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Women on the Home Front

Hostess Houses during World War I

Cynthia Brandimarte

During World War I the Young Women's Christian Association established hostess houses at American military camps and employed women as hostesses. The houses were newly constructed, large, and durable buildings, some of which were designed by women architects. They mediated public and private space and helped control interactions between soldiers and their female friends and relatives. As shelters in which the soldiers could buffer the military and find personal comfort, and as places for women to gain experience in managing complex and relatively large institutions, the hostess houses were a significant facet of the home front in World War I.

AS WORLD WAR I ended in 1918, Miss Marion Humble, a Detroit librarian, drafted the screenplay for a patriotic film that she hoped would star Douglas Fairbanks. Her script would have had Fairbanks in the role of a self-centered young man who enters military service just as the United States is mobilizing for the war. He is sent to a military training camp where he soon falls in love with an attractive and selfless young woman who is entertaining in the camp's hostess house. Had Humble's screenplay been produced, moviegoers would have recognized the hostess house and no doubt admired the virtuous and patriotic woman running it.¹

During World War I the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) established fifty hostess houses at thirty-seven military camps, and it em-

ployed more than a thousand women as hostesses. The houses were newly constructed, large, and durable buildings, some of which were designed by women architects. The women who staffed them came from all parts of the country and kept the houses open twenty-four hours a day. In sharp contrast to the notorious female military camp followers of the nineteenth century, the YWCA hostesses had as their mission tending to the needs of the thousands of women who traveled, often long distances, to the camps in order to visit family members and "sweethearts" being trained there. Originally designed to accommodate women visitors to the camps, the hostess houses steadily expanded their services. Beyond the basic provision of food and temporary shelter, men and women, young and old, and soldiers and civilians could purchase inexpensive snacks and meals in their attractive cafeterias. People could gather with family, friends, and fellow soldiers on furniture spread throughout the comfortable living rooms planned and provided by the YWCA.

Why have these hostess houses and the women who ran them received almost no attention in cultural studies and histories of the home front during World War I? Given the short duration of American involvement in the war, perhaps the speed with which the houses were built but then converted to other uses once the war ended made them too fleeting to catch historians' attention. Their existence was as transient as many of the rapidly opened and

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¹ Harold Braddock to Karl Schmidt, September 26, 1918, doc. 43690, box 122, entry 393, War Department, Commission on Training Camp Activities, Record Group 165, National Archives (hereafter cited as CTCA, RG 165, NARA).

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closed military camps at which they were located.² Another reason may have to do with popular stereotypes of American women during World War I. Textbooks recount American women on the home front busily rolling bandages, adapting as homemakers to food rationing, or entering male-dominated factories. Popular fiction set amid World War I, notably Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms*, depicts adventuresome women who put themselves in harm's way on or near battlefields. Yet there is no depiction of a heroine working selflessly in a hostess house on American soil. There is only that screenplay by the Detroit librarian, and it was stillborn.

Of the relatively few scholars who have tried to recapture the range of American women's activities during World War I, almost none have followed clues about the hostess houses. Historian Nancy K. Bristow terms the hostess house a small example of the government's efforts to define women's wartime roles as the traditional ones of "domestic responsibility" and "natural moral superiority."³ But by and large the hostess houses are ignored in World War I cultural histories.⁴ I want to rectify this oversight by examining the YWCA hostess houses, the women hostesses, architects, and buildings, as well as the Victorian notion of "home" that persisted on World War I military bases. The role of the hostess house in mediating public and private space and controlling social interactions between soldiers and their female friends and relatives is a topic that warrants attention in American cultural studies.

The Role of the YWCA

The need for hostess houses was sudden and pressing. World War I was the first time that the United

States mustered large numbers of men in military training camps. To augment existing military bases, the government established many camps in short order. During their time in these camps, soldiers were allowed to receive visitors, usually on Sunday afternoons (fig. 1). But all too often there were no nearby facilities for this purpose. As a consequence, there were many dramatic stories of missed encounters with mothers, wives, and girlfriends. The War Department quickly realized that soldiers needed facilities inside the camps, where they could spend time with female visitors.

The War Department asked the YWCA for help. The YWCA had been founded in 1866 for the purpose of providing women with employment and boarding information, as well as religious, educational, and social resources.⁵ Today's vestige of the YWCA as a sports club has little resemblance to its historical role of helping predominantly rural women who came to cities in search of work and who needed safe living places. In addition to operating women's residences in the larger cities, the YWCA maintained cafeterias for working women and restrooms for them to use, and in smaller towns it created cooperative boarding houses.⁶ During World War I the YWCA expanded its efforts and provided housing and protection for women employed in war industries. All YWCA facilities were run by women, and they all required money and hard work.⁷ Unique among its facilities for women, the YWCA's hostess houses were located within the confines of military camps (fig. 2).

Many soldiers—along with their friends and families—came from isolated rural areas. Their travel to military camps was for many of these people the first time they had ventured beyond the counties in which they had been born and raised. Many of them were unaccustomed to eating meals prepared by strangers and dining with strangers in large public settings. To reduce anxieties about traveling great distances to unfamiliar places, YWCA advertisements and other publications regularly

² The few houses that may have survived the war as distinct structures have not, for example, been identified, much less nominated, for a Multiple Property listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

³ Nancy K. Bristow, *Making Men Moral: Social Engineering during the Great War* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 49–50.

⁴ For recent books about women's experiences during World War I, see Dorothy and Carol J. Schneider, *Into the Breach: American Women Overseas in World War I* (New York: Viking, 1991); Lettie Gavin, *American Women in World War I* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1997); Deborah Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War I* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998); Susan R. Grayzel, *Women and the First World War* (London: Longman, 2002); Jean Ebbert and Marie-Beth Hall, *The First, the Few, and the Forgotten: Navy and Marine Corps Women in World War I* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2002). Several of these titles concentrate on British women and American women's activities in Europe during the war. While the publications often index the Young Women's Christian Association, there is generally sparse discussion of most activities, and rare is the mention of hostess houses—except those operated in Europe.

⁵ *The Handbook of the Young Women's Christian Association Movement*, rev. 5th ed. (New York: Womans Press, 1919), 145–46. Various dates provide benchmarks of the YWCA's history. Although founded in 1866, 1855 is given as the year in which the YWCA was inspired by Englishwoman Emma Roberts's Christian women's group, who gathered to pray for young women.

⁶ For example, see Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt, *Men and Women Adrift: The YMCA and the YWCA in the City* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); and Joanne J. Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

⁷ *Y.W.C.A. Bulletin War Work Council*, no. 4 (October 24, 1917): [1]. Later issues were titled simply *War Work Bulletin*.

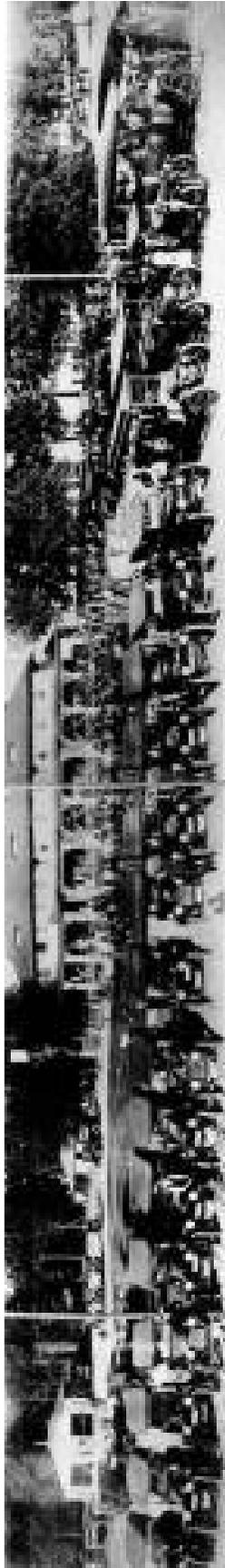


Fig. 1. Camp Johnston, Jacksonville, Florida. (165-WW-577B-6, National Archives and Records Administration: National Board of the YWCA, New York City.)

