other contexts and themes.

Period of Significance: 1920 - 1980

Period of Significance Justification: The period of significance begins in the 1920s, the date of the establishment of the Woman's Banking Department the Bank of Italy. The end date for SurveyLA is 1980 and may be extended over time as part of future survey work. The majority of the resources date to the period of second wave feminism.

Geographic Locations: Early resources are located Downtown; later resources are scattered citywide in locations including West Los Angeles, Venice, Hollywood, Wilshire, Northeast Los Angeles, and Sherman Oaks

Area(s) of Significance: Commerce, Social History, Ethnic History, LGBT History

Criteria: NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types: Commercial: Restaurant, Retail Store, Travel Agency, Bank and other financial institution
Other

Property Type Description: Property types include one early bank that established a woman's banking department in the 1920s as well as a variety of commercial

properties associated with the second wave of feminism. Most extant examples were established in the 1960-1970s. Some businesses may still be in operation. Bookstores constitute the majority of commercial types. Other types include a restaurant, thrift store, travel agency, and a printing and graphics company.

Property Type Significance: See Summary Statement of Significance above.

Eligibility Standards:

- Strongly associated with a woman-owned and operated business, or a business organization/association that provided goods and services to women and promoted and supported issues relating to women's rights

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- May be associated with a business or business organization that has gained regional or national importance in the area of women's rights
- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Integrity is based on the period during which the significant business or business organization occupied the property
- Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses)
- Street-facing elevations should retain most of their major design features; some original materials may have been altered or removed
- Replacement of storefronts is a common alteration

Theme: Children's Services

Summary Statement of Significance: A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the area of Social History and reflects late 19th and early 20th century efforts on the part of women to organize and promote programs to care for children and to provide support for working women with children. Some resources may also be significant in the area of Ethnic Heritage. The individuals who established these businesses and associations often

emerged as leaders in women's rights and child advocacy and may also be significant under Criteria B/2/2.

Period of Significance: 1900 - 1980

Period of Significance Justification: The period of significance begins in the early 1900s, the date of the earliest known extant resources associated with this theme. The end date for SurveyLA is 1980 and may be extended over time as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations: Central City, Hollywood

Area(s) of Significance: Social History, Ethnic History

Criteria: NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types: Institutional – Day nursery, Orphanage, Other

Property Type Description: There are few extant resources associated with this theme during the period of significance and those identified predate the second wave of feminism. They include the location of a day nursery and orphanage. More may be identified from this time and with an expanded period of significance beyond the 1980 end date for SurveyLA.

Property Type Significance: See Summary Statement of Significance above.

Eligibility Standards:

- Is associated with an institution or organization that played an important role in promoting the welfare of children and the history of women's rights in Los Angeles

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance

- Integrity is based on the period of time in which the property was used
- Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses)
- Some original materials may have been altered or removed

Theme: Women-Serving Institutions and Organizations

Summary Statement of Significance: A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the area of Social History for its association with organizations and institutions that provided services and support for women. Some may also be significant in the areas of Ethnic History and LGBT History. Property types range from boarding houses and YWCA facilities of the late 19th and early 20th centuries to the women's service/resource centers established in the 1960-70s which were the heart of second wave of feminism. These facilities provided a wide range of services to support and empower women. The individuals who established these institutions and organizations often emerged as leaders in women's rights and may also be significant under Criteria B/2/2.

Period of Significance: 1890 - 1980

Period of Significance Justification: The 1890s is the date of the earliest extant resources associated with this theme**.** The end date for SurveyLA is 1980 and may be extended over time as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations: Citywide in scattered locations in areas including South Los Angeles, Central City, Venice, Westwood, Wilshire, Boyle Heights, Westlake, Echo Park, San Pedro, Hollywood, Canoga Park, Mid-city

Area(s) of Significance: Social History, Ethnic History, LGBT History

Criteria: NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types: Institutional – YWCA
Residential – Single-family Residence, Multi-Family Residential/ Boarding House
Other – Women's homes, centers, and shelters were housed in a variety or residential, commercial, and institutional buildings.

Property Type Description: Property types associated with this theme housed organizations and services to support women and women's rights. The organizations provided a wide range of services over time which included housing, job training and support, self-defense, money management, legal rights, and counseling. Property types also include shelters for battered women and their children (locations unknown).

Property Type Significance: See Summary Statement of Significance above.

Eligibility Standards:

- Was constructed or used by a women's support institution or organization during the period of significance
- Is associated with an institution or organization that played an important role in the history of women's rights in Los Angeles and provided a variety of services to empower women and promote autonomy

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- For National Register, a property associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- May also be a significant example of an architectural style and/or the work of a noted architect/designer

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses)
- Some original materials may be altered or removed
- Integrity is based on the period of time in which the property was used by an organization or institution that provided services and support for women
- Primary interior spaces such as social halls and large meeting rooms should remain as readable spaces

Theme: Meeting Places

Summary Statement of Significance: A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of Social History and/or Politics for its association with places that housed, promoted, and supported the work of women's clubs, organizations, and groups dating from the women's suffrage movement of the late 19th century through the second wave of feminism of the 1960s and 1970s. Some resources may also be significant in the areas of Ethnic History and LGBT history. Individuals associated with these places may have also made significant individual contributions to women's rights and may be significant under Criterion B/2/2 above. Many meeting places are also significant in the area of Architecture as excellent examples of their respective styles and the work of noted architects.

Period of Significance: 1900 - 1980

Period of Significance Justification: The turn-of the 20th century is the date of the earliest extant resources associated with this theme. The end date for SurveyLA is 1980 and may be extended over time as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations: Citywide in scattered locations including South Los Angeles, Southeast Los Angeles, Northeast Los Angeles, Wilshire, Westwood, Central City, Westlake, Hollywood

Area(s) of Significance: Social History, Politics, Ethnic History, LGBT History, Architecture

Criteria: NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types: Institutional – Clubhouse, Meeting Hall, Union Hall, Church, School, other
Residential – Single-family Residence, other
Commercial – Office, Hotel, Restaurant, other
Other

Property Type Description: Property types associated with this theme reflect a wide range of meeting places used by various organizations, clubs, and groups and constitute a significant portion of the associated properties under this context. Many were the founding or long-term location of a group;

many were purpose built and funded by the organization and designed by noted architects.

Property Type Significance: See Summary Statement of Significance above.

Eligibility Standards:

- Was constructed or used as a meeting place by a women's institution or organization that played a significant role in promoting and supporting women's rights during the period of significance

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- For National Register, a property associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance
- May also be a significant example of an architectural style and/or the work of a noted architect/designer

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Feeling, Design, and Association from the period of significance
- Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses)
- Some original materials may be altered or removed
- Integrity is based on the period of time in which the property was used by women-serving organizations or institutions
- Primary interior spaces such as social halls and large meeting rooms should remain as readable spaces

Theme: Health and Medicine

Summary Statement of Significance: A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of Social History and Health/Medicine for its association with women's rights and played an important role in providing specialized health care and services for women and supporting and promoting women's health care rights. Some resources may also be significant in the areas of Ethnic Historic and LGBT History. Individuals associated with health and medicine may have also made significant individual contributions to women's rights and may be significant under Criterion B/2/2 above.

Period of Significance: 1930 - 1980

Period of Significance Justification: The 1930s is date of the earliest known organization association with this theme. The end date for SurveyLA is 1980 and may be extended over time as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations: Citywide; in scattered locations including Wilshire, Westlake, West Los Angeles, Southeast Los Angeles, Panorama City

Area(s) of Significance: Social History, Health/Medicine, Ethnic History, LGBT History

Criteria: NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types: Institutional - Hospital, Clinic, School
Commercial - Office

Property Type Description: Property types under this theme primarily include medical clinics offering women's health services including birth control, STD testing and treatment, and abortions. Resources also include pioneering alcohol treatment centers for women.

NOTE: Women's health care clinics may have been among the many services provided by resource and service centers. These are more appropriately discussed and evaluated within the Women-Serving Institutions and Organizations theme.

Property Type Significance: See Summary Statement of Significance above.

Eligibility Standards:

- Was constructed or used by a specialized women's healthcare organization during the period of significance
- Was the founding location of, or the long-term location of, a healthcare or medical institution significant to women's rights
- Was the location of an early healthcare or medical institution, including the earliest or ground-breaking abortion clinics in the city, or the site of an important event in women's healthcare

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- May be associated with a women's healthcare or medical institution that has gained regional or

national importance
- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance
- Integrity is based on the period of time in which the property was used for women's health services
- Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses)
- Some original materials may have been altered or removed

Theme: Visual, Performing, and Literary Arts

Summary Statement of Significance:

A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of Social History, Art, Literature, and Performing Arts for its association with promoting and supporting women in the arts and issues relating to women's rights. Some properties may also be significant in the areas of Ethnic History and LGBT History. In addition to serving as a creative outlet, visual, performing, and literary arts often highlighted political and social issues related to women's rights. Identified resources served as important venues to promote women in the arts as well as significant actors, writers, musicians, visual artists, and others. Venues that did not have a specific association with the advancement of women's rights or are associated with important women in the entertainment industry or other performing or visual arts that are not specifically associated with women's rights may be significant under other contexts and themes.

