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Quaker History, Volume 110, Number 2, Fall 2021, pp. 66-120 (Article)

Published by Friends Historical Association

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Between 1882 and 1909 Quakers established three meetings in the American frontier town of Pasadena, California, incorporated in 1886—two quite progressive, and one very conservative. During that quarter century each of the three groups in question built radically different places of worship in the city, each drawing upon and/or resisting the long Quaker architectural tradition they inherited. This study thus starts by tracing that inheritance from its beginning in George Fox's England to colonial North America. It savors an American Quaker architectural invention, the "ideal Quaker plan" that emerged in the mid eighteenth century (and dominated Quaker building for more than a century thereafter). The paper then goes to Pasadena to examine, in chronological order, meeting houses built by the evangelical Quakers at First Friends Church, then to that erected by conservative Friends at the Pasadena Monthly Meeting, and finally to the meeting house of the Orange Grove Monthly Meeting, the setting for liberal Quakers in the city. Each of these speaks (or spoke) clearly of its builder's intentions and commitments. Only two of the original three meetings still survive today (the Pasadena Monthly Meeting was laid down in 1988). First Friends Church, moreover, moved in 1949 to a new property in the city, then slowly evolved thereafter to become the Foothills Community Church in the late 1990s. Among the three meeting houses in Pasadena, that belonging to the Orange Grove Monthly stands out for its novelty and originality. This study aims to reveal and celebrate that special achievement.

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Early Friends Meeting Houses in Britain

From the start Quakers gathered in their houses to worship, pray, and seek the light within.[1] But as followers of George Fox (1624–1691) grew in number, household dwellings could no longer have sufficed. Although Quakers did meet outdoors for worship on occasion, even ideally, shelter for meetings was needed. As with so much else of established religion in seventeenth-century England, Fox scorned the religious architecture of his own time, growling about its excessive pretention. He found nothing to admire in the Anglican churches of his day—not even those that the celebrated architect Sir Christopher Wren built all over London after the Great Fire in 1666 (fig.1). "Steeple houses" (Fox's words) could not serve the Religious Society of Friends.

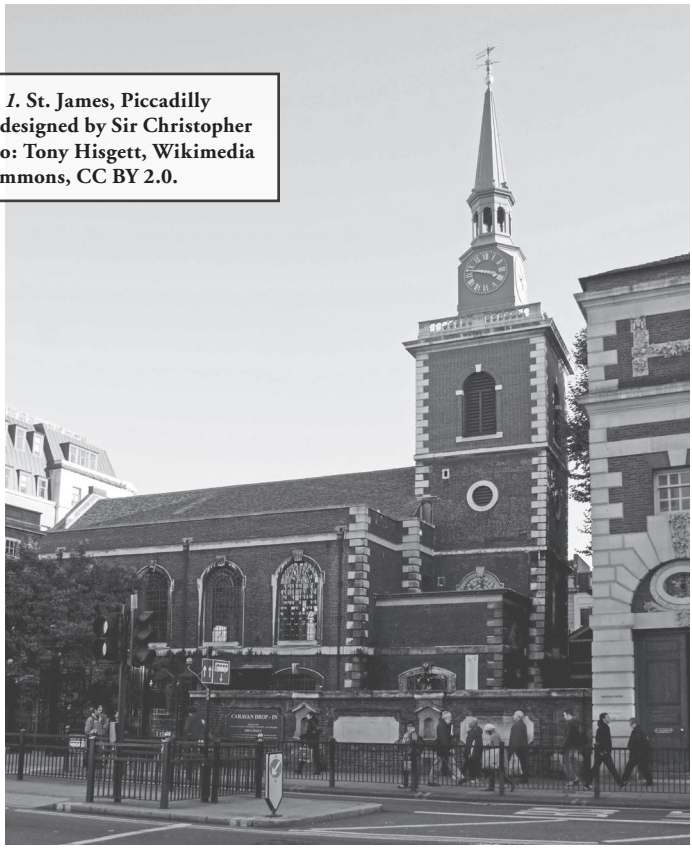

Figure 1. **St. James, Piccadilly (1672-84), designed by Sir Christopher Wren. Photo: Tony Hisgett, Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 2.0.**

But more to the point, architectural pretention aside, no ordinary church could ever have met Quaker needs.[2] Like other early dissidents who had long objected to the remaining aspects of Catholicism in the Anglican church, like Puritans and Presbyterians who thought the Anglican Protestant church not Protestant enough, Quakers too rejected any notion that a place of worship might itself count as *holy*. The Anglican church, like Roman Catholic churches throughout medieval and modern times, housed altars in impressive settings presented as the venerable tombs and memorials of the saints where believers gathered on special feast days dependent upon priests to mediate their joining with God in the eucharist. Zealous English and Scottish protestants during the last half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth rejected the altars, the saints' relics, and the sanctoral liturgy that spun around them.[3] (By Fox's day, during the second and third quarters of the century, Quakers had dispensed with the temporal liturgy as well.[4]) The seventeenth-century dissidents pushed instead to focus worship upon personal transformation, to provide each member of a congregation the fullest opportunity to take responsibility for their own salvation—by their own light or knowledge. Among the dissidents it was the community of believers itself that comprised the "church," properly speaking, and not any kind of building. They saw *places of worship* as mere "meeting houses."

This Pauline dogma that all believers, past, present, and future, constituted members of Christ's body and were all thereby *equal in holiness*, all thus "sanctified," underpinned Christian *doxa* from the beginning, and in the seventeenth-century, helped English Protestants reimagine the church.[5] They found no room in the church as the community of the saints for the elaborate Anglican clerical hierarchy and singled out solely ministers to lead in worship as preachers. (And the Quakers did not single out even ministers, the better to promote the ministry of each member of a congregation as equals.)

This Protestant egalitarian tendency produced startling results in the Islands during the seventeenth century. Among the Anglican separatists, Puritans came to the fore first, even taking political power in Parliament under King James I (1603–1625). By mid-century, they and the Scottish Presbyterians had emerged as victors of a sort in the English civil war that had raged under James's successor, Charles I (1625–1649). With their able, but beleaguered and ruthless, military leader, Oliver Cromwell, the Puritans used Parliament to depose and execute the king in 1649, abolish monarchy and the House of Lords, and set up England, Ireland, and Scotland's first

truly republican state, the Commonwealth and Protectorate (1649–1660).

Accordingly, Puritans also built meeting houses that promoted their new democratic pretentions. These, it is true, could look like small Anglican churches, but they had no altars, and no fancy portals and windows, no towers, sculpture and painting to stage the altars. If an Anglican church typically featured a nave flanked by aisles with elaborate, western entry portals leading to a soaring, eastern choir—if it had a main altar (in the choir) and many side altars in multiple chapels to focus eucharistic celebration—a Puritan meeting house featured instead a single, open, and much more intimate space designed mainly for preaching. It focused typically upon a centrally located and raised pulpit that helped amplify a minister's sermon acoustically. Boxed-in pews now spread across the meeting-house floor, a necessity for worshipers, for whom listening to long sermons now became their main liturgical act.

After the death of Cromwell in 1658, royalists took over from Puritans in government, restored the Stuart monarchy (1660–1714), and settled in to defend Anglican Christianity from all dissent. By the early 1660s Parliament had marked Protestant separatists of every stripe as "nonconforming" and stripped them broadly of rights and privileges, banning them from pulpits, public office, university degrees, state-supplied public benefits, even their sitting on juries (and more). Since the Quakers were among the most radical of the English Protestants, they suffered deep censure under the Stuart monarchy.[6] Not only did they reject the Anglican liturgies, not only did they meet for worship without the service of priest or minister, they also, most disturbingly for the day, gave women roles during worship equal to those of men.[7] Required (under the Stuarts) to take loyalty oaths that their beliefs did not allow, forbidden from meeting in groups larger than five, accused of using familiar linguistic forms even with people in high places, cited for not doffing their hats, for disturbing the peace (Quakers often proselytized by loudly denouncing evils in public market places or by interrupting Anglican and other Protestant worship services), scorned for blasphemy, for not paying tithes to the Anglican church, for all these and more, the state condemned Quakers by the thousands to torture, whippings, and imprisonment.

Nevertheless, despite this tumult and persecution, Fox and his associates steadily guided the movement decade-by-decade to become, by the end of the seventeenth century, an accepted Protestant sect in both Britain and North America.[8] This success owes much to Fox's having thought again about his original total commitment to unrestrained individualism

Figure 2. **Friends Meeting House in Bristol, England (1669) as recorded in James Millerd's Map of Bristol, 1673. Photo: Judson Emerick, from the copy in the Bristol Library.**

in Quaker worship. Already in the 1650s he had instituted the monthly meeting for business to rein in "those who walked disorderly," who, in short, threatened to splinter the movement. The quarterly meeting for business that insured unity over a wide region and then the yearly meeting that had national scope followed some years later. The first London Yearly Meeting was held in 1668.[9] The exceedingly controversial women's monthly meeting for business started in the 1670s. Despite a fierce (patriarchal) resistance, Fox supported the initiative in circular letters he wrote in 1671 and 1676, even assigning women the major role in a meeting's vetting, advising, and approval of marriages.[10]

Official persecution of the "nonconforming" Protestant sects in Britain finally ended (or did so in large part) during the so-called Glorious Revolution when, between 1688 and 1689, Parliament got rid of King James II bloodlessly, forced the Stuarts to accept a constitutional monarchy, then passed the Act of Toleration (1689).[11] The Quaker movement emerged from the turbulent second half of the seventeenth century intact.

If nonconforming Presbyterians, Congregationalists (Puritans), and Baptists met in secret during the period of persecution, Quakers by contrast worshiped out in the open, publicly: they objected on religious grounds to any hiding away.[12] While other nonconformists stopped building meeting houses during the persecution, Quakers went right ahead. Recent research shows that, from the earliest moment onwards, Quakers rented or purchased houses in which to meet, or bought property outright in

British villages and cities to build meeting houses from scratch.[13] Of course the Puritan meeting houses built during the first half of the century provided models, and some purpose-built Quaker places of worship looked like them.[14]

But a few others could be quite startling, presenting striking alternatives to both the typical Anglican church and the Puritan meeting house. They seem designed to draw maximum attention. Such was the meeting house in the busy seaport of Bristol, built in 1669–1670, which was demolished and replaced in 1747 by a larger structure, but whose original exterior appearance was recorded in a map of the city dating to 1673 (fig. 2).[15] A two-story building, it was centrally planned, that is, it rose over a square and had a tall vertical (central) axis marked by a pyramidal (or hip) roof topped by a tall lantern.[16] Or consider, among surviving English Quaker meeting houses built during the persecution, the example located in the neighborhood of Ifield, Borough of Crawley, West Sussex, built in 1675–1676, that has a showy, but tasteful façade made of quite regularly cut, grayish-limestone ashlar that features two gables and two unusually large (and expensive) diamond-patterned, leaded windows flanking a central entryway (fig. 3).[17] Quoins define the façade's and doorway's vertical edges, and flat arches with carefully carved voussoirs top each of the big windows and doorway. Here Quaker builders made

Figure 3. **Southwest façade of the Friends Meeting House in Ifield, a neighborhood in the Borough of Crawley, West Sussex (1675–76), built next to an earlier residence in brick (at the left). Photo: Basil Jradeh, Wikipedia Commons.**

great show of rejecting medieval Gothic models long associated with churches to pick up instead contemporary, neo-classical ones. In so doing they avoided the merely vernacular[18] and drew people's attention effectively. But if they intended to use a style associated with secular architecture—palace facades, city halls, and so forth—they were foiled by Christopher Wren who was using the same neo-classical models in the many churches he was designing in London at just this moment (compare figs. 1 and 3). One wonders if seventeenth-century Quakers in West Sussex were sensitive to this irony.

The interior of a Friends meeting house provided an integral, more or less intimate space for silent worship.[19] If formerly Puritan meeting houses had such spaces (unitary and integral) focused on a minister's pulpit, with boxed-in pews all around, Quakers set out their (unitary and integral) spaces for worship with ordinary, moveable benches, making sure, as had been done in Christian sanctuaries from the start, to segregate women on one side and men on the other.[20] Moreover, and early on, Friends arranged for a more or less centrally located platform to provide a kind of dais for all and any who wished to minister. Thus, during the last third of the seventeenth century, Quakers began to divide their meetings not only by gender, but also by those called-to-ministry and those who listened. Quaker meeting rooms thus came to have a "gallery," that is, typically, two or three rows of fixed, built-in benches, one behind the other mounting upward stair-wise, extending along one side of the meeting room, and facing the moveable benches out in front. Even the lowest rank of gallery benches was elevated above those on the main floor. The gallery allowed special seating for the clerk of the meeting, elders, and those whom the meeting normally depended upon for ministries, that is, the so-called "public Friends," male and female.[21]

But from the 1670s onward, a Friends meeting house also had to accommodate separate business meetings for men and women.[22] If men might continue to their meetings for business in the same room where, first, both the men and women met for worship, women had to retreat to another space for their meetings. They might retire to a different house for the purpose, or they might go to another room in the meeting house complex,[23] or they might use the lofts or balconies with which many meeting houses were equipped.[24] In some early meeting houses, a relatively light-weight, wooden, frame partition might be used to divide the unitary space of the meeting room into two halves, one for women, the other for men. The partitions all had doors and cut-outs (windows of a

sort). During meetings for worship, the openings in the partition allowed all to participate. During meetings for business, however, Friends would close the doors in the partition and cover the other openings with "shutters" to create two separate rooms with men on one side and women on the other. This system became common as time passed.