Greetings from Nat'l Y. W. C. A., Camp Gordon, Ga. Hostess House



Fig. 2. Camp Gordon, Georgia. (Postcard formerly in the collection of the Young Women's Christian Association Archives, New York City.)

featured favorable comments about these destinations and portrayed its hostess houses as homes away from home, showing ample kitchens serving tempting food, dining rooms with bright decorative fabrics, and relaxation areas with comfortable furniture. These attractions and the inexpensive prices charged for them combined to make the ordeal of being far from home seem more bearable.⁸

The YWCA also strove to make its hostess houses democratic in spirit and services. In particular, it sought to ensure that social-class distinctions had no place in the houses. Thus, jockeying among some YWCA women members who assumed that they would become hostesses for the wives and relatives of military officers, instead of ordinary soldiers, prompted this comment from a hostess house architect, Fay Kellogg, when she spoke to a group of southern YWCA members: "It is fine of you, ladies, to wish to entertain officers' wives, but are you sure that the officers' wives will need your attentions, or will care to become public charges? They have money. Many of them will have friends here and they are bound to be looked out for."⁹ Kellogg asked the women to consider being hostesses for women whose needs might be greater than those of officers' wives:

⁸ "774 Pots of Baked Beans," in "About Hostess Houses," special edition of *War Work Bulletin*, nos. 17–18 (February 5, 1918): [67].

⁹ "South Atlantic Field Hostess Houses," *War Work Bulletin*, no. 14 (January 11, 1918): [54].

How about the poor old mother who comes down from the Tennessee mountains to see her boy, and the little wife and sweetheart who come from back country villages to visit the soldiers? Many of them never saw a city before and they will be lost here. Who will meet them at the train, direct them to their friends, see that they have a place in which to visit with their soldiers? Who is going to make sure that when they return to their homes they will take back pleasant memories? This, in a nutshell, is what the Hostess Houses that I am about to build, are going to do—entertain officers' friends and friends of the enlisted men as well.¹⁰

Hostess houses offered hospitality to all visitors—prosperous and not, fashionable and not, well traveled and not. Their democratic ethos transcended social class, although it could not also transcend race: African Americans had access to hostess houses, but to ones that were all their own (fig. 3).

Feeding and sheltering women in welcoming environments were demanding tasks. For example, the YWCA recorded that in a single two-week period, one hostess house served 25,503 people in its cafeteria, posted 2,742 letters, and answered 2,614 questions at the house's information desk. The house checked 529 parcels free of charge, arranged 470 contacts between soldiers and visitors, received and delivered 545 telephone messages, had 4,493 visits to its restroom, and tended to the needs of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*



Fig. 3. "House for Colored Work, Camp Dix." (From "Report of Hostess House Committee," War Work Council, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, [1920], 12.)

107 babies and children in its nursery (fig. 4).¹¹ Postcards sent by hostess house employees, trainees, and volunteer workers to their own families and friends discussed their efforts. One hostess wrote to a friend that "this is where we ladies spend most of our time and here the men meet us at 4:30p afternoons. We shall know in a few days where we are to be stationed this fall."¹² Although no doubt selected in order to present a favorable image of the hostess houses, numerous testimonials lauding them appeared in YWCA publications and contained information about the activities that took place in the houses.¹³

Side by side with routine activities were extraordinary situations that the "Y" press (i.e., the organization's monthly "bulletin" or magazine) reported with drama, if not much detail. Readers learned, for example, that when a young soldier died while undergoing training, his mother stayed at the hostess house when she came to claim her son's body. Or

again, when a female visitor suddenly became ill while visiting a camp, the hostess house provided her with a sickbed. When winter storms made travel home impossible, another hostess house became the only available "hotel," and it provided makeshift sleeping quarters for more than a hundred guests trapped by the storm. Hostess houses were also locales for many tender scenes, as when visiting wives introduced newborn babies to husbands who had never seen them.¹⁴ As recounted in YWCA publications, these occasions exemplified the "sadness," "succor," or even the "joy" that accompanies war.

Although the YWCA regularly tallied its hostess house services—the numbers of letters, parcels, and telephone calls received and sent each day, the numbers of people who visited and who purchased coffee and food and used the facilities—it did not tally the flirtations and courtships that took place in its houses. However, fears expressed by the War Department's Commission on Training Camp Activities (CTCA) about amorous encounters in the hostess houses suggest they were numerous. And cumulative steps taken by the CTCA and the YWCA to try to regulate interactions imply an overarching concern that

¹¹ "Report of Hostess House Committee," War Work Council, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, [1920], 9.

¹² Postcard from M. H. H. to Mrs. Frank Bickford, July 31, 1917, author's collection.

¹³ Y.W.C.A. *Bulletin War Work Council*, no. 2 (September 4, 1917): [6].

¹⁴ For example, see "Tales from Hostess Houses," *War Work Bulletin*, no. 13 (January 4, 1918), [50].

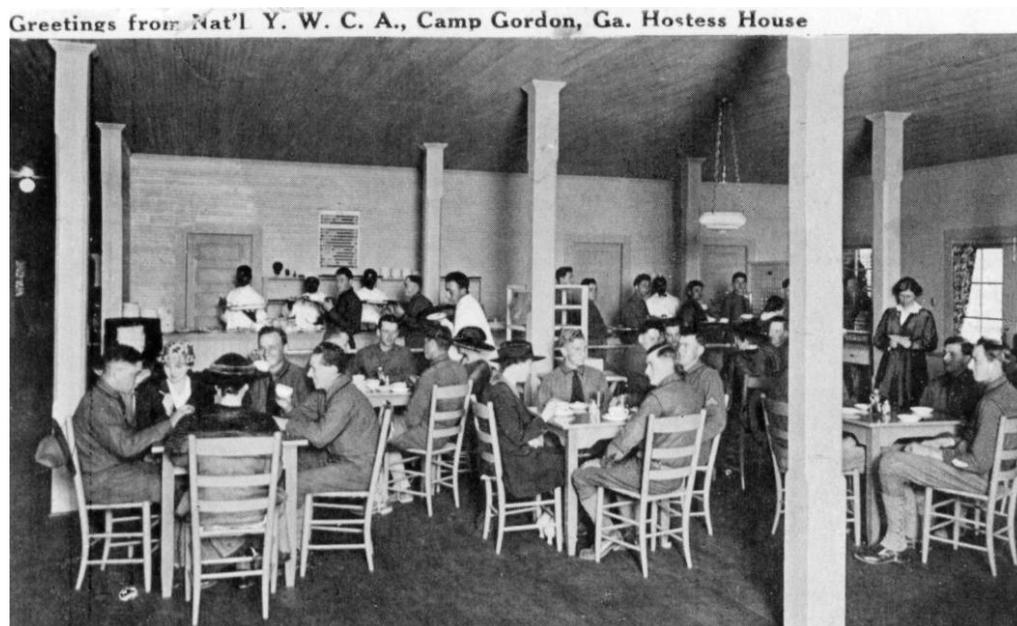


Fig. 4. YWCA cafeteria at Camp Gordon, Georgia. (Postcard formerly in the collection of the Young Women's Christian Association Archives, New York City.)

informed their operations and even the designs and furnishings of the hostess houses.

