

RAYMOND HOOD

and the American Skyscraper





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Curated by

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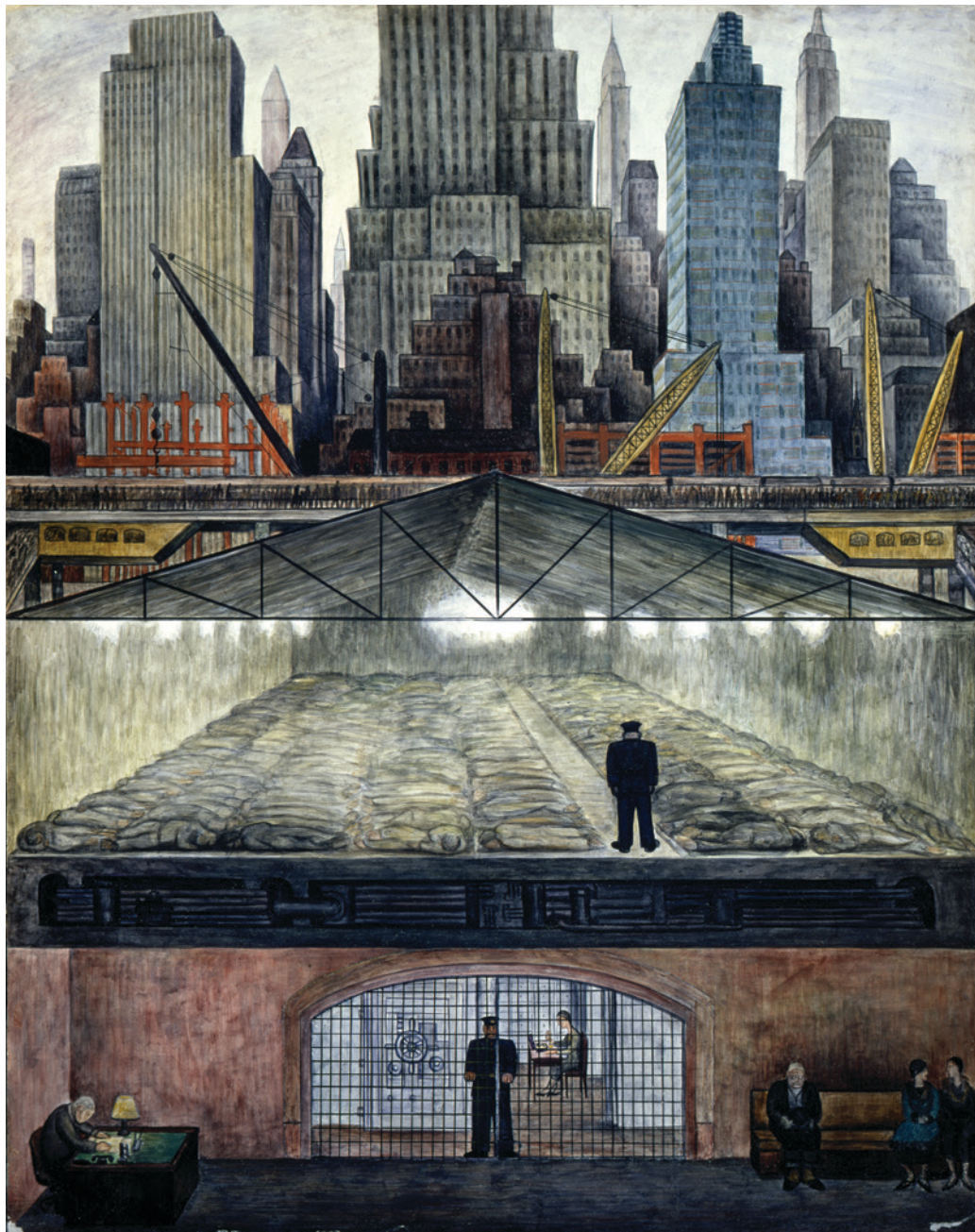


FIG. 1
Diego Rivera
Frozen Assets, 1931–1932

“Man Against the Sky”: Raymond Hood and the American Skyscraper

DIETRICH NEUMANN

In early January 1932, the Mexican painter Diego Rivera rushed a large fresco in a steel frame up to the twelfth floor of the Heckscher Building on Fifth Avenue and 57th Street in New York City. The Museum of Modern Art, just over two years old, occupied six rented rooms there, and an exhibition of Rivera’s work had opened on December 23. In addition to the 143 paintings and drawings shown, the museum had commissioned seven new murals, five of which were ready for the opening; Rivera delivered two more while the exhibition was ongoing.¹

The museum had been founded in 1929 by Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, the Rhode Island–born wife of John D. Rockefeller Jr. (Brown class of 1897), with her friends Lillie P. Bliss and Mary Quinn Sullivan. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller was a keen admirer of Rivera’s work and decided, only a month after the museum’s founding, to invite him for a solo exhibition. Rivera and his wife, Frida Kahlo, arrived by boat in November 1931.