An American Standard Quaker Meeting House

Quakers early established themselves in the British colonies of North America. George Fox even visited them there between 1671 and 1673.[25] The colonial Quakers, of course, looked to British Friends and the London Yearly Meeting for direction. Nevertheless, as Quakers proliferated in the New World, the focus of the transatlantic culture inexorably advanced westward across the Atlantic to the New World—as one sees, for instance, from the list of "Important Dates in Quaker History" that Ben Pink Dandelion compiled recently.[26] That list is notably punctuated by the march of yearly meetings across North America from the late seventeenth century into the nineteenth—the first in 1661 at Newport, Rhode Island (later to become the New England Yearly Meeting) and then in rapid succession, Philadelphia (1681), New York (1696), and North Carolina (1698). The Ohio Yearly Meeting was organized in 1813, the Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1821, the Iowa Yearly Meeting in 1863, the Canadian in 1867, and the Illinois in 1875.[27] Quaker culture worldwide was influenced by events in the United States during the nineteenth century, including the Hicksite and Wilburite schisms in the 1820s and the 1840s respectively as well as the Gurneyites' efforts to establish evangelical Quaker churches with paid pastors across the Midwest and the Pacific coast in the last three decades of the century. In this new, bold, and exceedingly clamorous, Quaker North America,[28] the building of Quaker meeting houses took off in new directions.[29]

If in Britain, Quaker meeting houses were built in many different styles, sometimes in a traditional religious manner, sometimes in a local vernacular, if in fact, during the seventeenth century those meeting houses conformed to no distinct iconographic architectural type, in America, by contrast, Quakers seem to have started by seeking a standard form. Or at least they did so in the new American cities. In Philadelphia, in 1695, they modeled their Great Meeting House at High and 2nd Streets (for the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting) after the unique and striking, centrally-planned meeting house with a pyramidal (hipped) roof and tall lantern that Friends had built some 25 years previously in Bristol, England (fig.

2). The Philadelphia example[30] must have looked like the Great Meeting House in Newport, Rhode Island built in 1699–1701 (fig. 4).[31] Both were imposing wood-frame structures. Philadelphia's is said to have had a plan 50 feet square (it would thus have risen some 80–85 feet to the lantern's peak).[32] Newport's example was only slightly smaller at 45 by 46 feet in plan (and would originally have risen to some 75 feet).[33] Their two-and-a-half stories suggest that inside, each had two lofts rising over the ground floor, lofts that allowed a separate gathering place for women's business meetings.[34] Two more such meeting houses of the "Bristol type," were built in Charleston, South Carolina, in the 1720s, and in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1738.[35]

A meeting house with a tall hip roof and a central lantern that flooded its interior with skylight gave architectural form, happily enough, to the Quaker tenet that all go to meeting to "greet the light." On a city's skyline, moreover, the pyramidal roof and tall lantern also competed effectively with the ubiquitous church steeples and bell towers.[36] But as Friends ministered inside meeting houses with such steeply sloping ceilings and large central lanterns, their voices all but disappeared. Dis-

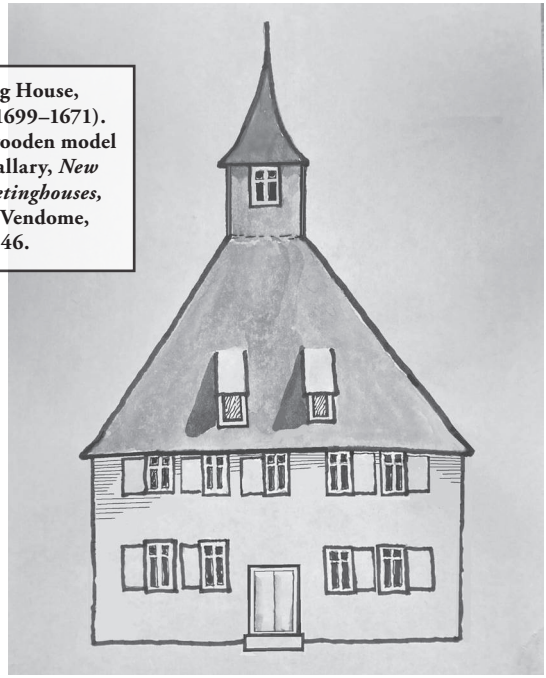

Figure 4. **Great Meeting House, Newport, Rhode Island (1699–1671). Author's sketch after the wooden model illustrated in Peter T. Mallary, *New England Churches & Meetinghouses, 1680–1830* (New York: Vendome, 1986), fig. 35, p. 46.**

tinctive as the Bristol type was, it was soon abandoned for its poor acoustic performance.

Seth Hinshaw, a leading expert in American Quaker architecture, speaks of an ensuing drift in meeting-house design in North America during the first half of the eighteenth century—as Quakers wrestled, mainly, to accommodate both men and women equally in all rites and practices—in both worship and business meetings. A solution first emerged in rural southeastern Pennsylvania, then soon became a new Quaker iconographic type, to be repeated hundreds of times in meeting houses throughout North America from the mid-1740s until the Civil War (1861–1865).[37] Let me treat here two surviving examples of this "Quaker Plan," as Hinshaw named it, one in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and the other in Philadelphia.

The Caln Meeting House, which looks at first to be an ordinary, colonial, one-story, field-stone structure near the village of Thorndale in Caln Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, has two building phases. The first dates to the mid–1740s, and the second to 1801, when the original structure, which served for a monthly meeting, was enlarged to accommodate a quarterly meeting (fig. 5).[38] Leading local Quakers were the patrons, anonymous masons and carpenters the builders. The front of the Caln building has twelve bays: eight windows alternate with four doorways. Reading from left to right, the first six bays mark the original structure, and the six quite similar bays toward the right belong to the later addition, which doubled the size of the meeting house subtly so that the added portion looks just like the original. (figs. 5 and 6). During the first phase, the builders set up two equally large rooms, each measuring

Figure 5. **South façade, Caln Meeting House in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Photo: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey (hereafter cited as HABS) PA-6227-27.**

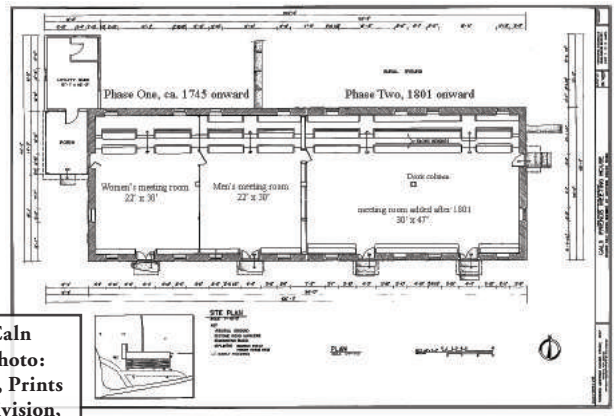

Figure 6. **Plan, Caln Meeting House. Photo: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, HABS PA-6227-1.**

22 by 30 feet, separated by a narrow, wooden partition. On the façade the two rooms each have their own entry or doorway. The rooms of course were gendered: women entered on the left, men on the right. To be sure, during meetings for worship, the door and shutters closing the openings in the partition that separated the men and women would be propped open. Ministries from both sides could be heard and acknowledged equally. But as the men and women separated for their monthly meetings for business, the partition would be sealed. Key here was how the plan and façade of the earlier meeting house staged gender equality.

As seen in the plan of the Caln Meeting House (fig. 6), the partition between the men's and women's sides in the original structure is thin and narrow, but the partition between the original structure and the addition of 1801 is quite thick, even "boxy." (It replaces the former eastern wall of the first building, the one which the builders of phase two removed entirely.) Its thickness owes to the fact that it has shutters on both sides, the better to seal it acoustically. The "boxy" partition also has a door. The 30 x 47-foot room dating from 1801 was added to accommodate quarterly meetings when the many members and attenders from nearby monthly meetings would join those from Caln for worship and business (fig. 7). After 1801, in quarterly meetings, men would occupy the 30 x 47-foot room to the east, and women would take the two 30 x 22-foot rooms to the west, the rooms that once comprised the entire structure of the 1740s. But again, and happily, the plan and façade of the early 19th-century structure (1801) had a symmetry that staged men's and women's equality convincingly.

After the Great Separation of 1827–1828, Hicksite Quakers in Caln

Township met on First Days in the earlier structure, while their Orthodox companions used the added-on room. Relations between the two Quaker branches at Caln, however, remained tense through the nineteenth century. But clearly, the size and plan of the Caln Meeting House proved to be ideal for Quaker use, as shown by the fact that quarterly meetings from throughout the Delaware River Valley during the nineteenth century frequently met there.[39]

Photos show that the Caln Meeting House's interior was furnished austerely.[40] Most of what a visitor sees inside today dates to the mid-eighteenth, or early nineteenth century.[41] The interior features a gallery with three rows of wooden benches that ran the entire length of the structure's interior north wall, that is, in both the meeting house of the 1740s and in the addition of 1801 (figs. 6 and 7). As discussed above, galleries in Friends' meeting houses accommodated clerks, public friends, and visiting notables. At Caln the weighty Quakers thus sat along the north interior wall—their benches fixed in place—and faced southward toward the rest of the congregation who sat on moveable benches.[42] The design of the various benches throughout varies slightly, but all have proper backs and end pieces with distinctive, cut-out arm rests. These conform to a type Quakers might find almost universally in meeting houses in Britain and North America. The ceiling and interior walls of the Caln Meeting House, all in plaster, were painted white, but the tall, wooden wainscotting that runs around the lower half of the walls in each meeting room, the partitions with their shutters, the flooring in wide boards, and all the benches contrast sharply in color and tone with the white paint. None of the wooden furnishings inside Caln Meeting House was finished. All the

Figure 7. **Caln Meeting House, interior of the room added after 1801 (looking west). Note the prominent Tuscan Doric column. Photo: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, HABS PA-6227-20.**

wood was left raw and bare. Even in the window frames, sashes, and muntins. Over the centuries all this wood—poplar in the partitions, pine everywhere else—has aged to a grayish brown, the dominant and sole interior color.

Caln Meeting House does not appear to have had any proper heating initially. No chimneys for a fireplace can be seen in its plan (fig. 6). The four small brick chimneys now decorating the meeting house's roof line (fig. 5), which rise from the ceiling's rafters, were added later during the nineteenth century to accommodate wood-, or coal-burning stoves as shown by the remaining holes in the ceiling set out for stove pipes. The black pipe of one such stove located in the room just west of the "boxy" partition, is visible through that partition's left-most opening. (fig. 7.)

To sum up, one of the key features of the ideal North American Quaker meeting house was a façade displaying twin doorways for men and women. To be sure, after 1801, Caln Meeting House, remodeled to accommodate quarterly meetings, had four such entries. But symmetry reigned here too: the eastern entries served men, and the western ones, women. Note, also (fig. 5) the prominent hoods over each door. They shelter the late comer who waits here before entering, should anyone within be engaged in ministry. But more than that, they are a standard visual feature of meeting house fronts from this time forward. Cantilevered from the façade and made of wood, each has a plain, but impressive pediment crowning a narrow wooden entablature, really a traditional, classically inspired motif. One notes how all exterior wooden parts—the hoods, the door leaves, the shutters, window frames, sashes, and muntins, plus the roof eaves and the moldings framing the end gables east-and-west—were painted white, and painted, of course, to preserve them from the weather. For today's viewers the way the white paint picks out these features against the darker, brownish fieldstone walls of the building can seem charming, even elegant. For Caln's original builders, however, the meeting house's exterior doubtless revealed only restraint and simplicity.

The other key feature of the prototypical North American Friends' meeting house is its plan and the way spaces inside for men and women match each other in all respects—in their size and furnishings. The prototype's dedication to staging gender equality is its defining trait.

One can measure the impact of this design by looking at one of America's leading Quaker places of worship, namely the Arch Street Meeting House at 330 Arch Street in Philadelphia, built between 1803/04 and 1810/11 for the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (fig. 8).[43] It follows the ideal proto-

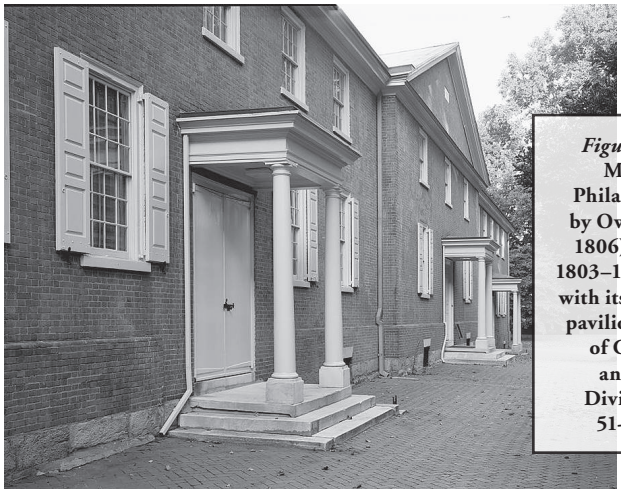

Figure 8. **Arch Street Meeting House, Philadelphia, designed by Owen Biddle (1774–1806) and constructed 1803–11, main north front with its central projecting pavilion. Photo: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, HABS PA, 51-PHILA, 10-17.**

type.[44] It even has the distinction of being designed by an architect, the Philadelphian Owen Biddle. Planned from the start to accommodate the large numbers of men and women attending yearly meetings in the city, it had two equally large halls east and west for the purpose. True enough, this façade facing north has two stories and three entryways. A big, central, projecting, and pedimented pavilion has a non-gendered entry that leads to a hallway dividing the women's and men's meeting rooms (no need for a partition here). Each of the meeting rooms has a southern gallery with three (now four) rows of benches, fixed in place, facing the many moveable benches on a ground floor and in a U-shaped loft above. At either side of the main entry in the façade are two others, left and right, one for women and one for men. Each of these also has the typical Quaker porch.