Many individuals associated with Visual, Performing, and Literary Arts may have made significant individual contributions to their respective fields and may be significant under Criterion B/2/2.

Period of Significance: 1955 - 1980

Period of Significance Justification: Resources associated with this theme date from 1955, with the Evergreen Stage (Los Angeles Feminist Theater) performances in Hollywood, to 1980, the end date for SurveyLA. The end date may be extended over time as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations: Hollywood, Central City, Westlake

Area(s) of Significance: Social History, Art, Performing Arts, Literature, Ethnic Heritage, LGBT History

Criteria: NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types:
Institutional – Museum, Art School
Commercial - Gallery, Theater, Retail Building, Office Building, Comedy/Music Club
Residential - Single-Family Residence, Multi-Family Residence
Industrial – Studio
Other

Property Type Description: Property types under this theme include exhibition spaces such as galleries and museums, performance venues such as theaters, comedy or music clubs, meeting places such as art clubs and residences, and art foundations and schools

Property Type Significance: See Summary Statement of Significance above.

Eligibility Standards:

- Was constructed or used by women during the period of significance
- Is directly associated with promoting and supporting women in the arts and women's rights, either as the location of discrete events or cumulative activities over time
- Location functioned as an important place for the production, display, appreciation of, or education in, the arts
- Is associated with a particular group or institution significant in women's rights/issues

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- May have served as an important gathering place for women in the arts
- Primary interior spaces, especially performance spaces, should remain intact
- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Design, Feeling, and Association from the period of significance

- Integrity is based on the period of time in which the property was associated with women in the arts
- Original use may have changed
- Setting may have changed (surroundings buildings and land uses)
- Some original materials may have been altered or removed

Theme: Entertainment, Media, Newspapers, and Publishing

Summary Statement of Significance:	A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of Social history, Entertainment, and Communications for its association with promoting and supporting issues and activities relating to women's rights. Some resources may also be significant in the areas of Ethnic History and LGBT History. Individuals associated with entertainment, media, newspaper, and publishing may have also made significant individual contributions to their respective field and may be significant under Criterion B/2/2.
Period of Significance:	1960 - 1980
Period of Significance Justification:	Resources within this theme all date to the second wave of feminism era. The end date for SurveyLA is 1980 and may be extended over time as part of future survey work.
Geographic Locations:	Citywide in scattered locations including Wilshire, Westchester, Hollywood
Area(s) of Significance:	Communications, Social History, Ethnic History, LGBT History
Criteria:	NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1
Associated Property Types:	Commercial - Retail Building, Office Building, Newspaper or Periodical Headquarters, Publishing House Entertainment – Television Studio, Radio Station
Property Type Description:	Property types under this theme include commercial and entertainment related buildings that were used by newspapers and publishing companies as well as television and radio stations.
Property Type Significance:	See Summary Statement of Significance above.

Eligibility Standards:

- Was the founding or long-term location of a television station, radio station, newspaper/ publication, or publisher significant to promoting and supporting women's rights

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- Must have occupied the property for a significant period in its history, if it is not the founding location
- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Feeling, Design, and Association from the period of significance
- Integrity is based on the period during which the significant studio or publication occupied the property
- Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses)
- Some original materials may have been altered or removed

Theme: Labor and Industry

Summary Statement of Significance:	A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of Social history and Industry for its specific association with promoting and supporting women's rights in the workplace. Some properties may also be significant in the areas of Ethnic History and LGBT History. Individuals associated with labor and industry may have also made significant individual contributions to promoting and supporting women's right in the workplace and may be significant under Criterion B/2/2.
Period of Significance:	1900 - 1980
Period of Significance Justification:	The turn of the 20th century is the date of the earliest resource associated with this theme**.** The end date for SurveyLA ins 1980 and may be extended over time as part of future survey work.

Geographic Locations: Central City, Central City North, Hollywood

Area(s) of Significance: Social History, Industry, Ethnic History, LGBT History

Criteria: NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types: Industrial – Factory, Industrial Plant (including Aerospace or Aviation Plant), Shipyard
Institutional – Union headquarters
Commercial – Theater, Office
Site
Other

Property Type Description: Property types include factories, industrial complexes, and shipyards associated with women workers as well as headquarters and gathering places associated with labor union meetings. Sites may include the location of labor strikes.

Property Type Significance: See Summary Statement of Significance above.

Eligibility Standards:

- Was the location/meeting place of a labor union, strike, or other labor-related activity associated with women workers during the period of significance
- Was the location where women made significant gains in labor rights

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Feeling, Design, and Association from the period of significance
- Integrity is based on the period during which the significant labor-related activity associated with women's rights took place
- Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses)
- Some original materials may have been altered or removed

Theme: Protest and Demonstration Sites

Summary Statement of Significance: A resource evaluated under this theme may be significant in the areas of Social history and/or Politics for its association with promoting and supporting issues relating to women's rights. Other areas of significance may be identified. Some properties may also be significant in the areas of Ethnic History and LGBT History. Individuals associated with protest and demonstration sites may have also made significant individual contributions to their respective field and may be significant under Criterion B/2/2.

Period of Significance: 1910 - 1980

Period of Significance Justification: The 1900s is the date of the earliest known resource associated with this theme. The end date for SurveyLA ins 1980 and may be extended over time as part of future survey work. Most resources date form the second wave feminism era of the 1960-70s.

Geographic Locations: Citywide in scattered locations including Downtown, Central City, Venice, Westlake, Westwood

Area(s) of Significance: Social History, Politics, Ethnic History, LGBT History

Criteria: NR: A CR: 1 Local: 1

Associated Property Types: Residential – Single Family Residence
Site

Property Type Description: One resource dates from 1911 – the site of a rally for women's suffrage in Venice. Resources associated with the second wave of feminism are sites and protest routes on streets outside and alongside city, state, and federal buildings and administration centers. Properties associated with labor strikes are evaluated under the Labor and Industry theme.

Property Type Significance: See Summary Statement of Significance above.

Eligibility Standards:

- Was the site or location of a protest or demonstration significant to the history of women's rights during the period of significance

Character-Defining/Associative Features:

- Retains most of the essential character-defining features from the period of significance
- For National Register, properties associated with events that date from the last 50 years must possess exceptional importance

Integrity Considerations:

- Should retain integrity of Location, Feeling, Design, and Association from the period of significance
- Integrity is based on the period during which the significant protest or demonstration took place
- Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses)
- For buildings, some original materials may have been altered or removed

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APPENDIX A: WOMEN'S RIGHTS TIMELINE

1878	Caroline Severance and her husband retire to California
1878	Formation of first Los Angeles Woman's Club
1882	The Los Angeles Union of the WCTU organized
1883	WCTU of Southern California organized, September of 1883
1884	Formation of second Los Angeles Woman's Club
c. 1890s	Creation of a state movement in the early 1890s dedicated to advancing women's work
1891	Formation of the Friday Morning Club (third Los Angeles Woman's Club)
1891	Women's Industrial Exchange opened
1893	Columbian Exposition in Chicago; creation of the Woman's Building pavilion
1896	California state suffrage amendment defeated 137,099 to 110,355
1902	Los Angeles socialist women join forces with temperance advocates and suffragists to protest for their rights at LA City Hall
1902	California Federation of Women's Clubs votes to exclude African American women membership
1910	Washington state passes suffrage
1910	Los Angeles becomes the first city to hire full-time uniformed policewomen
1911	Amendment 8 on the Rights of Suffrage passed by a statewide vote of 125,037 in favor and 121,450 opposed on October 10, 1911
1911	California Governor Hiram Johnson issues proclamation to "carry out with facility and effectually and fully the right of suffrage granted to women."
1911	Los Angeles Mayoral election is the first test of women's suffrage; Good Government candidate George Alexander beats out socialist Job Harriman
1912	In state election, a higher percentage of eligible women vote than men
1915	Estelle Lawton Lindsey (1868-1955) elected to Los Angeles City Council; the first woman elected to the city council of a major metropolis in the U.S.
1917	California women earn the right to serve on juries

1919	19th Amendment passes in June 1919 granting all US women the right to vote
1919	Progressive El Retiro Home for Girls opens as correctional facility in the San Fernando Valley
1923	The first equal rights amendment is introduced in Congress; "men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction"
1932	Merger of California Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs and the California League of Business and Professional Women
1937	"Fifty-fifty" bill signed by California Governor requires equal representation of men and women on all legally recognized state party central committees
1939	California law prohibits women working more than 8 hours per day or 48 hours per week
c. 1942-1944	LA Women start working in the wartime and defense industries
1943	Passing of War Production Act in California permits women to work in situations that violated state labor laws (e.g., women were not allowed to work more than 8 hours in any 24-hour period, regardless of overtime pay)
1945	Millions of working women lose their jobs when servicemen return from WWII
1958	National Defense Education Act of 1958 makes gender-neutral college loans available to women
c. 1960	Beginning of Second Wave Feminism
1960	FDA approved first women's oral contraceptive
1961	Women's Strike for Peace
1961	President Kennedy creates the Commission on the Status of Women pointing to the significant inequality between men and women in the American workplace; a national citizen's advisory council is also established
1962	Women's International Strike for Peace in Hancock Park
1963	Betty Friedan publishes *The Feminine Mystique*
1963	Equal Pay Act passed by Congress
1964	Title VII of the Civil Rights Act prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of race and sex