Locations, Buildings, and Architects

The need for this YWCA service required the U.S. military to expend a large amount of money. By early 1918, \$1 million had been appropriated for the construction of hostess houses in military camps dotted across the country, and additional funds soon followed. By October 1918, a month before the war's end, thirty-four hostess houses had been built, and twenty-four were under construction.¹⁵ Still more houses had been requested by commanders of camps. The demand surpassed the CTCA's expectations and taxed the YWCA's ability to erect, staff, and operate all the houses.

Hostess houses were substantial buildings that sheltered women for what sometimes were extended periods of time. They differed from the canteens of the Red Cross, which relied largely on local volunteers who could quickly set them up in railroad stations (fig. 5).¹⁶ The YWCA required its hostess house employees to pick up and move to military camps around the country, relocating to distant places to

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, [67].

¹⁶ Red Cross canteens are well documented in period photographs. Hastily constructed in railroad stations, the canteens served coffee and distributed chocolate and cigarettes to departing troops.

work long hours in houses that served as the last taste of "home" for soldiers before they headed into Europe's cauldron.¹⁷

As places halfway between home and Europe's trenches, so to speak, hostess houses stumped those who tried to label them. One military man termed them "hostess parlors"; other observers variously termed them "community houses" or "hospitality tents."¹⁸ The YWCA itself called some of its early houses "hospitality tents" as well as "hostess houses and rooms."¹⁹ This terminological confusion stemmed from the variety of hostess house structures. Initially, most of them were in fact no more than tents. Thus, during a winter freeze late in 1917, one hostess said that although her house was a

¹⁷ The exact locations of hostess houses on military bases appear not to have been regulated by the military. Thus, their locations varied as widely as did opinions about where they should be positioned. Alice Greenough Townsend, chairman of the YWCA's National Hostess House Committee, ventured that the location of a house was "of paramount importance." She wrote to Raymond Fosdick that it should be close to the main entrance, accessible, and centrally situated. See Mrs. E. M. Townsend to Raymond B. Fosdick, August 19, 1918, doc. 37891, box 96, entry 393, CTCA, RG 165, NARA. However, a map of Camp Wadsworth shows its hostess house well inside the camp and far from the main entrance. See <http://www.oryansroughnecks.org/wadsworth.html> (map courtesy of Karen L. Wofford, Spartanburg, South Carolina).

¹⁸ "Community House in Famous Old Mansion," *San Antonio Express*, June 16, 1918, doc. 33149, box 77, entry 393, CTCA, RG 165, NARA.

¹⁹ *Y.W.C.A. Bulletin War Work Council*, no. 1 (August 21, 1917): [3].

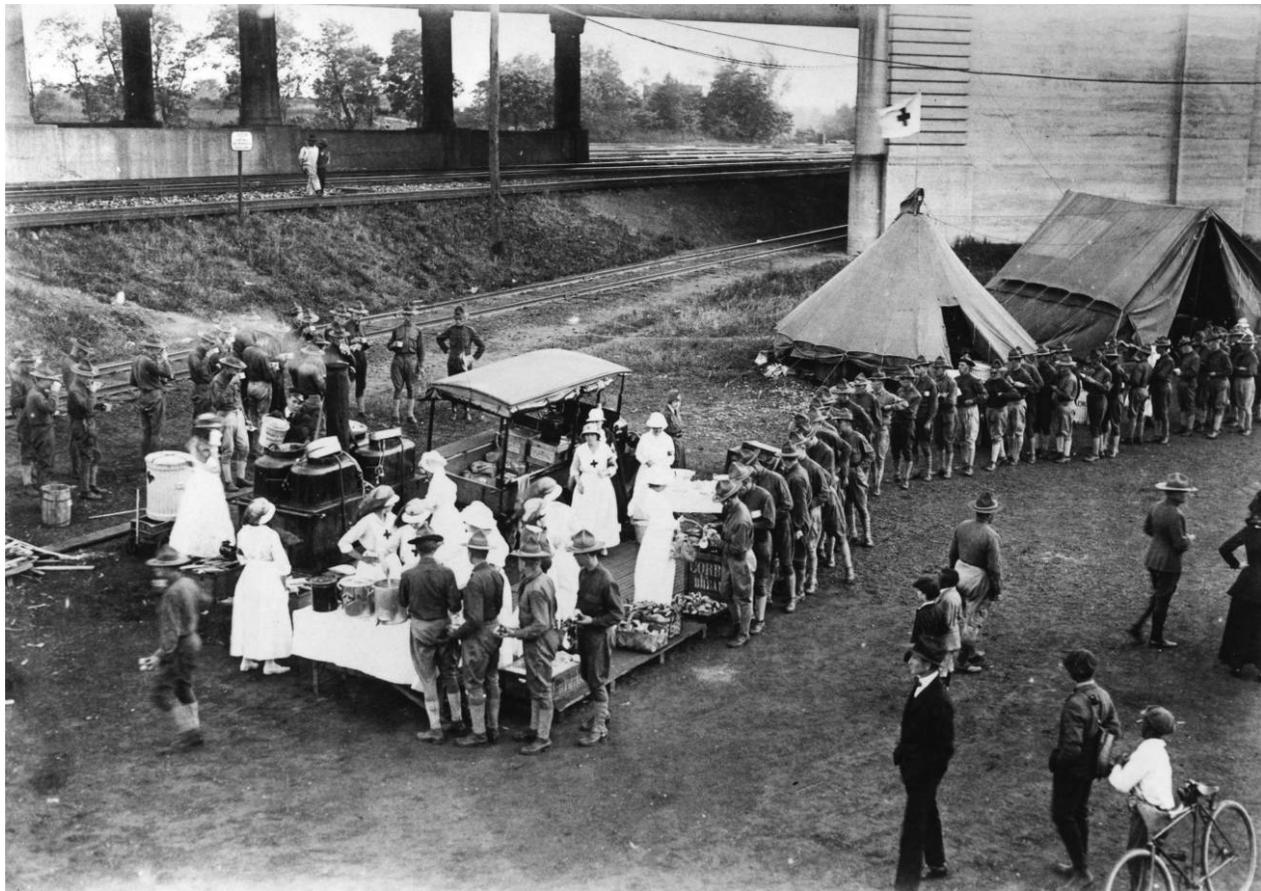


Fig. 5. "Aerial view of refreshment station." (165-WW-34B-3, National Archives and Records Administration: *New York Tribune*.)

"hospitality tent," it was so modest that she hesitated to attach the word "hospitality" to it!²⁰

But a move from tents to more substantial buildings quickly took place. Early accounts of hostess houses in YWCA newsletters stated that they would vary in sizes from very small installations, costing a mere \$500 to set up, to much larger ones costing \$15,000–\$19,000. Construction of the typical house was estimated as costing \$10,000. The first hostess house, constructed at Plattsburgh, New York, was a small wood-frame building (fig. 6). Learning from this and other initial efforts, YWCA leaders continuously revised their construction plans and cost estimates. When the Association began to build a hostess house at Fort Devens near Ayer, Massachusetts, its "more or less typical cantonment" was triple the size of the Plattsburgh house (fig. 7). The Fort Devens house was to measure 144 by 80 feet overall, with a 64 by 48 foot reception hall and a 48 by

32 foot cafeteria.²¹ Accordingly, the YWCA's early estimate of \$10,000 as the cost of a typical house, including equipment and furnishings, was increased: "The great number of men in the cantonments and the consequent need of space for the large number of women guests, and the increased expense of winter construction and heating has raised this figure in some cases as high as \$30,000."²²

To design and build many of its houses, the YWCA turned to architects Katherine Cotheal Budd (1860–1951), Fay Kellogg (ca. 1871–1918), and Julia Morgan (1872–1957).²³ Women were hardly numerous in the architectural profession at the time, but Budd, Kellogg, and Morgan had each achieved professional prominence before coming to the YWCA's attention. Both Budd and Kellogg

²¹ Y.W.C.A. *Bulletin War Work Council*, no. 2 (September 4, 1917): [6].