Plainness, A Quaker Ideal

Throughout, the standard North American meeting house, speaks of plainness. All decorative detail—ornament of nearly every sort—was refused. The Caln meeting house reveals this austerity in almost every aspect. Consider the all too regular rhythm of entryways and windows across the façade that provides a stark, repetitive, visual order to the elevation (fig. 5). The wooden frames of the doors and windows have the simplest construction a carpenter can provide. Even the door leaves are plain: flat and planar without panels, mullions, or windows. The roof overhang may suggest a cornice that crowns a façade, but the "cornice"

has one, plain, half-round bed molding; carpenters fashioned the soffit of the overhang as a flat, horizontal plane.

Inside the Caln meeting house (fig. 7) rectilinearity dominates though one finds the slanting backs of the original benches and the curvilinear silhouettes of their arm rests to provide visual relief from the interior's horizontal and perpendicular rigor. The long walls have cornices, but those were installed for fluorescent lighting very recently and must be thought away if one is to judge the appearance of the original interior. I have already noted how all the wood in Caln's interior was left unpainted, unoiled, and quite unfinished: its single, somber, centuries-old gray-brown tone epitomizes "Quaker plainness."

But there is one ornament of genuine note in the Caln meeting house (fig. 7) and that is the bright, white Tuscan column standing within the added-on section. The plan (fig. 6) shows how, throughout the building, the ceiling rafters were supported by a row of three robust, wooden posts, one at the center of the structure (embedded in the "boxy" partition), one to the west (incorporated into the narrow partition), and another—no mere post but an actual column—standing freely at the center of the room to the east. It is a handsome feature.[45] Rising on a high pedestal, it seems almost classic in aspect, though its proportions are rather narrow. It looks to have been carved from the trunk of a high, straight tree set up horizontally on a huge lathe. Its base, a torus, supports a shaft that has a very sophisticated entasis, that is, it bulges toward the middle, then tapers toward the top. The capital, a standard Doric one, has a cushion molding (an echinus) topped by an abacus. Note the narrow half-round molding toward the top of the shaft, a necking in classic form. Once carved, its creators painted it white. Here was a post that could not be hidden in a partition as the other two were; it perforce had to stand freely out in the middle of this worship space. All concerned doubtless rejected setting up a rectilinear wooden post in this position as "too plain." The column must have seemed almost necessary. But however it was specified at the start, it could not help but become a single, central, visual focus for those gathered in worship here. Let me come back to this feature below. Quaker meeting houses did not always have such visual foci, but many did and still do.

A quick word here about the striking columnar architecture from the Arch Street Meeting House from the early nineteenth century (fig. 8). Owen Biddle, the architect, specified that the three porches from its main front, built of wood by skilled carpenters, ought to conform, in

design, to standards that the ancient Greeks and Romans had established for festive structures built in masonry. Thus, each porch has a pair of Tuscan columns on tall pedestals very like the one at Caln meeting house. But here at Arch Street, the columns support a porch roof constructed as if it rested upon a full, classic, marble entablature, that is, with horizontal architraves, friezes, and cornices (but, interestingly, sans pediment)—as if each porch were a kind of classic temple front (or a mini-such-front, an *aedicula*).[46] At the turn of the nineteenth century in America, classicizing design of this kind was everywhere. Compare the contemporary, early nineteenth-century, columnar composition specified by the architect, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, for the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C. (fig. 9). One notes how the porches at the Arch Street Meeting House have no applied ornament or luxury. The column shafts are not made of fancy marble. Their bases and capitals are as simple as can be. Their architraves, friezes, and cornices are utterly smooth. Back in the day, around 1800, all this plainness doubtless made the newly stylish, classicizing features acceptable in a Quaker context.[47]

Latrobe's façade for his Capitol Building was "movemented." Its elevation had three distinct vertical planes, one in front of another. From the plane formed by the building's front, a broad central pavilion projected to establish a new parallel plane, and from that a temple front projected to a third such plane. Owen Biddle's façade for the Arch Street Meeting

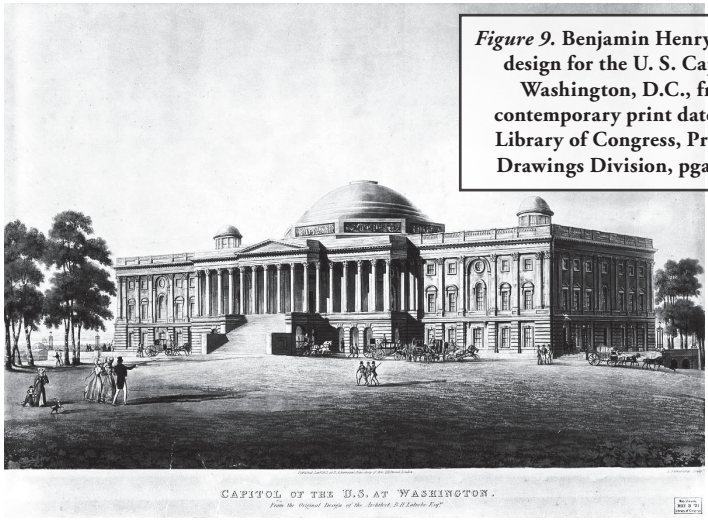

Figure 9. **Benjamin Henry Latrobe's design for the U. S. Capitol in Washington, D.C., from a contemporary print dated 1825. Library of Congress, Prints and Drawings Division, pga.03496.**

House has the same, if much restrained, movemented design (again, fig. 8). Its central pavilion projects slightly, and its gable recalls a temple front's pediment. The entry porches configured as mini-temples (aediculae) project to yet a third plane. The façade of Biddle's meeting house is more mural, far less columnar than Latrobe's for the U.S. Capitol, but it plays with the same "grand" design. What's key at this juncture—fascinating really—is how closely nevertheless Biddle hewed to the formal configuration of the ideal Quaker meeting house.

The "Quaker Ideal" under Pressure

If a standard American Quaker meeting house emerged in rural Pennsylvania in the mid-eighteenth century, then spread everywhere in Quaker North America during the first two thirds of the nineteenth, new developments in transatlantic Quaker culture during the last third of the nineteenth century, rung down the curtain on the ideal plan. During those years Gurneyite meetings in Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa established an evangelical Quaker Christianity that quite reworked, even rejected long Quaker tradition. Proclaiming the need to embrace the modern world, the Gurneyites (they called themselves "progressive") spearheaded a new kind of programmed worship in which a minister, led from a pulpit at all important junctures. Quaker worship in the new Gurneyite meetings came to resemble that in mainline Protestant churches. Thus, instead of meeting houses in the "Quaker ideal plan," the progressives built churches and made them look like Protestant churches everywhere.

What I find striking is how much this development owed to the energy and enthusiasm of the Gurneyites in the state of Iowa during the last third of the nineteenth century. (The Iowa Yearly Meeting was organized by evangelical Gurneyites in 1863.) In a key article on this topic, Thomas D. Hamm wrote:

> Iowa Friends before 1870 had been both intellectually and geographically on the periphery of the Quaker world, growing in numbers, but reacting to trends and movements that began elsewhere. After 1870, Iowa Friends, taking the lead in innovations such as the pastoral system, became central to world Quakerism.[48]

For the American southwest—and now I turn specifically to the city of Pasadena, California, and the three Quaker meetings established there between 1882 and 1909—it was the early Quaker settlers from the state of Iowa that set the stage.

First Friends Church in Pasadena, 1882–1895 to the present

The state of California entered the union in 1850. The city of Pasadena, formerly the San Gabriel Mission, Rancho San Pasqual, then "the Indiana Colony," became "Pasadena" officially in March/April 1875 when it established its first post office. This was the moment when the new transcontinental railroads were bringing thousands of settlers to southern California from the East coast and Midwest. The resulting land boom of the 1880s "made" the new town and city: Pasadena's population swelled, and the city incorporated in June 1886.[49]

Quakers look to have arrived already in the mid–1870s—as, for example, Lawson D. Hollingsworth did from West Branch, Iowa, in 1875. Interestingly, when he proposed to bring many of his Iowan colleagues to the new town if landowners there might sell him land cheaply for their houses, the landowners said yes, and Hollingsworth's syndicate bought 100 acres outright. Hollingsworth established a grocery store at Fair Oaks Avenue and Colorado in 1875 and set out the new post office there too. His son, Henry, became the first postmaster. A blacksmith shop opened nearby, as did a meat shop, and thus the town's commercial center began to take shape.[50]

But one waits some seven more years to hear how, in 1882, the new Iowan settlers, many of them Quakers from the monthly meetings in the Springdale Quarterly, started to meet in each other's homes for worship. Local historians are not clear about the next step, but in 1883, the group in question either built a small meeting house from scratch at Marengo Avenue just north of Illinois Street (now East Orange Grove Boulevard) or rented a house there for the purpose. Not long thereafter, in March 1884, one hears that the group had formally established themselves as Pasadena's first monthly meeting with the full support of the Springdale Quarterly and the Iowa Yearly Meeting. The house on Marengo Avenue thus became Pasadena's "First Friends Church." In 1885–1886, First Friends hired a pastor and built a new meeting house at Marengo and Mountain that could seat more than 300 people. Within the next decade, by 1895, it had moved this building to a new site nearer Pasadena's center at Raymond Avenue and Villa Street and "considerably enlarged" it. A cruciform, centrally planned affair with four gables, it had a tall bell tower and a steeple, tucked into the reentrant angle between the gables. The church faced eastward with its entry on the east side of the tower's ground story (fig. 10).[51]

In his *History of Pasadena* (1895), Hiram Reid recorded some eighteen Protestant churches in the city and two Quaker meeting houses and il-

Figure 10. **First Friends Church in Pasadena, 1895, located at the northwest corner of Raymond Avenue and Villa Street. First Friends was a Gurneyite Evangelical meeting under the Iowa Yearly Meeting. Source: Hiram A. Reid, *A History of Pasadena* (Los Angeles: Kingsley, Barnes, & Neuner, 1895), p. 483.**

lustrated seven of the twenty. Six of these seven, including First Friends Church, follow a contemporary American model for the "Modern Church" known as the "Akron Combination Plan," a design that recommended itself because it so efficiently combined Sunday school classrooms with a worship space featuring a minister's pulpit. It appeared full-blown in its first iteration in a Methodist church in Akron, Ohio, designed by Jacob Snyder dating to 1866–1867 (and no longer extant).[52] It was Snyder's associate, George W. Kramer (1847–1938), who early took up the Akron Plan and, claiming it as the great American contribution to the history of Christian architecture, went on to design, reportedly, some 2,200 such churches across the U.S. during a long architectural career.[53]

But a Quaker church in Pasadena led by a *pastor*?[54] As I started to observe just above, Pasadena's first Quaker meeting tracked contemporary developments in the Gurneyite Orthodox branch of the American Friends' project, developments fostered by the Great Awakening, a Christian, evangelical, revivalist movement in Europe and North America that grew throughout the nineteenth century and burgeoned in the 1870s.[55] If formerly silent Quaker worship had focused upon individual experience (the inward light) and turned away from a too busy, too corrupt, outside world, now many American Quakers sought to engage that world, to struggle against its evils (i.e. slavery, alcohol, the denial of rights to women), to engage in missionary work, and even to participate in the Methodist revival meetings where enthusiastic crowds joined in hymn-singing, listened to inspired preachers, then heeded their calls to "come to the al-

tar," devote themselves to Christ, and "be born again." Iowa Yearly Meeting led the way and genuinely transformed transatlantic Quakerism in the process.[56] By way of modernizing Quaker worship during the 1880s and 1890s, the Iowans quite abandoned unprogrammed, silent worship, and with it, also plain speech and plain dress, the "facing gallery benches" in meeting rooms, and the separation of men and women in worship and business, to substitute instead, pastoral, programmed meetings of the kind normal in Protestant churches everywhere. The new practices "denominationalized" Gurneyite Quakerism, making the Quaker presence in an American town or city equivalent to that of any of the mainline Protestant churches—Episcopal, Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, and so forth.[57] For the Iowan Quakers in Pasadena who founded First Friends Church, the revival that the Gurneyite Orthodox Iowa Yearly Meeting championed formed a bright beacon. In the later 1880s, the Iowa Yearly Meeting sponsored the formation of the Pasadena Quarterly Meeting in which the evangelical First Friends Church and the nearby Whittier Monthly Meeting (founded 1888) played major roles. In 1895, just as First Friends moved to Raymond Avenue and Villa Street, the Iowa Yearly Meeting approved the creation of the California Yearly Meeting which comprised Gurneyite evangelical churches up and down the state.[58]

Fifty-five years later, in 1949, First Friends Church moved eastward from Villa and Raymond to a new, much larger property at the southwest corner of East Orange Grove Boulevard and North Altadena Avenue.[59] There, over the next 15 or so years, members of First Friends built a new place of worship that had much the air of the ubiquitous, Californian, landscaped, commercial mini mall provided with large and inviting automobile parking lots on all sides. The complex extended along a north-south axis parallel to North Altadena Avenue.[60] Building started at the south end—not with a church but a large gymnasium and, on the gym's north side, an attached fellowship hall, some administrative rooms (including an apartment for a caretaker), plus a "Community Coffee Shop" with a sign whose lettering could be read from the street. These structures were all in red brick. The gymnasium runs longitudinally east and west, so its west façade, with its gable (beneath a pitched roof), faces Altadena Avenue. It is tall and imposing with five bays separated by six wide brick pilasters. It has two entries in bays two and four, and in the center, wider bay above, it features a large and elaborately framed, octagonal window. One cannot help but see this as a kind of "rose window," an echo, however faint, of traditional church facades. The meeting house or church at

the north end of the property—a wood-framed structure of an entirely different style than the gymnasium—came later. If the gym and attached fellowship room were built between 1949 and 1950, then the church proper looks to have been finished in 1964.[61] A one-story structure with a steeply pitched, broad roof, the church has a rectangular (longitudinal) plan whose axis runs north and south (at a right angle to the gymnasium). The north gable facing East Orange Grove Boulevard reveals the steepness of the roof, and the church's west side facing North Altadena Avenue has a series of wall-planes pushing and pulling against one another to create architectural interest. The steep roof and the miniature steeple (with a bell) attached to the roof at its northwest corner both signal that the building is a church, but again, as with the gymnasium's central "rose window," not very forcefully. The church's south gable/facade has a portico, overlooking a kind of plaza between it and the gymnasium complex; gardens link the structures north and south. A glassed-in porch on the church's east side functions as a narthex; inside are two doors north-and-south that lead into the single, large, meeting room graced by the wooden trusses running east-and-west that hold the pitched roof high overhead. If the room has a north-south axis, worshipers nevertheless face eastward toward a stage extending along the east side of the room (between the doors). In other words, if the interior's long north-south axis and rhythmic trusses overhead identify it as a "church," the entryways and stage on the east wall set up a counter axis that negates that identity. There is no pulpit. Worshipers sit on stacking chairs ranged in front of the stage. No fixed pews (or even moveable benches). The meeting room has an elaborate sound system and a large video screen in its northeast corner.