1964	The Equal Opportunity Commission (EEOC) is established to investigate discrimination complaints
1965	Founding of Planned Parenthood Los Angeles (April)
1965	The Voting Rights Act of 1965 strenuously prohibits racial discrimination in voting, resulting in increased voting by African American women (and men)
1966	Betty Friedan founds the National Organization for Women (NOW)
1967	Virginia A. "Toni" Carabillo founds the Los Angeles chapter of NOW
1967	Abortion laws reformed in California
1969	Women's Center March
1969	UCLA offers its first women's studies courses
1969	California is the first state to adopt a "no fault" divorce law, allowing couples to divorce by mutual consent
1970	GM plant in Van Nuys welcomes women back to auto assembly jobs – where they have been excluded since World War II
1970	Dropping of "Sex-egrated" help wanted ads for "men" and "women" in the *Los Angeles Times* classified employment columns
1970	Los Angeles Women's Liberation Center opens on Crenshaw
1970	Law-defying abortion clinic opens in West Los Angeles
1970	Congressional hearings begin on the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) that asks for the full social, economic and political equality of women
1970	Women's Liberation Center and NOW demonstration
1970	Judy Chicago founds the Fresno Feminist Art Program at Cal State Fresno
1970	The Los Angeles Council of Women Artists (LACWA) is formed
1971	Judy Chicago relocates the Feminist Art Program to CalArts
1971	LA NOW adopts resolution declaring lesbianism a "legitimate concern of feminism"
1971	National Conference for the National Organization for Women (NOW) held in Los Angeles
1972	*Ms*. magazine debuts; by November it has circulation of 500,000 readers

1972	Equal Rights Amendment is passed by the U.S. Senate and sent to the states for ratification on March 22, 1972
1972	Westside Women's Center opens
1972	Judy Chicago leaders her art students on a project to transform an abandoned Hollywood mansion into a work of art known as Womanhouse
1972	Passage of Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments forbids sex discrimination in any educational program that receives federal financial assistance
1972	Johnnie Tillmon's "Welfare is a Woman's Issue" published in Ms. Magazine
1972	Chicana Service Action Center established
1972	Police raid on Feminist Women's Health Center
1972	LA Women's Liberation Center closes
1972	California ratifies the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
1973	Judy Chicago, Sheila de Bretteville, and Arlene Raven found the Feminist Studio Workshop – the first independent school for women artists
1973	Feminist Studio Workshop rents the Woman's Building
1973	Establishment of the Center for Feminist Art Historical Studies
1973	The Women's Graphic Center is founded by Sheila de Bretteville
1973	The Video Project launches 15 PSAs about issues vital to LA women
1973	First Issue of *Womenpeople* published
1973	Roe v. Wade decision legalizing abortion
1973	Battle of the Sexes tennis match between Bobby Riggs and Billie Jean King
1973	State Senator Mervyn Dymally named head of the Joint Committee on Legal Equality, a committee dedicated to the examination of all California laws and policies of state agencies for equity in their treatment of women
1973	Hearing on rape statutes by California Commission on the Status of Women and anther group on how current system only leads to the further victimization of women
1974	Equal Credit Opportunity Act prohibits discrimination consumer credit practices

1975	LA City Commission on the Status of Women created by LA City Council to focus on the unincorporated areas of LA; two weeks prior the Board of Supervisors created the Los Angeles County Commission on the Status of Women
1976	LACAAW opens new offices
1977	Sherna Berger Gluck and Sisterhood Revival Collective hold Sisterhood Revival gathering in Culver City
1977	Founding of *Chrysalis,* a magazine of women's culture
1977	National Women's Conference takes place in Houston, TX
1979	LA NOW Second annual Mother's Day Champagne Brunch
1979	Deadline for ERA state approval gets extension to June 30, 1982
c. late 1970s	UCLA launches its Women's Studies Department
c. 1980	End of the Second wave of feminism; beginning of sex wars
1980	"Women Take Back the Night"/Jenesse Center opens
1981	Feminist Studio Workshop closes
1981	Last Walk for the ERA in Los Angeles/Century City
1982	ERA ratification efforts fail nationally
1991	Woman's Building closes
1992	Third wave of feminism begins; coincides with Rebecca Walker's publication of "I Am the Third Wave" as a response to the Anita Hill case

Appendix B: Women's Rights Known and Designated Resources

This document includes designated and known historic resources identified as part of the development of the "Women's Rights in Los Angeles, 1850-1980," historic context and is not all inclusive. The list may be expanded over time to include resources identified through additional research and public input as well as resources dating from beyond 1980. More information on some of the resources on this list can be found in the historic context.

Known resources may be eligible for designation under local, state, and/or federal programs. Some may meet eligibility requirements for more than one property type. Inclusion in this list does not ensure eligibility. Properties must be fully evaluated under relevant criteria to determine if they meet significance and integrity thresholds.

Property Types Associated with Prominent Persons in Women's Rights in Los Angeles (Criterion B)

Name	Address / Location	Property Type	Comments
Aletha Gilbert Residence	600 W 43rd Pl	Residence	Home of Aletha Maxey Gilbert (1870-1931), founder of the Los Angeles City Mother's Bureau of the LAPD, who served as "City Mother" of Los Angeles starting in 1914. Gilbert was an officer of the LAPD for over 25 years, and served as the first "City Mother," overseeing a police bureau dedicated to assisting wayward girls and their mothers, staffed entirely by police women. The bureau was the first of its kind in the nation, providing assistance to families where domestic discord was present, to prevent child delinquency, protect dependents, and prevent crime. Other City Mother programs in the U.S. based their programs on the LAPD program. Gilbert lived at this residence toward the end of her career in juvenile justice service.
Alice Stebbins Wells Residence	340 N Laveta Terr	Residence	Associated with Los Angeles' -- and the nation's -- first full-time police woman, Alice Stebbins Wells (1873-1957). Wells was sworn in at the LAPD in 1910 and remained with the force until her retirement in 1940. She also organized the International Association of Policewomen.
Ann Forfreedom Residence	14 E Wavecrest Ave	Residence	Residence of Ann Forfreedom (née Herschfang), pioneer in the second wave feminism movement, activist, and a teacher at the Women's Center on Crenshaw.
Anna Howard Shaw and Cora Scott Pope Residence	200 N Avenue 66 (134-200 N Avenue 66)	Residence	Associated with Anna Howard Shaw (1847-1919) and Cora Scott Pond Pope (1856-1932), both well-known national figures in the suffragist movement. Shaw was a close associate of Susan B. Anthony, a physician and one of the first ordained female ministers. Shaw served in the leadership of the National Women Suffrage Association (NWSA). Hometown-Pasadena.com indicates the house was also the site of an early WCTU "Woman's home" and that Shaw and Pope were forced to sell the house in 1897 after the failure of the 1896 California suffrage ballot initiative. Also significant for architecture.
Buckner Residence	318 N Burlington Ave	Residence	Significant for its association with African American Suffragist and Poet Eva Carter Buckner.
Clara Shortridge Foltz Residence	153 S Normandie Ave	Residence	Home of suffragist leader, Mrs. Clara Shortridge Foltz (1849-1934), filer of landmark lawsuit to gain admissions to state universities. Foltz was also a suffragist leader, and the first woman attorney to practice in Los Angeles.
Dorothy Arzner / Marion Morgan Residence	2249 N Mountain Oak Dr	Residence	Designated HCM #301. Dorothy Arzner (1897-1979) was one of the very few female motion picture directors during the Golden Age of Hollywood. In 1936, Arzner became the first woman to join the newly formed Directors Guild of America. Also significant under the LGBT historic context theme – LGBT Persons and Their Impact on the Entertainment Industry.