²² Y.W.C.A. *Bulletin War Work Council*, no. 4 (October 24, 1917): [13].

²³ Robert H. Moulton, "Women Design Hostess Houses for Army Camps," August 23, 1918, <http://www.gjenvick.com/CampDevens/1918-HostessHouse.html>.

²⁰ Mary E. S. Colt to Helen A. Davis, December 19, 1917, doc. 32733 (typescript of telegram), box 75, entry 393, CTCA, RG 165, NARA.



Fig. 6. "Plattsburgh Barracks, New York." (From "Report of Hostess House Committee," War Work Council, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, [1920], 36.)



16. Y. W. C. A. HOSTESS HOUSE. CAMP DEVENS, AYER, MASS.

Fig. 7. View of Fort Devens, Massachusetts. (Postcard formerly in the collection of the Young Women's Christian Association Archives, New York City.)

lived in New York City, where they obtained commissions, practiced design, and had social and professional connections. It is not surprising that they were known to the YWCA, which maintained its headquarters in the city. The first woman licensed as an architect in California, Morgan came to the attention of philanthropist Phoebe Apperson Hearst, who bestowed important commissions, and received early acclaim for her work after the San Francisco earthquake of 1906.²⁴ The YWCA's selection of women architects to design hostess houses made sense because the houses had a mandate to imprint a female presence inside all-male military training camps.

Katherine Budd had been active in New York architecture and landscape architecture, where she employed the idioms of arts and crafts, colonial revival, Mediterranean, and other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century revivals in numerous residential designs. Budd chaired the Committee on Flowers, Vines, and Area Planting of the Municipal Art Society, which had been founded in 1893. In 1902 her committee selected Henry Street, a block of mid-nineteenth-century row houses that had no plantings or trees, for a design that, when it was realized, transformed the street.²⁵ Budd also designed the façade of 65 East 80th Street in a block of row houses and individually built town houses situated between Madison and Park Avenues. Her redesigned façade renewed a town house whose owner was the perfume merchant Francis R. Arnold.²⁶

Prosperous individuals outside New York City also engaged Budd to design their homes. For her friend and famous art potter Adelaide Alsop Robineau in Syracuse, New York, Budd designed the well-known "Four Winds" house. For Robineau's younger sister Clarissa and her husband Walter Stillman, Budd designed a residence in the same Syracuse neighborhood. Still another Budd client was William John Howey, who hired her to design his "Howey in the Hills" residence in Florida.²⁷

²⁴ Guide to the Julia Morgan Papers, <http://www.oac.cdlib.org>.

²⁵ A Henry Street resident, Zella de Milhau became a standard-bearer for beautification and later lived with Katherine Budd. Christopher Gray, "That Endangered but Hardy Species, the Street Tree," *New York Times*, June 15, 1997. See also Don Evans, "Today's Tree Planting Foreshadowed by 1902 Initiative in Heights," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, October 11, 2007 (published online). Budd also illustrated Lillie Hamilton French, *Homes and Their Decoration* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1903).

²⁶ Christopher Gray, "Unusual Statues," *New York Times*, March 7, 2004.

²⁷ "Howey House," National Register of Historic Places, <http://www.nationalregisterofhistoricplaces.com/fl/Lake/state.html>. A pioneer Canadian female architect, Esther M. Hill was offered a

By 1908, when Budd exhibited at a design competition sponsored by the Architectural League, she had designed more than one hundred buildings in New York City and throughout the United States: "Country houses are her specialty, but she has designed libraries, and hospitals and churches, and all sorts and conditions of other buildings."²⁸

The YWCA hired Budd to design and construct more substantial and expensive hostess houses when it realized how inadequate its initial houses were. Budd prepared well-executed designs of large-scale hostess houses for Camp Dodge in Iowa (fig. 8) and the Great Lakes Naval Training Station in Illinois (fig. 9).²⁹

Before becoming an architect of hostess houses, Fay Kellogg trained for two years with a German tutor in mathematics and drafting, at the behest of her father and to her delight. She began a drafting career in Washington, DC, before settling in New York City, where she attended Pratt Institute and then joined R. L. Davis, whose commissions included the Thirteenth Regiment Armory and the Monastery of the Precious Blood. After a stint with the firm of Carrere & Hastings, Kellogg went to Paris, where she trained for two years and was eventually offered a chance to study for her architectural license at the École des Beaux Arts. Deciding instead to return to New York City, she joined John R. Thomas and worked with him, notably on the Hall of Records, and upon his death she went into practice for herself. By 1907 she was called "one of the most successful woman architects in America" and was in charge of building projects all over the country for the American News Company.³⁰

Kellogg was a spokesperson for the suitability of women in the architectural profession, saying that "the very nature of the field invites [a woman's] services. In fact, it needs her." She asserted that

position in New York by Katherine Budd in 1925; Hill remained there until 1928, when architectural work declined. Blanche Van Ginkel, "Esther Marjorie Hill," *Canadian Encyclopedia* (Edmonton: Historica Foundation, 2007), <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com>.

²⁸ "Art at Home and Abroad: Woman's Architectural Work," *New York Times*, February 9, 1908.

²⁹ "774 Pots of Baked Beans," [67].

³⁰ Kate V. Saint Maur, "Miss Fay Kellogg, Architect," *Pearson's Magazine* (November 1912): 227, and "Woman Invades Field of Modern Architecture: Remarkable Success of Miss Kellogg in Profession Exclusively Followed by Men Scores Triumph for Her Sex," *New York Times*, November 17, 1907. Kellogg's obituary states that she "suffered a breakdown at Atlanta, Ga., several weeks ago, where she had gone to supervise the construction of Y.W.C.A. hostess houses at Camp Gordon." See "Miss Fay Kellogg, Architect, Dies," *New York Times*, July 12, 1918.



Fig. 8. Camp Dodge, Iowa. (Postcard in the collection of the Young Women's Christian Association Archives, New York City.)



Fig. 9. Great Lakes Naval Training Station, Illinois. (Postcard formerly in the collection of the Young Women's Christian Association Archives, New York City.)



Fig. 10. Camp Taylor, Kentucky. (Postcard in the collection of the Young Women's Christian Association Archives, New York City.)

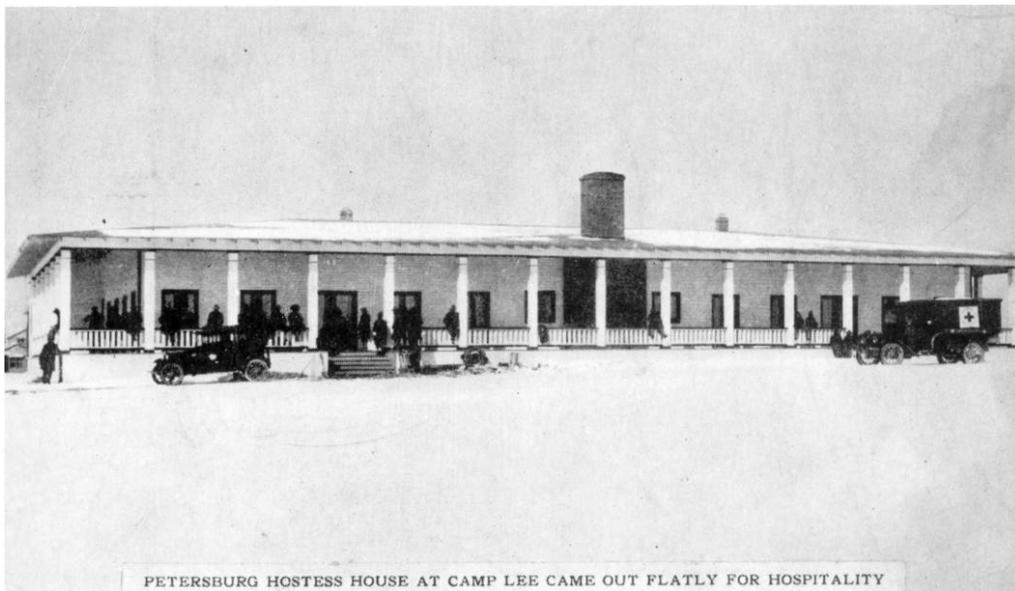


Fig. 11. Camp Lee, Virginia. (Postcard formerly in the collection of the Young Women's Christian Association Archives, New York City.)