Members of the First Friends Church moved here in the mid-twentieth century and rebuilt their place of worship to go even further toward modernizing than they had previously. Rather than build to "denominationalize" (to make being "Quaker" equivalent to being, say, "Methodist" or "Baptist" or "Presbyterian"), they now built to shun any such identity—the better to pose as an alternative to the mainline Protestant churches and therefore attract the "un-churched," those who had rejected traditional religion. The gymnasium drew people to the site primarily for athletic, not religious reasons, though clearly, First Friends could set up "sports ministries" here to recruit new members. Mall-like complexes of this kind burgeoned among Friends' evangelical churches in southern California during the twentieth century. In fact, during the 1970s and 1980s pastoral Friends built in this fashion all over the American south-

west. So, as the California Yearly Meeting grew to comprise evangelical monthly meetings in Arizona, Nevada, and Utah, it changed its name to Friends Church Southwest Yearly Meeting in 1986, then in 2001, to Evangelical Friends Church Southwest.[62] Not surprisingly, as Pasadena's First Friends Church modernized in these ways, it also de-emphasized its ties to the Quaker enterprise: at Easter, 1997, it renamed itself the "Foothills Community Church."[63] The Gurneyite project now looks to have all but disappeared in the wider, American evangelical movement.[64]

Avoiding standard Protestant architectural settings, that is, building places for worship in a vernacular/secular style, had been a Quaker project since the mid-seventeenth century. Shall we say, then, that the late twentieth-century, Quaker, pastoral complexes are "vernacular" in this same sense? It does look as if, early and late, Quakers built thus to attract the unchurched. But if during George Fox's day, the intent was to signal Quaker disdain for Anglican state-supported and state-run religion, in the late twentieth century, the "evangelical mini-mall" seems much less politically potent. Pastoral Friends now build more to blend into the general, American, civic or suburban architectural context—and in the process, even downplay religious associations.[65]

The Pasadena Monthly Meeting (Wilburite), 1886–1988

For a second group of Quakers in Pasadena, likewise early settlers from Iowa arriving in the 1880s,[66] the Iowa Yearly Meeting's huge success in promoting a pastoral, evangelical version of Quakerism was troubling, a development they resisted and even disparaged. The families of these new Pasadenans had, years previously, in the 1850s, migrated to Iowa from eastern Ohio, a stronghold of the Wilburite Quakers who prized primitive Quakerism in all its forms and worked hard to conserve them. By the mid-1860s these Iowans from Ohio had established—in Iowa—three monthly meetings—at Hickory Grove (in Cedar County), Coal Creek (in Keokuk County), and Whittier (in Linn County)—then brought all three together as the Hickory Grove Quarterly Meeting under the Wilburite Ohio Yearly Meeting. In 1863, when Gurneyite Orthodox Quakers formed Iowa Yearly Meeting in 1863, the Wilburites in question refused to join, later forming the Iowa Yearly Meeting (Conservative) in 1877.[67]

The Wilburites in Pasadena met informally in each other's homes between 1886 and 1893, but then in 1892–1893, built a small meeting house in the city at the southwest corner of East Villa Street and Galena Avenue (now Oakwood Avenue) (fig. 11). Reportedly, they celebrated their

Figure 11. **The original Villa Street Meeting House of the Pasadena Monthly Meeting (Wilburite) looking southeast, built 1892-93 at the southwest corner of Villa and Oakwood Avenue (formerly Galena Avenue) in Pasadena. Photo: Elizabeth "Bessie" Pearson, *A History of the Pasadena Conservative Meeting of Friends* (1918), rephotographed by Gregory S. McReynolds, "Pasadena's Quaker Meeting Houses" (2001).**

first meeting there on February 12, 1893.[68] In his *History of Pasadena*, Hiram Reid stated that this preparatory meeting in the city counted some 55 members, then went on to cite a notice from a local newspaper dated January 9, 1895, which recorded how a committee from the Hickory Grove Quarterly Meeting in Iowa had visited, then claimed the new group for a Pasadena Monthly Meeting under their Quarterly and the Iowa Yearly Meeting (Conservative).[69] Membership grew and in 1906–1908 the PMM remodeled their meeting house to double its original size (fig. 12). The former meeting house including its front porch survives today in the western two-thirds of the present building. The additions of 1906–1908 comprised a fellowship room, kitchen, and bathroom added at the east, and an extension of the meeting rooms for men and women to the south.[70]

By contrast to the contemporary First Friends Church in Pasadena, also located on Villa Street some six blocks (or one-half mile) to the west (fig. 10), the Wilburites in the Pasadena Monthly Meeting built a meeting house to celebrate their commitment to the traditional Quaker project and so followed the standard, ideal Quaker plan closely (fig. 11). It was, in every respect, an ultra-conservative enterprise: meeting houses in this form had all but ceased to be built in the thirty years since the American Civil War. In phase one (fig. 11) the main north façade of

the meeting house featured two doors, sheltered by a porch, the western one leading to the men's worship room, and the eastern to the women's worship room. A gallery with facing benches ran along the south side of the worship space within, and men's and women's spaces were separated by a wooden partition with the requisite shutters. Moveable benches spread across the floor on both sides of the partition. In the second phase after 1906–1908 (fig. 12), the classic (conservative) aspect of the meeting house's north façade was diminished slightly as the north porch was widened to shelter yet a third door at the east that led to the new fellowship room. Members of the meeting attended in plain dress and practiced plain speech, and did so deep into the twentieth century.[71]

Thus, it is interesting, to learn that the PMM or the Villa Street Meeting (as people in Pasadena often called it) joined with the basically liberal, non-evangelical group of independent Quaker meetings called the Pacific Coast Association, formed during the 1930s under the leadership of Howard and Anna Brinton, and then remained in the Pacific Yearly Meeting, founded in 1947, that grew out of the Pacific Coast Association.[72] Membership in the Pasadena Monthly Meeting, though, dwindled in the 1980s and by 1987–1988 the meeting was laid down.[73] The meeting house was repurposed thereafter.[74]

Figure 12. **Former Villa Street meeting house of the Pasadena Monthly Meeting (Wilburite) looking southwest, as remodeled in 1907–08 (with minor remodelings more recently). The meeting was laid down in 1987-88. In 1996 the building was taken over by a non-profit. Photo: Judson Emerick.**

Orange Grove Monthly Meeting, Pasadena, 1907 to the present

The Orange Grove Monthly Meeting (OGMM), founded in 1907 as an unprogrammed, Hicksite project under the aegis of the Swarthmore Monthly Meeting located at Swarthmore College in southeastern Pennsylvania,[75] rounded out the panoply of Quaker projects in early Pasadena—evangelical (Gurneyite), conservative (Wilburite), and liberal (Hicksite). Records show that the founders were formerly members of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting in Easton, Maryland, organized in 1684. Upon immigration to Pasadena, the Quakers from Easton, transferred their memberships to Swarthmore, and Swarthmore then authorized the new monthly meeting at Orange Grove.[76] The OGMM's meeting house is located only one city block north of the Villa Street Meeting—located at the southeast corner of East Orange Grove Boulevard and Galena (now Oakwood) Avenue. And like Villa Street, the OGMM joined in the Pacific Coast Association, and then after 1947, the Pacific Yearly Meeting.[77] But if, speaking architecturally, the conservative Wilburites at Villa Street fashioned their meeting house fittingly on the old standard ideal Quaker plan, the liberal Hicksites at the OGMM went ahead boldly to build a meeting house between 1907 and 1908 that looked like a suburban bungalow in the Craftsman style (figs. 13 and 14). We do not deal here with just another instance of Quakers fashioning a meeting house in a vernacular, secular style. Members of the OGMM in the early twentieth century did do that, of course, but then they went further, much further. In many ways their meeting house at 520 East Orange Grove Boulevard in Pasadena is unique. I hope to show that we may count it as one of the

Figure 13. **Meeting house of the Orange Grove Monthly Meeting, looking southwest, Pasadena, California, built 1908-1909; east wing added 1918. Photo: Judson Emerick.**

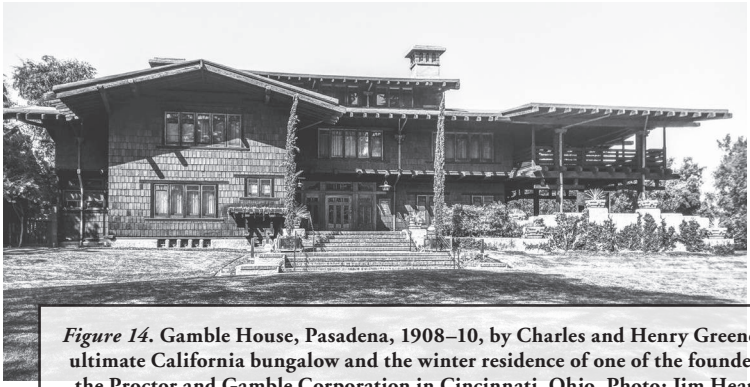

***Figure 14*. Gamble House, Pasadena, 1908–10, by Charles and Henry Greene, the ultimate California bungalow and the winter residence of one of the founders of the Proctor and Gamble Corporation in Cincinnati, Ohio. Photo: Jim Heaphy, Wikipedia Commons**

Quaker world's truly fascinating inventions.

In 1907–1908 the OGMM's Building Committee engaged the architect, Ferdinand Davis, resident of Pomona, California, and famous for his work in that nearby city, to design their new meeting house.[78] Davis (1840–1921) grew up in Maine, went to Lebanon, New Hampshire, at age 18 to apprentice as a carpenter, enlisted at age twenty-one in the Seventh New Hampshire Volunteers,[79] then returned to Lebanon after

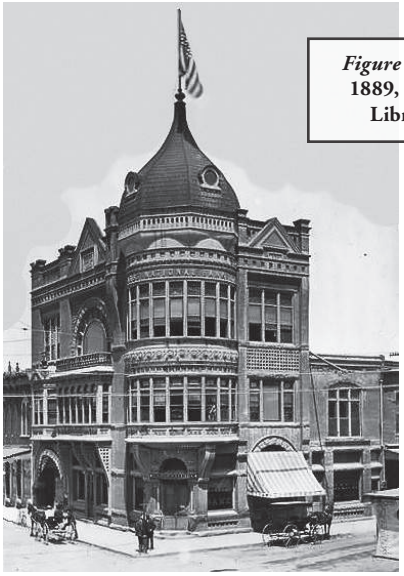

***Figure 15*. First National Bank, Pomona (built in 1889, replaced in 1922). Photo: Pomona Public Library SCPO 1958, in the public domain.**

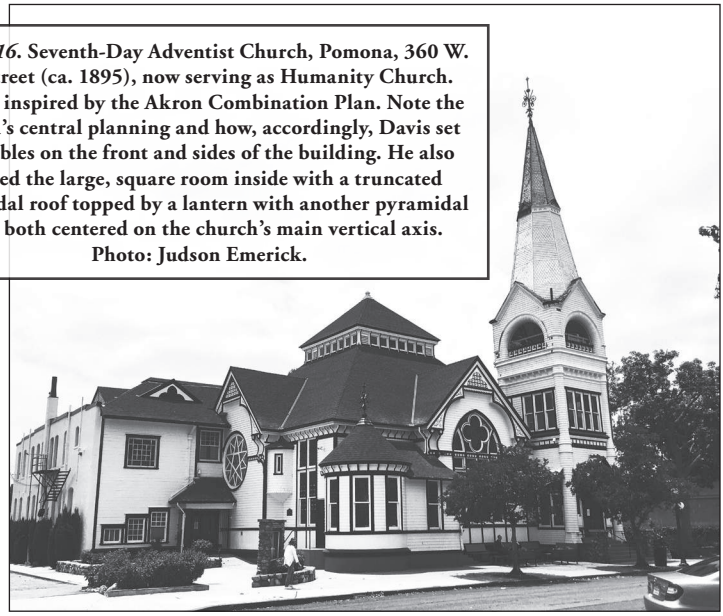

***Figure 16*. Seventh-Day Adventist Church, Pomona, 360 W. 3rd Street (ca. 1895), now serving as Humanity Church. Design inspired by the Akron Combination Plan. Note the church's central planning and how, accordingly, Davis set out gables on the front and sides of the building. He also capped the large, square room inside with a truncated pyramidal roof topped by a lantern with another pyramidal roof, both centered on the church's main vertical axis. Photo: Judson Emerick.**

1865 to take up furniture building. Some seventeen years later, in 1882, one hears of his first major architectural commission, a commercial center in Lebanon called the Whipple Block, and then in 1886, a commission to build a memorial structure for Lebanon's Civil War veterans. Davis married, left New Hampshire for California, and settled in Pomona in 1887 where he designed Pomona's First National Bank (1889), a three-story building dominated by a central tower with an onion dome, that jumbled classical pediments, elaborate entablatures, round arches, and huge Renaissance volutes (fig. 15). A similar exuberance characterized his design for the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Pomona dating to about 1895 (fig. 16). Here we have yet another American church inspired by the Akron Combination Plan, but rather than build it in masonry (as so many of the Akron Plan churches were), Davis used wood. Nineteenth-century American builders had such easy access to wood (and in California, to old-growth redwood) that even large and tall buildings could be framed in that material. Davis knew how Akron Plan churches often featured Gothic elevations and ornament, the kind that we know best from the long Christian building tradition in stone masonry (steeply-pitched roofs, tall bell towers, windows with pointed arches and rose windows, both with elaborate tracery, all framed by gables).[80] For the

Figure 17. **Masonic Lodge #789, 395 Saint Thomas Street, Pomona (1909–10). Davis was a dues-paying member of this lodge. Photo: Judson Emerick.**

Seventh-Day Adventists Davis played with the so-called Carpenter Gothic style in which builders picked up Gothic motifs in woodwork. As his reputation grew, the city of Pomona hired him to design their civic horse stables in 1909, a huge, brick, utilitarian structure near the Southern Pacific railroad tracks. At the same time, Pomona's Masons asked Davis to design their new lodge located in the city's center (fig. 17). Here, playing with neo-classical motifs as builders might do in Paris during the Second Empire (1851–1870), he capped the imposing, two-story, brick-faced, rectangular core of the lodge with a tall, heavy, lavishly ornamented cornice supported on dentils, and a mansard roof with oval dormer windows wreathed by tightly-wound scrolls. Then at the entry to the lodge, by contrast, he set up a sober and austere Doric temple-front, the four columns of which are made of concrete, and the entablature of metal-clad wood. He had it painted white to suggest marble. Davis's sense of play as he built—his scrambling of styles and motifs, his eclecticism—marks all he did, the better to set forth, he must have thought, the liberty and freedom with which a true modern might seize ideas and themes from western architecture's long past for present delight.

