

THE JOURNAL OF
**SAN DIEGO
HISTORY**

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*The dedication of the Junipero Serra Museum, the first home of the San Diego Historical Society, July 16, 1929.
©SDHS #10311-5.*



The San Diego Historical Society now shares the Casa de Balboa with the Museum of Photographic Arts and the San Diego Model Railroad Museum. Courtesy of the San Diego Historical Society.

EXPLORING SAN DIEGO'S PAST: FIFTY YEARS OF *THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY*



By Kathleen A. Crawford

George W. Marston, a local businessman and civic leader, joined other notable San Diegans to found the San Diego Historical Society in 1928. Marston, the first president of the organization, hired William Templeton Johnson to design the Junipero Serra Museum (1929) on Presidio Hill. For over sixty years, the Serra Museum housed all operations of the San Diego Historical Society, including its library and research center.

In January 1955, the San Diego Historical Society published the first issue of this journal. The Board of Directors did not want “just another pamphlet.” They wanted a chronicle of “those valuable bits of the region’s history and lore.”¹ *The San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* (1955-61), *Times Gone By* (1961-66) and, finally, *The Journal of San Diego History* (1966-present) exceeded their expectations. By the 1970s, the *Journal* had become a distinguished publication in the field of local, state and regional history with a circulation of over 3,500.

Jerry MacMullen, Executive Director of the San Diego Historical Society (1954-64), insisted that the Society needed a first-class publication.² At the time, the Society “was supposed to consist of about twenty-five members. Once a year they would meet and have tea and talk about Father Serra and Mr. Marston and then they would go home until the next year.” MacMullen explained, “Well, you can’t run a show that way.” He replaced “an atrocious publication called *Historics*, very badly mimeographed,” with *The San Diego Historical Society Quarterly*.³ The first issue included articles such as “San Diego in One Easy Lesson” and “Casualties of 1954” which described the destruction of three historic homes.⁴

In 1965, Executive Director Ray Brandes (1964-65) and Curator Ben Dixon decided to give the publication a new title: *Times Gone By: The Journal of San Diego History*.⁵ They were frustrated, however, by



Dr. Ray Brandes excavating ruins at the Mission San Diego de Alcalá with Curt Harper; 1969. Rt. Rev. Msgr. James T. Booth, pastor of the church, watching. ©SDHS, UT-85:F9212, Union-Tribune Collection.

Kathleen A. Crawford is a Lecturer in History at the University of San Diego and at San Diego State University. A former Education Coordinator at the San Diego Museum of Man and Assistant Curator at the San Diego Historical Society, her research interests include San Diego history and architecture. She is currently working on a book about San Diego’s historic buildings and architectural history.



James E. Moss, Executive Director of the San Diego Historical Society, 1969. ©SDHS #UT-85:H4711, Union-Tribune Collection.

the financial limitations of the Society. Brandes' desire to make the publication more visually attractive, while maintaining the overall quality of the scholarship, remained an issue throughout his tenure. He left the organization in the fall of 1965 to teach at the University of San Diego. Mrs. Lester (Elvira) Wittenberg (1966-67) replaced him Executive Director and chairman of the board. She edited three issues of the *Journal* with the assistance of Tim MacNeil. By the end of 1966, the publication had been renamed *The Journal of San Diego History*. Two editors, Hal Enger and Rita Larkin, handled the publication responsibilities for the next two years.

During the 1970s, Executive Director James Moss (1969-79) restructured the San Diego Historical Society and turned *The Journal of San Diego History* into a scholarly publication. He edited the *Journal* himself and recruited volunteers such as Barbara Marsh, a Mission Hills resident, to copyedit. David Weber, at that time a history professor at San Diego State University, helped him

organize an advisory board of established scholars with expertise in California and/or San Diego history.⁶ He encouraged Iris H. W. Engstrand, University of San Diego professor, to join the Board of Editors. She proved to be a key member of the group, giving countless hours of support in the form of editing, researching and proofing articles. Together, they solicited articles from scholars from diverse backgrounds with expertise in California history. They also encouraged students to write on local history topics.

Thomas L. Scharf, a young and enthusiastic graduate student from the University of San Diego, joined Moss's staff as assistant editor and, later, editor (1979-90). He solicited manuscripts, contacted reviewers, edited the articles, picked up and delivered manuscripts to proof-reader Barbara Marsh and final copy to Neyenesch Printers, and hand-stamped the addresses on 2,000 issues.⁷ Moss and Scharf debated the pros and cons of using a "slick" magazine format. They decided, instead, to adopt a format similar to that of many quarterly historical journals. They filled colorful issues with photographs from the *San Diego Union and Evening Tribune* files. The *Journal* combined scholarly articles with general-interest pieces to attract a growing audience of San Diego readers.

Moss also reorganized the Society's membership directory, reviewing all files and determining which members were still alive! He created a membership package with benefits designed to attract new members, particularly young people. The print run of the *Journal* increased from 2,500 to 3,500 during his tenure. In addition, Moss and



Tom Scharf, 1982.
©SDHS #82:13834-21.

other board members raised the profile of the Society by attending meetings of the City Council and the San Diego Board of Supervisors. They held an annual birthday party for the Society in which speakers offered humorous, often satirical, glimpses into San Diego's past.

Moss also acquired a vast and important collection of photographs from the Title Insurance and Trust Company (later Ticor Title Insurance). He convinced them not to give all of

their photographs to the California Historical Society but, instead, to donate some of them to the Society, in particular, photographs from the San Diego Title Insurance and Trust Company. He felt that the Society had both the staff and the expertise to handle this large collection. Ticor photographer Larry Booth and his wife Jane were offered staff positions, thanks to the generosity of Dr. Richard Bowers. Together, they worked to preserve thousands of old negatives and glass plates and to make the collection accessible to researchers. Their photo essays and guides, many of them published in the *Journal*, remain an important historical resource.⁸

Moss's plans for a historical museum were realized in 1982 when the Society moved its archives and collections from the Serra Museum to Balboa Park. Four years earlier, in 1978, a disastrous fire had destroyed the Balboa Park Electric Building, the former home of the San Diego Aerospace Museum. The Aerospace Museum moved into the 1935 Ford Building, making it possible for the San Diego Historical Society to take over the majority of the newly-rebuilt space. The Society, led by Director Richard Esparza (1980-1987), set up archives, museum galleries and meeting rooms. The remainder of the building, renamed Casa de Balboa, was devoted to other museums.

Scharf, meanwhile, stayed at the Serra Museum where he continued to edit the *Journal*. He added many new features, including book reviews and special issues devoted to single topics. For example, the Villa Montezuma issue still sells today.⁹ He and Iris Engstrand also compiled the first index covering the years 1955-1975. For the first time, readers could access the considerable body of scholarship that had been developed over twenty years. Scharf also

made the decision to switch to Crest Offset Printing Company in National City, a small, family-run firm founded by Doyle Blackwood. Twenty-five years later, Doyle's son Barry Blackwood continues to print the *Journal*, using the latest in pre-press and print technologies.¹⁰

Phillip Klauber, a member of the pioneering Klauber and Gould families and an executive at San Diego Gas & Electric Company, was an important supporter of the *Journal*. He served on the board of the San Diego Historical



Jane and Larry Booth, 1980. ©SDHS #81:9202.



Phil Klauber (second from left) with Director Richard Esparza (left), Richard Levi and Phil Gildred (far right), 1984. ©SDHS #OP 10647.



Bruce Kamerling, 1983.
©SDHS #OP 16488.

Society, among other organizations, sharing his extensive knowledge of San Diego with editors, city leaders, executive directors and historians. His memos were affectionately known as “Klaubergrams.” He suggested topics for articles, caught errors missed by staff members, and provided other information that helped to create a successful *Journal* each quarter.

Bruce Kamerling, Curator of Collections, also contributed his considerable scholarly expertise to the *Journal*, writing many articles on the history of art and artists in San Diego.¹¹ A noted painter, sculptor, art historian, and author, Kamerling worked at the Society from 1977 until his death in 1995. He successfully restored and furnished Hebbard and Gill’s Marston House for use as a public museum. He also wrote *One Hundred Years of Art in San Diego* (1991) and *Irving J. Gill, Architect* (1993), both published by the San Diego Historical Society.¹²

In 1983, the Society founded the Institute of History to encourage students, scholars, and other interested historians to write articles on San Diego history. The Institute offered, and continues to offer, cash prizes for the most outstanding work on various aspects of local history. It has led to a number of publications by graduate students and others in the *Journal*.

In 1990, Tom Scharf left the San Diego Historical Society to take a position as Director of Publications at the San Diego Zoological Society. He left the *Journal* in good hands. Kamerling and Gregg R. Hennessey, Book Review Editor, collaborated on the special issue devoted to the Marston House, published in the summer of 1990.¹³

Richard W. Crawford, Society Archivist, served as editor under Director James Vaughan (1988-1994), Acting Director Debra Casho (1994-1995), and Director Ann Bethel (1995-1997). He publicized the Society’s archival holdings, encouraging researchers to make use of materials tucked away on the library shelves. Court documents, personal letters from pioneer San Diegans, diaries and other sources were highlighted in *Journal* articles.¹⁴ He worked closely with the editorial board to enhance the quality of scholarly articles. Vince Ancona proof-read material while Jill K. Berry designed a number of beautiful issues, including “Visions of Paradise: The Selling of San Diego.”¹⁵ Crawford identified and published photographs of San Diego held in other collections, including the Huntington Library and the Bancroft Library. He also worked closely with Crest Offset Printing.



Rick Crawford, Supervisor,
Special Collections, San Diego
Public Library, 2005. Photo by
Molly McClain.

Gregg Hennessey resumed his duties as editor in the summer of 1999 when Crawford left to take a position at the San Diego Public Library. He continued to edit the *Journal* until the Spring 2003 issue, working under Directors Bob Witty (1998-2002) and John Wadas (2002-2005). During his tenure, the *Journal* began publishing a list of the Society’s recent acquisitions, including books, posters, scrapbooks, the Marston family china and a 1942 WAVES uniform.¹⁶ He also contributed several articles on George W. Marston and his legacy.¹⁷



Institute of History, April 28, 1984, Point Loma Nazarene College. Pictured are some of the paper winners and honored authors. Center, front: Eleanor Neely. First row, left to right: Harrison Doyle, Mary van Dam, Ruth Doyle, Sally Bullard Thornton, Kathleen Crawford, Clara Breed, and Horace L. Dodd. Second row: Ronald V. May, Laura Young, Joseph L. Howard, and Richard Reilly. ©SDHS #84:15146.

Dennis Sharp, Society Archivist, took over the editorial responsibilities in the summer of 2004. A lack of funding, however, allowed for the completion of just one issue highlighting the architectural collections, published in the summer of 2005.¹⁸ Because of staff commitments in other areas, the San Diego Historical Society created a partnership with the University of San Diego in 2005. History professors Iris H. W. Engstrand and Molly McClain serve as the co-editors. Colin Fisher, University of San Diego, and Dawn Riggs, California State University, Fullerton, serve as book review editors.