Fig. 12. Camp Jackson, South Carolina. (Postcard formerly in the collection of the Young Women's Christian Association Archives, New York City.)

women who aspired to be architects should specialize in domestic architecture, and she asked rhetorically why women, the “chief occupants and governing spirits” of homes, were excluded “from all participation in their preparation.” “There can be no more anomalous condition than that which makes men the sole builders of our homes,” Kellogg declared.³¹

For the YWCA, Kellogg constructed at least seven houses at camps in the southeastern United States. She adopted and developed a functional design for her buildings that influenced structures built in neighboring states. By January 1918 her buildings at Camp Gordon (near Atlanta), Fort Oglethorpe (near Chattanooga), Camp Taylor (near Louisville; fig. 10), and Camp Lee (near St. Petersburg; fig. 11) were in operation. She followed these structures with hostess houses designed for camps in the Carolinas: Camp Greene (near Charlotte), Camp Wadsworth (near Spartanburg), Camp Sevier (near Greenville), and Fort Jackson (near Columbia) (fig. 12).³²

Fay Kellogg's own words and those written by the YWCA about her work provide insights into her designs. As she described her basic design, it was

for a wide bungalow “with a long sloping green or gray roof and the house cream colored with green trimmings.” Her houses varied in size with the one at Camp Gordon being the largest—it had “a full acre of roof” and a 10-foot wide veranda that extended around three sides of the building (fig. 13). Her feminine sensibility was credited with not cutting down a single tree unless absolutely necessary; even her verandas were built around trees. In the wartime atmosphere when anything that hinted at wastefulness was suspect, the YWCA informed its readers that Kellogg had determined that any timber cleared for the sites of hostess houses was to be stacked for later use in construction.³³

The floor plans of Kellogg-designed houses consisted of “a wide entrance hall, rest room, office, kitchen, cafeteria and big lounge, reception or living room (as it is variously called) on the first floor. Upstairs, there are emergency rooms furnished with cots.”³⁴ Kellogg included as the signature feature of her interior designs one or more mammoth fireplaces (fig. 14). The two fireplaces at the Camp Gordon hostess house, for example, were large

³¹ “Woman Invades Field of Modern Architecture.”

³² “South Atlantic Field Hostess Houses,” [54].

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

Greetings from Nat'l. Y. W. C. A., Camp Gordon, Ga. Hostess House



Fig. 13. Camp Gordon, Georgia. (Postcard formerly in the collection of the Young Women's Christian Association Archives, New York City.)

enough to burn 6- or 7-foot logs and offered a welcoming hearth for visitors and soldiers alike.

A contemporary of Budd and Kellogg, Julia Morgan was almost exclusively a product of the West Coast but, geography aside, her story shares elements with the narratives of her East Coast counterparts—early obstacles, burning resolve, in-

spired talent—and a diminutive frame. Born in San Francisco and encouraged by family members to study architecture, Morgan had to enroll in civil engineering at the University of California at Berkeley because her first choice remained closed to women in 1890. Later and despite discouragement from those who would admit her into the *École des Beaux*

Greetings from Nat'l. Y. W. C. A., Camp Gordon, Ga. Hostess House



Fig. 14. Camp Gordon, Georgia. (Postcard formerly in the collection of the Young Women's Christian Association Archives, New York City.)



Fig. 15. Camp Fremont, California. (Postcard formerly in the collection of the Young Women's Christian Association Archives, New York City.)

Arts in Paris, she earned a certificate in architecture from this French academy in 1902 before returning to California.³⁵

Morgan became one of the most prolific architects of her generation, opening her own firm in 1904 in San Francisco and designing an estimated 700 residences, churches, university buildings, hospitals, and hotels, primarily on the West Coast. For the YWCA her output alone would have occupied many architects during an entire career. Never outspoken on feminist issues, Morgan did benefit from strong connections in "the women's network." Notably, Phoebe Apperson Hearst (for whose son, William Randolph, Morgan would design "Hearst's Castle") and Grace Merriam Fisher, a former sorority sister at the University of California at Berkeley who became president of a local YWCA board (Oakland), helped the architect gain prized commissions.³⁶

Spanning decades, her YWCA commissions included numerous large and somewhat formal YWCA buildings—Oakland (1913–15), San Jose (1915), Pasadena (1921), Long Beach (1923), Hollywood (1925–26), Honolulu (1926–27), and San Francisco (1929–30)—her Beaux Arts training evident in

³⁵ Guide to the Julia Morgan Papers, <http://www.oac.cdlib.org>.

³⁶ Sara Holmes Boutelle, *Julia Morgan, Architect* (New York: Abbeville, 1988), 7, 83–127; "Images of the YWCA, Oakland, California, by Julia Morgan," <http://bluffton.edu>. See also Cary James, *Julia Morgan, Architect* (New York: Chelsea House, 1990).

many of these designs. In addition to these classically modeled clubhouses in cities and towns, Morgan built three hostess houses in the less imposing arts and crafts style on three California military bases. More closely resembling an earlier project she completed for the Y—Asilomar, a set of buildings at this seaside YWCA retreat near Monterey—the hostess houses at Camp Fremont near San Francisco (fig. 15), Camp Kearny (near San Diego), and Fort MacArthur (in San Pedro) attested to Morgan's versatility as an architect.³⁷

The Home Ideal

While fashionable interior and exterior designs gave the hostess houses an early twentieth-century appearance, their overriding message was firmly grounded in the late nineteenth-century ideal of

³⁷ Guide to the Julia Morgan Papers, <http://www.oac.cdlib.org>; Boutelle, *Julia Morgan*, 84–118; Guide to the Sara Holmes Boutelle Papers, 1972–1999, <http://www.lib.calpoly.edu/specialcollections>; Benjamin Weaver and Stephanie Zurek, "Socially Responsive Architecture: The Young Women's Christian Association, Julia Morgan, and the Honolulu YWCA," <http://www.avenirex.com/v6/portfolio/arch/ywca>. Designed by Morgan, the hostess house at Camp Fremont in fig. 15 was moved from its original site to Palo Alto (address: 27 Mitchell Lane, near the northeast corner of University Avenue and El Camino Real) to become the first municipally sponsored community center in the nation; it is the only remaining structure from California's World War I Army training camps. See <http://ohp.parks.ca.gov>.