For the project at the Orange Grove Monthly Meeting in 1908, however, Davis started with an utterly new style of building, the California bungalow, a kind of domestic architecture that had, then, just begun to

Figure 18. **Bungalow at 1251 N. Palomares Street, Pomona, designed by Ferdinand Davis (1914). Photo: Judson Emerick.**

appear in the suburbs of San Diego, Pasadena, Santa Barbara, and Berkeley. It was a key product of the Euro-American Arts and Crafts movement. One wonders if Davis knew the work of the architects, Charles and Henry Greene, whose iconic California bungalows—the Blacker House and the Gamble House, both in Pasadena—were going up at just the moment the Orange Grove people engaged Davis as designer of their new meeting house. To be sure, these famous Greene and Greene homes, patronized by giants of industry and set out expansively in landscaped gardens, were truly exceptional.[81] The normal California bungalow, fashioned mainly for early twentieth-century renters moving up to home ownership in the new suburbs, were much more modest and smaller in size. Davis built homes in this manner quite soon after Greene and Greene, as a fine, surviving example in Pomona's own bungalow heaven, in suburban Lincoln Park, shows (fig. 18; compare fig. 14).

The Arts and Crafts movement had sprung up in England during the last half of the nineteenth century in reaction to industrialization. Rejecting the mass-produced and often shoddy products emerging from the smoke belching, steam-powered, cavernous factories that exploited throngs of underpaid, anonymous, and spottily trained wage-earners, the Arts and Crafts movement extolled instead the individual crafts person of the pre-industrial, European world, especially the masters and apprentices in the medieval shop system, who, working on commission, fashioned objects from start to finish that revealed their original handiwork. It was an Oxford University Professor, John Ruskin, who first, famously, in two

classic publications, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *The Stones of Venice* (1851–1853), spelled this out.[82] Disparaging the coal-burning, nature-destroying, soul-less, secular England of his day, Ruskin entreated his contemporaries to remember how, centuries previously, the soaring Gothic cathedral linked with belief, faith, and moral purpose had focused people's lives. Medieval, Gothic buildings, both religious and secular, with their varied columnar supports, windows with pointed arches, their ornament based on both geometry and the study of growing things in the natural world, and throughout, their delightful imperfections and asymmetries (so "unmechanical," said Ruskin) emerged from the handiwork of a free people at home in nature spiritually and materially. Consider Plate IX from *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (fig. 19) where Ruskin

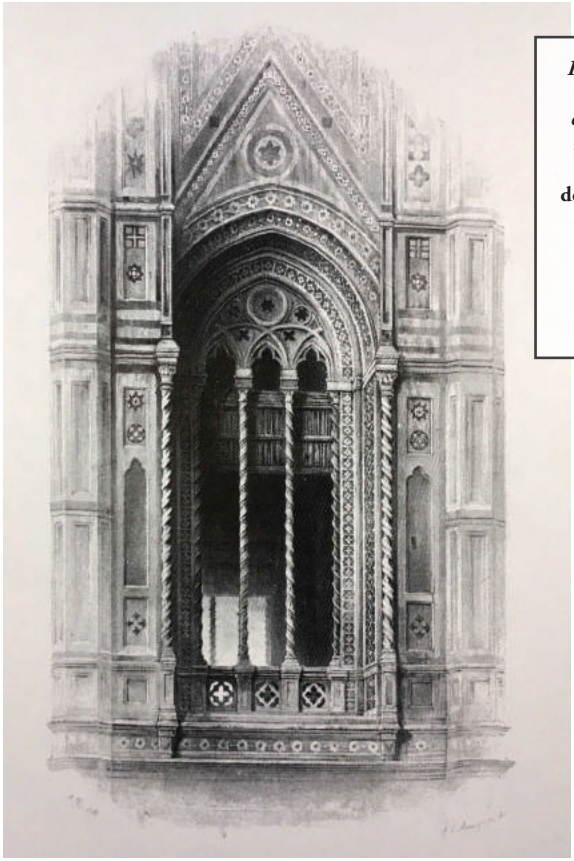

Figure 19. **Plate IX from Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* showing a window from the bell tower that Giotto designed for the cathedral of Florence in the early 14th century. Photo: Judson Emerick, from the original in the public domain.**

***Figure 20*. Houses of Parliament (1840-76) by Charles Barry and Augustus Pugin in the neo-Gothic style Ruskin championed. Photo: Wikipedia Commons.**

reproduces a daguerreotype image of the "head window" in Giotto's famous bell tower for the cathedral of Florence (dating to the early 14th century), and then commends the play of lights and darks in the design, presenting this detail, and many other such High Gothic moments, as models for modern architects. One cannot help but remember how, between 1840 and 1876, the British rebuilt their Houses of Parliament (after they had burned down calamitously in 1834) in a neo-Gothic style and so revalued a past associated with the special probity, uprightness, and honesty that Ruskin found in "the Gothic spirit" and praised and promoted (fig. 20).

What the California bungalow did so effectively in the early twentieth century was tap into the nineteenth-century Ruskinian analysis that told how Modernity had gone wrong and what could be done, if you were a builder, to remedy its mistakes. Greene and Greene would surely have known Ruskin's *Seven Lamps*, republished in 1880, and would have appreciated his revaluing of medieval High Gothic masonry buildings. But the Greenes responded by rethinking American, *wood-framed*, domestic architecture. Their Blacker and Gamble Houses in Pasadena had no Gothic aspects, but like Ruskin's recommended models, displayed handcrafted integrity set out to put their occupants in close contact with the natural world. These houses huddled the earth, low and horizontal (with roofs at very low pitch) so that they and their occupants might better integrate into the natural environment and into the open countryside

that the American suburbs were construed to represent. (Both the Blacker and Gamble Houses in Pasadena sat in picturesque, informal, landscape gardens [fig. 14]; Ferdinand Davis's bungalow in Pomona [fig. 18] looked out upon a green and leafy civic park).[83] Wood was the primary material used everywhere in the Craftsman house, and inside, it was used unpainted (but lightly stained, sealed, and clear varnished) so that its source, the tree, might easily be recognized (fig. 21). Windows stretched across walls dramatically to integrate inside and outside. Landscaping put trees and bushes next to the walls as if to dissemble them. Porches opened to the air and sky—even doubled as bedrooms, as places to sleep unencumbered by walls. And inside both Greene and Greene houses, skilled crafts people made chairs, tables, benches, divans, and so forth from wood, each designed specially by the Greenes for their sites, and each an artwork by itself. Built-in furniture, stairway railings, moldings, benches, fireplace surrounds, even the light fixtures, were all crafted by hand specially for these buildings. If the factory underpinned the modern world's physical, material wealth—for better or worse—the bungalow staged that world's opposite—a modern's notion of *spiritual life*. The California bungalow stood as the factory's foil and hence as fulfillment of modernity's central promise of self-realization.

This must be why Ferdinand Davis and his patrons at Orange Grove chose the California bungalow as a model for their meeting house. For a liberal, well-educated, early twentieth-century audience, the new Califor-

Figure 21. **Gamble House by Greene and Greene (1908–10), living room. Photo: Jim Heaphy, Wikipedia Commons.**

***Figure 22*. The Orange Grove Meeting House (1907/08-1909) as it appeared originally before construction of the fellowship room in 1918. Note the steeply pitched roofs and the resulting tall gables stressed by the deep roof eaves typical of the Craftsman bungalow. From a postcard mailed on January 12, 1914. Photo: Judson Emerick, from the original in the public domain**

nia bungalow vibrated with possibilities, or better, spoke about new kinds of communities that Americans might aspire to. It is fascinating to see how at just this moment Arts and Crafts movements sprang up in the U.S. to give new shapes to communal life (and in a manner similar in many ways to the Quaker movement in England two-and-a-half centuries previously). For example, in the weekly *Friends' Intelligencer*[84] for December 26, 1903,[85] one reads that some sixty and more crafts people, "strong in the faith,"[86] have made their homes in an ideal community called Rose Valley located in a beautiful, unsullied, natural landscape some thirteen miles southwest of Philadelphia. The *Intelligencer*'s article amounted to a series of quotes from a recent publication of the Rose Valley Association, called the *Artsman*, which the *Intelligencer*'s editors considered of high interest to its Quaker audience. Many in Rose Valley, one reads, engage in making furniture, in weaving, potting, printing, and in metalwork, and in the process, thus unite

> with various other societies throughout the world in a general protest against the often vulgar product of the modern machine and against the consequent degradation and ruin of the craftsman.

In another key excerpt from the *Artsman* article in question, one learns that, to the Rose Valley crafts people,

> labor may be worship . . . The Rose Valley shops are temples. Here men pray in their work. Here men practice fellowship in their work.[87]

And all this in contrast to the too-busy-life of working people in the modern city and factory.[88] The bungalow, as I keep saying, focused an Arts and Crafts movement's critique of modern society as having limited, even crushed human chances for full expression. It stood as the remedy for all that—as the site of a new, more promising human community.

Given that the OGMM's members knew about, and approved the goals of the Arts and Crafts movement, possibly even seeing those as akin to Quaker faith and practice, they nevertheless allowed their architect, Davis, to play with their model. If the California bungalow typically has a very low roof line on a plan with a main horizontal, *longitudinal axis*, the OGMM's meeting house was *centrally planned* with very steeply pitched roofs and a prominent *vertical axis* (fig. 22). Each of the four sides of the original meeting house had a tall triangular gable. Those to the front and back were a little bigger than those on the sides, but not by much. The building is almost square in plan. It faces due north. The crest of the roof running north-and-south crossed that of the roof running east-and-west at very nearly the same height, and at their crossing the crests marked and emphasized the building's central, vertical axis. What Davis was trying to do (and what his plan still does even though the east gable of the original building was dismantled for the addition of the Fel-

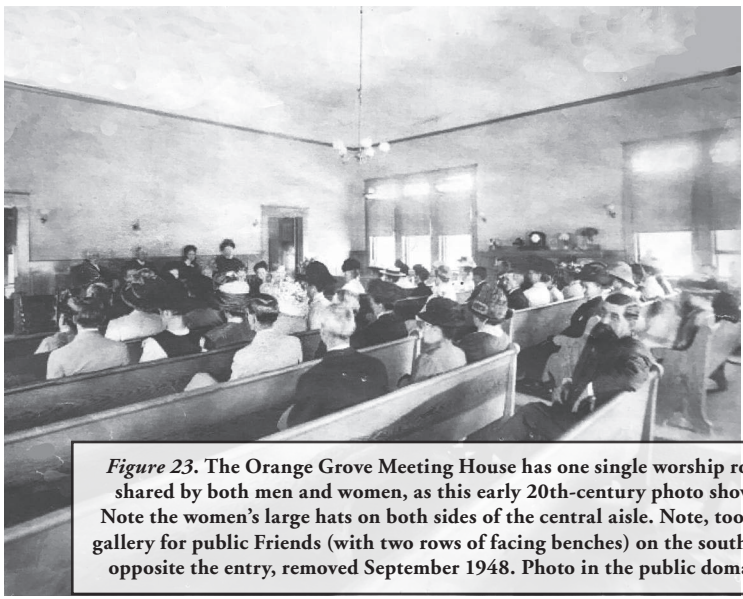

***Figure 23*. The Orange Grove Meeting House has one single worship room shared by both men and women, as this early 20th-century photo shows. Note the women's large hats on both sides of the central aisle. Note, too, the gallery for public Friends (with two rows of facing benches) on the south wall opposite the entry, removed September 1948. Photo in the public domain.**

***Figure 24*. The three Gothicizing, peaked windows (attic ventilators) in the north gable of the Orange Grove Meeting House, each topped by a triangle, not the curved, intersecting arches of the true "pointed window." Photo: Judson Emerick.**

lowship Room in 1918) was announce, fix, and magnify the single, autonomous, ungendered, and perfectly square, 31-by-31-foot worship room within (fig. 23). Like the Gurneyite evangelical Friends Church on Villa Street and Raymond Avenue, the Hicksite meeting house on East Orange Grove Boulevard did not separate male and female worshipers. Of course, that separation, long practiced by Quakers, occurred naturally at the Wilburite meeting house on Villa and Galena.