The Journal of San Diego History is now the longest running chronicle in San Diego's history. In recent years, it has expanded its scope to include Southern California, the Southwest, and the United States/Mexico borderlands. Over the past fifty years, the *Journal* has accumulated an impressive range of material for use by future generations. It continues to change and improve in order to fulfill the vision of its founders and to meet the needs of twenty-first century San Diegans.



Greg Hennessey. ©SDHS #82:13608-1.

NOTES



1. "Our Own First Edition," *The San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (January 1955), 1.
2. MacMullen, born in San Francisco in 1897, covered the waterfront as a reporter for the *San Diego Union* and *Evening Tribune*. A raconteur, a sailor, and well-known maritime historian, MacMullen published several books on West Coast maritime history. He also encouraged a group of San Diegans to obtain the *Star of India* for use as a floating museum of naval history and, later, served as the president of the San Diego Maritime Museum. The MacMullen Library and Research Archives at the Maritime Museum houses his personal collection of books and manuscripts. See Trudie Casper, ed., "Jerry MacMullen: An Uncommon Man," *The Journal of San Diego History* (hereafter *JSDH*) 27, no. 4 (Fall 1981): 260-276.
3. The *Historics* had been printed on an old mimeograph machine discarded by the City of San Diego. MacMullen explained that the former director "John Davidson found it out in the trash at Twentieth and B. John was very careful about spending the Society's money. I suggested right away we get out some acceptable kind of a publication. But John argued against it saying, 'Oh, no, no! That's a perfectly good mimeograph; mimeographing is good enough...' But I kept on arguing about it. Finally, Don Driese, who was on the publications committee said, 'Look, if we're doing the job at all, let's go first class. First class, or don't go at all. Either a suitable publication or drop *Historics*.' And so the committee reluctantly decided to go ahead and that's how the *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* came about." Trudie Casper, ed., "Jerry MacMullen: An Uncommon Man, Part II," *JSDH* 28, no. 1 (Winter 1982), 28-29.
4. *The San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (1955). The *Quarterly* was the work of the three staff members: Jerry MacMullen, director; Ben Dixon, curator; and Fred Reif, who did everything else.
5. Brandes was a descendent of the Machado family of San Diego. He served as Executive Director from July 1964 to October 1965. Dr. Ray Brandes, interviewed by author, September 2005.
6. David Weber is now the Robert and Nancy Dedman Professor of History at Southern Methodist University and director of the William P. Clements Center for Southwestern Studies. The author of more than 20 books, he was knighted by the Spanish government in 2003 in recognition of his scholarly work on Spain's influence on the New World.
7. Thomas Scharf, interviewed by Dr. Iris H. W. Engstrand, September 2005. Moss remembered the many kindnesses extended by Neyenesch Printers, a San Diego-based company founded in 1899. At the time, printing costs were high due to the typesetting process. Neyenesch donated thousands of dollars in free services. James Moss, interviewed by author, September 2005.
8. Booth co-authored what became known as the "bible" of photographic preservation: Robert A. Weinstein and Larry Booth, *The Collection, Use and Care of Historical Photographs* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1977). See also Larry Booth, "Wartime San Diego," *JSDH* 24, no. 2 (Spring 1978): 197-220; Larry and Jane Booth, "Images from Our Past: The San Diego Title Insurance and Trust Company Historical Photographs Collection," *JSDH* 25, no. 2 (Spring 1979): 83-135; Larry and Jane Booth, "Do You Want an Exposition? San Diego's 1935 Fair in Photographs," *JSDH* 31, no. 4 (Fall 1985): 281-297. Other guides to SDHS's photographic collections include Rebecca Lytle, "People and Places: Images of Nineteenth Century San Diego in Lithographs and Paintings," *JSDH* 24, no. 2 (Spring 1978): 153-171; Gregory L. Williams, "Guide to the Photograph Collections of the San Diego Historical Society," *JSDH* 44, no. 2 (Summer 1998).

9. *JSDH* 33, nos. 2 and 3 (Spring/Summer 1987).
10. Crest Offset Printing Company is located at 921 Coolidge Ave., National City, CA, phone (619) 479-3831.
11. Publications by Bruce Kamerling include "Anna and Albert Valentien: The Arts and Crafts Movement in San Diego," *JSDH* 24, no. 3 (Summer 1978), 343-66; "Theosophy and Symbolist Art: The Point Loma Art School," *JSDH* 26, no. 4 (Fall 1980): 231-55; "Like the Ancients: The Art of Donal Hord," *JSDH* 31, no. 3 (Summer 1985): 164-209; "Painting Ladies: Some Early San Diego Women Artists," *JSDH* 32, no. 3 (Summer 1986): 147-91; "Early Sculpture and Sculptors in San Diego," *JSDH* 35, no. 3 (Summer 1989): 149-205; "How Ellen Scripps Brought Ancient Egypt to San Diego," *JSDH* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 73-91; Kamerling, "Modern Perspectives: Three Women Artists of the 1920s and 1930s," *JSDH* 40, no. 3 (Summer 1994): 83-129.
12. Kamerling sat on the City of San Diego's Historic Site Board from 1983 to 1988 and served as a trustee of the Balboa Art Conservation Center from 1981 to 1993. An honorary life member of the Save Our Heritage Organization, he served four years as a director including one term as president. He died on October 17, 1995, after a long illness. *JSDH* 40, no. 3 (Summer 1994), 83.
13. *JSDH* 36, nos. 2 and 3 (Spring/Summer 1990).
14. Richard Crawford, interviewed by author, September 2005. Crawford solicited a series of articles on local archives, including: Geoffrey B. Wexler, "A Few More Pieces of the Puzzle: Collections Documenting San Diego History at the University of California, San Diego," *JSDH* 37, no. 1 (1991): 53-67; Richard W. Crawford, Susan A. Painter, and Sarah B. West, "Local History Materials in the Research Archives of the San Diego Historical Society," *JSDH* 37, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 129-49; Mary Allely, "Local History Materials in the California Room of the San Diego Public Library," *JSDH* 37, no. 3 (Summer 1991): 215-29; Lyn Olsson, "A Wide Range of Collections at San Diego State University," *JSDH* 37, no. 4 (Fall 1991): 273-83; Craig Arnold, "Collections of the Jerry MacMullen Library at the San Diego Maritime Museum," *JSDH* 38, no. 1 (Winter 1992): 51-63; Suzanne J. Dewberry, "San Diego: Historical Resources of the Federal Government in the National Archives – Pacific Southwest Region," *JSDH* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 113-128. See also Richard Crawford, "Local Public Records and San Diego History," *JSDH* 47, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2001): 9-17; Dennis G. Sharp, "Local Public Records and San Diego History: An Examination of Additional Uses," *JSDH* 47, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2001): 19-27; Dennis G. Sharp, "Guide to the Public Records Collection of the San Diego Historical Society," *JSDH* 47, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2001): 29-102.
15. *JSDH* 41, no. 3 (Summer 1995).
16. "Historical Society Accessions – 1999," *JSDH* 45, no. 4 (Fall 1999): 260-67; "Historical Society Accessions – 2000," *JSDH* 46, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 192-201.
17. Greg Hennessey, interviewed by author, November 2005. Hennessey had written his master's thesis on George W. Marston while he was a graduate student at San Diego State University. See Gregg R. Hennessey, "George White & Anna Gunn Marston: A Sketch," *JSDH* 36, nos. 2 and 3 (Spring/Summer 1990): 96-105; Hennessey, "Creating a Monument, Re-Creating History: Junipero Serra Museum and Presidio Park," *JSDH* 45, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 136-63.
18. *JSDH* 49, nos. 3 and 4 (Summer/Fall 2003).



Front side of Meyer Medal. Courtesy of the San Diego Historical Society.

WHEN DR. FAIRCHILD VISITED MISS SESSIONS: SAN DIEGO 1919¹



By Nancy Carol Carter

In 1939, Kate Sessions received the prestigious Frank N. Meyer Medal for distinguished services in plant introduction by the American Genetics Association. She joined the ranks of previously recognized male botanists, including Louis Charles Trabut, a French doctor teaching at the University of Algiers; Henry Nicholas Ridley, an Englishman who learned to tap the rubber tree for latex; Palemon Howard Dorsett, who spent the 1920s identifying plants in China and Japan; and wealthy amateur plant explorers Barbour Lathrop and Allison V. Armour. It was thirty years before another woman received the same honor.²

Sessions was nominated for the award by David Fairchild, plant explorer, botanist and United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) official. A newly-explored archive of letters, photographs and manuscripts at the Fairchild Tropical Botanical Garden expands our knowledge of their relationship. Their seventeen-year-long correspondence suggests that he was the most enduring and influential of her professional contacts.³ This article reveals both the professional and the personal nature of their relationship, giving us a more nuanced understanding of Kate Sessions herself.

By the end of the nineteenth century, botany had moved almost entirely from its Enlightenment origins as a proper and recommended activity for women and children to a professionalized and almost exclusively male pursuit within the science culture. Some exceptional women made a place for themselves in the field at this early date, but had to overcome barriers. As botany became a scientific study, women in England were excluded from research-based botanical gardens and the Linnean Society and Royal Society where scientific papers were read and leaders in the field assembled. As the century progressed, places for women in scientific societies slowly opened.⁴

In the United States, nineteenth-century women usually had to settle for “negotiated” affiliations with science, rather than careers as scientists as the field became increasing masculine. A few women found welcoming undergraduate programs toward the end of the century, while others went abroad for advanced study. Emily Lovira Gregory (1841-1897) was the first American woman to receive a Ph.D. in botany, awarded in 1886 by the University of Zurich, one of the few institutions in the world that would confer a Doctor of Philosophy degree on a woman. Most women, however, could not gain entry to college science programs. Instead, they found work as laboratory technicians, botanical artists, or in preparing herbarium specimens. A few, such as Kate Sessions, persisted long enough to prove their merit and develop a career in their chosen field.⁵

Nancy Carol Carter is Director of the Legal Research Center and a Professor of Law at the University of San Diego. She holds the M.S. (History), M.L.S. and J.D. degrees. When not indulging her interest in horticultural history, she writes on American Indian law and its bibliography. Recent articles include: “Native Hawaiians: History, Law and Research” and “The Special Case of Alaska: Native Law and Research.” She created and maintains a Native American Web site chronicling events affecting the original inhabitants of San Diego County (www.sandiego.edu/nativeamerican).



An early photograph of Kate Sessions. ©SDHS #81:11358.

When Kate Sessions left public school teaching to establish a career in horticulture, she stepped away from “women’s work” and into a male domain. She was the sole proprietor of a nursery and garden design business and became well known as an active horticultural professional. She tested plants for the Department of Agriculture, introduced many of them into the San Diego landscape and taught others how to grow and propagate these new species. She wrote and read professional literature. She participated in a plant exploration trip that brought a new species of palm tree to the United States. She was the preferred guide and interpreter of the

Southern California landscape for visiting scientists. She gathered plants for botanical classification, commercialized and popularized wild plants, traded plants and seeds with botanical gardens worldwide, and maintained an active correspondence with scientists who were combining botany and agriculture into the new field of horticulture.⁶ Over the course of her 55-year career, she broke away from the prevailing notion that a woman’s place in the field of horticulture was as a genteel hobbyist.