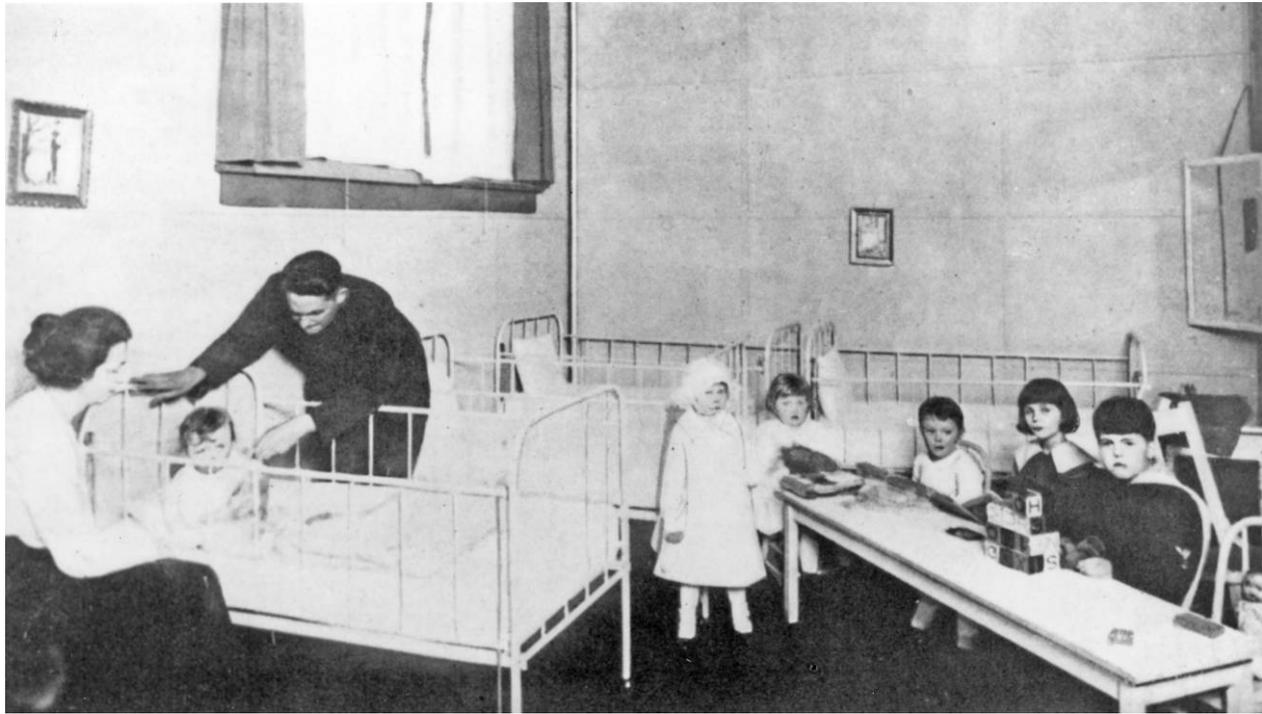


Fig. 16. Camp Lewis, Washington. (From "Report of Hostess House Committee," War Work Council, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, [1920], 24.)

the Victorian middle-class home as an orderly Christian sanctuary from an outside world that was often cruel. Inside the ideal Victorian home a family engaged in ritualized activities in defined rooms and spaces filled with objects that solidified the family and comforted its members. Responsible for the home's activities and appearance was, of course, the woman of the household.³⁸

This ideal informed the agreement between YWCA leaders and the CTCA about hostess house layouts and activities. With the details of room furnishings left to the YWCA, the furnishings not surprisingly mimicked the public rooms of middle-class houses. The furniture in them accommodated visitors who wished to read a book, write a letter, converse with a friend, play the piano, or listen to music on the Victrola.³⁹ Photographs by professional military photographers show varied activities occurring in spaces and among attractive furnishings compatible with those found in many American homes

of the late nineteenth century. The private spaces—those of the nursery and sleeping quarters for the hostesses, for example—appear to be rather Spartan but still reassuring enough (fig. 16). These official photographs supported the message that the hostess houses, although new institutions, were safe and familiar. Indeed, the photographs were undoubtedly enticing to visitors coming from homes with less decoratively coordinated rooms and spacious settings. They gently encouraged visitors to connect public dining with warm hospitality.

The YWCA and CTCA thus succeeded in fashioning a version of American home life amid military training camps. Although a hostess house was much larger and more public than an American home, it exuded homelike notions of propriety and solace. The spaces in which human interactions took place at least resembled those of homes, albeit the interactions were quietly controlled and presided over by strangers who had the responsibility to exert moralizing influences on thousands of young men suddenly thrown together chaotically in the camps.

In large buildings like the Camp Gordon hostess house with its 1-acre roof, but still situated among military barracks, social intimacy was in principle as hard to achieve as in a cavernous hotel lobby. But unlike a hotel lobby, the hostess house sought to

³⁸ See Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850–1930* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 3–9. For discussions about the effect of World War I on gender roles, see Bristow, *Making Men Moral*; and Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*.

³⁹ Zoë Steen Moore (Mrs. James Scott Moore) of Buffalo, New York, to Miss Helen M. Wishart in Washington, DC, May 22, 1918, doc. 31049, box 70, entry 393, CTCA, RG 165, NARA.



Fig. 17. Unidentified hostess house. (Postcard formerly in the collection of the Young Women's Christian Association Archives, New York City.)

provide an institutional space conducive to intimacy (fig. 17). In pursuit of this, the YWCA required that hostess houses have no spaces that suggested anything "official," and it tacitly discouraged organized group activities: "Everything that will interfere with conversations is barred—formal meetings, dancing and program entertainments."⁴⁰ Stated time and again in YWCA directives and publications, the refrain was that hostess houses had but one purpose: "to provide a homelike place where soldiers and their women visitors may meet." Therein lay the vision and illusion that intimate family life could unfold in gigantic public spaces. The fireplace served as a magnet for family members who huddled in quiet circles near it. The stricture against organized activities was relaxed only at Christmas and a few other holidays, when large-scale festivities were allowed and enabled visitors to celebrate holidays and see that their military trainees continued to honor traditions of the American home (fig. 18).⁴¹

The hostess house's emphasis on providing the propriety and solace of a middle-class home was echoed by the architectural features of the main

gathering room and especially its fireplace. Likewise, various pieces of furniture contributed to the overall effect of home comfort. The fireplace and settee were a successful combination, and as one publication boasted, "The big settee and the blazing logs have transformed more than one fit of dumps into cheer."⁴² Arrangements of easy chairs broke large spaces into small areas conducive for confidences. This enabled the Y press to publicize archetypal hostess house situations: a mother with babe in arms makes straight for the settee, where she sits with her husband and infant, thus incarnating a family circle; a forlorn soldier is refreshed by a quick nap on the settee cushions; or, sitting a bit too close together on the settee, an engaged couple is joined by the hostess, who ensures decorum. One YWCA writer rhapsodized that "if that settee were gifted with speech it could tell of more human happenings than any other one occupant of the big living room."⁴³

In addition to providing comfort, hostess houses moderated tensions between soldiers and their visitors. Their mixture of free services tended to allay complicated physical, political, and interpersonal

⁴⁰ "774 Pots of Baked Beans," [67].

⁴¹ To be sure, the latent function of the fire matched a real need for warmth because the winter of 1917–18 was among the most bitterly cold on record in the eastern half of the United States.

⁴² "The Hostess House Settee," *War Work Bulletin*, no. 26 (April 5, 1918): [103].

⁴³ *Ibid.*



Fig. 18. Camp Gordon, Georgia. (165-WW-577A-39, National Archives and Records Administration: photo, Francis E. Price.)

stresses. After all, these services were provided in places—military camps—whose purpose was to transform boys and men into warriors, and the houses tried to offset this arduous transformation with civilian-like domestic amenities. Boys and men being trained to kill went to the hostess houses for peace and at least the pretense that they were still the persons they had been before the military began their transformation. As Raymond Fosdick, chairman of the CTCA, said to a large audience in late 1918, “Those hostess houses represent the contact between the fighter on the inside of the camp and the women’s influence on the outside of the camp . . . and these hostess houses represent that contact between those two spheres of influence.”⁴⁴

This interstitial role of hostess houses was an aspect of the much wider debate about the place of women in American society. Dramas of gender relations, wartime “promiscuity,” and women’s work played out on the ministages of the hostess houses.