But a great irony thus arose at Orange Grove. The vertical accent established by the four pitched roofs echoes a tower. That Davis was thinking like this, is shown by the three, tall, attenuated, and cunningly "peaked" windows in Gothic style that stood at the center of each of the four gables (figs. 13, 22, and 24).[89] Compare the window designed by Giotto in the early 14th century for the bell tower of the cathedral of Florence (fig. 19). Note how a triangle tops each of the Orange Grove windows: triangles are much easier to frame in wood than the curved, intersecting arches, carved from stone, that usually form the "points" of pointed Gothic windows.[80] It looks as if Davis and the OGMM's Building Committee in 1907–1908 were happy to link their meeting house with the long tradition of the Christian church architecture in the West—George Fox's antipathies to "steeple houses" notwithstanding.

What Davis brings in here eclectically are the major elements of an American wood-framed church from the Carpenter Gothic tradition,

one which Davis himself knew well. The Orange Grove meeting house can seem to echo in this instance Davis's design for the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Pomona, built around 1895 (fig. 16). It had front-and-side gables set out in just the same way as the gables were at Orange Grove (fig. 23); and each of the gables of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church had Carpenter Gothic features. So, if the Quaker meeting house has gables with Gothicizing windows, the Seventh-Day Adventist Church has gables loaded with fancy scalloped arches, an impressive rose window on the east side, and a huge Gothic, pointed window on the main north front, each of which was provided with elaborate tracery of the kind associated with the High Gothic, collegiate churches, and cathedrals of thirteenth-, and fourteenth-century Europe. "Carpenter Gothic" was another spin-off—along with the Arts and Crafts movement—of the nineteenth-century British and American Gothic revival. The style in question was applied in both secular and religious structures but was used in

Figure 25. **San Francisco, Noe Valley Ministry, formerly known as the Lebanon Church, 1021 Sanchez Street (1881). Photo: Daniel King**

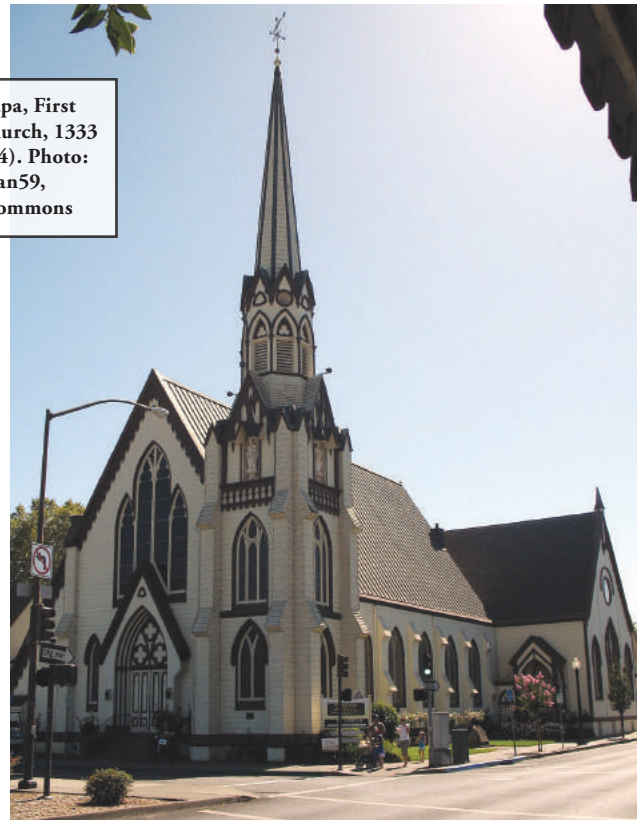

Figure 26. **Napa, First Presbyterian Church, 1333 3rd Street (1874). Photo: Sanfranman59, Wikipedia Commons**

California especially for churches. Among surviving examples, one might cite the Presbyterian church in San Francisco's Noe Valley neighborhood (originally the Lebanon Church) dating to 1881, which survived San Francisco's earthquake in 1906 (fig. 25). The First Presbyterian Church in the city of Napa just to the north of San Francisco, dating to 1874, provides another such example (fig. 26).

But we should not conclude simply that Davis and the members of the OGMM's Building Committee were playing with motifs from the long Christian architectural tradition in ways that Quakers normally would not do. I think the builders would have seen both the exceptional verticality of their structure and its startling Gothic windows as key motifs. Consider that all of them, Davis and his Quaker clients, had spent decades of their lives in the nineteenth century. All of them knew of the

Gothic revival that flourished in the United States during last half of that century. Doubtless they sensed how the Carpenter Gothic church shared its cultural impetus with the new and exciting California bungalow from the Arts and Craft movement—so much so that they could and did combine them eclectically at 520 East Orange Grove Boulevard. They were reaching for an architecture that they must have felt denoted genuine, human liberation. Indeed, it can look as if all of them had taken Ruskin's architectural manifestos, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and *The Stones of Venice*, quite to heart.

But eclectic in style as the Orange Grove meeting house may be, its exterior elevation, especially its main north front (figs. 13, 22, and 24), has a calm, spare, even quiet elegance that the California bungalow (fig. 14) or the exceedingly busy, picturesque Carpenter Gothic church (figs. 16, 25, and 26) almost never exhibit. The triad of Gothic windows in the north gable (fig. 24) make a straightforward statement (graceful but austere) that contrasts sharply with the jumble of Gothicizing motifs decorating, for example, the main front of the Lebanon Church in San Francisco, the First Presbyterian in Napa, or the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Pomona. In the Orange Grove meeting house Ferdinand Davis shuns the busy, even over-ornamented designs for which he was well known (figs.15, 16, and 17), and stages the newly organized Quaker meeting in Pasadena in a decidedly restrained manner. I can easily imagine the Orange Grove Quakers watching their effervescent Pomona architect carefully and always tightening the reins.

Let us now look inside the OGMM's meeting house, where clear-varnished wood (Douglas-fir) makes the main impression in typical Craftsman style (fig. 27). A glance at the luxury of the Gamble House interior (fig. 21) reveals at once how, at the OGMM, this woodwork was carried out in an exceedingly plain and unornamented manner.[91] Note here, inside the square meeting room, how the ceiling is coved dome-like to, again, stress the meeting house's central vertical axis. The dome rising over the square is one of western architecture's favorite such centering devices—and here, of course, Davis and the OGMM's Building Committee shrugged off the traditional Quaker meeting house with its longitudinal, horizontal axis. At the OGMM's meeting house that central axis was given great emphasis inside, on the ceiling overhead, by the built-in, Craftsman style, wooden lighting fixture—the ring studded by 12 electric light bulbs in brass sockets.[92] Originally another pendant lamp bearing a chandelier with five electric light bulbs fell from the center of the

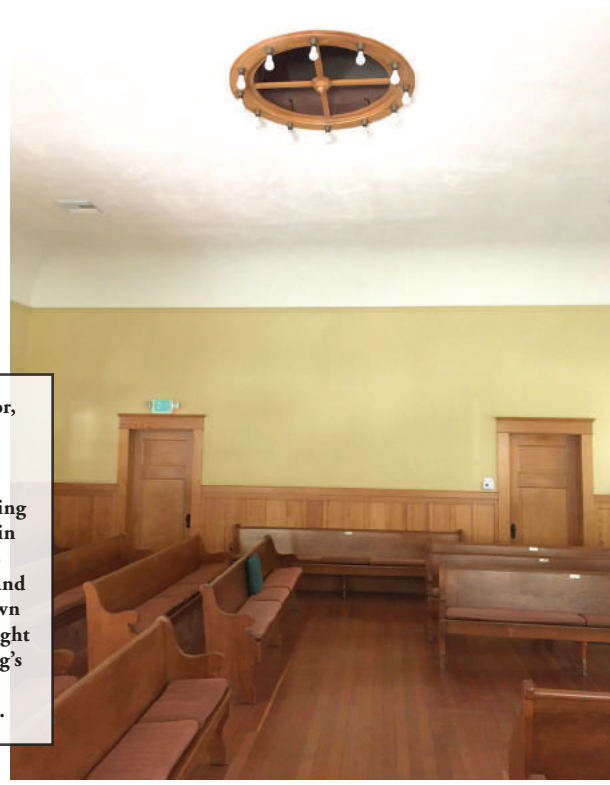

Figure 27. **Interior, Orange Grove meeting room looking south. Note the wainscoting and door frames in wood; note also the coved ceiling and the luminous crown of twelve electric light bulbs at the ceiling's center. Photo: Judson Emerick.**

wheel (see fig. 23).

I count this luminous crown as one of Davis's and the Building Committee's happiest ideas. Like the white Doric column at the center of the men's worship space at the Caln meeting house of the early 1800s (fig. 7), it focuses the OGMM's meeting room visually. But unlike the column, this feature gives distinct architectural form to the Quaker conviction that one goes inside the meeting house "to greet the light." Right from the start, from the 1660s to the 1690s, Quakers in England and America had played with this idea—in the centrally planned, towering meeting houses designed to poke skyward in a civic context and draw attention such as one once found at Bristol (fig. 2), Philadelphia, and Newport (fig. 4), among several others. The square meeting rooms within these historic structures had no effective artificial lighting, solely that which streamed in dramatically from the tall windows in their central lanterns.

Now, in 1908-1909, the centrally planned Orange Grove meeting house used electricity to stage worshippers "in the light."

It is fascinating to think how, nearly one-hundred years later, the esteemed American artist of light, James Turrell, a birthright Quaker, might design a new meeting house for the Live Oak Friends Meeting in Houston, Texas, that explored the idea (fig. 27).[93] The skyspace—which is what Turrell calls this kind of building—in Houston put members of the meeting in a quiet, plainly decorated room, the ceiling of which has a razor sharp-edged, central, rectangular opening to the sky for illumination. (When needed, a protective panel on the meeting room's roof may be moved to cover the opening.) This rectangle on the meeting house ceiling does not "read" as a window. It has no frame. It appears "pasted" onto the curve of the ceiling, a two-dimensional patch of light. The skylight it reveals thus takes on a new meaning, especially at sunrise or sunset, the skyspace's best times of day, when the sky's color changes dramatically over an hour or so and the ceiling rectangle accordingly changes color and luminosity, then goes to a deep, velvety black in the night-time darkness. The great beauty of the skyspace lies in its capacity to make these changes palpable, sunrise and sunset magnified and transformed magically. Light inside the skyspace takes on the dimensions of a dream, says Turrell,[94] an unreal, but nevertheless distinct image felt by each viewer/each member of the meeting.[95] At both the OGMM and the Live Oak Friends meeting houses, then, architects at either end of the twentieth century found compelling ways to display what Quakers call the Light Within, and thus pick up, whether consciously or not, ancient Quaker architectural tradition.[96]

Today we marvel at Turrell's skyspaces. Could the Orange Grove meeting room (fig. 27) have had a similar impact 90 years earlier? I think it must have had. Consider that in 1908–1909 when the light fixture in question was crafted, electric lighting was undergoing its first major revolution as the Edison Company's carbon-filament light bulbs, which glowed only dimly, were being replaced by General Electric's earliest tungsten-filament ones, which were far, far brighter.[97] For the founders of the Orange Grove Monthly Meeting the luminous crown overhead at the center of their meeting room's ceiling would undoubtedly have seemed new, remarkable, and awe inspiring.

One cannot help but wonder if Turrell,who grew up in the Pasadena Monthly Meeting located one city-block south of the Orange Grove Monthly Meeting,[98] might have visited Orange Grove during the 1950s

***Figure 28*. Houston, Texas, interior, meeting room, the Live Oak Friends Meeting House (1998-2000), 1318 W. 26th Street, skyspace by James Turrell. Sketch by Judson Emerick.**

and 1960s before he embarked on his artistic career in the later 1960s. Members of the Villa Street Meeting do appear to have interacted with the Orange Grove people over the years.[99] Did Turrell remark the distinctive architecture of the meeting house on East Orange Grove Boulevard as something special? Did the ring of bright lights on the ceiling of the OGMM's worship room impress the young man as innovative? After all, nothing of this kind could be found at his own meeting house on Villa Street.

Original in its design, the Orange Grove meeting house must be counted an architectural success, one of Ferdinand Davis's most interesting performances, and a tour-de-force on the part of the members of the OGMM's Building Committee who advised Davis then boldly accepted

his plans. The designers of the Orange Grove meeting house wrestled with the Quaker traditions and sought to rethink them. The garden-like setting of the Orange Grove meeting house, the plainness of the materials used (painted redwood outside; stained Douglas-fir inside), its "family size" (a modest 1,300 square feet originally—without the fellowship room of 1918), its one-story elevation with long rows of windows, its roof system with strongly projecting eaves and exposed beams, its broad porch sheltering a main entry surrounded by windows, all of these aspects tell of the (then) contemporary and new California bungalow.

The tall gables, the building's vertical main axis (its central plan), and its attic ventilators framed as peaked windows, however, tap into the architectural style called Carpenter Gothic, deeply traditional in many ways. I hope to have suggested why the Orange Grove Quakers followed Davis's lead in this instance—not because they sought links with the long tradition of Christian church building, but because they judged the neo-Gothic aspects to heighten the California bungalow's basic message.

Conclusion

At the turn of the twentieth century three Quaker meetings formed in Pasadena, all with places of worship that spoke to the special commitments of each gathering.

Members of the First Friends Church built a meeting house in the manner of all the other Protestant churches in the city (fig. 10) and in the process, pointedly refused the long Quaker tradition to that time (1882-1895). They were heirs to an evangelical Gurneyite Quaker movement that had culminated impressively in Iowa during the 1880s and 1890s, and then for years had led the way among Quakers in America, and especially in California. It is fascinating to see how the First Friends Church's commitment to proselytize pushed its members during the last third of the twentieth century to move to a new, more expansive property in Pasadena and construct an elaborate complex with a church and gymnasium with which they hoped to attract as many, new, "un-churched" members as possible.