KATHERINE OLIVIA SESSIONS (1857-1940)

Kate Sessions’ parents were born in Connecticut, but had relocated to San Francisco long before their only daughter was born on November 8, 1857. The family moved across the bay to Oakland, settling near Lake Merritt, then a rural farming and ranching area. Her mother encouraged her curiosity and indulged her propensity to roam the countryside on horseback. Kate displayed an early interest in plants, working in the family garden, and collecting and preserving specimens. Ferns were a special interest. Her botanical horizons were expanded by a long trip to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) after high school.⁷

Unlike many parents of the day, Josiah and Harriet Sessions encouraged their daughter to further her education. Kate Sessions enrolled in the science curriculum at the University of California, Berkeley, and majored in chemistry. She graduated in 1881. A serious and conscientious student, she hoped to work in banking, chemistry, agriculture, or botany after graduation. However, teaching was the occupation most easily open to women. Kate Sessions signed up with the Oakland School system. Two years later a friend told her of an opening in San Diego for a school principal. She got the job and moved south. School funding problems and personnel shuffles convinced her to leave San Diego for a teaching job in San Gabriel.

Kate Sessions was soon lured back to San Diego. In 1885 she was presented the opportunity to enter the nursery business. She was to supply the hands-on work and know-how while her older partners financed the venture. In a short time, the partnership was dissolved, and her own “Miss K.O. Sessions Nursery” was established. Sessions quickly became an active force in San Diego civic affairs. She was a relentless

community booster and made the City Beautiful Movement her special crusade, championing tree planting and the allotment and development of public land for a city park. She never married and she never brought a partner into the business she operated from 1885 until her death in 1940.

Along with the practical experience she gained every day through her active participation in the work of her nursery, Sessions devoted herself to a life-time of horticultural study.

DAVID GRANDISON FAIRCHILD (1869-1954)

David Fairchild worked for the Department of Agriculture for almost 30 years, eventually specializing in plant exploration and importation. After college and graduate study, he joined the USDA in 1889 at age 19 as a plant pathologist. Eager to continue his education and to travel, Fairchild successfully applied for “the Smithsonian working table” at a research station in Naples. He resigned from the USDA and embarked in November 1893 on the first of many ocean voyages.⁸



Barbour Lathrop and David Fairchild on Western U.S. tour, 1919. Courtesy of the Fairchild Tropical Botanic Garden Archive.

A chance meeting aboard the ship with wealthy globe-trotter Barbour Lathrop changed Fairchild's life. He was enthralled by Lathrop's travel tales, having fixed on the notion of someday visiting Java. Lathrop later offered to pay for Fairchild's trip to Java, as “an investment in science.” After the Naples

appointment and additional botanical study in German universities, Fairchild accepted Lathrop's offer and sailed to Java in 1896.⁹

Fairchild happily pursued his own scientific research and relaxed into the slow pace of life in Dutch colonial Java. After eight months, his benefactor showed up on short notice and swept Fairchild off on an extended trip. While traveling, Lathrop convinced Fairchild that he should use his knowledge of botany to identify and collect useful plants as yet unknown in the United States—to travel around the world identifying vegetables, fruits, drug plants, grains, and other economic plants that could enrich the American diet and expand the agricultural economy.¹⁰ Fairchild adopted the quest for economically useful plants as his life's work, but also developed an avid interest in ornamental plants that could beautify home gardens and the American landscape.

Upon returning to the United States, Fairchild made his way back to Washington, D.C., and won support at the Department of Agriculture for a new “Section of Foreign Seed and Plant Introduction.” The idea dovetailed with the funding, ten years earlier, of a federal agriculture experiment station in each state. Fairchild began his second career at the USDA. After a brief interlude, Barbour Lathrop again stormed into Fairchild's life, convincing him that the plant introduction office could succeed only if Fairchild developed a reliable international network of personal contacts. Lathrop offered to pay all expenses to provide a “reconnaissance of the world.” A reluctant

Secretary of Agriculture released Fairchild from departmental office duties and reassigned him as the department's "Agricultural Explorer."¹¹

Fairchild immediately began sending foreign plant cuttings and seeds back to Washington, D.C., including *Tipuana tipu* from the Botanic Gardens of Buenos Aires, a tree Sessions later popularized in San Diego. Fairchild and Lathrop traveled the world for the next five years, visiting botanical gardens and meeting plant scientists.¹² Fairchild eventually became a link between Sessions and some of these international contacts.

After the odyssey ended and Fairchild had returned to work in Washington, D. C., he met Alexander Graham Bell and his younger daughter, Marian Hubbard Bell (1880-1962). David Fairchild married Marian Bell in 1905 and took his place in the remarkable Bell family. Marian Bell became a partner in Fairchild's botanical expeditions and she took up photography. They co-authored a book in 1914 and eventually retired to Florida.¹³

SESSIONS AND FAIRCHILD CROSS PATHS

Exactly when and how Sessions and Fairchild first came into contact is still unknown. One intriguing but purely speculative possibility is that they met at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. Fairchild tells of being assigned to staff the Department of Agriculture exhibit for three months and meeting many visitors. Kate Sessions traveled to Chicago for the exposition where she presumably visited the grand Palace of Agriculture, as well as the extensive displays in the horticulture building.¹⁴

It is also possible that they gradually become aware of each other through mutual acquaintances. They both had a number of contacts in the relatively small circle of plant scientists and professional growers of their time. Kate Sessions conducted a busy wholesale trade and enjoyed a personal friendship with horticulturist Emanuele O. Franceschi (also known as Francesco Franceschi) of Santa Barbara. She sometimes stopped in Santa Barbara to see him when returning from visits to San Francisco on the coastal steamer. Fairchild also visited Franceschi at his nursery. The Santa Barbara nursery owner and plant importer knew both Sessions and Fairchild well before 1900.¹⁵ Among others with whom both corresponded were Luther Burbank, Charles S. Sargent of Harvard's Arnold Arboretum, Liberty Hyde Bailey of Cornell University, and various heads of botanical gardens around the world.

It is very likely that Kate Sessions initiated a correspondence while Fairchild headed the office charged with importing foreign seeds and plants at the Department of Agriculture. Sessions was always seeking new plants to try in San Diego and acquired many from the USDA.¹⁶ She surely welcomed the monthly publication Fairchild started in 1908. It described new plant species brought to the United States during the prior month. "Just write in for samples of the plants," the publication invited, with a first month choice of imports from Ceylon, Egypt, Formosa, India, Russia, Spain, Sudan, the Transvaal, Tripoli and Baghdad. About 1911, Fairchild's office began to compile and send out "to all experimenters" an annual list of plants available for distribution from the USDA.¹⁷

The USDA distributed seeds and cuttings from new species to growers in various geographic locales and depended on them to nurture the plants, monitor their growth, take the new introductions into a second generation, and adhere to a scientific method of recording and reporting results. Kate Sessions was one of the active experimenters

and she took seriously her part of the bargain by writing full reports on the fate of the plants tried in San Diego, either by her personally or by the farmers she convinced to plant USDA-supplied seeds. Sessions in turn benefited because she could propagate and sell through her nursery any of the free plants she received.

David Fairchild and his government department used volunteers because the USDA did not otherwise have the means to test and learn about the many foreign plants being brought to the United States. The work of volunteer test growers was an important supplement to that of the limited number of federal agriculture experiment stations. Sessions gained Fairchild's confidence as a reliable horticulturist who enthusiastically accepted new plants for testing in Southern California. He particularly prized her proficiency in establishing new plants from seeds and cuttings. Along the way, she further rewarded Fairchild by introducing him to new species acquired from her many other sources.¹⁸

Exactly when and how Sessions and Fairchild encountered each other may never be known, but letters in the Fairchild Archive document a correspondence that began no later than 1922 and continued into 1939. This same correspondence and Fairchild's travel records provide evidence of just one personal meeting between the two.

THE 1919 SAN DIEGO VISIT

The MacPhail biography of Sessions mentions a comment made by David Fairchild when he toured Kate Sessions' home garden in San Diego. MacPhail relied on a second-hand account and provides no information about when or why David Fairchild was in San Diego. Information in the Fairchild Archive provides details about the date and circumstances of this visit, the only documented personal meeting between Sessions and Fairchild. The occasion was a USDA business trip David and Marian Fairchild made to the American West in 1919. While in San Diego, they spent most of two days in the company of Kate Sessions.¹⁹

David Fairchild made several extended trips around the country for the Department of Agriculture, visiting federal agricultural stations and surveying newly established commercial crops. He talked to farmers growing new strains of wheat, soybeans, citrus, and other varieties brought into the country by his plant importation office. He also used these outings to meet the many nursery owners and other volunteers who tested shrubs and trees distributed by the USDA. These regional canvases helped Fairchild expand and solidify his extensive domestic network of horticultural contacts. It was quite natural that while in San Diego he would visit Kate Sessions, one of his valued Southern California contacts.

While traveling, Fairchild recorded his observations in one of the small red notebooks he habitually carried. Hundreds of these notebooks are arranged by date at the Fairchild Archive.²⁰ He scribbled quick observations, horticultural notes, personal business, and names and addresses of almost everyone he met. Fairchild later used these notebooks to write up full reports of his field trips. His notebooks yield candid comments on the San Diego region in 1919 from the perspective of an international traveler. Driving from Los Angeles to San Diego by automobile, Fairchild was unimpressed with Encinitas, noting that it was a "little poor village."²¹ He stopped at the Scripps Institute at La Jolla which had "a charming quiet about the place" and reminded him of the Naples Zoological Station where he had worked. "The Biological Station could be made the center of a great scientific development," Fairchild predicted, "but I was rather impressed by its isolation more than anything else."²²

Upon arrival at the U.S. Grant Hotel, the Fairchilds were welcomed by a basket of Belladonna lilies and heather sent by Kate Sessions. Fairchild was pleased by a flower arrangement that he had never seen before. They crossed the bay. To Fairchild's eye, the ornamental plants in the patio of the Hotel del Coronado did not compare favorably with those growing in Miami. Fairchild ascribed their "lack of luxuriance" to the cooler, drier climate of San Diego.²³

On Sunday, October 12, Marian and David Fairchild visited Miss Sessions at her Mission Hills home, observing various plants in her garden. Later he visited the Sessions Nursery. He described several plants at the nursery in his official report, linking some with the specific seed and plant introduction number from the Department of Agriculture and the date and place where the plant had originally been collected. Sessions' nursery stock included plants from Australia, Brazil, and Peru, among many others. Fairchild noticed that Sessions had *Aloe ciliata* in domestic production, noting that it was routinely shipped as a cut flower to the United States from France.²⁴

The next day Sessions accompanied the Fairchilds to visit the Chula Vista agricultural experiment station and a number of orchards and gardens in the San Diego region. Plants introduced by the USDA from Egypt, Peru, Hawaii, New Zealand, China, Australia, and Panama were observed.²⁵ They visited the home of William H. Sallmon – the most "perfect piece of Aztec architecture" Fairchild had seen. The agriculture department would have been interested in Sallmon's orchard because it was the oldest and largest stand of avocado trees in the Chula Vista area and was planted with ten different varieties of the tree.²⁶