Appendix B: Women's Rights Known and Designated Resources

Estelle Lawton Lindsey Residence	2416 Echo Park Ave	Residence	In 1915, Estelle Lawton Lindsey (1868-1955) was elected to the Los Angeles City Council. She was the first woman elected to a city council of a major metropolis. She was the first woman City Council president, first woman to be named acting Mayor of Los Angeles, and was also a writer for the Los Angeles Express. Lindsey had been a member of the Christian Socialist Forum in the early teens, before a rift in the party caused her expulsion. Running for City Council as an independent, she received the support of her network of socialist women, labor activists, and women's clubs. Her home while a member of the City Council was located at 2416 Echo Park Avenue. During her tenure, she focused on measures intended to protect women including public health initiatives, anti-prostitution law enforcement, city services for impoverished women, and female deputies in law enforcement.
Harriet O. Parsons Residence	815 S Malcolm Ave	Residence	Harriet Parsons (1906-1983) was one of the first women motion picture producers and the daughter of the Hollywood columnist Louella Parsons. Before producing, she was a screen and magazine writer and had her own radio program. Also significant under the LGBT historic context theme – LGBT Persons and Their Impact on the Entertainment Industry.
Jessie Fremont Residence	3117 S Raymond Ave	Residence	Significant for its association with Jessie Fremont; moved from its original location at 1107 W. 28th Street. Los Angeles Times 7/12/1891 notes that "the cottage recently erected and presented to Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont is also in [the Harper] tract." Relocated in 1912 to 3117 S. Raymond Ave
Katherine Philips Edson Residence	950 W 20th St	Residence/ Meeting Place	Contributor to University Park HPOZ and Twentieth Street National Register Historic District. Associated with Los Angeles suffragist Katherine Philips Edson (1870-1933), who formed the California Political Equity League in 1909. She was an advocate of women's worker rights and a member of the Friday Morning Club. This house was the original location of the Political Equity League prior to finding a permanent location in the Story Building.
Margaret Wright Residence	3831 S Woodlawn Ave	Residence	Significant for its association with Margaret Wright, African American activist for racial equality, school/educational equality, and feminist. Founder of Women Against Repression, a black women's liberation group.
Mary Foy Childhood Home	1335-1341 1/2 W Carroll Ave	Residence	Designated HCM #8. In 1880, Mary Foy (1862-1962), a nineteen-year-old graduate of Los Angeles High School, became the third librarian in the city, serving from 1880-1884. The Italianate-style house where Mary Foy was born and raised at 1335-1341 ½ Carroll Avenue.
Mary Simons Gibson Residence	2301 S Scarff St (910 W 23rd St)	Residence	Contributor to University Park HPOZ and St. James Park National Register Historic District. Significant for its association as a progressive clubwoman and suffragist, Mary Simons Gibson (1855-1930) who was a founding member of the Friday Morning Club and worked on behalf of immigrant women. She was also appointed to the state Immigration and Housing Commission by Governor Hiram Johnson in 1913.

Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce

Name	Address / Location	Property Type	Comments
Bread and Roses Feminist Bookstore	13812 W Ventura Blvd	Bookstore	The location of one of four feminist bookstores in the Los Angeles area in 1983.
Feminist Horizons Bookstore	10586.5 W Pico Blvd	Bookstore	One of three known feminist bookstores at this time.
Sisterhood Bookstore (first location)	1915 Westwood Blvd	Bookstore	Feminists Simone Gold, Gahan Kelley (b. 1944), and Adele Wallace had all been frequent visitors to the Crenshaw Center. In 1972, they opened the first location of Sisterhood Bookstore at 1915 Westwood Boulevard.
Sisterhood Bookstore (San Fernando Valley branch)	13716 W Ventura Blvd	Bookstore	Branch location of the Sisterhood Bookstore.

Appendix B: Women's Rights Known and Designated Resources

Sisterhood Bookstore (second location)	1351 S Westwood Blvd	Bookstore	Feminist bookstore operated for approximately 26 years, from 1972 to 1999. Per *A People's Guide to Los Angeles* , Sisterhood Bookstore extended the spaces available to the burgeoning feminist and women's liberation communities by extending the spaces of small and friendship driven "women's centers" and "women's resource centers" into the more available, democratic space of bookstores.
Everywoman's Feminist Center and Bookstore	1043B W Washington Blvd (now 1043 S Abbot Kinney Blvd)	Bookstore (residence turned bookstore and meeting space)	Early women's space. Regular location of an early self-help clinic founded by Carol Downer. Also the location of the publication of the Everywoman newspaper. Downer's self-help clinic was a model for dozens around the U.S.
Woman's Banking Department, Bank of Italy	649 S Olive St (2nd Floor)	Commerce/ Bank	Designated HCM #354. In 1926, as the women's counterpart to the male-dominated Los Angeles Athletic Club, the Women's Athletic Club was constructed at 829-839 South Flower Street (not extant). The $750,000 Italian Renaissance Revival-style structure was financed by its woman members with additional support through the Los Angeles branch of the Bank of Italy. It was the first time in the United States that such a large financial arrangement was made by women alone. Additional funding was arranged through the Women's Banking Department at Bank of Italy. While women's banking was offered in Los Angeles and several cities on the east coast, the scope was primarily confined to home economics rather than "a complete women's bank." The Women's Banking Department was located on the second floor of the bank at 649 S. Olive Street (1923) under the leadership of Grace S. Stoermer (1886-1961). Stoermer had been the first woman in the United States elected as Secretary of the State Legislature prior to being tapped by the Amadeo P. Giannini (1870-1949), President of the Bank of Italy (present-day Bank of America) to lead the Los Angeles Women's Banking Department. In 1930, The Women's Banking Department was folded into the general banking department and Stoermer was named Assistant Vice President to the Bank of America.
Los Angeles Feminist Federal Credit Union	1434 S Westwood Blvd	Credit Union	First feminist credit union in the Los Angeles area, only two years after the first one in the U.S. was founded in Detroit in 1973. Feminist credit unions were established to provide loans to women without their own separate credit histories, including married and divorced women.
Ivy Bottini's Custom Business Supply	14522.5 W Ventura Blvd	Printing and Graphics	Feminist-owned business doing business with feminists and establishment clients. Printing/graphic design house that printed flyers for many feminist organizations and causes. "Custom Business Supply" is noted in several Los Angeles Times display ads from 1973. Bottini's name is not noted in the ads but the finding aid for her archives includes a file for the same business name.
Women's Saloon and Parlor	4908 W Fountain Ave (at Edgemont Ave)	Restaurant/Meeting Place	Los Angeles' first feminist restaurant founded by Coleen McKay with a mission to provide a safe and respected place for women to dine alone or with other women. Women waitresses were also paid a standardized equal wage. While the restaurant had a large lesbian feminist following, it was meant as a an egalitarian space for all women. Located in a former art studio. Founded in June 1975. Also significant under the LGBT historic context.
NOW Store	1238 S La Cienega Blvd	Retail Store	Thrift Store to raise money for the NOW educational fund.
WomanTours (first location)	6191 N Figueroa St	Travel agency	Contributor, Highland Park-Garvanza HPOZ. First location of Los Angeles' first feminist travel agency, founded by Estalita Grimaldo, provided individual and group travel planning for feminist women and lesbian feminists. It later moved to Santa Monica. Also significant under the LGBT historic context.
Womantours (second location)	5314 N Figueroa St	Travel Agency	Contributor, Highland Park-Garvanza HPOZ. Second location of Los Angeles' first feminist travel agency, founded by Estalita Grimaldo, provided individual and group travel planning for feminist women and lesbian feminists. It later moved to Santa Monica. Also significant under the LGBT historic context.

Property Types Associated with Children's Services

Name	Address / Location	Property Type	Comments
Woman's Day Nursery (second location)	1123 S Channing St	Daycare/ Nursery school	Location of the organized nursery service for African American women in need of child care services as working women. Per Los Angeles Times: "The Woman's Day Nursery Association...are purchasing a house and lot at No. 1123 Channing Street, and hope to open the doors of their nursery this year. This property, which is rented, is well located for its intended purpose. These women will carefully select a matron, and establish and maintain a well-regulated playground."
Los Angeles Orphan's Home (fifth location)	815 N El Centro Ave	Home for orphaned children	Per Calisphere: The orphanage was founded in 1880 as the Los Angeles Orphans Home Society by Mrs. Frank Gibson, a school teacher, and Mrs. Dan Stephens, a philanthropist. The original location was a house on Fort Street, between Fifth and Sixth. The second location was an eight acre plot on Figueroa Street. The orphanage then moved again to a two-story building on the northwest corner of Yale and Virgin (later Alpine) Street. In 1888, a new three-story brick building replaced the existing buildings. In 1910, Charles M. Stimson donated the five acres at 815 N. El Centro Avenue for the orphanage's last reincarnation. Architects Parkinson & Bergstrom designed an orphanage based on cottages rather than a single institutional structure. In 1935 the orphanage became home to nine-year-old Norma Jeane Mortenson, later known as Marilyn Monroe. In 1956, the orphanage was rebuilt and in 1957 was renamed Hollygrove Orphanage.

Property Types Associated with Women-Serving Institutions and Organizations

Name	Address / Location	Property Type	Comments
Chicana Service Action Center Shelter	restricted	Shelter	In 1979, a shelter at an unknown location in East Los Angeles was also operated by the Chicana Service Action Center.
Good Shepard Women's Shelter	restricted	Shelter	One of the first shelters for victims of domestic violence in the country (1977). It initially operated as an emergency facility until other shelters were established. In 1979, an apartment building was purchased in order to give each family the personal space needed to reunite, restructure and reverse the violent dynamics and learn to function in a healthy, non-violent atmosphere. The shelter then became a long-term facility, focusing on treatment, education and healing.
Pilgrim House (first location); Los Angeles Japanese Union Church	120 N Judge John Aiso St (120 N San Pedro St)	Boarding house	Designated HCM #312 and Contributor to Little Tokyo National Register Historic District. After becoming the first African American woman to graduate from the USC School of Dentistry in 1918, Dr. Veda Somerville dedicated herself to civil rights and community service, helping to found Pilgrim House, a transitional home for wartime migrating women and children at 120 North San Pedro St (now Judge John Aiso Street) in the former East West Players/Old Japanese Church building.
Ransome House (third location)	2129 S Norwood St	Boarding House	Contributor to University Park HPOZ. Third location of the Ransome House, the oldest home for impoverished young women and girls in Los Angeles, founded by the Social Purity League in 1888, but later taken over and operated by the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU).
Sojourner Truth Home (a.k.a. Sojourner Truth Industrial Club III)	1807 S Crenshaw Blvd (1805 and 1807 S. Crenshaw Blvd)	Multi-family residence	Associated with the Sojourner Truth Club of Los Angeles, an early African American woman's club organized to improve the low wages and poor working conditions faced by black women. This is the third location of a residential home for women operated by the club.