The Pasadena Monthly Meeting flourished for an entire century in Pasadena (1886–1988), its supporters heirs to the conservative Wilburite program to preserve Quaker faith and practice as Americans had experienced them from the mid-eighteenth century onward. Members of the Villa Street meeting (figs. 11-12) thus pointedly insisted on patterning their meeting house on the Ideal Quaker Plan, that is, they sought to

Figure 29. **Interior, the Orange Grove meeting room looking northwest. Note the central ceiling lighting fixture, now glowing with LEDs. Photo: Judson Emerick.**

revive a form and type that had not been built regularly in the U.S. since the 1860s.

In 1908–1909 members of the Orange Grove Monthly Meeting decided that they would erect a California bungalow for a meeting house (fig. 22), that is, build a new kind of dwelling that the contemporary Arts and Crafts movement had invented to provide a respite in nature for moderns who sought to avoid the clanging factories and dehumanized cities. Heirs to the Hicksite branch of Quakerism, thus given to acting on novel leadings, the Orange Grove people were among Pasadena's boldest of Quaker builders. It is fascinating to think that the OGMM's brilliantly lit meeting room might inspire—it surely forecasts—the very latest and most exciting experiments in the construction of Quaker meeting houses, for example, at the Live Oak Friends Meeting in Houston, Texas (figs. 28 and 29).

Notes

[1] H. Larry Ingle, *First Among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Ben Pink Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 13-79.

[2] Seth B. Hinshaw, "The Architectural Genealogy of the Yonge Street Friends Meeting House," *The Canadian Quaker History Journal*, 77 (2012): 16-49, especially 17-29. Yonge Street Friends Meeting House, built in 1810, located in Newmarket, Ontario, some thirty-five miles north of Toronto, follows the ideal North American Quaker plan, the origins of which Hinshaw traces here masterfully showing how it emerged in the eighteenth century from English and American experiments in the seventeenth.

[3] The *sanctoral* calendar set out the names of a saint or saints for each day of the year whose heroic deaths as martyrs or confessors would be remembered at masses.

[4] The *temporal* calendar presented the events of Christ's life to be celebrated each year day-by-day with masses—from Advent (Christmas) and Epiphany (January 6) to Easter and Pentecost (the moveable feasts).

[5] Hinshaw, "The Architectural Genealogy of the Yonge Street Friends Meeting House," 19-20 (with bibliography). In 1 Corinthians 1:2, the apostle addresses the church (i.e. the believers) at Corinth as "those sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints together with all those who in every place call on the name of our Lord." See also Johann P. Kirsch, *The Doctrine of the Communion of Saints in the Ancient Church, A Study in the History of Dogma*, translated by J. R. M'Kee (Edinburgh, Sands & Co., 1910); Maren Bohlen, *Sanctorum Communio: Die Christen als 'Heilige" bei Paulus* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011).

[6] Ingle, *First Among Friends*, passim; Dandelion, *Introduction to Quakerism*, 13-52.

[7] On women's role in the movement, Ingle, *First Among Friends*, 63, 104-105, 224, 252-253; also Dandelion, *Introduction to Quakerism*, 36-37 and 41.

[8] Quakers thrived in the seventeenth-century American colonies from the Caribbean to New England, as George Fox himself discovered upon traveling there to proselytize between 1671 and 1673; see Ingle, *First Among Friends*, 231-243. Quaker observance in North America burgeoned in the eighteenth century, then took over from Europe as the sect's real center in the nineteenth. One remembers at this juncture how the convinced Quaker, William Penn (1644–1718), one of Fox's most prominent associates, could use

the lands in America that the British King Charles II gave to his father, which he (William) inherited, to establish Pennsylvania and Philadelphia in 1682 as a haven of religious freedom and thus sponsor Quaker initiatives in the New World. Dandelion, *Introduction to Quakerism*, 49-54. See also Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The World of William Penn* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1986).

[9] Ingle, *First Among Friend*s, 102-104, 149-152, and 256-258.

[10] Ingle, *First Among Friends*, 252-255. For more on this topic, but from the North American perspective, see Mary Maples Dunn, "Saints and Sisters, Congregational and Quaker Women in the Early Colonial Period," *Women in American Religion*, ed. J. W. James (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 27-46. Women's control of marriage in historic Quaker meetings gave them major social roles—startling really for the times.

[11] Dandelion, *Introduction to Quakerism*, 49-54. Fox and his associates set up an office in Westminster to lobby Parliament for the Act. See Ingle, *First Among Friends*, 280-282.

[12] Consider how the Quakers of Bristol, England's busy southwestern seaport in the seventeenth century, behaved during the persecution under the Stuart monarchy. At its height, in 1669, Friends built a prominent meeting house on the grounds of Bristol's thirteenth-century Black (Dominican) Friary whose buildings were then occupied by civic guilds. When the authorities seized the meeting house in 1670 and locked its users out, Friends continued to meet there, but in public in the street outside. Four months later Friends forced their way in and held the structure until 1682, when again the authorities locked them out. Between 1682 and 1686, a sheriff in Bristol permitted mobs to ransack the meeting house. It was said that so many Quakers in the City were imprisoned during the 1670s and 1680s that only their children remained to carry on meetings; when necessary, they did so in the street outside the locked-up meeting house, again in public. See Margaret H. Simpson, "Bristol Friends and the Friars Meeting House," *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 47, no. 1 (1955): 22-33.

[13] Hinshaw, "The Architectural Genealogy of the Yonge Street Friends Meeting House," 21-22. It was David M. Butler whose exhaustive and massive, two-volume study of *The Quaker Meeting Houses of Britain* (London: Friends Historical Society, 1999) first revealed how early and how openly—with no attempt at concealment—Quakers set out their meeting houses.

[14] Butler's research (see the preceding note) shows that Quakers picked up two kinds of Puritan meeting houses, those that looked like small Anglican churches, ones in the "Chapel Plan," and others that looked like vernacular

architecture, ones in the "Cottage Plan." See Hinshaw's summary, 21-29.

[15] See n. 12; Hinshaw, "The Architectural Genealogy of the Yonge Street Friends Meeting House," 23, and Butler, *The Quaker Meeting Houses of Britain*, I:515-517. The meeting house in question instantly became one of Bristol's major landmarks, as its prominence in "James Millerd's Map of Bristol 1673" shows.

[16] A wood-frame structure? Or did it have walls in masonry, but the roof and lantern in wood?

[17] Hinshaw, "The Architectural Genealogy of the Yonge Street Friends Meeting House," 26; Butler, *The Quaker Meeting Houses of Britain*, II: 606-607.

[18] The Ifield Meetinghouse sidles up to a previous structure in plain red brick masonry (to the left in fig. 3), a house built in an utterly local manner.

[19] See Hinshaw's analysis of the interiors of Quaker meeting houses, "The Architectural Genealogy of the Yonge Street Friends Meeting House," 23-25.

[20] Margaret Aston, "Segregation in the Church," *Studies in Church History* 27 (1990): 237-294. This volume of *Studies in Church History* is devoted to "Women in the Church," providing an overview of this key issue from the first great state-sponsored churches built by the Emperor Constantine (306-337 CE) to the present.

[21] At quarterly meetings heads of delegations sent from the various monthly meetings would also be seated in the gallery.

[22] See notes 9, 10, and 20 above.

[23] That room could be smaller than the worship space proper. The latter had to accommodate both men and women together; the former needed only accommodate the women.

[24] A meeting house might have a loft reaching across the back of a meeting room, or running around three sides, or even four sides of a room. Tall meeting houses like the one in Bristol (as in notes 12 and 15.) had two lofts, one on top of another.

[25] See n. 8 above.

[26] Dandelion, *Introduction to Quakerism*, 250-255.

[27] Interestingly, the founding of the very first Quaker yearly meeting occurred in the colonies, at Newport in 1661. The London Yearly Meeting was organized in 1668.

[28] Thomas D. Hamm, *The Quakers in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 37-63.

[29] Seth Beeson Hinshaw, "The Evolution of Quaker Meeting Houses in North America 1670-2000" (master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2001), 22-40.

[30] Torn down and replaced in 1755, the meeting house in question was then abandoned and the property sold in 1804. Quakers in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting then built a larger place of worship at the corner of 4th and Arch Street, the well-known "Arch Street Meeting House." See J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884* (Philadelphia, L. H. Everts, 1884), 3 vols., II, 1244-1245.

[31] Enlarged in 1709, again in 1729, then quite "built over" in the nineteenth century. Portions of the original walls, roof, and lantern survive incorporated in the nineteenth-century rebuilding and the twentieth-century restoration. See especially Antoinette F. Downing and Vincent J. Scully, Jr., *The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island: 1640–1915*, 2nd edition, (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1967), 24-25 and Plate 21. Downing's plate shows details of two paintings of Newport's skyline, circa 1740, with the Quaker Meeting House of 1699-1701 clearly identifiable. See also, Peter T. Mallary, *New England Churches and Meetinghouses, 1680–1820* (New York: Vendome, 1986), 46-50; his fig. 37 shows the 1699–1701 meeting house in a wooden model.

[32] Hinshaw, "The Evolution of Quaker Meeting Houses in North America," 25, gives the size of the plan.

[33] Downing, *The Architectural Heritage of Newport*, 25, citing Henry Bull's *Memoirs of Rhode Island* (1832–1838). Bull dated the Newport Quaker meeting house to 1699–1701 and gave the dimensions of its plan.

[34] Downing, *The Architectural Heritage of Newport*, 25. Bull reported that the Quaker meeting house at Newport, Rhode had two lofts inside, one above the other.

[35] For American Quaker meeting houses of the Bristol type, see Hinshaw, "The Evolution of Quaker Meeting Houses in North America," 24-28 and Hinshaw, "The Architectural Genealogy of the Yonge Street Friends Meeting House," 36-7. Hinshaw does not mention that some early Puritan (Congregational) meeting houses in both Britain and America resemble the Quaker ones in Bristol, Philadelphia, and Newport. In the introduction to his master's thesis, however, Hinshaw did comment briefly on the issue, citing the surviving Puritan "Old Ship Meeting House" in Hingham, Massachusetts, built in 1681; see Hinshaw, "The Evolution of Quaker Meeting Houses in North America," 6-7. This meeting house has an almost square plan, two stories, and a hip roof topped at center by a platform with a balustrade and a low central bell tower. See the description and illustrations in

Mallary, *New England Churches and Meetinghouses*, 41-45 and figs. 4, 24, and 33. While this type of building may be merely Protestant and not particularly Quaker, early Quakers did make much use of it.

[36] The charters of both Rhode Island (1663) and Pennsylvania (1681-1682) specified the separation of church and state; in those two exceedingly liberal colonies, all religions were welcome.

[37] Hinshaw, "The Evolution of Quaker Meeting Houses in North America," 41-56; Hinshaw, "The Architectural Genealogy of the Yonge Street Friends Meeting House," 37-48.

[38] The date of the first phase is much discussed. Francis G. Brown in *Old Caln Meeting House: Its Story* (Glenmoore, PA: Glenmoore Corp., 2001) insisted on 1726. But another local historian, T. Chalkley Matlack argued instead for the mid–1740s. Matlack, *Brief Historical Sketches Concerning Friends' Meetings of the Past and Present with Special Reference to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting* (Moorestown, NJ, 1938), volume I, section on the "Caln Quarterly." I thank one of my anonymous readers for comments on Caln's dating and, with that reader, I follow Matlack's dating.

[39] See n. 38 above; see also the history by Virginia B. Price and Aaron V. Wunsch in "Caln Friends Meeting House Survey HABS PA-6227," n.d., but probably 1997, online at //tile.loc.gov/storage-services/master/pnp/habshaer/pa/pa3600/pa3604/data/pa3604data.pdf

[40] See HABS-PA-6227 at //loc.gov/resource/hhh.pa3604.photos?st=gallery especially fig. 3 which shows—in color—the northwest corner of the room added in 1801.

[41] Price and Wunsch, "Caln Friends Meeting House Survey" recorded that Caln meeting house was restored in 1822, 1861–1862, and 1913–1914, mainly to make repairs after light fire damage.

[42] One row of benches fixed-in-place runs along the south side of the room added in 1801; see my figs. 6 and 7.

[43] For a précis of the Arch Street Meeting House's history, see Catherine C. Lavoie in the "Arch Street Friends Meeting House Survey HABS PA-1087," n.d., but probably 2002, online at //tile.loc.gov/storage-services/master/pnp/habshaer/pa/pa1000/pa1087/data/pa1087data.pdf

[44] Here I depart sharply from the assessment of Seth Hinshaw, "The Evolution of Quaker Meeting Houses in North America," 55-56.

[45] The five classical orders—Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite—were invented by Italian humanists in the early sixteenth century. Sebastiano Serlio transforms the five "manners" into "orders." See Sebastiano

Serlio, Regole *generali di Architectura sopra le cinque maniere degli edifici, cioe thoscano, dorico, ionico, corinthio et composito, con gli esempi dell'antiquità . . .* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini da Forli, 1537). See also Alina Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance, Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), chap. 6, "Serlio and the Theoretization of Ornament." That carpenters in southeastern Pennsylvania knew and celebrated Serlio's five orders at just the moment (1801) when a "Tuscan" column was installed at the Caln Meeting House, is shown by the contemporary handbook, *The Rules of Work of the Carpenters' Company of the City and County of Philadelphia 1786*, ed. Charles E. Peterson (Mendham, New Jersey: Astragal Pr., 1992). This volume illustrates four of Serlio's five columnar orders in pls. XXX-XXXIII. The fifth, the Composite, is missing as a plate, but this type of column appears in the handbook's price lists with a Composite column costing the same as a Corinthian.

[46] The crowns of each porch look to have been fashioned from bent metal, possibly copper. They function as rain gutters.