The fresco Rivera delivered—named by a journalist *Frozen Assets*, a name so fitting that it stuck—became one of the best-known portraits of Depression-era New York (FIG. 1). It showed the cruel stratifications of capitalism, with skyscrapers looming above a trainline bringing workers into town, and the homeless shelter at the East 25th Street Pier looking eerily like a morgue, with countless sleeping men watched over by a guard—like the one guarding assets in a bank vault underneath. In the skyline at the top, the most recognizable recent landmarks, such as the Chrysler and Empire State buildings, are relegated to the back. Instead, pride of place is given to the Daily News and McGraw-Hill buildings, with Rockefeller Center between them. All three had been designed by Raymond Hood.

In reality, of course, these buildings were not next to each other and Rockefeller Center had not even been built, but the tableau suggested Hood’s commanding position in Manhattan’s skyline.

Having designed a series of skyscrapers in recent years (each unique in appearance) and now in charge of the architecture of the largest single building project in Manhattan's history, Hood was, indeed, at the top of his profession.

The second fresco Rivera delivered late to the show was called *Pneumatic Drill* and showed a worker on the building site of Rockefeller Center. We can safely assume that both *Pneumatic Drill* (executed in monochrome, the intended approach for murals at Rockefeller Center) and *Frozen Assets* (flattering Raymond Hood) were meant by Rivera to position himself for a mural commission at Rockefeller Center—which he would, indeed, receive a few months later.

How had Raymond Hood become the most powerful architect in New York City? Rarely has an architect traveled from relative obscurity to international fame in such a short time. It began with a chance encounter. Nine years earlier, Raymond Hood was forty-one years old, barely able to make ends meet, with a family but without a steady job, designing radiator covers for the American Radiator Company and helping out in offices. One day in June 1922, crossing through Grand Central Station, he ran into a friend from the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, John Mead Howells.

Together with ten other American firms, Howells had been invited to submit an entry to the Chicago Tribune Competition. Howells, who suffered from chronic back pain and whose firm was very busy, felt he couldn't take this on. Well aware of Hood's talents, he asked him to design it in his office.²

Chicago Tribune Tower

The *Chicago Tribune*, the world's largest newspaper at the time, had announced an international competition for "the most beautiful and distinctive office building in the world"³ and offered substantial rewards totaling \$100,000. The competition generated extensive press coverage and attracted 263 entries from twenty-three countries. Hood's winning entry is best understood through its urban context. The new Tribune headquarters would be across the street from the most attention-grabbing building in Chicago,



FIG. 2
Chicago, Wrigley Building, 1921/1924
Graham, Anderson, Probst & White



FIG. 3
Tribune Tower, Chicago, 1922–1925

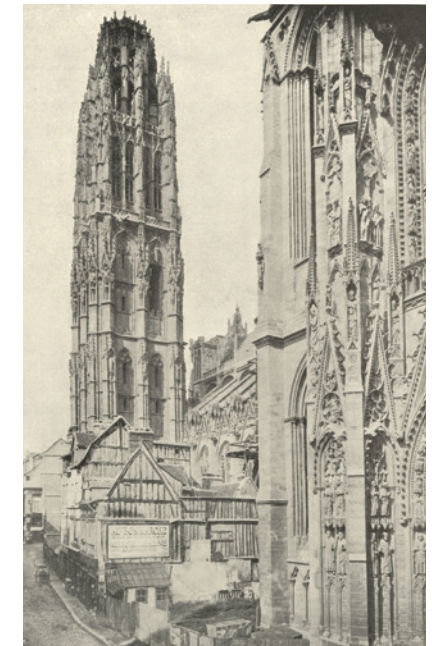


FIG. 4
Butter Tower, Rouen Cathedral, early 16th century

the Wrigley Chewing Gum Company, finished a year earlier, in 1921, and designed by Graham, Anderson, Probst & White (FIG. 2). Occupying the most prominent spot in the new business district north of downtown, on the Chicago River at the bend of Michigan Avenue, its prominent tower was visible for miles down the city's busiest street. Modeled on the famous Giralda Tower of Seville Cathedral in Spain, it reached the permitted tower limit of four hundred feet; the rest of the building obeyed the 260-foot cornice height. Clad in white terracotta, the building was, sensationally, lit in its entirety at night by batteries of floodlights—the brightest and most extensive architectural illumination in the world.⁴ No name or product was mentioned—the building itself served as advertising.

Raymond Hood responded with pragmatism, restraint, and sophistication. He had to adhere to the same cornice height, but managed to squeeze in two more floors than his counterpart. Instead of referring to popular Renaissance forms, Hood settled for gothic, still somewhat of a novelty in Chicago, but generally associated with honesty and simplicity. His reference point was the late-gothic Butter Tower of Rouen Cathedral (FIG. 3, 4), with its flying buttresses at the top, a detail that made the tower appear wider than the permitted one-fourth of the width of the façade.