Appendix B: Women's Rights Known and Designated Resources

Westside Women's Center	218 E Venice Blvd (218 S Venice Blvd)	Multi-family residence/ Women's Center	Local meeting place for the women's movement. The Center purposefully reached out to women of all ages and colors and economic conditions to deal with issues in the neighborhood, including those on welfare or with drug abuse problems. Causes also included violence against women, anti-rape squads, and self defense. It was affiliated with the Women's Center on Crenshaw. Also the location of a lending library for books on women's issues. Also held workshops on carpentry, money management, non-sexist child rearing, and other women's issues and political activism. Per the SurveyLA LGBT Historic Context, this organization was founded in 1970, and published a feminist newspaper, provided therapy, and trained women in the building trades.
UCLA Women's Resource Center	405 N Hilgard Ave (Room 2, Dodd Hall, 390 Portola Plaza, UCLA)	Resource Center	Women's resource centers were also often opened on college campuses. By 1977, Cal State University, Los Angeles, Pierce College, UCLA and LA Valley College all had centers providing information and referral services for questions about health, legal matters, professional or career choices and personal problems. In 1972, Sheila Kuehl (b. 1941) co-founded the Women's Resource Center at UCLA.
Center for New Directions III	7112 N Owensmouth Ave	Service Center	Third location of the women's resource center sponsored by Cal State University Northridge (CSUN) and the San Fernando Valley branch of the American Association of University Women. Location of one-on-one counseling and seminars on legal rights, financial literacy, and entering the workforce. Evelyn Ghormley was the director during this period. More information needed on the duration of the program.
Chicana Service Center	435 S Boyle Ave	Service Center	Woman's center from the feminist woman's movement period; the only one in Los Angeles solely dedicated to Latinas. Sponsored by the Comision Femenil Mexicana (CFM), the center expanded services to two additional locations by 1975. Gloria Molina served as the CFM president circa 1976. The center provided a variety of services for women including job readiness, language assistance, child care, and family planning/social service referrals.
Gay Women's Service Center (first location)	1168 N Glendale Blvd	Service Center	In early 1971, Del Whan and Virginia Hoeffding opened the first location of the Gay Women's Service Center at 1168 Glendale Boulevard.
Haven Hills	restricted	Shelter	The first resource for battered women in the San Fernando Valley; began organizing under the leadership of two Canoga Park Women's Club members, Jacquie Gordon and Cheryl Cornell.
Rosasharon Foundation Shelter (Battered Women's Shelter)	restricted	Shelter	Largest early, non-religious battered women's shelter in Los Angeles, and one of very few in the county prior to 1980. Location TBD - Trying Yvonne Brathwaite Burke Papers at USC. Location purposefully kept secret to protect women.
Sojourner Shelter (Sojourner Center)	restricted	Shelter	Sojourner Center was founded in 1977 as an emergency program for women transitioning back into society after release from prison. The shelter was founded because women leaving the criminal justice system rarely had the skills or support to be successful in the outside world. Sojourner Center provided a temporary home as well as programs that taught self-sufficiency, empowerment and family skills, which helped the women rebuild their lives.
Sunshine Mission (Casa de Rosas)	954-1008 W Adams Blvd (2600 S Hoover St)	Shelter	Designated HCM #241 and listed on the National Register.

Appendix B: Women's Rights Known and Designated Resources

Women's Center / Women's Liberation Center / Crenshaw Women's Center / Women's Choice Clinic	1027 S Crenshaw Blvd	Women's Service Center/ Multi-family residence (duplex turned commercial)	Significant as the first women's center in Los Angeles that functioned as a safe space for nurturing the autonomy of women and organizing for the second wave of feminism and the Women's Liberation Movement. These types of centers were the heart of the early feminist movement. Also potentially significant for its association with feminist Joan Robins, founder. The building was home to consciousness raising sessions, feminist film screenings and a feminist theater group. Also the home of the Anti-Rape Squad. Additionally significant as the first self-help feminist health clinic in Los Angeles and the first in the nation; its layout and services were widely emulated nationwide by other clinics and it became the first in a network of affiliated clinics under the Feminist Women's Health Center (FWHC) name. When the Women's Center closed in 1972, the clinic expanded to both sides of the duplex building.
Magnolia Residence Home / Japanese YMCA	2616 E 3rd St	YWCA	Significant as a home for single Japanese girls. By 1940 it was home to 14 Japanese women who came to LA for work or study.
Mary Andrews Clark Memorial Home	306-336 S Loma Dr	YWCA	Designated HCM #158 and listed on the National Register. A home for young single working women relocating to Los Angeles in the first decade of the 20th century, run by the Los Angeles Young Women's Christian Association (YMCA). Funds for the home were donated to the YMCA by copper magnate William Andrews Clark (1839-1925) and named in memory of his mother. The home was operated by the YWCA from 1913 to 1987, when it was closed as a result of damage sustained in the Whittier Narrows earthquake. Also significant for architecture, built 1913, designed in the Chateauesque style by Arthur Burnett Benton.
Morgan House / Harbor Area YWCA	437 W 9th St	YWCA	Designated HCM #186 and contributor to Vinegar Hill HPOZ.
Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)	939-941 S Figueroa St	YWCA	Los Angeles Young Women's Christian Association (YMCA) as a hotel exclusively for young women; financed, built and operated by women. The hotel catered to "business, traveling and professional women." It also housed dining facilities, a writing salon, lounge, and patio. At the time of its construction, it was one of the largest individual financial transactions by a body of organized women. Also significant for architecture, built 1926, designed by Stanton, Reed & Hibbard.
YWCA Hollywood Studio Club	1215-1233 N Lodi Pl	YWCA	Designated HCM #175 and listed on the National Register. The Hollywood Studio Club was a chaperoned dormitory, sometimes referred to as a sorority, for young women involved in the motion picture business from 1916 to 1975. Located in the heart of Hollywood, the Studio Club was run by the YWCA and housed some 10,000 women during its 59-year existence. Also significant under the Entertainment context. Also significant for architecture, Renaissance Revival style, by Julia Morgan.

Property Types Associated with Meeting Places

Name	Address / Location	Property Type	Comments
California Federal Bank	5670 W Wilshire Blvd (3rd floor Auditorium/Cafeteria)	Bank	Significant as the meeting place of the general membership of NOW LA from around July 1970 through July 1971.
First AME Church	2270 S Harvard Blvd	Church	The National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) formed first as a national organization to "reflect the new political militancy of the Women's Liberation Movement, and then began creating local chapters around the country. The Women's Political Caucus, Southern California Region held its first meeting in October 1972 at the First AME church at 2270 S. Harvard Boulevard.
First Chinese Presbyterian Church	631 E Adams Blvd	Church	LA Times search didn't yield any location of a clubhouse. Meeting place of the Chinese Women's New Life Movement Association. Per the SurveyLA HCS: the Women's New Life Movement Association was a patriotic group founded in 1938 as an extension of the Chinese Kuomintang government's New Life Movement that promoted the progression of Chinese women in international affairs, educational achievement, and Chinese American communities.