[47] Note how the shutters from the first-story windows at Arch Street have been decorated with rectangular panels (fig. 8). In a major American city, a Quaker architect, Owen Biddle, might temper the push to utter plainness that ruled in the rural countryside (compare the Caln Meeting House in fig. 5). Nevertheless, the exterior of the doors at the Arch Street meeting house are smooth, unarticulated, flat, plain expanses.

[48] Thomas D. Hamm, "The Divergent Paths of Iowa Quakers in the Nineteenth Century," *The Annals of Iowa* 61 (2002): 125-150.

[49] Hiram A. Reid, *History of Pasadena* (Los Angeles, Kingsley Barnes & Neuner, 1895), 20, 169, 234-235, and 281-282.

[50] Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 113-116.

[51] Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 483-484; David C. LeShana, *Quakers in California: The Effects of 19th Century Revivalism on Western Quakerism* (Newberg, Oregon: Barclay Press, 1969), 81, 110-111; Gregory S. McReynolds, "Pasadena's Quaker Meeting Houses," np, 2001.

[52] In this instance, Snyder worked closely with Lewis Miller from Akron, Ohio, a philanthropist who had become wealthy from his invention of the combine reaping machine, and had worked with the Methodist minister, John Heyl Vincent of Chicago to develop a Sunday school curriculum. Hinshaw, "The Evolution of Quaker Meeting Houses in North America," 98-100.

[53] See Kramer's obituary in *The New York Times*, October 21, 1938. Kramer's

widely read, self-published book advertised the Akron Combination Plan effectively as the "Modern Church" and illustrated the numerous examples that had already been built (by 1897) in the U.S.; see G.W. Kramer, *The What, How and Why of Church Building* (New York: np, 1897), especially 215-233 and its seven plates with plans and elevations.

[54] For an early account of a Sunday morning's worship at the First Friends Church in Pasadena by a not entirely sympathetic Hicksite Friend, see Thaddeus S. Kenderdine, *California Revisited 1858–1897* (Newton, PA: Doylestown Publishing, 1898), 174-177. Kenderdine confirms how closely First Friends Church conformed to the Akron Combination Plan when he observed that "[t] he church is well named as it has a bell and tower. It was new, in a nice part of the town, electric lighted, and *arranged for Sabbath schools* (my italics)." First Friends Church had an organ that was played to accompany singing that concluded the Sunday School and opened the regular meeting with Bible reading, singing, prayers, and a sermon. The latter, said Kenderdine, "was a scholarly address such as you might hear from what are known as 'first class city churches.'" There was also "a well-trained choir." Kenderdine summed up as generously as he could, saying that the palm trees, cactus, and flowers surrounding First Friends Church flourished gloriously: "Nature seemed to endorse the departure these California Friends were making from what we thought the good old ways."

[55] The first "Great Awakening" had arisen in the thirteen colonies during the eighteenth century, and a second in the U.S. during the nineteenth. Revival evangelicalism transformed American Quakerism. The programmed, pastor-led, evangelical, Gurneyite Friends churches gathered members everywhere, while unprogrammed Hicksite and Wilburite meetings' membership dwindled; see Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 37-63; and Dandelion, *Introduction to Quakerism*, 102-112. For events in California, see LeShana, *Quakers in California*, 29-45. An apologist for Gurneyite evangelism, LeShana enthusiastically recounts how evangelism "liberated" Quakers from their quietistic refusal of the world. For an opposing view see Kenderdine, *California Revisited*.

[56] See n. 48 above.

[57] Dandelion, *Introduction to Quakerism*, 128.

[58] LeShana, *Quakers in California*, 113-135.

[59] McReynolds, "Pasadena's Quaker Meeting Houses." The former First Friends Church at Raymond Avenue and Villa Street has now become the Holy Assembly Church of God in Christ.

[60] The site's overall configuration, as well as photos, may be seen on Google

maps (https://maps.google.com).

[61] The miniature, wood-framed, bell tower attached to the northwest corner of the church bears a bronze plaque with a dedication and the date, 1964, which looks to provide a terminus ante quem for the entire structure it forms part of.

[62] See *Faith and Practice*, *Evangelical Friends Church Southwest* (Yorba Linda, CA: np, 2011) (http://www.efcsouthwest.org).

[63] See Foothills Community Church's website (https://www.fccpasadena.org).

[64] The Evangelical Friends Church Southwest closely resembles non-Quaker projects like the one run by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. Compare, for example, http://efcsouthwest.org and https://billygraham.org.

[65] Compare Hinshaw, "The Evolution of Quaker Meeting Houses in North America," 107-108.

[66] Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 484 for the arrival date.

[67] Hamm, "The Divergent Paths of Iowa Quakers," 130. See also Louis Thomas Jones, *The Quakers of Iowa* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1914), 154-162 on the Wilburites in Iowa, and 163-174 on the Iowa Yearly Meeting (Conservative).

[68] McReynolds, "Pasadena's Quaker Meeting Houses," citing Elizabeth "Bessie" Pearson, *A History of the Pasadena Conservative Meeting of Friends* (np, 1918), as his source.

[69] Reid, *History of Pasadena*, 484. Reid's paragraph on the creation of the PMM starts out by saying that the meeting was organized under the Ohio Yearly Meeting, then ends by recording how the Hickory Grove people from Iowa claimed it. But that makes sense. Hickory Grove in Iowa was founded by the Ohio Yearly Meeting (Wilburite).

[70] McReynolds, "Pasadena's Quaker Meeting Houses." Again, E. Pearson's history of the PMM was McReynolds's source.

[71] My friend in Pasadena, Phil Way, confirmed this for me. As a teenager in the 1950s he visited the Pasadena Monthly Meeting with his family frequently.

[72] LeShana, *Quakers in California*, 137-153. Throughout, the Pasadena Monthly Meeting kept its ties to the Iowa Yearly Meeting (Conservative), Howard Brinton arguing that such dual memberships ought be accommodated.

[73] Pacific Yearly Meeting, *Faith and Practice* (https://www.pacificyearlymeeting.org/faith-and-practice/). By the 1980s the Villa Street Wilburites were holding meetings only once a month; in 1985 they withdrew from the Iowa

Yearly Meeting (Conservative) on the basis of "theological differences" and a "few years later" they laid their meeting down. Search online for: History-Iowa Yearly Meeting, August 1, 2017, Brief History of Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends (Conservative). Go to p. 6 of the PDF available there.

[74] Beginning in 1996, Jill Shook, who attended the Orange Grove Monthly Meeting in Pasadena, played a major role in repurposing the former PMM building at 500 East Villa Street into a local community center with after-school programs to aid hundreds of underprivileged elementary, high-school, and college- age students. She headed the group who successfully applied for the grant from the James Irvine Foundation that helped establish the Lake Avenue Community Foundation linked with the Lake Avenue Congregational Church in the city that grew into the faith-based nonprofit now named *Stars*. Stars operates from several buildings in northern Pasadena, and among them, from 2001 onward, the former Villa Street meeting house. See: //gostars.org.

[75] David H. Morse, *Orange Grove Monthly Meeting, A Centennial Timeline* (Pasadena: OGMM, 2007), 3-5. Swarthmore College was founded in 1864, and the Quaker meeting on campus there in 1893. Both enterprises circled around the Hicksite Philadelphia Yearly meeting and thus by extension, so did the OGMM.

[76] Minutes of the Swarthmore Monthly Meeting dating between June 25, 1907, and November 24, 1908, that tell how the Quakers from Maryland founded the OGMM, are archived at Swarthmore College. I thank Larry Vass for telling me about these documents and sharing his transcription of them with me.

[77] Like the Pasadena Monthly Meeting on Villa Street, which joined the PacYM but kept its association with the Iowa Yearly Meeting (Conservative)—see n. 72 above—so too the OGMM joined PacYM but kept its links to the Hicksite Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

[78] At their December 1908 meeting for business, members and attenders of the Orange Grove Monthly Meeting of Friends of Pasadena heard their Building Committee announce it had hired Ferdinand Davis to design the new meeting house, accepted his plans and specifications, and had found a contractor and begun the work. The OGMM moved into its new meeting house early in 1909, as reported in the minutes for the meeting for business on March 14, 1909. See Morse, *A Centennial Timeline*, 6.

[79] Davis's war memoir is held by the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor https://bentley.umich.edu/legacy-support/civilwar/civilwar_search.php?nameid=265.

[80] Kramer, *The What, How and Why of Church Building*.

[81] David Gamble of the Procter and Gamble Corporation, Cincinnati, Ohio, and his wife, Mary Huggins, built the world-famed Gamble House as a wintertime retreat. The Blacker House was constructed lavishly for Robert Blacker and his wife, Nellie Canfield, as their retirement home. Blacker made a fortune in lumber in Manistee, Michigan, and owned and operated several very large, steam-powered sawmills. The Blacker House's original, large, landscaped garden is now lost, parceled off after Nellie's death in 1946.

[82] Ruskin offered *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and the three-volume *The Stones of Venice* as a vast, detailed manifesto for a new modern architecture based on High and Late Gothic models.

[83] At the start the Orange Grove meeting house also rose in a park-like setting standard for bungalows. David Morse recorded in his *Centennial Timeline*, 9, that in 1913 the OGMM was assessed $283.65 by the city of Pasadena for its share for the paving of Orange Grove Avenue (now Boulevard); I judge from this note that at the beginning the landscape around the original structure must have appeared much rougher, greener, and more open than it does today. The meeting lost a five-foot-wide strip across the north side of its property shortly after 1957 when Orange Grove Blvd. was widened. See *Centennial Timeline*, 26 and 37. (In 1957, Pasadena bought this strip from the OGMM for $2077). Thus, between 1907–08 (when the land was bought for the meeting house) and 1957–58 (when Orange Grove Boulevard was widened), the OGMM's property was more expansive than at present. Its surrounding lawns and trees, partly visible in an old photo (see fig. 22), had picturesque aspects. The five Italian stone pines planted by the meeting's founders became famous in Pasadena, lauded by the *Pasadena Beautiful Foundation* in 1993 as a "landmark grove." One of the five trees had to be removed in 1997, and the other four in 2007. See *Centennial Timeline*, 71, 74, and 84. In 1987, Alex Taylor drew the Orange Grove meeting house showing it over-hung by these very tall, then already iconic, pine trees. Morse seems to have intuited the key importance of a park-like setting for the OGMM's meeting house and published the drawing on the cover of his *Centennial Timeline*.

[84] The *Friends' Intelligencer* (1844–1955) was an important Hicksite organ; by contrast, Orthodox Quakers read *The Friend* (1827–1955). After 1955, when the Hicksite and Orthodox branches reconciled in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the two journals merged to become the *Friends Journal*.

[85] http://archive.org/details/friendsintellige1903phil/page/826/mode/2up.

[86] That is, doubtless, strong in their commitment to their crafts.

[87] "The Rose Valley Shops and Settlement," *Friends' Intelligencer* LX, no. 52

(December 26, 1903): 827-828.

[88] The Rose Valley utopian community and its journal, the *Artsman*, were founded by the Philadelphia architect William L. Price (1861–1916); see George E. Thomas, William L. Price, *Arts and Crafts to Modern Design* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2000), 75-113, on early twentieth-century Arts and Crafts inspired ideal communities.

[89] The fireplace on the west side of the OGMM's meeting house has a tall chimney that rises through the center of the west gable outside. But this gable has two narrow windows in Gothic style, one on either side of the chimney.

[90] The "windows" in each of the four gables of the Orange Grove meeting house provide ventilation for the building's attic. Each opening, unglazed, was filled with slanted fins or louvers.

[91] The interior of the OGMM's meeting house was restored in August/September 2014. The woodwork was scraped, sanded, lightly stained, and varnished; walls and ceilings were repainted in the meeting room, the Fellowship Room and the library.

[92] When the OGMM's meeting house was rewired in 2018, an electrician carefully removed the original cotton-insulated wire in the ring of lights to replace it with the new wire up-to-current-code.

[93] https://www.fgcquaker.org/cloud/live-oak-friends-meeting-houston.

[94] As James Turrell completed the skyspace at the Live Oak Friends Meeting House in 2000, he granted an interview to the editors of *Art 21 Weekly Newsletter*. See https://art21.org/read/james-turrell-live-oak-friends-meeting-house/. Turrell observed that "All or most spiritual experiences, near death experience, are described with a vocabulary of light. So, for me, this quality to feel light exists, almost like we see it in a dream . . . light not seen with the eyes . . . the light within."

[95] Given that this experience unfolds over time to a viewer actually present within the skyspace, Turrell has always been reluctant to permit still photographs to be published as records of that dynamic encounter. My sketch of the Live Oaks Friends Meeting's skyspace (fig. 28), based on a photograph, is thus inadequate in just the way Turrell says all photos of his skyspaces are. Nevertheless, many such photos may be found online.

[96] Live Oak Friends Meeting House has a longitudinal plan. But its skyspace within effectively and emphatically "centers" the meeting room (fig. 28). Turrell's experiments with light culminate in his refashioning of the Roden Crater in northeastern Arizona, a quiescent volcano into which, beginning in 1974, Turrell has constructed an elaborate "park" to focus on the experi-

ence of light. For an up-to-date account of the ever-evolving project, see Wil S, Hylton, "The Light Fantastic," *Smithsonian* 52, no. 2 (2021): 32-43 and 86.

[97] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Incandescent_light_bulb.

[98] Gail Whiffen, "James Turrell: Beyond the Skyspace," *Friends Journal*, February 2014 and https://www.friendsjournal.org/james-turrell-byond-the-skyspace.

[99] Morse, *Centennial Timeline*, 8, recorded how in January 1913 the OGMM invited members of the Villa Street Meeting and the First Friends Church to come to a worship and business meeting. Morse recorded how the OGMM and the Villa Street Meeting cooperated in resisting military build-ups in 1916. Morse also explained how in June 1929 the OGMM offered to cooperate in various projects with the Villa Street Meeting and First Friends Church (14). He also recorded that, in October 1958, people from the various Quaker projects in Pasadena met to exchange information about their various histories and hopes for the future (40).