FIG. 5
Raymond Hood
Project for a pair of Tribune Towers, 1922

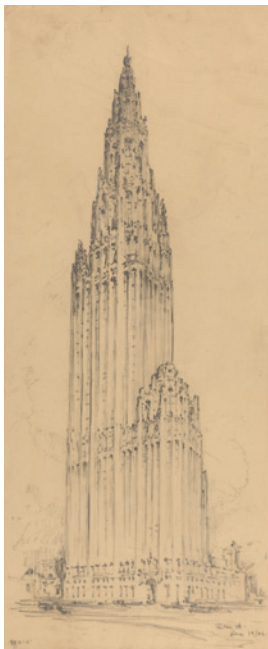


FIG. 6
Raymond Hood
Project for an addition to Tribune Tower, 1922

A series of sketches shows how Hood arrived at his solution and the freedom his flexible mind enjoyed in the process (FIGS. 5, 6). He considered doubling the tower to provide more office space, or, in case height restrictions were lifted one day, suggested a much taller sibling next to it. Instead of white terracotta, Hood settled on a more dignified gray limestone (FIG. 7). Responding to the unsurpassable flood of light from across the street, Hood's text called "attention to the fact that the upper part of the building has been designed not only for its own outline and composition, but for the possibilities of illumination and reflected lighting at night."⁵

The Finnish architect Eliel Saarinen came in second with an elegant setback skyscraper of a restrained, vaguely gothic, vertical striation (FIG. 8). The most modern were among German and Dutch entries, such as the stern but elegant (and quite prescient) cubic massing by the Bauhaus director, Walter Gropius, and his chief designer, Adolf Meyer. Adolf Loos, from Vienna, sent a visual pun—an enormous column. Both were among seventy-four entries from abroad that arrived too late and could not be considered (FIGS. 9, 10).

The ensuing debate in the architecture journals missed most of Hood's sophisticated responses to the Wrigley tower, and pitted his historicist design against the rising gospel of a simple, functionalist modern architecture. The Chicago architect Louis Sullivan, for example, had in 1896 told his architect colleagues how to design tall office buildings "artistically considered," by not making them a display of architectural quotations "from some



FIG. 7
Raymond Hood
Chicago Tribune Tower winning entry, 1922



FIG. 8
Eliel Saarinen
Chicago Tribune Tower Competition 2nd prize, 1922



FIG. 9
Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer
Chicago Tribune Tower Competition entry, 1922



FIG. 10
Adolf Loos
Chicago Tribune Tower Competition entry, 1922

other land and some other time.” Instead, they should, just like a plant in nature, calmly reflect their purpose, since “form ever follows function. . . . Where function does not change, form does not change.”⁶ While this quote had quickly become the battle cry of European modernists, Sullivan was disappointed to see how little his advice had been heeded otherwise. Saarinen’s design should have “placed first, where it belongs by virtue of its beautifully controlled and virile power. The first prize [Hood’s] is demoted to the level of those works evolved of dying ideas, even as it sends forth a frantic cry to escape from the common bondage of those governed by ideas.”⁷ Abroad, the building became the poster child for the retrograde American approach to modern architecture, and was considered “the Triumph of Kitsch.”⁸ Gothic stone cladding for a modern steel frame, fumed Richard Neutra, a recent immigrant from Austria, had “little to do with the structural honesty of the Gothic.” No modern building “would even consider such profligacy.”⁹

None of this seems to have fazed either client or architect. A new building code allowing greater building heights went into effect in April of 1923, and Hood added four floors to the design—lending the building an even more formidable presence (cf. FIGS. 3, 7). Construction began in 1923, and the building opened to the public in the summer of 1925.

The American Radiator Building and an “Architecture of the Night”

New commissions followed immediately, including an office tower for Hood’s former employer, the American Radiator Company at Bryant Park in New York. Here Hood, working with Jacques André Fouilhoux, came into his own as an innovator and moved away from neo-gothicism to a freer interpretation. The tower’s small footprint allowed for daylight at every desk and offered a flexible, open floor plan, thanks to a condensed utility core on the side. Hood made the unusual decision to clad the entire steel structure in black brick, creating coherence with the dark windows. He added golden ornaments (by sculptor René Chambellan), brick sections, and finials at the top’s setbacks. When finished in 1924, the building was an instant success. “What is that black building? . . . The American Radiator Building is the answer. . . . As an advertisement I consider the building a magnificent success” (FIG. 11).¹² The Tribune competition had alerted Hood to the importance of architectural illumination, and his new client realized that “for a company selling

furnaces and heaters, a building that glowed in the dark was not such a wild idea.”¹³ Hood hired a Broadway lighting designer, Bassett Jones, and they conducted experiments *in situ*—“multi-colored revolving lights” or “the effect of the building being on fire” thanks to “spots of light on jets of steam rising out of the smokestack.” They also tried moving lights and cross-lighting, but decided the public wasn’t ready for “extravagant and exotic effects.”¹⁴ Eventually they settled on fifty-six amber floodlighting units, from the twenty-first floor upwards. The public was mesmerized: “The appearance of the building at night is one of the sights of the city . . . vast throngs that crowd this district at night are blocking traffic.”¹⁵ “The gilded upper portion seems miraculously suspended one and two hundred feet in the air, the design has a dreamlike beauty.”¹⁶

The painter Georgia O’Keeffe noticed the lighting from her apartment on the top floor of the Shelton Hotel, where she lived with



FIG. 11
Berenice Abbott
Fortieth Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenue, 1938



FIG. 12
Georgia O'Keeffe
Radiator Building—Night, New York, 1927



FIG. 13
Tribune Tower, Chicago, 1922–1925

her husband, the photographer Alfred Stieglitz, in 1927. In a painting she depicted the building's luminous crown, floodlights shooting up into the night sky, some catching a neighbor's heating fumes, and a red neon light advertising her publicity-shy husband (FIG. 12).