Driving back to San Diego, they visited the "beautiful arboretum near the exposition grounds" (today's Balboa Park) and noted various plantings. Fairchild was gratified to see the USDA-introduced Brazilian pepper tree (*Schinus terebinthifolius*) being used as a street tree. He noted Sessions' grouped stands of palm trees in the park, predicting that when grown up they "will be a wonderful sight."²⁷ Twenty years after the Fairchild visit, she was able to report to him on "the fine stand" of over 200 of palms.²⁸

Late in the day the party visited several private gardens with bamboos and other plants Kate Sessions had introduced to San Diego. Fairchild wrote, "I was charmed by the variety of plants grown privately here and feel that these amateurs are going to do a great work of selection and adaptation."²⁹ One of the garden hosts was Alfred D. Robinson, a founder of the San Diego Floral Association, first editor of *California Garden*, and an influential promoter of the garden lath house. Independently wealthy, he was a dedicated gardener and active in civic efforts that promised improvements in San Diego life.³⁰

Robinson's mansion, "Rosecroft," sat amid ten acres of former barley fields on the east side of the largely undeveloped Point Loma peninsula. Robinson grew all kinds of flowers, but is considered to be without peer as an early propagator of begonias.³¹ Agricultural experts of the day—including David Fairchild—backed up this assessment, judging Rosecroft Gardens as having "the finest begonias to be grown anywhere in the world." In Fairchild's report on his San Diego trip, he called Robinson's hanging baskets of begonias "the loveliest things I ever saw."³² Robinson's lath house also was home to other flowers and a lavish fernery.

Mrs. Fairchild was sufficiently impressed to haul out the oversized camera equipment of the day to photograph Kate Sessions standing in the Robinson lath house. The picture captures Robinson's luxuriant botanical creation and portrays a

62-year old Sessions, looking handsome and scrupulously turned out for her East Coast visitors. She holds a showy new dahlia plant. Almost twenty years later, Kate Sessions still claimed this picture as “the best one I ever had taken,” saying that she was not very photogenic.³³ Her appearance in this photograph contrasts startlingly with her biographer’s description of the workaday Sessions with the sun-damaged face who “had lost all interest in her clothes and appearance” as she neared age 60.³⁴

As the Fairchilds continued their journey across Southern California, Dr. Fairchild was decidedly unimpressed by the terrain between San Diego and the Imperial Valley. They drove “over the El Cajon Road to La Mesa, through large olive orchards and new peach orchards to Jamul where the Hygea Springs are.” The travelers were “thrilled” to be so close to the imagined dangers of Mexico, wracked by years of revolution and civil war, but Fairchild found east San Diego County to be a “God-forsaken place...words fail to describe the barrenness of the piles of...boulders.” The Imperial Valley, however, drew high praise as a great achievement of the pioneering American spirit. The “view of the human made oasis as it bursts into view . . . is inspiring,” Fairchild wrote.³⁵ While noting that some Department of Agriculture officials were reluctant to invest federal funds in the Imperial Valley, Fairchild was glad that the USDA had furnished plants to the settlers.



Kate Sessions at Alfred D. Robinson’s Rosecroft lath house in Point Loma, 1919. Photograph by Marion Fairchild. Courtesy of the Fairchild Tropical Botanic Garden Archive.

COLLEAGUE AND PARAGON

Fairchild’s 1919 visit to Southern California permanently sealed his professional relationship with Kate Sessions. They maintained a correspondence through two decades. After the visit, Sessions wrote him long letters recalling their time together in San Diego. In the summer of 1922, Kate Sessions wrote a letter to Marian Fairchild in which she mentioned that the Fairchild’s visit over two years ago “has been such a delightful memory for me.”³⁶ She valued the strengthened tie of friendship and she



Kate Sessions by cactus, 1935. ©SDHS, Union-Tribune Collection.

valued her personal relationship with an important government official. She was willing to call in the occasional favor, such as asking Fairchild to smooth the way past import regulations and any delays when she sent plants back into the United States from her European trip in 1925.³⁷

Sessions and Fairchild were abroad at the same time. He cabled an invitation for her to join the group he had assembled for plant exploration in Morocco's Atlas Mountains. His telegram was delayed in its delivery. When it finally caught up with her in Paris she was unable to alter her travel plans. Disappointed at missing the plant expedition, she was nevertheless pleased by the invitation, writing, "I couldn't help feeling very much excited over the telegram it was like a big Xmas surprise."³⁸

Two years later, she recalled the invitation to Morocco and thanked him for his "contributions from that far away land" that were now growing in her garden. "I do hope you will be coming this way so I may show you my treasures." Fairchild planned a return to San Diego in 1928 and Sessions wrote, "I will be at home and so pleased to see you," but when the trip was unexpectedly cancelled, she regretted his change in plans as "sad news." She reported that her garden had been specially prepared for his arrival and that she "had some real big and serious questions collected" for him.³⁹ After this missed opportunity, they never again met in person.

Although Sessions had working relationships with several outstanding professionals in her field and was visited in San Diego by many other famous botanists and plant experts, Fairchild emerges as the scientist who most strongly inspired her determination to learn more and accomplish more as a horticulturist. His attainments set a benchmark for her. She understood the value of his international education and travels, his role at the center of plant introduction for the Department of Agriculture, and his first-hand knowledge of horticultural developments across the United States. "How much more Mr. Fairchild must realize in plant work and possibilities with his wide and long experience," she wrote in admiration to Marian Fairchild.⁴⁰

There is no evidence that David Fairchild consciously placed expectations upon Sessions. The facts point strongly in the other direction: Fairchild was generous in acknowledging the attainments of others. Sessions clearly impressed him with her enthusiasm and knowledge. He called attention to her success with imported plants in one of his books, mentioning her by name.⁴¹ His regard for her was sufficiently high to maintain their correspondence and plant-trading long after he had left government service and had no official reason to keep up with the horticultural fortunes of Southern California.

The link with Sessions was reinforced by Fairchild's attraction to the growing conditions in San Diego. He understood that it was an ideal testing ground for his particular favorites in the plant kingdom: tropical and semitropical species. He tangentially enlisted Sessions in his long-term campaign to enrich the American diet by promoting new foods he had discovered in his travels, some of his favorites being bamboo shoots, papayas, mangoes, avocados, and carissa (Natal plums). Sessions never shared his enthusiasm for reshaping national eating habits, but she gamely tried growing some of the new introductions, reporting at one point, "I too am in the Papaya game!"⁴²

Sessions' letters to David Fairchild reveal an aspect of her personality not previously captured in published accounts of her life and work. She is always described as modest, but also as confident, strong-minded, outspoken, and sometimes domineering and rough in her language and treatment of others. Her letters to Fairchild are patiently descriptive, gracious, and exhibit a deference that few others in her life won. These letters earnestly report her work and often seek his advice. David Fairchild was someone from whom she thought she could learn, but also someone whose respect and approbation were extremely important to her.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FAIRCHILD VISIT

It is not surprising that David Fairchild and Kate Sessions encountered each other professionally. The *unexpected* aspect of their relationship is that colleagues of different genders solidified such a mutually respectful and professionally rewarding alliance during the Edwardian age. Fairchild's trip to San Diego was the key to this important result. Prior to their 1919 meeting, Sessions was one of scores of private growers who dealt with Fairchild's office at the USDA. Without a personal meeting their relationship is unlikely to have gained its warmth and stamina and Fairchild, although he knew and admired her work, might not have invested so heavily in a long-term association.

The San Diego visit acquainted Fairchild with facts about Sessions that could not help but elevate his professional regard. Sessions was one of the few American women with a college degree in science and she consistently deepened her knowledge of plant science with an academic approach of study and field research. She may have been the only woman owner and operator of a nursery business Fairchild ever met. During his visit, he found that she knew everyone of horticultural significance in her region. By observing the natural and introduced landscape of San Diego with a trained eye, he could fully appreciate the contribution Sessions was making toward transforming a desert with appropriate exotic additions. He took particular



Back side of Meyer Medal. Courtesy of the San Diego Historical Society.

note of the *Brahea brandegeei* palm grove Sessions had planted in Balboa Park. He would have learned that Sessions was part of a plant hunting expedition led by noted botanist Townshend Stith Brandegee to Baja California where this botanically unclassified palm was located. Sessions introduced this plant to the United States by propagated hundreds of the palms from seeds she gathered on that trip.⁴³

His broad experience of the world allowed Fairchild to objectively assess Sessions during their two days of conversation and touring together in the San Diego region. His subsequent actions demonstrate that he judged her to be a talented horticulturist who had contributed to the science. David Fairchild exhibited his high regard by playing an instrumental role in securing the Meyer Medal for Kate Sessions.⁴⁴

Fairchild headed the office of plant introduction when the explorer Frank N. Meyer died during his fourth plant collecting trip to China. Meyer left a gift to his USDA office mates in his will. Fairchild and the others used the bequest to create the Meyer Medal for “meritorious work in the field of plant introduction.” As a government office, they had to turn the award over to a private group, but those in the USDA retained the responsibility of recommending deserving recipients. Fairchild suggested names over the years to the selection committee. He had been close to Meyer and took a genuine interest in this remembrance of his friend.⁴⁵

Fairchild knew hundreds of horticulturists residing in all parts of the world, but Kate Sessions was the person he nominated for a Meyer Medal in 1939. The formal presentation was made at the Pasadena Flower Show with the following remarks by Dr. Knowles A. Ryerson, Dean of the College of Agriculture, University of California.

[I]t is a pleasure to pay tribute to one of our outstanding citizens – not of California...nor of the United States, but one whose plant work is known the world over: Miss Kate Sessions’ name is known not only all over America, but all over the world and in some places better known than in the United States... The plant explorer has the fun of [finding new plant species], but whether they last or are developed, depends on another group and it is to honor one of these that we are here today. Many [plants are imported] and few of them last. Miss Kate Sessions is one of the outstanding persons who has introduced plants, interested other people in them—all of which takes dogged determination, and requires much more perseverance than the explorer...She... kept in constant contact with the leading Botanical Gardens in Europe. She introduced the [palm trees] *Erythea brandegeei* [*Brahea brandegeei*]...and *Kentia fosteriana* [*Howea forsteriana*]. She is also responsible for calling the public’s attention to the very splendid *Ceanothus cyaneus* ...and the beautiful *Fremontia mexicana* [*Fremontodenron mexicana*]. She is the first person to encourage the use of poinsettias as a cut flower at Christmas. She is also responsible for the first development of Balboa Park in San Diego and its splendid collection of agaves, aloes, and mesembryanthemum It has been her life work to stimulate other people in the production and preservation of plants...⁴⁶

Kate Sessions was surprised and humbled by the Meyer Medal. After receiving the award, she learned that Fairchild quietly had elicited some information from other California horticulturists in advance of nominating her. In a letter thanking Fairchild for putting forward her name, she called the award “astonishing news,” admitting that she had been so overcome that she could not tell anyone about it for several days. She

wrote of being very happy in her work, but not worthy of such recognition. "I can't help the feeling that I am not deserving of so great an honor...and I believe that you are mainly responsible for this selection...you have been too generous...That I have been able to interest the general public in the care and love of the new plants I have raised from seed...I will admit to be a fact...[but] I never could have thought of any such reward as this for my work."⁴⁷

Although approaching her 82nd year and now among the small group holding a Meyer Medal, there was no resting on her laurels with Fairchild. Sessions once again recalled his visit to San Diego in 1919, thanked him for his faith in her work, and made a last pledge to her iconic confederate: "I do hope this great honor...will spur me to do better work in the future for horticulture."⁴⁸

Through the richness of the landscape now flourishing on its desert land, San Diego continues to benefit from the productive professional collaboration of David Fairchild, plant explorer and importer, and Kate Sessions, who overcame every artificial barrier erected against women in horticulture to make a lasting contribution to her community and rise to the top of her profession.