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St. Alban's Episcopal Church	580 S Hilgard Ave	Church	Significant as the location of the first Los Angeles Conference on Assaults Against Women where the Commission on Assaults Against Women was formed. Associated with leading Los Angeles Feminist Joan Robins (see Joan Ellen Hoffman).
St. Paul's Methodist Church	1200-1208 S Manhattan Pl	Church	Contributor to Country Club Park HPOZ. The Women's Center was the weekly meeting place for "Gay Women's Liberation" (a.k.a., Gay Liberation Front) an early lesbian feminist group led by Rita Goldberger that "...educated the public about homosexuality as a valid lifestyle." The group became the first feminist lesbian group in Los Angeles, "The Lesbian Feminists." The Center was also the location of the Women's Liberation Inter-Group Council, an intermediary group of feminist organization leaders such as Margaret Wright. In addition to the workshops held at the Center, a speaker's bureau was organized to reply to external requests for workshops. Many of the workshops were held at St. Paul's Methodist Church at 1200 South Manhattan Place.
Eagle Rock Women's Christian Temperance Union Home	2225-2245 W Norwalk Ave	Clubhouse	Designated HCM #562. It served as a rest home for aging members of the organization, which spearheaded campaigns for prohibition and women's suffrage, among other social causes. The Period of Significance ends in 1992, when the organization sold the building.
Eagle Rock Women's Twentieth Century Club	5105 N Hermosa Ave (1841-1855 W Colorado Blvd)	Clubhouse	Designated HCM #537 and listed on the National Register. Part of the rise in popularity of women's clubs in the early 20th century, the club provided a collective means for women to engage with philanthropy, community service, suffrage efforts, and other aspects of public life. The property meets Criterion A for National Register designation for similar reasons.
Ebell of Los Angeles (a.k.a. Wilshire Ebell Club)	741-743 S Lucerne Blvd	Clubhouse	Designated HCM #250. The Ebell club was formed in 1894 with ideals based on the teachings of Dr. Adrian Ebell. The Mediterranean Revival building was built in 1927, designed by architect Sumner P. Hunt. The 75,000-square-foot property includes the world-renowned, 1,300-seat Wilshire Ebell Theatre at the south end. The club's previous location, from 1905 to 1927, was at 1719 S Figueroa Street. At the time of the new building, 3,000 women were members, studying "literature, music, drama, the fine arts, travel, and many other subjects (omitting religion and politics)." Florence Yoch and Lucile Council were chosen as the landscape architects, at the insistence of the club membership that a woman be hired to design the gardens. This project was designed relatively early in their long careers, which started in 1918 and 1921 respectively. Yoch had already designed gardens at Rancho Los Alamitos, Long Beach (for Florence Bixby), the Wilshire Country Club in 1920, and The Women's Athletic Club in Los Angeles. Her partnership with Council began in 1925, and the pair continued to landscape public gardens at Occidental College and the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena, as well as residences for movie moguls. This was also prior to Florence Yoch's involvement in the movie set design of "Gone With The Wind," "The Good Earth," and "How Green Was My Valley," to name a few. Also significant for architecture (Sumner P. Hunt) and landscape design (Yoch & Council).
Friday Morning Club	938-940 S Figueroa St	Clubhouse	Designated HCM #196 and listed on the National Register. The Friday Morning Club was founded by abolitionist, suffragist, and mother Caroline Severance in 1891, with 87 other women, in the reading room of the Hollenbeck Hotel, then located at Second and Broadway. The Friday Morning Club became the largest women's club in California, with membership of over 1,800 women by the 1920s. The FMC's first clubhouse was at its current location, in a 2-story Mission Revival-style building constructed in 1900. When World War I increased their numbers, this building was dismantled and in 1923 the current 6-story building was constructed on the location. Also significant for architecture, Renaissance Revival style by Allison & Allison.

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Friday Morning Club I / Catholic Woman's Club	927 S Menlo Ave	Clubhouse	The first Mission-style club house building for the Friday Morning Club sold to the Catholic Women's Club when the new clubhouse was designed by Allison and Allison (see separate entry). See Amelia Crary, "Women's Clubs in California: Architecture and Organization, 1880-1940," University Of California Berkeley, 2016, 33. Per SW: Amelia Crary's dissertation cites an article "Catholic Club Buys Building," in the Los Angeles Examiner of May 10, 1922 that the Catholic Women's Club purchased the old FMC building and moved it to the corner of San Marino Street and Menlo Avenue in the Westlake District. It has been altered beyond recognition and is now used as a church.
Highland Park Ebell Club Building	125-135 S Avenue 57	Clubhouse	Designated HCM #284. The property meets the criteria for HCM designation because it reflects the "broad cultural, economic, or social history of the nation, state, or community." It is home to the Highland Park Ebell Club, a woman's club incorporated in 1907 that has been active in Highland Park ever since.
Los Angeles Chinese Women's Club		Clubhouse	LA Times search didn't yield any location of a clubhouse. Per SLA HCS: "The Los Angeles Chinese Women's Club was founded in 1944 by Lily Ho Quon to unite war relief efforts between Chinese American and Anglo American women, with most of its members coming from the Chinese middle and upper classes. In 1947, this group joined the California Federation of Women's Clubs and, in 1953, created a junior component." Per Arcadia book: "Founded in 1944, LACWC was highly active in various civic and cultural affairs that affected Chinatown and the Chinese American community in Los Angeles. LACWC was affiliated with the California Federation of Women's Clubs and held monthly meetings in various members' homes." Los Angeles Times research did not reveal any addresses associated with the club or advertised meeting places; it is likely that if the meetings were indeed held in members' homes that this was not widely advertised, or may only have been advertised in Chinese newspapers. The Los Angeles Chinese Women's Club and Juniors was founded in 1944. It modeled itself after white women's clubs and was the first non-Caucasian organization to be admitted into the California Federation of Women's Clubs in 1947. In 1949, the Club established a building fund for a meeting house; however, they were unsuccessful.
Los Angeles Nurses' Club	245 S Lucas Ave	Clubhouse	Designated HCM #352 and listed on the National Register. Los Angeles Nurses' Club is a clubhouse and apartment building for nurses, established as a non-profit organization in 1921. Also significant for architecture, built 1924, by John L. Frauenfelder.
Mei Wah Club		Clubhouse	Los Angeles Times search didn't yield any location of a clubhouse. Per the Chinese American Museum, Los Angeles newsletter: "The Mei Wah (Chinese in America) Club, the oldest L.A. Chinese women's club which is still active, was formed in 1931 by ten Chinese American teenage girls as a basketball team. In subsequent years, Mei Wah expanded to become a charitable organization, providing financial assistance to the refugees of war-torn China in the 1930s. Under the guidance of club advisor Maye Wong, Barbara Jean Lee's mother, the enterprising young ladies organized Chinese relief benefits in the form of Christmas parties, Thanksgiving dances, and skating parties. In 1938, the Mei Wah girls choreographed and rehearsed their routines and even sewed their own costumes in time to parade in the Moon Festival, the first large public assembly and fundraiser of United Chinese Relief. Thus, the first all-Chinese girl drum corps was born. Its director was David Soo Hoo, who was the brother of Peter Soo Hoo, the founder of L.A.'s New Chinatown. The corps had attracted many new drummers within a year. The drum corps traveled all over Southern California to perform in band contests and ultimately won numerous trophies during the 1940s. In the decades after World War II, the Mei Wah girls directed their philanthropic efforts to the needs of the Los Angeles community. Always innovative, the women organized benefit carnivals, bazaars, and dances, often in their own backyards, and with the help of their husbands and children." Los Angeles Times research did not reveal any addresses associated with the club or advertised meeting places; it is possible that meetings were advertised in Chinese newspapers only.

Appendix B: Women's Rights Known and Designated Resources

Van Nuys Women's Club Building	14832-14836 W Sylvan St	Clubhouse	Designated HCM #201. "The property was built for the Van Nuys Woman's Club, one of the oldest social institutions in the San Fernando Valley."
Women's Club of Hollywood (Hollywood School for Girls)	1741-1751 N La Brea Ave	Clubhouse	Designated HCM #604 and listed on the National Register. Before housing the Woman's Club of Hollywood, founded in 1905, It had been the Hollywood School for Girls, with Jean Harlow, Carol Lombard and Douglas Fairbanks Jr. amongst the pupils, and Edith Head and Charles Laughton teaching there.
Pico House	424 N Main St	Commercial	Designated HCM #64 and listed as California State Historical Mandmark #159. Early meeting place. Featured a ladies' parlor specifically designed to attract gatherings of women.
Votes for Women (third location), Merchants Trust Building	207 S Broadway (207-211 S Broadway)	Commercial	Formerly known as the Equality Club, the Votes for Women Club changed its name in 1910 and met weekly in Room 95 on the fifth floor of the Bryson Block Building at the northwest corner of 2nd and Spring Street. In July of that year, the club's regular meeting location switched to 915 South Olive. By 1911, the club had moved to a first-floor suite in the Merchants Trust Building at 207 S. Broadway.
The Haymarket Center	507 N Hoover St	Commercial	Significant as one of the first locations of a feminist consciousness raising group in Los Angeles. Also a well-known Silverlake headquarters of a leftist group. Associated with leading Los Angeles Feminist Joan Robins (nee Joan Hoffman).
California Political Equity League Headquarters	610 S Broadway (Story Building)	Commercial Office/ Organization Headquarters	Located in the Broadway Theater and Commercial National Register District. Location of the permanent headquarters for the California Political Equity League, founded in 1910 by Katherine Philips Edson and John H. Braly. The P.E.L. was one of the largest and most active suffrage organizations in Southern California. Also significant for architecture, built 1909, Beaux Arts style by Morgan, Walls & Clements.
NOW Los Angeles Office	8271 W Melrose Ave	Commercial Office/ Organization Headquarters	Location of the Los Angeles Chapter of one of the most important feminist organizations of second wave feminism. During the mid-to-late 1970s, the property served as the location of consciousness-raising sessions, and lectures on topics such as child care, legal rights, insurance laws, and family law (divorce, custody, etc.). Gloria Allred was president of the LA Chapter of NOW in 1977 and 1978. May also be significant for architecture, built 1957-1958 by architect Daniel L. Dworsky.
Sojourner Truth Industrial Club I	1119 E Adams Blvd	Multi-family residence	Associated with the Sojourner Truth Club of Los Angeles, an early African American woman's club organized to improve the low wages and poor working conditions faced by black women.
Blanchard Music Hall	235 S Broadway	Music Hall	By 1910, the Los Angeles chapter of the American Woman's League was managed by Pearl Adams Spaulding out of offices on the fourth floor of Blanchard Music Hall, where they also held chapter meetings.
American Woman's League Chapter House	1832 W 49th St	Residence	Significant as the first Chapter house on the West coast for the Los Angeles Chapter of the American Woman's League (based in St. Louis). House was won as part of a contest by the *Los Angeles Herald* and became the location of chapter operations and meetings.
Barker Bros. Activity House	5320 Hartwick St	Residence	To serve the needs of women defense workers, Barker Bros. furniture established six "activity houses" in neighborhoods in and around Los Angeles for the members of the Aircraft Women's Club. The houses, furnished entirely by the retailer, were offered as meeting places for women associated with war production for lectures, classes, and patriotic projects. Established in 1942, three of the six houses were in Los Angeles including 5320 Hartwick Street in Eagle Rock, 11066 Lorne Street in Sun Valley (not extant), and 5916 Melrose Avenue, Hollywood.
Barker Bros. Activity House	5916 Melrose Ave	Residence	To serve the needs of women defense workers, Barker Bros. furniture established six "activity houses" in neighborhoods in and around Los Angeles for the members of the Aircraft Women's Club. The houses, furnished entirely by the retailer, were offered as meeting places for women associated with war production for lectures, classes, and patriotic projects. Established in 1942, three of the six houses were in Los Angeles including 5320 Hartwick Street in Eagle Rock, 11066 Lorne Street in Sun Valley (not extant), and 5916 Melrose Avenue, Hollywood.