For the Tribune Tower, Hood and Jones had imagined similarly dramatic light installations with backlit windows, strip lighting, and colored floodlights, including steam, smoke, and fireworks for special occasions, like “Walhalla burning in the skies, bringing to mind, perhaps, the finale of the *Götterdämmerung*.”¹⁷ A more restrained lighting scheme was installed in 1929: 174 golden-colored floodlights set off the gothic tracery, a successful counterbalance to the bright reflection from the Wrigley Building (FIGS. 2, 13).

In the meantime, the public had taken note. Architects saw “bewildering possibilities as to the future use of surfaces with colors, glows, and lights in order to convert the high places of New York, as seen from distant streets, into a wonderland of elaborate, fanciful and vivid masses





FIG. 14
Electric Service Supplies Company
Golden Glow: Floodlight Projectors, brochure cover, 1932

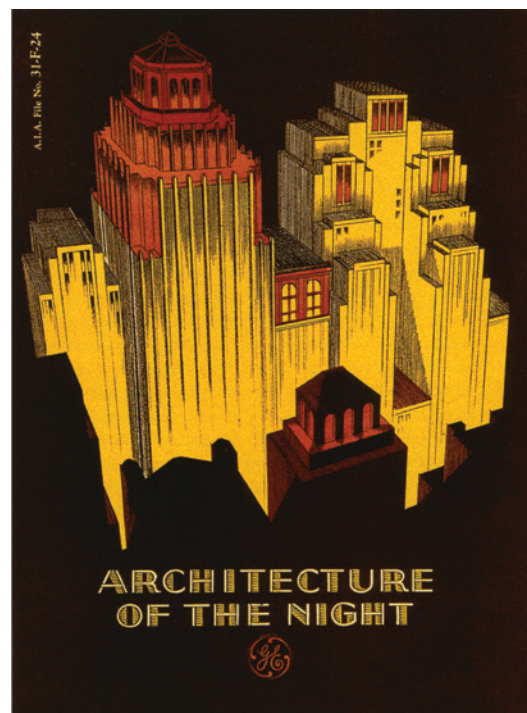


FIG. 15
General Electric Company
Architecture of the Night, brochure cover, 1930

and patterns.”¹⁸ Raymond Hood had helped to introduce a new age of color and light in American architecture, a development greatly welcomed by the electrical industry and lighting companies (FIG. 14). In 1930 he published a booklet called *Architecture of the Night* (FIG. 15) for General Electric: “The possibilities of night illumination have barely been touched,” he declared, as he predicted a new monumental art form. “There lies in the future a development even more fantastic than anything that has ever been accomplished on a stage.”¹⁹ The critic Douglas Haskell even diagnosed a nocturnal American modernity: “The Europeans get the day, we get the night. . . . Here is modernism indeed. Thousands of years went by with their changes of style, but not until this century was there electric light, which, far, far more than the triad of steel, glass and concrete, has changed the basis of all architecture.”²⁰

Urban Visions

Hood’s dreams of a colorful nocturnal modernity were accompanied by equally bold plans for urban change in Manhattan. Buoyed by his newfound fame, in 1925 Hood published his vision of “Bridge Cities” in the *New York Times*, dreamily rendered by Hugh Ferriss. Towering, continuous apartment houses on either side of a roadway crossing the Hudson or the East River were so “easily practicable,” he declared, that it was “strange that we have not always had them.” A densely packed bridge crossing the Hudson River could easily house fifty thousand people—a city in itself (FIG. 16).²¹ Two years later, Hood proposed something entirely different—a response to both Le Corbusier’s Plan Voisin, with its freestanding towers, and New York City’s setback law. Hood’s “Tower City” tied occupied floor area to public circulation space. Anyone wanting to build higher would have to broaden the street, and move his building back. Over time, there would be “hundreds of fifty and sixty story buildings and corresponding open street space” with “plenty of air, light and sunshine for all. . . . The city would be a park dotted with buildings.”²² Hood’s sketches showed the successive spread of the idea (FIG. 17). Two years later, he presented the opposite