⁴⁴ “Address by the Hon. Raymond B. Fosdick,” November 16, 1918, box 150, entry 393, CTCA, RG 165, NARA, 9.

The YWCA conjured up a poetic image: the hostess house afforded “a cheery place for the meeting of women and their soldier men—women cheery and women weary; women bringing courage and those seeking courage; women with their joys and those with their sorrows.”⁴⁵ Post commanders credited the hostess houses with providing calmness and propriety amid intensive and often brutal military training. The commandant of Jefferson Barracks in Missouri said about the hostess house in his camp that “many a mother and sister have got comfort and rest under its shelter, and homesick lads met their dear ones certain of welcome and sympathy. To enthusiastic but indiscreet girls it has been a balance wheel.”⁴⁶

While providing an intimate setting for families of various classes and curtailing romantic indiscretions among young women, the hostess houses

⁴⁵ Y.W.C.A. *Bulletin War Work Council*, no. 2 (September 4, 1917): [6].

⁴⁶ C. H. Murray to Mary E. Colt in St. Louis, Missouri, November 4, 1917, doc. 32733, box 75, entry 393, CTCA, RG 165, NARA.



Fig. 19. Camp Gordon, Georgia. (165-WW-576B-15, National Archives and Records Administration: YWCA, New York City.)

could have additional ulterior purposes. Some letters from concerned Americans speculated that they might even save men from themselves. For example, Zoë Steen Moore of Buffalo, New York, described her encounter with three hundred young men who had just arrived on a supply train—"fine, manly, clean looking fellows"⁴⁷—as she sold war bonds at a local theater. Moore wrote that the military trainees headquartered in Buffalo's Broadway Auditorium were sorely tempted by the girls in the neighborhood, whom she described as being "with as little clothing on them as would let them past the police on the street." She feared that although the soldiers appeared to be "a fine group," they were after all "but human." Since the community was anticipating the arrival of almost four times that number of soldiers to be stationed in a similarly

questionable neighborhood, the "human" problem might very well increase greatly. But Zoë Moore had a plan: the women of Buffalo could rent a space in one of the school buildings in the area and establish a place "similar to the Y.W.C.A. Hostess Houses inside these buildings."⁴⁸

Moore was not at an established army camp, was not asking for a separate building, and was not working in conjunction with the YWCA. Rather, she was suggesting a place in which activities like those in hostess houses could take place and in which interactions between young men and women could be controlled: "where a lady in charge with assistants, some of them young ladies, would be like a mother of a family with boys." Her desire was that "these men remain self-respecting clean men, and happy men" (fig 19).⁴⁹ The hostess house concept

⁴⁷ Zoë Steen Moore to Helen M. Wishart, CTCA, RG 165, NARA.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

was something that could make her vision real, sparing men from the temptations of unsupervised encounters with “enthusiastic but indiscreet girls.”⁵⁰ For Moore and others, in short, it was the idea of the hostess house, but not necessarily an architect-designed building with wraparound porches and dominating fireplaces, that mattered.

The Women Workers

Any kind of space might of course suffice for the “right kind of woman” who knew, innately it was believed, how to mix the proper measure of hospitality and propriety as a recipe for keeping America’s fighting men moral, content, and ready for war. Nevertheless, the marital status of women working in the hostess houses generated much comment. In a letter to CTCA Executive Director Malcolm McBride, Mrs. M. B. Munson, chairwoman of the Interstate Camp Activities Commission in Columbia, Missouri, voiced her strong belief that hostess houses were best staffed by matrons, not by unmarried women.⁵¹ She declared her view to be representative of widespread opinion, and she suggested that members of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) staff hostess houses. After reminding McBride that the DAR had achieved funding successes in Missouri and Kansas, she averred that its mature women were prepared to meet the duties that strong patriotism required.

Munson was a credible spokesperson for this position. Having spent a month at Camp Funston, she knew that “a Miss cannot be a sweetheart to all of the boys; they have left one at home.”⁵² Soldiers pining for hometown girlfriends could confide in a mother but “not in a Miss”⁵³—and not just about romantic matters, for soldiers must also carry a vision of motherliness into battle. Munson related the story of a young soldier who wrote to the hostess house staff after his departure from Camp Funston that, having lost his mother when he was merely a boy and now facing battle, he remembered one woman at the hostess house whose image became that of his mother. Munson concluded: “All reports from everywhere both here and from Europe tell how much the boys appreciate something

that has a touch of home and the outside women, the Mothers especially, can do the most. We feel that a Mother should be in charge as hostess in each of these places and not a Miss. It is the mother’s boys that are there and it is of Mother and home that they think most in the Camp.”⁵⁴

Munson and any number of unmarried hostesses may have agreed that war work was special and that hostess house staffing needs required something “different from individual employment.”⁵⁵ But Munson’s position may have rested on an aversion to any whiff of women engaging in commerce, labor, or permanent work. Underlying her view that the maternal influence of mature women should pervade hostess houses may have been the widely voiced belief that for middle-class white women, volunteer work was the superior form of service. But while unmarried hostesses would have agreed that being a hostess required a great deal of effort and that its tasks went well beyond “individual employment,” most hostesses would probably have insisted that, whether married or single, they were capable of comforting families and soldiers preparing for war (fig. 20). Single women, they would have added, could give maternal reassurance to lonely soldiers awash in a sea of wartime fears just as well as married women could.

Munson was, in any case, preaching to the choir when she voiced the CTCA goal of keeping soldiers healthy and focused on their training. But there is no evidence that the CTCA ever stipulated that its vision of healthy and trained soldiers could be achieved only with the assistance of married hostesses who had borne children.⁵⁶ There were, no doubt, many more pressing matters that the CTCA had to deal with during the emergency mobilization than whether married or unmarried hostesses were to be preferred. The CTCA remained content with YWCA leaders’ decision to employ qualified women—unmarried or married—to serve as hostesses.⁵⁷

The women, even the unmarried ones, who worked as hostesses were remarkable in many ways, as several well-documented cases illustrate. A woman

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Malcolm McBride to Magdalen B. Munson of Columbia, Missouri, May 29, 1918, doc. 30940, box 70, entry 393, CTCA, RG 165, NARA. McBride’s response was polite and reassuring, as he delegated follow-up action to F. W. Blaisdell, supervisor of the War Camp Community Service in Munson’s area.

⁵⁷ Dorothy and Carl J. Schneider do note that the YWCA hired experienced women for duty in Europe; see their *Into the Breach*, chap. 5 (“Aid and Comfort”).

⁵⁰ C. H. Murray to Mary E. Colt, CTCA, RG 165, NARA.