NOTES



1. The author thanks the University of San Diego for financial support from the Interdisciplinary Travel Fund to conduct research for this paper at the Fairchild Tropical Botanic Garden and the National Archives. The generous assistance of Librarian and Archivist Nancy Korber of the Fairchild Tropical Botanic Garden is gratefully acknowledged.
2. Dr. Louis Charles Trabut was a medical doctor, botanist, and professor in the medical college at the University of Algiers. Henry Nicholas Ridley was the first scientific director of the Singapore Botanic Gardens. He introduced the rubber tree as an economic crop in the Malay Peninsula. Palemon Howard Dorsett was a USDA plant scientist who traveled in Asia for almost a decade collecting soybean species. Later collecting trips took him to Brazil and the West Indies. Barbour Lathrop and Allison V. Armour were financially independent amateurs who financed and joined plant exploration trips around the world. Dr. Erna Bennett, plant geneticist with the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, was awarded the Meyer Medal in 1971.
3. The materials are in the David Fairchild papers at the Fairchild Tropical Botanic Garden Archive, Miami, Florida (hereafter cited as Fairchild Archive). There are 14 long letters from Sessions in the Fairchild Archive. The first letter is dated July 17, 1922; the last April 10, 1939. Letters in the Fairchild Archive reveal the correspondents' shared passion for beautiful trees, shrubs, and flowers. They introduced new plants to each other with detailed descriptions. Sessions discusses the San Diego visits of plant scientists from around the country, reports in a general way on horticulture developments in San Diego, and seeks Fairchild's advice on her proposed civic projects.
4. Ann B. Shteir, *Cultivating Women; Cultivating Science: Flora's Daughters and Botany in England, 1760-1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 145, 175. For more information on the transformation of botany from a hobby into a science that excluded women, see Barbara T. Gates, *Kindred Nature: Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 34-65. The impact of the New Botany, emphasizing laboratory work and plant physiology over field work and taxonomy, further distanced professional botanists from amateurs in the 1880s and beyond. Elizabeth B. Keeney, *The Botanizers: Amateur Scientists in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill:

- University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 123-134; "Scientific Societies and Lady Members," in Patricia Phillips, *The Scientific Lady: A Social History of Women's Scientific Interests, 1520-1918* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 193-234.
5. Nina Baym, *American Women of Letters and the Nineteenth-Century Sciences: Styles of Affiliation* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002); Rosalind Rosenberg, "Emily Lovira Gregory," Sample Biography, http://www.columbia.edu/~rr91/3567/sample_biographies/emily_gregory__bio.htm (accessed May 18, 2005); Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982). Sessions' contemporaries included Mary Katharine Layne Curran Brandegee (1844-1920) and Alice Eastwood (1859-1953), both personal friends. Katharine Brandegee's first job was as a school teacher. After being widowed in 1874, she entered medical school in San Francisco, earning an M.D. in 1883. A lack of medical patients and a developing interest in plants led her to the California Academy of Science where she studied botany and became curator of the herbarium. One of the highest placed female plant scientists of her time, she was a leading authority on California plants. Christopher K. Frazier, "The Botanical Brandegees and their Eponyms," *The New Mexico Botanist* 16 (December 2000), 1-3; <http://web.nmsu.edu/~kallred/herbweb/> (accessed July 29, 2005). Brandegee's protegee, Alice Eastwood, also began work as a teacher, but plant science was her passion. Through independent field work and self-education she became a renowned botanist with a long career at the California Academy of Science. Carol Green Wilson, *Alice Eastwood's Wonderland: The Adventures of a Botanist* (San Francisco, California Academy of Sciences, 1955).
 6. One of the best known examples is *Ceanothus cyaneus*, a wild San Diego lilac sent by Kate Sessions to Alice Eastwood at the California Academy of Science for classification, naming, and publication. Sessions developed an impressive network, as illustrated by just a few of her contacts. Sessions corresponded and traded plants with C. S. Sargent of Harvard University's Arnold Arboretum. He published the first horticultural paper in the United States, *Garden and Forest*. Mary B. Coulston helped to edit this paper. She had studied at Cornell University under Liberty Hyde Bailey, a leading plant and agriculture scientist and another of Sessions' professional contacts. Coulston was hired by the San Diego Park Improvement Committee (upon which Sessions served) to promote and publicize the idea of developing the city park. Coulston and Sessions became fast friends, and together widened their contacts to include superintendents of the most prominent public parks in the nation. Michele Lee Martinez, "Kate Olivia Sessions: Plant Scientist" (master's thesis, University of San Diego, 1998), 86-88.
 7. The leading biography of Kate Sessions is Elizabeth C. MacPhail, *Kate Sessions Pioneer Horticulturist* (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1976). Substantial biographical information is also recounted in Michele Lee Martinez, "Kate Olivia Sessions: Plant Scientist" (master's thesis, University of San Diego, 1998), 5-64. Kate Sessions' diary was used by both authors. The San Diego Public Library, the San Diego Museum of Natural History, and the San Diego Historical Society all have Kate O. Sessions collections. Oral histories and interviews relating to Sessions are available at the San Diego Historical Society. More than 200 articles by Sessions were published in *California Garden* magazine. Many anecdotes and remembrances of Sessions by her contemporaries appear in San Diego newspapers and *California Garden*.
 8. David Fairchild's contributions to this government activity are chronicled in Nelson Klose, *America's Crop Heritage: The History of Foreign Plant Introduction by the Federal Government* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1950), 113-124; David Fairchild, *The World Was My Garden: Travels of a Plant Explorer* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), 28-29.
 9. Fairchild, *The World Was My Garden*, 60.

10. Fairchild, *The World Was My Garden*, 64-82.
11. Hatch Act of Mar. 2, 1887, ch. 314, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 24 (1887), 440; Fairchild, *The World Was My Garden*, 117-18.
12. Fairchild, *The World Was My Garden*, 131. This tree was promoted by Sessions into a San Diego favorite. She noted that her original stock came from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (*Tipuana tipu* is a botanical synonym of *Tipuana speciosa*). Kate Sessions, "Tipuana Speciosa and Other Trees," *California Garden* 24 (Aug 1934): 7. See also Barbara Schillreff Jones, ed., *The Complete Writings of Kate Sessions in California Garden 1909-1939* (San Diego: San Diego Floral Association, 1998), 132-33.
13. Fairchild, *The World Was My Garden*, 289. Marian's older sister, Elsie May, was married to Gilbert H. Grosvenor (1875-1966), editor-in-chief of *National Geographic* and president of the National Geographic Society. The brothers-in-law had a presaging interest in photography. Grosvenor popularized *National Geographic* by including numerous photographs in each issue. The Fairchilds captured thousands of images of people and plants over a period of 60 years. They adapted a camera to produce greatly enlarged photographs of insects which they used for illustrations in their published works. See David Fairchild and Marian Fairchild, *Book of Monsters: Portraits and Biographies of a Few of the Inhabitants of Woodland and Meadow* (Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 1914).
14. The Department of Agriculture was assigned to a colonnade connected to the Palace of Agriculture. *Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition . . . May to October 26, 1893 [Hand Book Edition]*, comp. John J. Flinn (Chicago: The Columbian Guide Co., 1893), 49; Hubert Howe Bancroft, "Horticulture and Forestry," in *The Book of the Fair an Historical and Descriptive Presentation . . . the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893* (Chicago: Bancroft Co., 1895), 1:427-65; Fairchild, *The World Was My Garden*, 29-30. Sessions made reference to her Chicago trip when extolling the "wealth of floral beauty" available in California. "Beautifying the Park. Suggestions from Miss Sessions," *San Diego Union*, Sept. 4, 1899.
15. Emanuele Orazio Franceschi was a Santa Barbara nurseryman who shared Kate Sessions' passion for identifying drought-resistant species of tall-growing trees and other plants that could thrive in Southern California. His many plant introductions include the zucchini. Peggy Riccio, "The Mother of Balboa Park," *American Gardener* 77 (January-February, 1998), 48, 50. Franceschi was already importing many plant species to California when Fairchild called upon him in Santa Barbara. Fairchild thought California owed a debt to Franceschi for his untiring interest and effort. Fairchild, *The World Was My Garden*, 117-20.
16. The Kate Sessions papers at the San Diego Museum of Natural History include an official USDA mailing envelope and correspondence with the USDA's Chico station. Sessions frequently mentioned the Department as a source of plants and wrote to David Fairchild near the end of her life that she had acquired "a good many plants" from his office. Sessions to Fairchild, April 10, 1939, Fairchild Archive.
17. *Bulletin of New Plant Immigrants*, 1908-24 (carbon copy typescripts and multigraph pamphlets), Record Group 54, Box 1, Records of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soil, and Agricultural Engineering Division of Plant Exploration and Introduction, National Archives of the United States (hereafter cited Record Group 54, Box 1, National Archives); *Bulletin of New Plant Immigrants*, No. 1 (Aug. 19, 1908): n. p., Record Group 54, Box 1, National Archives. The thirteenth annual list was announced in the *Bulletin of New Plant Immigrants*, No. 218 (Sept. 30, 1924): ii, Record Group 54, Box 1, National Archives.
18. In an undated manuscript, Sessions makes reference to successfully raising some seed "sent to me by Dr. David Fairchild from the Canary Islands." Kate Sessions Papers, San Diego Natural History Museum. Her propagation of palm tree seeds was cited at the Meyer Medal presentation. After retiring to Florida, Fairchild even requested items for his home garden from Sessions, including a particular Australian wild flower. Sessions to Fairchild, August