FIG. 16
Tower Bridges, 1925
rendering by Hugh Ferriss



FIG. 17
Raymond Hood
Tower City III, 1926

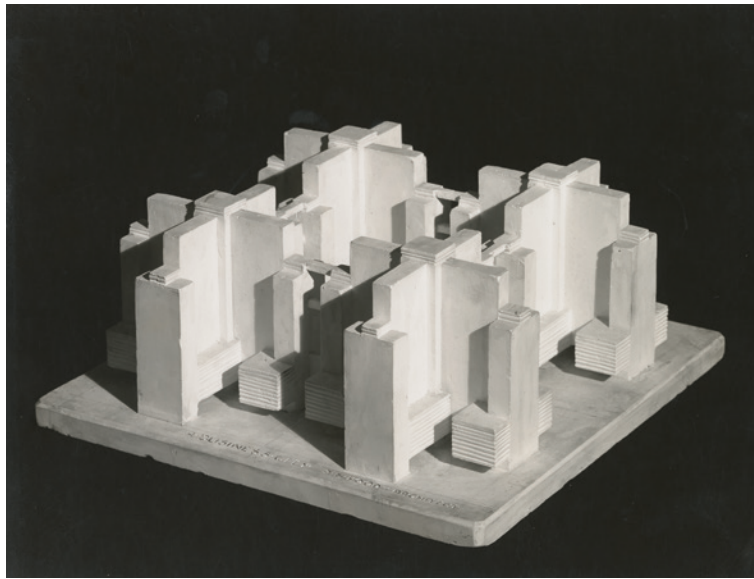


FIG. 18
City Under a Single Roof, 1922

vision—a “City Under a Single Roof”—embracing urban density and self-contained city quarters whose central buildings of unlimited height would allow traffic to flow right underneath (FIGS. 18, 24).²³ These designs would have an immediate impact on Hood’s first sketches for the layout of Rockefeller Center two years later (FIG. 21).

“Modern Architecture”: The Daily News and McGraw-Hill Buildings

The end of the decade brought more commissions for skyscrapers. Hood’s Daily News building for a tabloid publisher (he again worked with John Mead Howells) became the first modernist skyscraper in Manhattan, forgoing a crown at the top and sporting a relentless vertical striation of white enameled brick, with brown and black brick spandrels in between (FIG. 19). The stark exterior (with the exception of a vivid relief by René Chambellan above the entrance) (FIG. 27) belied the magic of its mysterious lobby with a huge revolving globe under a black glass dome in the center (FIGS. 25–27).

Hood’s next project (again with Jacques André Fouilhoux), on the western end of 42nd Street for McGraw-Hill, another publishing house, emphasized horizontality, with the building clad in the largest expanse



FIG. 19 Nyholm & Lincoln, Daily News Building, 1930



FIG. 20
Berenice Abbot
McGraw-Hill Building, 1936

of blue-green terracotta ever applied over a façade of this magnitude. At the same time, the building's wraparound broad ribbon windows provided unprecedented expanses of glass in the façade, while revealing the steel frame behind. Fashionable Streamline Moderne details left their traces in the horizontal lines at the entrances and in the oversize luminous advertising sign at the top (FIGS. 20, 23).

Both of these buildings were featured in the famous exhibition which immediately followed Diego Rivera's at the Museum of Modern Art. "Modern Architecture" was curated by Philip Johnson (who would go on to design Brown University's Computer Center and List Art Building) and the historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock. While focused on European architects such as Le Corbusier, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, and J. J. P. Oud, it also featured four Americans, Frank Lloyd Wright, Howe and Lescaze, the Bowman Brothers, and Raymond Hood, who was introduced as "the American Skyscraper Architect." The praise offered to both Hood's Daily News Building ("the most effective skyscraper in New York") and McGraw-Hill tower ("a significant turning point in skyscraper design") was dampened by Hitchcock's criticism of the readability of the underlying structure of the former and the size of the advertising feature on the top of the latter.²⁴

Rockefeller Center

In 1930, John D. Rockefeller Jr. found himself responsible for a vast urban renewal project between New York's Fifth and Sixth Avenues when the intended anchor, the Metropolitan Opera, dropped out at the onset of the Depression. Together with the development agents Todd, Robertson & Todd, Rockefeller turned the project into a mixed-use conglomerate of office, retail, and entertainment spaces. Raymond Hood became the lead architect of a group of Associated Architects,²⁵ suggesting General Electric and RCA as new partners,²⁶ and steering the design of fourteen buildings around a central sunken plaza and pedestrian street. Construction began in 1931, the first buildings opened in 1933, and the core of the complex was completed by 1939. The centerpiece was Hood's slender, superbly elegant sixty-six-story RCA Building, the synopsis of his previous skyscraper designs: he used the gray limestone cladding of the Chicago Tribune, the strong verticalism and staggered setbacks of the Daily News, with the load-bearing steel posts underneath readable, as they had been at McGraw-Hill. The RCA tower, first to be finished, was immediately lit at night (at first only on the eastern