⁵¹ Magdalen B. Munson (Mrs. M. B. Munson) of Columbia, Missouri, to Malcolm L. McBride, May 17, 1918, doc. 30940, box 70, entry 393, CTCA, RG 165, NARA, 1–2.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵³ *Ibid.*



Fig. 20. Camp Taylor, Kentucky. (165-WW-577A-48, National Archives and Records Administration: CPI [Catholic Press International].)

named Mary Steel was stationed in a decidedly inhospitable and makeshift hostess house at Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis. As temperatures dropped and the winter storms of December 1917 raged, the intrepid “Miss Steel” remained at her post. The local military commander stood firm on his policy against erecting nonmilitary buildings on his camp’s grounds, but Steel pressed on in her duties—operating from the tent when necessary and from the post headquarters building itself when she could. Yet the situation grew worse. In February 1918, Mary E. S. Colt, General Secretary of the YWCA in St. Louis, telegraphed Katharine Scott in the Association’s national headquarters in New York to ask: “Can we not get immediate OK of hostess house from War Department[.] Between five hundred and six hundred men ill in hospital at barracks. Large number of women having to remain all day there. No place for them to stay. Barracks seventeen miles from city. Only one train each way a day. Need for hostess house could not be greater

anywhere. Public demanding we do something.”⁵⁸ A day later the number of soldiers ill from the flu had risen to “nearly one thousand.”⁵⁹ What the bitterly cold weather did not inflict on the soldiers stationed at Jefferson Barracks, the influenza epidemic of 1918 did. So compelling was the need for more and better space that the camp allocated “a small hut” measuring 15 by 6 feet for the work of the YWCA, along with two adjacent tents.⁶⁰ Although this was an improvement over the first small tent, the additional space constituted the only facilities that the hostesses had for providing services to a

⁵⁸ Mary E. S. Colt to Katharine Scott, February 4, 1918, doc. 32733 (typescript of telegram), box 75, entry 393, CTCA, RG 165, NARA.

⁵⁹ Mary E. Colt to Elizabeth McFarland, February 5, 1918, doc. 32733 (typescript of telegram), box 75, entry 393, CTCA, RG 165, NARA.

⁶⁰ Elizabeth McFarland to Katherine Scott, April 30, 1918 (typescript), and May 8, 1918 (typescript), doc. 32733, box 75, entry 393, CTCA, RG 165, NARA.

camp that contained fifteen thousand men, plus their visitors, during the flu epidemic.

The responses of individual hostesses and the Association to such circumstances were illuminating. At no point in any correspondence about their situations did hostesses repudiate the duties that they had taken on at the beginning of America's entry into World War I. Instead, they worked with what they had been given and lobbied hard for adequate quarters for themselves and for women visiting male relatives at the camps. And despite the often grim conditions in which hostess houses operated, women clamored to serve the wartime effort in concert with the YWCA. In fact, many were downright eager to work in these daunting settings. Their motives were a mixture of the sense of purpose brought by the war, the excitement of the emergency nature of the work, the opportunity to use their training and skills, as well as the need to earn a living. When women considered their options on the home front, perhaps the prospect of serving the departing soldiers directly was also an incentive, sometimes referred to as "the lure of the khaki," that overshadowed the specter of living in tents amid winter snowstorms.

Another example of a well-qualified hostess applicant was Mrs. Frank H. Blackstone, who had enough culinary experience to operate a hostess house cafeteria and who first came to the attention of Raymond Fosdick in 1918.⁶¹ William A. Bird IV, the editor of *Good Government: Official Journal of the National Civil Service Reform League*, described Blackstone as "an exceptionally capable woman who has managed a large, first-class boarding-house in Point Pleasant, New Jersey, during the summer and in Philadelphia during the winter for many years." She "has the war spirit and believes she could contribute most effectively by managing a canteen or hostess house at one of the large camps."⁶² Bird's recom-

mendation of Blackstone reflected firsthand knowledge. "I spent the month of August at her house in Point Pleasant and can testify to her capability and personality as thoroughly adapted to such work. She has a valuable asset in a remarkable darky cook, who has been with her eleven years and whom she would take with her if she got an opportunity to manage a canteen."⁶³

Fosdick forwarded Bird's recommendation to the YWCA's Katherine Scott. No doubt, Scott would have agreed with Bird and Fosdick that Blackstone fit hostess house cafeteria requirements admirably. Blackstone's eagerness to work in a hostess house probably stemmed from her "war spirit" rather than any concrete need, for she was clearly experienced, skilled, and without discernible economic need.⁶⁴ What happened to her New Jersey cafeteria is not known. In general, the economic need for work varied among hostess house applicants, but those who were hired had in common appropriate qualifications and training for their positions as hostesses. As the examples of Steel and Blackstone suggest, applicants were women several cuts above the average.

Conclusions

By the time World War I ended, YWCA hostess houses were a great success and a far cry from what they had been in the early months after the United States entered the war in April 1917. Once tasked by the CTCA, the YWCA effectively and quickly spread the word about its hostess house effort.⁶⁵ The YWCA seized on this effort as a way to gain further public support for its varied programs, and the success of its hostess houses enabled the Association to bask in a good deal of glory for playing an important part in America's war effort. Thus, Raymond Fosdick, the CTCA chairman, told a Washington, DC, audience in a speech about the United War Work Campaign that "there is no institution more firmly established in the good graces of the General Staff than the

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid. The author maintains a list of women who worked in YWCA hostess houses; these two women have been selected from their numbers.

⁶⁵ Correspondence contained in the CTCA, RG 165, NARA demonstrates that some individuals believed that the YWCA deserved still more credit for their hostess house work; see especially doc. 31783, box 73, entry 393, CTCA, RG 165, NARA. The YWCA touted their hostess house efforts as part segue into the variety of their programs and part financial appeal for the multiple programs that required support.

⁶¹ The restaurant was the most distinctive and important feature of the hostess house and set it apart from facilities on military bases operated by the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). The YMCA had a hut at Plattsburgh Barracks, but the similarly constructed hostess house had a "kitchen attachment." Food preparation was the essential ingredient that made hostess houses fully serviced. Female visitors could not dine at military mess halls, and soldiers who had a choice about where they ate a meal often preferred the hostess house cafeteria. Choice in dining was often the one amenity that remained after the use of the hostess house building had been adapted for postwar needs. Neither the YWCA nor the U.S. military was casual about whom they hired to run their restaurants. Those who did apply needed to be, like Blackstone, well qualified for that job.

⁶² William A. Bird to Raymond Fosdick in Washington, DC, September 3, 1918, doc. 38179, box 98, entry 393, CTCA, RG 165, NARA.

institution of the hostess house . . . [a]nd this is the work of the Young Women's Christian Association."⁶⁶

The Association's effort continued throughout America's participation in the war, but as commercial hotels accommodating visitors to the military facilities began to be built, and then as the number of soldiers being trained decreased, hostess house functions changed. Many of them became facilities for housing entertainers and serving as recreational facilities that often included theaters. Some houses added specialized tasks to their previous services. For example, the Debarkation Hostess House in New York City received and cared for war brides who arrived from Europe to join their husbands, and several other houses were converted into quarters for wounded and convalescing soldiers. The War Department set November 1, 1919, as the date when it would absorb the responsibilities of its affiliated wartime organizations into an internal unit, the Education and Recreation Branch of the War Plans Division of the General Staff. But by the time the War Department did this in 1919, the War Work Council of the YWCA had operated fifty hostess houses with more than a thousand women employees.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ "Address by the Hon. Raymond B. Fosdick," 9. See also Edward Frank Allen and Raymond B. Fosdick, *Keeping Our Fighters Fit: For War and After* (New York: Century, 1918), 111–37.

⁶⁷ And as rivalries erupted among voluntary groups desiring to emulate some hostess house activities, the CTCA came to understand the need for improved coordination among its voluntary groups. For example, when the Knights of Columbus (KC), a Roman Catholic men's organization, objected to the YWCA operating the only hostess house at a facility, the KC was allowed to label several of its facili-

ties as hostess houses. By the time of demobilization, hostess houses had anticipated changes that led to the United Services Organization of World War II. See "Report of Hostess House Committee," 7, 33–37. Of the thirty-seven camps, twenty-two hostess houses were still active on November 1, 1919. The Y continued its work at naval and marine stations until it was eventually assumed by the Navy. Those women who continued to work at hostess houses did so as employees of the Post Exchange.