- 13, 1928, Fairchild Archive.
19. MacPhail, *Kate Sessions*, 109; C. I. Jerabek, "Some Plants In Miss Sessions' Garden," *California Garden* 50 (Autumn, 1959), 15.
 20. This archive also includes Fairchild's voluminous correspondence, thousands of his photographic negatives, his typed reports of trips, and other personal papers. Fairchild Archive.
 21. David Fairchild notebook, Oct. 10, 1919 (Los Angeles) - Oct. 13, 1919 (San Diego), Fairchild Archive (hereafter cited as Fairchild notebook).
 22. David Fairchild, Western Trip 1919, August 21st to November 8, incl., (typescript) 283, Fairchild Archive (hereafter cited as Fairchild, Western Trip).
 23. Fairchild notebook; Fairchild, Western Trip, 283-84.
 24. Fairchild notebook; Fairchild, Western Trip, 293, 291. The address he noted was 1432 Monteceto.
 25. The Chula Vista station, headed by Charles G. Marshall, was part of the U.S. Department of Agriculture Bureau of Plant Industry, under which Fairchild's Section of Foreign Seed and Plant Introduction operated. Before the renumbering of Chula Vista's streets, it was located between 3rd and 4th Avenues. "Chula Vista," *San Diego City and Country Directory, 1919* (San Diego: San Diego Directory Co., 1919), 294, 1043.
 26. Fairchild, Western Trip, 294. The house still stands at 435 First Avenue, Chula Vista. Described as "Pueblo Revival" in style, it was built in 1916 by L.E. Smith for Sallmon who was the first vice president of the San Diego Land and Town Corporation and the Sweetwater Water Company. "No. 38 - William Sallmon House," http://www.cvhistorichomes.org/no_38.htm (accessed October 3, 2005); F. O. Popenoe, "San Diego County Avocado History," *California Avocado Association 1927 Yearbook* 12 (1927?), 41-48, www.avocadosource.com (accessed May 22, 2004).
 27. Fairchild, Western Trip, 295. Sessions had planted 250 small *Brahea brandegeei*, or San Jose Hesper palms, known to Sessions and Fairchild by the earlier name *Erythea brandegeei*. They were grown from seeds she personally collected at San Jose del Cabo in Baja. The grove is north of the bowling lawns in Balboa Park. MacPhail, *Kate Sessions*, 67-68.
 28. Sessions to Fairchild, April 10, 1939, Fairchild Archive.
 29. Fairchild, Western Trip, 295.
 30. *California Garden*, the oldest continuously published horticultural magazine in the United States, has been published by the San Diego Floral Association since 1909. As recently as the year 2000, Robinson's writings on lath houses were still being cited. He was called the "father of modern lathehouses (sic)." Wallace W. Wagner, "Lathhouses for Every Climate," *Begonian* 67 (July/August, 2000): 138. The American Begonia Society today awards the "Alfred D. Robinson Medal" for newly established and registered begonia hybrids developed by its members. Michael Ludwig, "ABS Awards International Houston 2002," *Begonian*, 69 (Sept.-Oct. 2002):171; The American Begonia Society, www.begonias.org/begonian (accessed May 25, 2005).
 31. Robinson's house was an Italian Renaissance showplace designed by architect Emmor Brooke Weaver, best known for his work in the Arts and Crafts style. *San Diego Architects, 1868-1930*, 2d ed., comp. Graduate Students of Public History and Historic Preservation under the direction of Raymond S. Brandes (San Diego: [University of San Diego], 1991), 199. Today, the house and the remaining fraction of the estate lands is rented for social events. See also "Rosecroft, A Historical Landmark," www.rosecroftsandiego.com (accessed May 25, 2005).

WHEN DR. FAIRCHILD VISITED MISS SESSIONS

32. Victoria Padilla, *Southern California Gardens: An Illustrated History*, (Santa Barbara: Allen A. Knoll Pub., 1994), 120; Fairchild, Western Trip, 290.
33. Sessions to Fairchild, April 10, 1939, Fairchild Archive.
34. MacPhail, *Kate Sessions*, 84.
35. MacPhail, *Kate Sessions*, 297.
36. Sessions to Marian Bell Fairchild, July 17, 1922, Fairchild Archive.
37. Sessions to Fairchild, April 4, 1925, Fairchild Archive.
38. Sessions to Fairchild, April 27, 1925, Fairchild Archive.
39. Sessions to Fairchild, April 7, 1927, May 20, 1928, June 7, 1928, Fairchild Archive.
40. Session to Marian Bell Fairchild, July 17, 1922, Fairchild Archive.
41. David Fairchild, *Exploring for Plants* (New York: MacMillan, 1930), 149, 202.
42. Sessions to Fairchild, June 20, 1928, Fairchild Archive.
43. Sessions dated the Baja California trip precisely to October 1900 in a descriptive article about the trip. K. O. Sessions, "The Palm-Erthea Brandegeei," *California Garden* 11, no. 11 (May 1920): 13. Five years later, writing from London, she again stated that she traveled to Baja with the Brandege party in 1900. K. O. Sessions, "A Brief Appreciation of a Noted Botanist," *California Garden* 16, no. 12 (June 1925): 9. In a discussion of a wild Baja morning glory, Sessions again uses 1900 as the date of the Baja palm gathering trip. K. O. Sessions, "Yellow Morning Glory in Lower California," *California Garden* 24, no. 9 (Mar. 1933): 10. However, this date is brought into question by documentation in the Brandege Botanical Collections indicating that the trip may have occurred in 1902. Joseph Ewan, "Bibliographical Miscellany-IV. A Bibliogeographical Guide to the Brandege Botanical Collections," *American Midland Naturalist* 27, no. 3 (May 1942), 772, 778, 780; MacPhail, *Kate Sessions*, 67-68.
44. Sessions acknowledged his role in a long and grateful letter to Fairchild just eleven months before her death. Sessions to Fairchild, April 10, 1939, Fairchild Archive.
45. Fairchild, *The World Was My Garden*, 455-56.
46. "Presentation of the F. N. Meyer Medal to Miss Kate Sessions . . . [typescript of introduction and remarks of Knowles A. Ryerson]," April 1, [1939]. Fairchild Archive.
47. Sessions to Fairchild, April 10, 1939, Fairchild Archive.
48. Sessions to Fairchild, April 10, 1939, Fairchild Archive.

GEORGE WHITE MARSTON: BASEBALL PLAYER¹



By Michael J. Epstein

"I entered Beloit Academy sixty-six years ago and stayed there for four years, studying principally Latin and Greek, of which I now remember only one sentence, 'E pluribus unum.' Nobody has ever heard of me as a scholar or prize student, but I made a little reputation as a right-fielder in the first nine of the Olympian baseball club. I have never done anything since so important and rewarding!"

— George Marston. Excerpt from a letter to Miss June Baker of the Beloit College Alumni Association, January 19, 1931.

George White Marston (1850-1946), a successful businessman and community leader, played an influential role in the history of San Diego, founding the San Diego Historical Society, the Junípero Serra Museum in Presidio Park and the Civic Center, among other institutions. Marston's business and civic career has been well documented in articles by Gregg R. Hennessey and others.² But his lifelong passion for baseball remains largely unexplored. This article examines Marston's early engagement with baseball, his organization of the Bay City Ball Club in San Diego, and his continued interest in "America's favorite pastime."

BELOIT AND THE OLYMPIAN BASE BALL CLUB

George Marston was born in 1850 in the small midwestern town of Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin. This pastoral setting afforded the young boy many opportunities to engage in recreational activities. His daughter Mary Gilman Marston wrote that in his later years, "skating on the river and baseball were the two sports that father remembered."³ In the fall of 1866 Marston entered Beloit Academy, the preparatory school for Beloit College in Wisconsin. He soon became the youngest member of Beloit's famous Olympian Base Ball Club. William A. Cochran pitched for the club and in 1898 he recalled that:

The Olympian Club reached the summit of its fame during the college year ending in June, '67. It had during the years '66 and '67 met all clubs of any note near and far, and had, I believe, come out victor in every contest with an unusual number of tallies in every instance. Its superior playing was noise abroad and as a consequence, whenever a game was to come off, a large crowd was sure to be present, many base ball enthusiasts coming from all the surrounding towns and cities.⁴

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The Beloit Olympians Base Ball Club, one of the best teams in the Midwest, 1867. George Marston stands far right; pitcher William Cochran stands second from left. ©SDHS #10116.

An old photograph of the Olympians, reproduced in Mary Gilman Marston's *Family Chronicle*, shows Marston standing at the far right. His daughter later remarked that, "father's slender frame and youthful face are in amusing contrast with the burly figures and bearded faces of the older players."⁵ In fact, Marston was both younger and less experienced than the other Olympians, some of whom had served in the Civil War. William Cochran, for example, left the Beloit Academy to enlist in the Union Army at the onset of war. Discharged in 1863, he returned to Beloit and graduated with the class of 1867, just one year after Marston entered Beloit.⁶ In the photograph, the players posed in full uniform. Cochran recalls that prior to playing a game against Janesville:

The Olympians had a short time before secured for themselves new suits. White canvas shoes, white zouave pants with red stripe at the side, red flannel shirt with white cuffs and collar, which with belts and skull caps, made quite a stunning suit.⁷

The Olympians took pride in displaying the kind of athletic prowess that characterized their Greek namesakes. They routinely treated opposing teams to "an exhibition of ball throwing, fancy catches, hand springs and various other gymnastic exercises, which made their eyes open with astonishment, and they were practically beaten before the first ball was pitched."⁸ Cochran described a play in which the opposing shortstop was waiting on the third base line to tag an Olympian heading for home, "but when near the short-stop he leaped into the air and landed safely on the

other side and soon had his foot on the home plate. The shortstop was completely dumbfounded.”⁹

Marston had a brief career with the Olympians. His name appears only in two box scores for games played in 1867.¹⁰ On June 8 he played left field for the Olympians in a game they won (49-33) against a club from Whitewater. On June 19 he is listed as playing right field against the Cream City Club. Cochran recalls that one of the most exciting games the Olympians ever played was against this team. Cream City had just placed well in a national tournament and, according to Cochran, they were “boastful and confident of an easy victory.” The Olympians, however, creamed Cream City by a score of 44 to 25. The Olympians hosted a banquet that night for the club from Milwaukee, hoping to cheer them up. The Cream City boys, however, left Beloit in a dejected state, according to Cochran.¹¹

Marston also played in a game for the Beloit Preparatory Team against a local high school in July 1868. He pitched the game and scored six runs, but the Preps were roundly defeated by a score of 79 to 40. The reporter for the *Beloit College Monthly* explained, “we are not base ballists and cannot comment on the game, yet we suppose this to be with all others that we have ever seen noticed — a very close one.”¹² It was not unusual to see such high scoring games in early baseball. The rules of the game required the pitcher to toss the ball underhand in a straight motion. Batters could also request that the pitch be placed where they wanted it and the umpire would not call a strike unless they refused to offer at several good tosses. Cochran describes a typical at bat during this period:

He took his position, club in hand. Game was called. “What kind of ball do you wish?” inquired the umpire. “Give me a hip ball,” was the reply. A fair ball was pitched, but the Olympian let it pass, desiring to take the measure of the pitcher and know what to expect. The umpire called out, “what was the matter with that ball?” “Nothing,” replied the Olympian, “it was a fair ball. Give me another just like it.”¹³

George Marston was proud to play with the Olympians, a talented and highly athletic group of players. Reflecting on his days with the club, he wrote:

My position was a modest one – right field, but I was mighty proud to be anywhere in the Olympian first nine. My recollection of the games played is very slight. Indeed, I don’t think I was a member of the nine for many months. I recall playing with the club in Milwaukee against the Cream City Baseball Club. I also remember a game we had with the Rockford Club, Forest City I believe was the name. Al Spalding gave us our first taste of fast curve ball. It was impossible for us to hit it and the score was something like 70 to 7 in favor of the Forest City Club.¹⁴

SPALDING AND THE FOREST CITY BASE BALL CLUB

At Beloit, Marston first encountered Albert G. Spalding (1850-1915), an outstanding young pitcher who would go on to be a baseball team owner, a founder of the National League, and the owner of a highly successful and influential sporting goods company. In the late 1860s, Spalding was a pitcher for the Forest City Base Ball Club of Rockford, Illinois, one of the best teams in the country.¹⁵ The Forest Citys joined the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players in 1871 but they had already crossed the line of amateurism by the time they played the Olympians.¹⁶ Players of great skill were given “jobs” and other inducements in return for their



The Rockford Forest City Base Ball Club, 1866. The Forest Citys featured the young pitching sensation Albert G. Spalding (seated, left) as well as future professionals such as Ross Barnes (standing, third from left) and Bob Addy (standing, second from left). Courtesy of the A. G. Spalding Commission, Byron Public Library.

participation. The team even arranged for Spalding to be excused from his high school classes on his pitching days.¹⁷ While the Olympians were representative of baseball's original social fraternity of recreational players, the Forest Citys represented the nascent movement in baseball toward professionalism and commercialization.