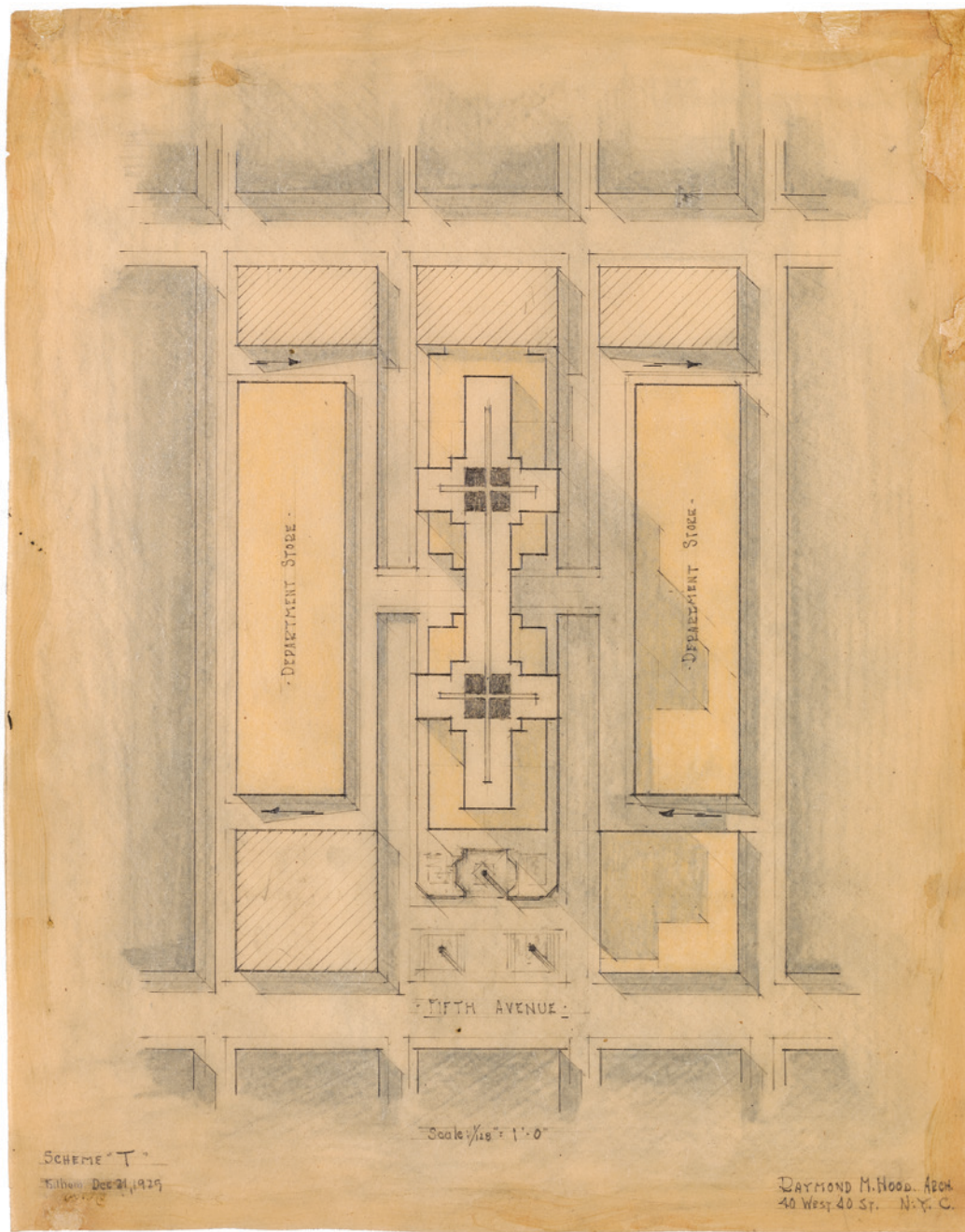


FIG. 21
 Rockefeller Center, Scheme "T," 1929
 drawing by Walter H. Kilham Jr.



FIG. 22
 Hassan Bagheri
 Rockefeller Center, 2019



FIG. 23
Hassan Bagheri
McGraw-Hill Building, 2019

façade), to create interest in the project and attract investors (FIG. 22). As a result, the building was 80 percent rented by 1934, while the Empire State Building down the street had a similar vacancy rate. It was “large, exciting, romantic,” according to the prominent critic Lewis Mumford, especially at night: “Under artificial lighting, in a slight haze,” it looked like the “City of the Future.”²⁷

When Diego Rivera’s *Frozen Assets* showed the construction of skyscrapers above the bodies of impoverished, homeless men, it made an important connection. The building boom in the early 1930s, of which Rockefeller Center was the pinnacle, was made possible because construction and labor costs fell so drastically during the Depression that skyscrapers were built at half their budgeted cost. And, for Rockefeller Center, 228 buildings on the site were razed, and some four thousand mostly low-income tenants had to relocate.