Appendix B: Women's Rights Known and Designated Resources

Ferrol Bobo Starks Residence	1466 W 50th St	Residence	Associated with African American women's rights leader Ferrol Bobo Starks (1908-2006), president of the Los Angeles chapter and national organization of the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). At least some meetings of the local organization were held at her home at this location. A nurse, teacher and promoter of feminine progress, Starks was an early leader in the community.
National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) Media Chapter	884 N Beverly Glen	Residence	In 1971, this organization was located as 5899 W Pico Bl.
WCTU State Headquarters (third location)	551 S Kingsley Dr	Residence	In 1951, the once mighty WCTU, no longer housed at the Temperance Temple Downtown, dedicated the third location of their state headquarters at 551 S. Kingsley Drive in a converted Craftsman house. the headquarters was dedicated on March 14, 1951, with approximately 300 WCTU members and friends attending the ceremonies

Property Types Associated with Meeting Places and Prominent Persons in Women's Rights in Los Angeles (Criterion B)

Name	Address / Location	Property Type	Comments
Residence of Virginia A. "Toni" Carabillo and Judith K. Meuli	1126 S Hi Point St	Multi-family residence	Contributor (Altered) to Carthay Square HPOZ. Home of Virginia A. "Toni" Carabillo and Judith K. Meuli, which was a gathering place for prominent L.A. and national women's rights advocates in the 1970s; offices from which they worked and published feminist writings; location from which Meuli sold the "Brassy"-design feminist jewelry. Carabillo (1926-1997), the first Los Angeles NOW Chapter President, on the Board of Directors of NOW's national organization, and served as Vice President of the national organization from 1971-1974.

Property Types Associated with Prominent Persons in Women's Rights in Los Angeles (Criterion B) and Women-Serving Institutions and Organizations

Name	Address / Location	Property Type	Comments
Avril Adams Residence	3330 W Hamilton Wy	Residence	The Women's Center offered a speakers' bureau, bookstand, open rap sessions, and a Women's Liberation School "to help women function autonomously and understand the nature of their oppression." Teachers at the School resided all over Los Angeles, and included Ann ForFreedom (14 Wavecrest Avenue, Venice), Hannah Lerman (10480 Santa Monica Blvd.), Judy Freespirit (née Ackerman, 25 Navy Street, #9, Venice), Joan Hoffman (1981 N. Whitley Avenue, Hollywood), Avril Adams (3330 Hamilton Way), and Regina Barton (1225 Hi Point Street).
Joan Hoffman Residence	1981 N Whitley Ave (1969-1985 N Whitley Ave)	Residence	Contributor to Whitley Heights HPOZ and Whitley heights National Register Historic District. The Women's Center offered a speakers' bureau, bookstand, open rap sessions, and a Women's Liberation School "to help women function autonomously and understand the nature of their oppression." Teachers at the School resided all over Los Angeles, and included Ann ForFreedom (14 Wavecrest Avenue, Venice), Hannah Lerman (10480 Santa Monica Blvd.), Judy Freespirit (née Ackerman, 25 Navy Street, #9, Venice), Joan Hoffman (1981 N. Whitley Avenue, Hollywood), Avril Adams (3330 Hamilton Way), and Regina Barton (1225 Hi Point Street).
Judy Freespirit Residence	25 E Navy St (Unit #9)	Residence	The Women's Center offered a speakers' bureau, bookstand, open rap sessions, and a Women's Liberation School "to help women function autonomously and understand the nature of their oppression." Teachers at the School resided all over Los Angeles, and included Ann ForFreedom (14 Wavecrest Avenue, Venice), Hannah Lerman (10480 Santa Monica Blvd.), Judy Freespirit (née Ackerman, 25 Navy Street, #9, Venice), Joan Hoffman (1981 N. Whitley Avenue, Hollywood), Avril Adams (3330 Hamilton Way), and Regina Barton (1225 Hi Point Street).

Appendix B: Women's Rights Known and Designated Resources

Regina Barton Residence	1225 S Hi Point St	Residence	Contributor to Carthay Square HPOZ. The Women's Center offered a speakers' bureau, bookstand, open rap sessions, and a Women's Liberation School "to help women function autonomously and understand the nature of their oppression." Teachers at the School resided all over Los Angeles, and included Ann ForFreedom (14 Wavecrest Avenue, Venice), Hannah Lerman (10480 Santa Monica Blvd.), Judy Freespirit (née Ackerman, 25 Navy Street, #9, Venice), Joan Hoffman (1981 N. Whitley Avenue, Hollywood), Avril Adams (3330 Hamilton Way), and Regina Barton (1225 Hi Point Street).
Shelter	restricted	Shelter	In 1980, a shelter was opened in a converted garage and two small apartment buildings.

Property Types Associated with Health and Medicine

Name	Address / Location	Property Type	Comments
Panorama Women's Medical Group	8215 N Van Nuys Blvd	Clinic	The San Fernando Valley's largest feminist health clinic as of 1977.
Temple Health Institute	4920 S Central Ave	Clinic	Temple Health Institute founded in 1934 in a bungalow at 4920 S. Central Avenue. It was a very early birth control clinic founded by and for African American women (according to Jessie Rodriquez, only two states in the US, California and Oklahoma, had such institutions). It was founded by Dr. Ruth Janetta Temple Banks (1892-1984) who was the first African American woman doctor in Los Angeles and founder of the Community Health Association. Her obituary in the February 11, 1984 Los Angeles Times and a search of a decade of City Directories confirms the location/address. During the early 1930s, Dr. Temple was working for the City of Los Angeles City Maternity Services delivering babies and asked the city for money for a clinic in Southeast LA. She was told there was no money, so she and her husband founded the clinic with borrowed money (he was a real estate agent). After the war, the city funded the Southeast District Health Center, and the Temple Health Institute was disbanded.
The Women's Clinic	6423 W Wilshire Blvd	Clinic	Los Angeles County's first clinic run by women, staffed by women physicians, for women patients, established in April 1972. The clinic offered pregnancy tests, contraception, STD testing and treatment, and abortion referrals.
West Los Angeles Abortion Clinic	11914.5 W Santa Monica Blvd	Clinic	
Alcoholism Center for Women	1135-1141 S Alvarado St	Substance Abuse Treatment/Prevention Center	Designated HCM #327 and contributor to Pico-Union HPOZ. The Alcoholism Center for Women was founded by Brenda Weathers in 1974, and was a pioneering residential treatment center for women. It was also identified as significant in the LGBT context. Known as the Thomas Potter Residence.
Alcoholism Center for Women	1147 S Alvarado St	Substance Abuse Treatment/Prevention Center	Designated HCM #328 and contributor to Pico-Union HPOZ. The Alcoholism Center for Women was founded by Brenda Weathers in 1974, and was a pioneering residential treatment center for women. It was also identified as significant in the LGBT context. Known as the August Winstel Residence.

Property Types Associated with Visual, Performing, and Literary Arts

Name	Address / Location	Property Type	Comments
Feminist Studio Workshop (original location); former Chouinard Art School	743 S Grand View St	Art School	Designated HCM #154. Significant as the location of the second feminist art workshop space (after Venice's Womanspace); moved to The Women's Building in 1975. Nelbert Chouinard had started her art school in this building in the 1920s, but that was not a factor in its selection by the FSW. Built 1929 per *LA Times* (no original permit found).