The Olympians played the Forest Citys and lost, according an article published in the Beloit College yearbook in 1899. The author, C. B. Salmon, Class of 1870, wrote:

Pitcher Cockran [sic], now of the Deaf Institute, Delevan, was the leading underhand pitcher of the Northwest until Al Spaulding [sic] of the Forest Cities, of Rockford, appeared...The Forest Cities, of Rockford, with such players as the Spaulding [sic] brothers, Barnes and Addie [sic], who afterwards gained a national reputation, finally beat the Olympians.¹⁸

Marston and Spalding met again, not on the baseball diamond, but in San Diego. Spalding moved to San Diego in 1900, having retired from baseball and his sporting goods empire. He spent the rest of his life on an estate he built in Point Loma. He participated in Katherine Tingley's theosophical community and involved himself in civic programs and land development.¹⁹ In 1907, he joined George Marston and others to purchase the land that would later become Presidio Park. He also ran an unsuccessful race for the U.S. Senate in 1910. In a 1913 letter to Spalding, Marston recalled their earlier meeting on the baseball diamond while explaining his lack of support for Spalding's run for the U. S. Senate:

My 'reported' opposition to Mr. Spalding will probably give some amusement to Mr. Spalding himself. He will doubtless remember that my principle opposition to him was in a baseball game in 1868 at Beloit, Wisconsin. As his team beat mine by the comfortable score of twenty odd runs to seven (we couldn't hit the new Spalding twisters) that opposition didn't amount to much.²⁰



The Rockford Forest City Base Ball Club, 1869. In 1871, the Forest Citys joined the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players as one of the original nine league teams. Albert G. Spalding stands third from the right. Courtesy of the A. G. Spalding Commission, Byron Public Library.

EARLY BASEBALL IN SAN DIEGO

Marston graduated from Beloit Academy in 1868. He studied for one year at the University of Michigan before moving to California in 1870. His father, George Phillips Marston, believed the gentle climate would improve his asthma and other respiratory conditions. The two men came west together, visiting San Francisco before heading to San Diego in October 1870. About a month before their arrival, an interesting notice appeared in the *San Diego Union*:

A gentleman asks whether there is such an institution as a base ball club in San Diego. He thinks there are active young men enough here to put the thing through. We haven't any club here now, but as he says, there are men enough, and there is plenty of room.²¹

In the early 1870s, a significant number of middle-class merchants, clerks, tradesman, and professionals lived and worked in San Diego, making it possible for the region to develop small teams.²² The city had 2,301 inhabitants and real estate holdings valued at \$2,282,800, according to the 1870 Census of San Diego County.²³ Alonzo Horton had begun to promote New Town, gold was discovered in Julian, and San Diegans expected a railway line. Baseball clubs formed in the rival communities of Old Town and New Town, playing matches in May and June 1871. The first recorded baseball game played in San Diego took place on Saturday, May 6, 1871. The *San Diego Union* reported:

Base Ball. — Our notice the other day seems to have brought out quite a number of lovers of the game. Yesterday two full "nines" assembled on the Plaza and played a game of seven innings. We stopped awhile to look on, and feel convinced that there is material in San Diego for the formation of a club that in a short time would compete creditably with the best clubs in California.²⁴

PROFILE OF A PLAYER

While early baseball players came from a wide variety of occupational and social classes, it seems that clerks, merchants, skilled craftsmen, and white-collar professionals were most prominent inasmuch as their schedules afforded them more opportunity for play. Marston's occupational and social profile in San Diego reveals how well he fit the mold of the early adult players. Shortly after his arrival in 1870, Marston started his career in San Diego as a clerk at Alonzo Horton's new hotel. He then clerked for storeowner Joseph Nash and would later become a merchant himself when he and partner Charles Hamilton bought the business from Nash. In a 1942 interview Marston recalled that after clerking at Horton's hotel, "I went into business with a small store. My only clerk was a 16-year-old boy. When I went out to play baseball, he ran the store alone."²⁵ Given this occupational profile and his earlier baseball experience at Beloit, it comes as no surprise that Marston was one of the early baseball players in San Diego.

Marston also joined a volunteer fire company around this time and would later serve as Fire Commissioner. This too fits the pattern of many early baseball players as baseball clubs both socially and structurally bore a close resemblance to the volunteer fire companies of the time.²⁶ In fact, Marston shared many similarities with one of the founders of the modern game of baseball, Alexander J. Cartwright, Jr. Both men began their early careers as clerks, were members of volunteer fire companies, helped found free reading rooms, and later served on library boards and as heads of fire departments. Both men journeyed west (Cartwright ultimately to Hawaii), became successful businessmen, made significant civic contributions to their communities and maintained a lifelong interest in baseball.²⁷

Marston undoubtedly played in many informal games after working hours but he first began playing organized baseball in San Diego in 1874. His name appears in the box score of a match game played by the Coronadas, formerly New Town's "Lone Star" club, and a team from Point Loma in July, 1874. Marston scored three runs and the Coronadas won the contest by a score of 35 to 27.²⁸ Two other games were played later that year, including a Thanksgiving Day match in which the Bon Tons bested the Dolly Vardens (37-22) and a Christmas Day game in which the Eckfords defeated the Pacifics.²⁹ However, these would be the last organized baseball games in San Diego for four years. It was not until 1878 that formal, organized baseball clubs reappeared in San Diego, thanks largely to Marston's efforts.



George W. Marston, 1878 (wedding portrait). In 1878, George Marston started his own dry goods business, married Anna Lee Gunn, and founded the Bay City Base Ball Club. ©SDHS #86:15916.



Albert G. Spalding's house in Lomaland, Point Loma. Spalding's association with the Point Loma Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society may have led him to champion Theosophist Abner Doubleday as the inventor of baseball. ©SDHS #80:8016.

THE BAY CITY BASE BALL CLUB

In 1878, Marston helped to revive baseball in San Diego by organizing a team, the "Olympians." He was twenty-eight years old, newly married, and the owner of a dry goods, carpeting, sewing machine and men's furnishings store at Fifth and F Streets. On August 25, the *San Diego Union* reported that, "in a match game of base ball played in this city yesterday between the 'Nationals' and 'Olympians' the latter won the game by one point."³⁰ The two teams would play another match on August 31 with the Nationals coming out with the win this time by a score of 29 to 14.

Later that year, Marston combined players from the Olympians and the Nationals into a new team, the Bay City Base Ball Club. Marston, the club's president, placed an order for uniforms with a firm in San Francisco. Bay City soon accepted a challenge to play the "Ready Muffers," who soon became the Resolutes.³¹ This challenge actually preceded the official organization of Bay City and had originally been addressed to the newly emerging "nine" of the Nationals and Olympians:

Fred L. Hubon, Captain of "Picked Nine," San Diego Baseball Aspirants,
Sir: Being desirous of affording a wider scope for the recognized abilities of the Baseball Club whose actions you have the honor to direct, I have at the enormous cost of one hundred and ninety cents for "Ball and Bat", succeeded in getting up a club whose desire to amuse you, is equaled only by my own, and who will meet you next Saturday, Sept 8th, at one P. M., for the further discussion of the subject and ownership of the best "Ball and Bat" that is or may be in existence in San Diego city or county. Very Respectfully. S.E. Patton, on behalf of the "Ready Muffer" Baseball Club of San Diego."³²

The Resolutes defeated Marston's Bay City Club in their first match game by a score of 49 to 14. It seems, however, that some members of Bay City refused to accept that they had lost a "match game" to the Resolutes. This drew a response from the Resolutes that was printed in the *San Diego Union* of October 1:

Editor Union: With your kind permission we desire to correct through the medium of your paper an erroneous impression conveyed to the minds of the people by an article written by one of the members of the "Bay City Base Ball Club," for that purpose. First, the game played last Saturday was pursuant to a challenge given and accepted through your paper by the captains of the respective clubs, which was neither withdrawn or abrogated by them. Second, the game was commenced by seven regular members of the B.C.B.B.C., and two substitutes, who played through the entire game, with the exception of Mr. Marston, he withdrawing during the third inning owing to an injury received while playing. We feel confident that the majority of the Bay Citys were not accessory to the thin subterfuge, and that opinion is believed to be co-incident with all who are acquainted with its gentlemanly members...