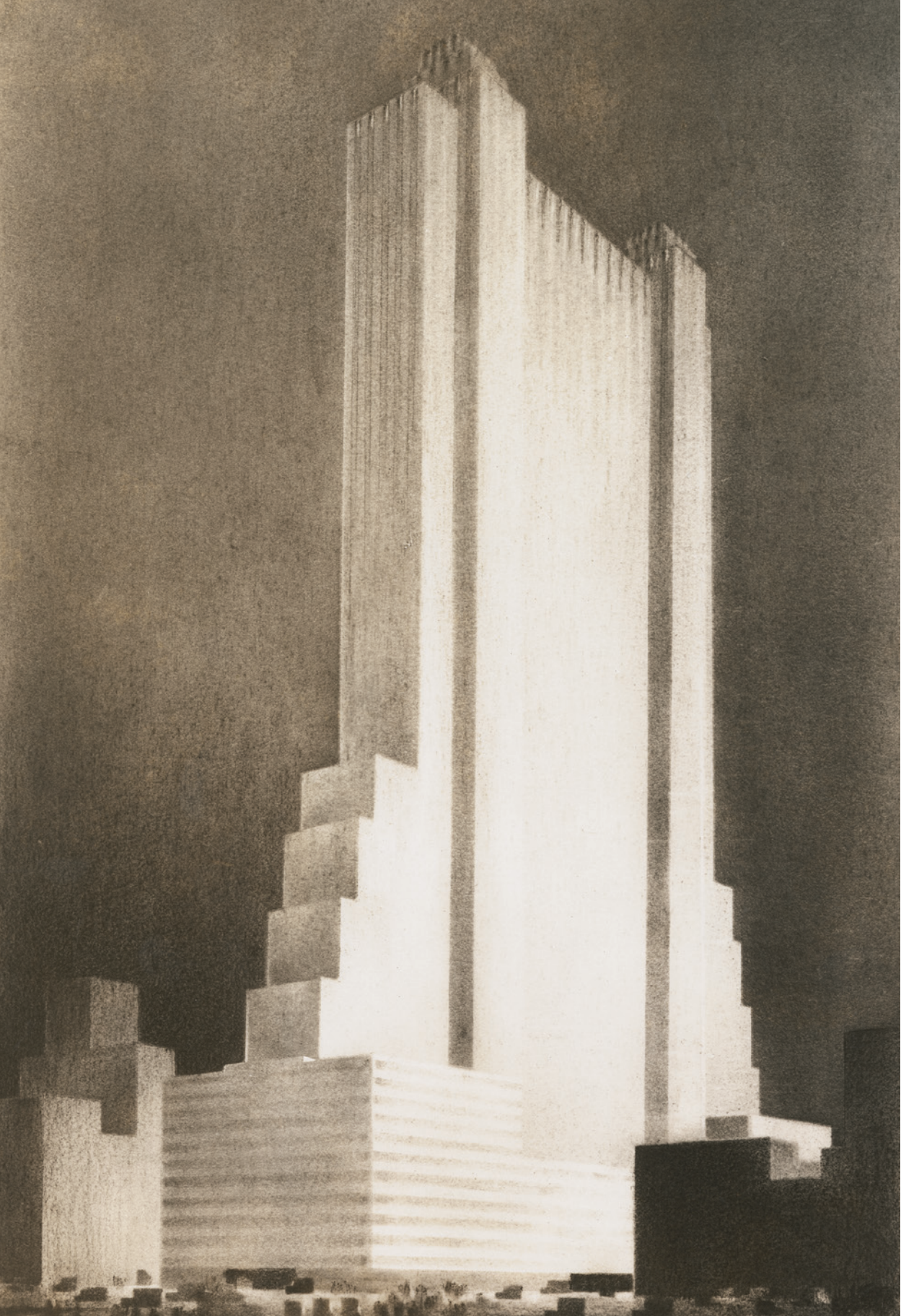
Raymond Hood imagined any art at Rockefeller Center to be subservient to his architecture—monochrome and on movable canvas. With Rivera already agreed upon, in September 1932 Hood travelled to Europe to interview additional artists. Henri Matisse turned him down, and Picasso never responded (the telegram had addressed him as “Pierre

Picasso”),²⁸ but the popular Anglo-Welsh muralist Frank Brangwyn and the Catalan Josep Maria Sert accepted the invitation. When Rivera heard that he would not work alongside Picasso or Matisse, he withdrew. To win him back, concessions had to be made: Rivera could use bright colors and was given the most prominent location, a sixty-three-foot-wide area above the elevator banks in the entrance hall. His theme was to be “Man at the Crossroads.” Famously, the project didn’t end well. In May 1933, Rivera was almost finished with his expansive tableau of scenes of workers’ demonstrations and police brutality, chemical and aerial warfare, scientific discoveries, healthy plant growth and peaceful family life. One day, Raymond Hood was examining potential damage from a spill of ceiling paint and discovered a recently added portrait of the Russian revolutionary leader Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.²⁹ Rivera was asked to remove it and refused. He was promptly relieved of his commission. The mural was plastered over and eventually destroyed, but Rivera had it photographed and recreated it in Mexico City’s Palacio des Bellas Artes later that year.