Appendix B: Women's Rights Known and Designated Resources

The Woman's Building / Feminist Studio Workshop	1727 N Spring St	Gallery/ Performance Studio	Designated HCM #1160. From 1973 to 1991, the Los Angeles-based organization and facility stood as a counterpoint to most major American museums, galleries, and arts programs, which routinely excluded female artists from their circles. Created by and for women, The Woman's Building exemplified the impulse among feminists, including lesbians and bisexual women, to establish autonomous spaces outside of traditional, patriarchal institutions. Three trailblazing women – artist Judy Chicago, art historian Arlene Raven, and graphic designer Sheila Levrant de Bretteville – came together in 1973 to create the first independent art school for women called the Feminist Studio Workshop (FSW). The founding of the FSW represented a crucial milestone for feminist activism within the art world, which targeted mainstream institutions for their broad dismissal of female artists. The FSW was originally headquartered at 743 S. Grand View Street, near MacArthur Park. The founders and students began to describe the educational center as The Woman's Building, a tribute to the Sophia Hayden-designed structure at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, which exhibited work by female artists from around the globe. In addition to the FSW, the building housed a number of like-minded feminist institutions, including the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the first Sisterhood Bookstore. In 1975, the organization relocated to the 1914 Beaux Arts building at 1727 N. Spring Street, where it remained until its closure in 1991. Like its predecessor, the nonprofit center was known as The Woman's Building in reference to the creative achievements and autonomy of female artists. (LA Conservancy website).
Womanspace Gallery	11007 W Venice Blvd	Gallery/ Performance Studio	Associated with the feminist art movement of the 1970s and the artist Judy Chicago. It was the first space for the exhibition and performance of women's art on the West Coast, and one of the first in the United States. (An LA Times article mentions that they moved into The Woman's Building in 1973, but there is still a gallery show at the Venice address in the Fall of 1973...not sure if the two spaces operated simultaneously for awhile.)
Ash Grove	8162 W Melrose Ave	Music Venue	A legendary folk and blues music venue. For two weeks in October of 1971, this venue hosted the Women's Multimedia Festival, which brought together music, films, theater, dance, poetry, arts and crafts for exhibits and nightly programs. Now occupied by The Improv.
Evergreen Stage	5060 W Fountain Ave	Performance theater	Location of several early performances of the Los Angeles Feminist Theater productions prior to their moving into the Woman's Building occurred at this location.
Synthaxis Theater	6468 W Santa Monica Blvd	Theater	A feminist theater group. Advertised heavily and consistently in the NOW News.

Property Types Associated with Entertainment, Media, Newspapers, and Publishing

Name	Address / Location	Property Type	Comments
Everywoman newspaper mailing address	6516 W 83rd St	Newspaper Office	One of the earliest feminist newspapers in Los Angeles, *Everywoman,* published its inaugural issue in May of 1970. Known as a "radical feminist newspaper," some subscribers were reported by the *Los Angeles Times* as having requested that it be delivered in a plain brown wrapper. The newspaper took its name from the Everywoman Feminist Center and Bookstore at 1043B W. Washington Boulevard but listed its mailing address as 6516 W. 83rd Street, a residence.
Wollstonecraft Inc.	6399 W Wilshire Blvd	Publishing Office	Small publisher of feminist fiction and nonfiction books.
KPFK Radio Studio	3729 N Cahuenga Blvd (3719-3723 N Cahuenga Blvd)	Radio Station	Important broadcaster of feminist programing and lesbian feminist programming for years. Devoted a whole month to women programming for women in early 1970s. Ruth Hirschman Seymour was programming director for KPFK at the time. May also be eligible under the Entertainment Industry Context.

Appendix B: Women's Rights Known and Designated Resources

Olivia Records	1053 S Fedora St	Recording Studio	Significant as a women-owned and women-operated feminist record label (from technicians to talent) founded by Ginny Berson. Talent included Meg Christian. The business was founded in 1973 and operated out of a house in the Wilshire district for two years (per *LA Times*), relocating to the Women's Building on Spring St upon its opening in December 1975. Also significant under the LGBT historic context. Address is tentatively identified based on a phone number frequently listed for Olivia Records; confirmed through directory research. Most advertisements for the record company list a PO Box only.
CBS Studio Center	4024 Radford Ave	Television Studio	Television scholars recognize the role of actress Mary Tyler Moore's (1936-2017) production company, MTM Enterprises, in shaping public perceptions of feminism during the 1970s. Beginning with the "Mary Tyler Moore Show" (1970-1977) viewers were introduced to "television's first sustained representation of the cultural influence of the women's liberation movement," in Mary Richards, a young, professional woman. Other MTM spin-off shows such as "Rhoda" (1974-1978) and "Phyllis" (1975-1977) continued the trend of focusing on women's changing roles in society.

Property Types Associated with Labor and Industry

Name	Address / Location	Property Type	Comments
Women for Equality in the Media	2000 N Highland Ave	Commercial	Designated HCM #397. Location of the Women for Equality in Media group led by Francine Parker, a director. WEMG led a protest on the American Film Institute against its lack of admissions of women to the Center for Advanced Film Studies.
Lockheed Aircraft Corp. Plant #2	2060 E 7th St	Factory	The aircraft industry employed many women. By the end of 1942, it was estimated that 151,800 women were employed in California factories. Defense jobs were also a gateway to a wider world for many younger Latinas who were sheltered in strong patriarchal families. Defense jobs provided a steady income and a sense of stability for many Latino families. Lockheed Aircraft Corp Plant #2 at 2060 East 7th Street employed many Latinas.
Los Angeles Shipbuilding Company and Dry Dock Corporation	1201 Regan St	Industrial/ shipyard	The Los Angeles Shipbuilding Company and Dry Dock Corporation at 1201 Regan Street in San Pedro employed the first female 75-ton portable crane operator.
A.T.S. School of Electrial Component Assembly	1823 S. Hope St	Industrial	Downtown Los Angeles was home to many technical training institutes that marketed themselves to women including the A.T.S. school of electrical component assembly at 1823 S. Hope Street.
International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU)	1108 S Los Angeles St (1110 S Los Angeles St)	Labor Union Headquarters	Significant as the headquarters of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. In the 1930s, dressmakers belonging to the union went on strike, which significantly influenced the treatment of women employed in the garment and textile industries. This building was the location at which union members were registered, organized into shop groups, and issued identification cards which provided them with access to meals, groceries, and a weekly cash allowance.
Embassy Auditorium (Embassy Theater)	851 S Grand Ave (501 W. 9th St; 839-861 S. Grand Ave)	Labor union meeting place	Designated HCM # 299. Gathering place for labor unions and community organizations including Russian Jewish and Latina garment workers, Latina cannery workers, and Russian Molokan walnut shellers. Women's unions met inside and marched outside from the 1920s through the 1940s. This gathering place is known for its association with known women organizers Rose Pesotta (International Ladies' Garment Workers Union), Luisa Moreno (United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers Association) and Josefina Fierro de Bright of El Congreso (the Spanish Speaking People's Congress).

Appendix B: Women's Rights Known and Designated Resources

Excelsior Steam Laundry	424 S Los Angeles St	Site of labor strike	In 1901, the predominantly-female workforce of the Excelsior Steam Laundry participated in a laundry workers' strike that called attention to poor working conditions in the city's seven major laundry companies. Strikers called for a closed shop agreement, a ten-hour work day, and equal pay for women and men. The laundry strike set the stage for future labor disputes that would roil Los Angeles in subsequent years.

Property Types Associated with Protest and Demonstration Sites

Name	Address / Location	Property Type	Comments
City Hall Mall (now the Los Angeles Mall)	201 N Los Angeles St	Site	Public protests continued throughout the 1970s, and at each one women were visible in the streets of Los Angeles with signs promoting equality, equal employment, abortion, and child care. Guerilla theater performances were frequently part of these protests. In August 1975, women marched at the City Hall Mall to mark the 55th anniversary of suffrage.
Federal Building	300 N Los Angeles St	Site	Listed in the National Register. Public protests continued throughout the 1970s and at each one women were visible in the streets of Los Angeles with signs promoting equality, equal employment, abortion, and child care. Local protests included women picketing the State Department of Human Resources at 1525 S. Broadway and the Federal Building at 300 N. Los Angeles Street.
St. Mark's Plaza	Winward Avenue and Ocean Front Walk	Site	Site of a large suffrage rally in August 1911.
State Department of Human Resources	1525 S Broadway	Site	Public protests continued throughout the 1970s and at each one women were visible in the streets of Los Angeles with signs promoting equality, equal employment, abortion, and child care. Local protests included women picketing the State Department of Human Resources at 1525 S. Broadway and the Federal Building at 300 N. Los Angeles Street.
Wilshire Federal Building	11000 W Wilshire Blvd	Site	Per the Carabillo/Meuli papers, the site of protests related to Los Angeles NOW and the Equal Rights Amendment. On August 26, 1970, Los Angeles women participated in Betty Friedan's "National Woman's Strike Day" to mark the 50th anniversary of winning the vote and "signal the start of a major political effort for the liberation of the women of the United States of America." In Los Angeles, 2,500 women marched from the new Federal Building at 11000 Wilshire Boulevard to the Janss Steps on the UCLA campus.

Property Types Associated with Designed Landscapes

Name	Address / Location	Property Type	Comments
Women's Cottage Garden	11301 W Wilshire Blvd (Veterans Administration Center)	Garden	Within the West Los Angeles Veterans Affairs National Register Historic District. Associated with women serving in World War II. Exact location unknown.