The “Brilliant Bad Boy” of Architecture

Hood’s skyscrapers and unexecuted visions arose just as the gospel of modern architecture began to spread from central Europe, bringing with it a defined and limited formal vocabulary and a strong sense of moral superiority. Hood, in contrast, stood for a joyful, irreverent, undogmatic modernity that embraced ornament, color and light, variety and contrast, and occasional historical references, while being structurally sound and savvy about the interior layout. Repeatedly he emphasized how little he felt bound by stylistic or other conventions, which earned him the epithet of “brilliant bad boy” from the *New Yorker* magazine.³⁰ “I wish we could all work with our own sense of discipline and be free as the devil. For the moment we put a cast-iron frame on this International Style, that we’re all working at, this fine, marvelous movement will turn into a tight, hard unimaginative formula, just as with colonial architecture. We should keep away from ‘style’ and for once we will make of this style a freedom of the spirit.”³¹

Frank Lloyd Wright, who felt himself similarly sidelined by the most ardent promoters of the International Style, agreed with Hood. When Hood died of rheumatoid arthritis at age fifty-three in 1934, Wright wrote to his former student Paul Frankl: “Ray Hood was a good egg. Architecture needs about ten first-class funerals of the higher-ups more than it needed his.”³²



Endnotes

- ¹ Allene Talmey, "Man Against the Sky," *New Yorker*, April 11, 1931, 24–27. *Diego Rivera*, Introduction by Frances Flynn Paine (New York: Museum of Modern Art, Norton, 1931).
- ² Howells and Hood also shared a RI connection. Howells and Stokes, his earlier firm, had designed the Turk's Head Building in downtown Providence in 1913, then the tallest tower in the city.
- ³ *The International Competition for a New Administration Building for the Chicago Tribune* (Chicago: Chicago Tribune Company, 1923), 17.
- ⁴ "Architecture and Illumination: A Notable Example in the Wrigley Building, Chicago," *Architectural Forum* 35 (October 1921): 135; and "The Wrigley Building at Night," *Architecture and Building* 53, no. 12 (December 1921): 95–97.
- ⁵ *International Competition for a New Administration Building*, 109.
- ⁶ Louis Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered," *Lippincott's Magazine*, March 1896, 403–409.
- ⁷ Louis Sullivan, "The Chicago Tribune Competition," *Architectural Record* 53, 2 (February 1923): 151–157.
- ⁸ Adolf Behne, "Amerikanische Architektur," *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, March 23, 1923, 198–199.
- ⁹ Richard Neutra, "Die ältesten Hochhäuser und der jüngste Turm," *Baugilde* 6, no. 21 (1924): 495.
- ¹⁰ Arthur Tappan North, ed., *Raymond Hood* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1931), 10.
- ¹¹ Raymond M. Hood, "Attempting to Build with Black Brick," *Architecture* 56, no. 7 (July 1927): 59.
- ¹² Harvey Wiley Corbett, "The American Radiator Building, New York City," *Architectural Record* 55, no. 5 (May 1924): 476.
- ¹³ Walter H. Kilham Jr., *Raymond Hood, Architect: Form Through Function in the American Skyscraper* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1973), 70.
- ¹⁴ "Raymond Hood predicts 'Architecture of the Night,'" *Magazine of Light*, May 1930, 39. See also Dietrich Neumann, *Architecture of the Night* (Munich, New York: Prestel, 2002).
- ¹⁵ "Editorial Comment," *American Architect* 126 (November 19, 1924), 487.
- ¹⁶ G. H. Edgell, *The American Architecture of Today* (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1928), 363.
- ¹⁷ Bassett Jones, "Structures in Light," *Light*, April 1924, 7.
- ¹⁸ Herbert Kroly, "New Dimensions in Architectural Effects," *Architectural Review* 57 (January 1925): 94.
- ¹⁹ "Raymond M. Hood predicts 'Architecture of the Night,'" in *Architecture of the Night* (Schenectady, NY: General Electric Company, 1930): 3–4.
- ²⁰ Douglas Haskell, "Architecture: The Bright Lights," *The Nation* 132, no. 3419 (January 14, 1931): 55–56.
- ²¹ Orrick Johns, "Bridge Homes—A New Vision of the City," *New York Times*, February 22, 1925.
- ²² "A 'Tower City' Plan to Relieve Traffic," *New York Times*, February 13, 1927.
- ²³ Raymond M. Hood, "City Under a Single Roof," *Nation's Business* 17, no. 12 (November 1929): 19–29, quoted in Robert A. M. Stern with Thomas P. Catalano, *Raymond Hood* (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), 16.
- ²⁴ *Modern Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1932), 130, 131.
- ²⁵ Three firms were part of this group: Corbett, Harrison & MacMurray; Hood, Godley & Fouilhoux; and Reinhard & Hofmeister.
- ²⁶ Carol Krinsky, *Rockefeller Center* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 78.
- ²⁷ Lewis Mumford, "The Skyline: Mr. Rockefeller's Center," *New Yorker*, December 23, 1933, 29–30.
- ²⁸ Daniel Okrent, *Great Fortune: The Epic of Rockefeller Center* (New York: Penguin, 2003), 297.
- ²⁹ Okrent, *Great Fortune*, 310.
- ³⁰ Talmey, "Man Against the Sky," 24–27.
- ³¹ "Symposium: The International Architectural Exhibition," *Shelter* 2, no. 4 (April 1932): 7.
- ³² Frank Lloyd Wright, letter to Paul Frankl, in Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer, ed., *Letters to Apprentices* (Fresno, CA: California State University Press, 1982), 86.