The dispute between the Resolutes and Bay City centered on what Warren Goldstein has described as early baseball's rites of play:

Players and the press distinguished between "practice games," "friendly games," and "social games," on the one hand, and more competitive "matches" or "match games," on the other. In order to arrange a match, a club first issued a written challenge to the club it wished to play; the challenged club then decided whether to accept the challenge.³³

Although Bay City had formally accepted a challenge to play a match game, they argued that they had been too debilitated at game time to play a match. In a testy letter to the editor of the *Union*, they wrote:

Editor Union: The communication published by the Great Mogul of the "Resolutes" *certainly does* convey an erroneous impression. As stated, a challenge was given and accepted, but owing to the absence of our Captain and First Baseman, and the disabled condition of three of our members, we found it *impossible* to play a match game, and we think it was so understood by all concerned. But not wishing to disappoint the "Resolutes" and a generous public, we decided to have a friendly contest, and willingly admit our defeat, – as a "picked nine," but *not* as the Bay City Base Ball Club...NINE DEFEATED BASE BALLISTS.³⁴

At the time, the baseball playing fraternity probably would have sided with the Resolutes against Bay City. Marston's team should have either postponed the match or accepted defeat once going forward with the game. In any case, the two clubs soon played again. Although Bay City was once again defeated by the Resolutes, the team came much closer than they had in their previous disputed contest (22 –19). The two clubs would play five more games in 1878 with Bay City taking three out of the last five.³⁵

In November of 1878 San Diego hosted the first-ever contest with a team from Los Angeles. Although Marston did not play in this series of games, members of his Bay City Club joined with players from the Resolutes to meet the challenge.³⁶ Marston's next appearance in a box score occurs in July 1880 as a member of the San Diego Base Ball Club. With Marston in center field, the San Diego's defeated a local service team known as the Braytons by a score of 16 to 5.³⁷

Marston stopped participating in organized matches around 1882, although he probably continued to play in "friendly" games. In that year, the *San Diego Union*



Portrait of George W. Marston for his mayoral campaign, 1913. ©SDHS #16524-1.

announced that Marston had been elected Business Manager of the San Diego Base Ball Club.³⁸ He was 32 years old at the time and we can surmise that as younger players came to the fore, he naturally chose to retire from playing match games. Injury, however, may also have been a factor in ending Marston's playing days. Mary Gilman Marston wrote:

Arthur has stressed the long hours and the lack of vacations in father's early years, but he has forgotten to mention "time off" for baseball. We both remember a pair of crutches in the cupboard beside the front door of our house at Third and Ash streets. They were testimony to the days when father would leave the store to Waldo Chase, his one clerk, while he played baseball in the nearby "Lockling Block," until in so doing he broke a leg, which put an end to his baseball career.³⁹

Marston never lost his love for the game of baseball. While visiting New York City in 1893, he wrote a letter to his young son Arthur that tells us much both about his enthusiasm for the game and his philosophy of life:

New York, Aug. 8, 1893

My Dear Boy Arthur

Wouldn't you like to know about the great match games between the Boston & Brooklyn Base Ball Clubs? Mr. Mathison, Mr. Rowell and I went to see them Saturday and such baseball playing your old father never saw in all his days. Those boys can throw balls almost as straight as a rifle shot. I have never seen the new kind of pitching by good players before. Some of the pitchers twist themselves around as if they were going to have a fit and then away goes the ball toward the catcher. The umpire was very strict & called "balls" & strikes right along. The "Bostons" are heavy batters & played better all around than the "Brooklyns." They beat the Brooklyn Club in two games running. Do you boys know the trick of just giving the ball a little "bunt" instead of hitting it hard? The batters sometimes did this when a man was on first base. By letting the ball simply hit the bat & falling down near the base the man on first can easily get to second & the batter has a chance of even getting to first base. But you see, Arthur, he almost gives up his own run to enable the other player to get one base nearer to home. Everything is worked to get a run for the club and not for a single man's advantage. And that's the generous way of doing...⁴⁰

Marston's generosity towards the people of San Diego is legendary and included support for local baseball and other recreational sports. In 1935, well-known San Diego baseball promoter Jack Dodge recalled that "the local team played about every Saturday. Mr. Marston used to contribute a great deal to the games, but he insisted that we must not play on Sunday. We couldn't take his money for those Sunday games."⁴¹

Marston's opposition to Sunday baseball is not surprising. A deeply religious man,

he believed that baseball and other sports contributed to players' physical and spiritual well-being. Like many nineteenth-century social reformers, he was influenced by the social movement known as "muscular Christianity."⁴² Muscular Christians believed that participation in sports helped to build not only a healthy individual, but also a strong moral character. The Young Men's Christian Associations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provided an organizational home for the principles of muscular Christianity. Marston was a founder (1882) and long time president of the San Diego Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA).

George Marston's grandson, Hamilton, wrote these lines to honor his grandfather on his seventieth birthday:

"You are old," said the boy, "as I mentioned before,
and are growing becomingly fat,
Yet you juggle the balls to the number of four,
Pray how do you ever do that?"
"In my youth," said the sage, as he shook his grey locks,
I kept all my limbs very supple
By playing baseball, to the wonder of all,
And making home runs by the couple."⁴³

NOTES



1. I owe a great debt to Beloit College Library Archives Assistant Mary Hegel. Ms. Hegel searched the Beloit archives for information on Marston and the Olympians and was kind enough to email me the relevant information. I'd also like to thank Beloit College Archivist Fred Burwelf for all his assistance. Special thanks also to Penny O'Rourke and Jeannine Hedges of Byron Public Library for providing access to photos of Spalding and the Rockford Forest Citys team.
2. Gregg R. Hennessey, "George White & Anna Gunn Marston: A Sketch," *The Journal of San Diego History (JSDH)* 36, nos. 2 and 3 (Spring/Summer 1990): 96-105; Hennessey, "Creating a Monument, Re-Creating History: Junipero Serra Museum and Presidio Park," *JSDH* 45, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 136-165; Hennessey, "George White Marston and Conservative Reform in San Diego," *JSDH* 32, no. 4 (Fall 1986), 230-53; "Presidio Park: A Statement of George W. Marston in 1942," *JSDH* 32, no. 2 (Spring 1986): 103-115; Frank Norris, "San Diego Baseball: The Early Years," *JSDH* 30, no. 1 (Winter 1984): 1-13; Nicholas C. Polos, "George White Marston: The Merchant Prince of San Diego," *JSDH* 30, no. 4 (Fall 1984): 252-278; Hamilton Marston, "A Tribute to George Marston," *JSDH* 15, no. 4 (Fall 1969): 33-44; Wilmer Shields, "A Young Man Comes to Town," *JSDH* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1969): 6-8.
3. Mary Gilman Marston, comp., *George White Marston: A Family Chronicle*, 2 vols. (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1956) 1:129.
4. William A. Cochran, "The Olympians," *The Round Table*, April 22, 1898, Beloit College Archives, Archival Papers, <http://www.beloit.edu/~libhome/Archives/papers/olympians.html> (accessed October 3, 2005).
5. Marston, *Family Chronicle*, 1:130.
6. "Beloit Beat Milwaukee Ball Club, 61-12, in '67," *Milwaukee Journal*, October 17, 1926.
7. Cochran, "The Olympians."

8. Cochran, "The Olympians."
9. Cochran, "The Olympians."
10. *The Beloit College Monthly* 13, no. 9 (July 1867), 211-212.
11. Cochran, "The Olympians."
12. *The Beloit College Monthly* 14, no. 9 (July 1868), 221.
13. Cochran, "The Olympians."
14. Marston, *Family Chronicle*, 1:129-130.
15. During these years the Forest Citys compiled an impressive record including wins against some of the best teams of that time. They joined the first professional baseball league (National Association) in 1871, but had a dismal year and did not return for the 1872 season. Spalding had signed for more money with Boston prior the start of the 1871 season and the Forest City's collapse can largely be attributed to the loss of Spalding. There is some irony here inasmuch as Spalding would later go on to be a steadfast supporter of the reserve clause in baseball. For more on Spalding and the Forest Citys see Ken Griswold, *Baseball in Rockford*, (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2003), 11-12.
16. The Rockford team was known as the "Forest Citys" prior to joining the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players in 1871 after which they were officially known as the "Forest Citys."
17. Peter Levine, *A. G. Spalding and the Rise of Baseball: The Promise of American Sport*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 6-8. Levine points out that "by 1865, although committed to the standards of amateurism associated with organized baseball's origins, such clubs were not above charging admission, paying ballplayers, or providing them with full time jobs off the diamond because of their performance on it. The Forest Citys fit this mold."
18. C. B. Salmon, *The Codex* (College Yearbook), Beloit College, Associated Students, 1899. Though not one of the first nine, Salmon was apparently a member of the Olympians as he is listed in the June 8, 1867 box score serving as the official scorer for the Olympians for that game.
19. In a recent work on the origins of baseball, Philip Block uncovered a little known connection between Abner Doubleday, Spalding, and the Theosophical community at Point Loma. Like Spalding's second wife Elizabeth, Doubleday was an ardent Theosophist. Block suggest that "it is this connection that later influenced Spalding to anoint Abner Doubleday so readily as the 'inventor of baseball.'" Philip Block, "Abner and Albert, the Missing Link," in *Baseball Before We Knew It: A Search for the Roots of the Game*, ed. David Block (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 32-46. For more on Spalding's San Diego years see Levine, *A. G. Spalding and the Rise of Baseball*, 123-147.
20. Marston, *Family Chronicle*, 2:62-63. The letter was sent to Spalding in order to thank him for supporting Marston's first mayoral run. Though friendly with Spalding, Marston chose to support a progressive party candidate during Spalding's unsuccessful run for the U.S. Senate.
21. *San Diego Union*, September 8, 1870.
22. Who were these baseball pioneers? The earliest newspaper accounts usually list last names only. Sometimes initials and first names are given for players, umpires, and scorers, but it is difficult at times to be sure who is referred to when the name is not unique (e.g., Smith). The following is a sample of names and occupations based on information gleaned from the *1870 Census of San Diego County*, *The Great Register of San Diego County, 1873 and a Handbook and directory of San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Ventura, Kern, San Bernardino, Los Angeles & San Diego counties from 1875*: Adolph Gregg – carpenter, Jacob Solomon – grocery clerk, David Collins – dairyman, N.C. Maher – lather, Enan Harris – artist, Daniel

- Ullman – clerk, James Courtney – laborer, William Seaton Gregg Jr. – clerk, James Russell – clerk, Miguel Antonio Aquirre – student, Frank Czarnowsky – nurseryman.
23. *San Diego Union*, September 8, 1870.
 24. *San Diego Union*, May 7, 1871.
 25. Frederick Simpich, "San Diego Can't Believe it," *The National Geographic Magazine*, 81, no. 1 (January 1942): 54.
 26. For more on the relationship between early baseball clubs and volunteer fire companies see Warren Goldstein, *Playing for Keeps, A History of Early Baseball*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 25-30. Goldstein points out that club names, uniforms, and social customs bore a striking resemblance to those of the fire companies.
 27. Cartwright's famous club, the Knickerbockers, was named after the Knickerbocker Fire Engine Company No. 12. For more on the life and works of Alexander Cartwright see Monica Nucciarone, "Alexander Joy Cartwright, Jr.," <http://www.mrbaseball.com/ajcbio.php> (accessed October 3, 2005); and Harold Peterson, *The Man Who Invented Baseball*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973).
 28. *San Diego Union*, July 7, 1874. The club from New Town changed its name from "Lone Star" to "Coronada" in 1872. *San Diego Union*, March 16, 1872.
 29. These teams appear to have been formed for these holiday matches as they did not play any games either before or afterwards.
 30. *San Diego Union*, August 25, 1878. The article did not mention any of the players by name. However, the team name "Olympians" suggests that this was Marston's team. I thank baseball historian Bill Swank for pointing out to me the connection between Marston and the San Diego Olympians.
 31. *San Diego Union*, September 10, 1878; *San Diego Union*, September 22, 1878.
 32. *San Diego Union*, September 4, 1878.
 33. Goldstein, *Playing for Keeps, A History of Early Baseball*, 7-18.
 34. *San Diego Union*, October 2, 1878.
 35. *San Diego Union*, October 7, 1878.
 36. For coverage of this series see the *San Diego Union*, November 26, 27 and 30, 1878.
 37. *San Diego Union*, July 15, 1880.
 38. *San Diego Union*, July 22, 1882.
 39. Marston, *Family Chronicle*, 1:284.
 40. Marston, *Family Chronicle*, 1:258-259. The games described in this letter were played between the Boston Beanaters and the Brooklyn Bridegrooms as a doubleheader on August 5, 1893. Boston won the first game by a score of 6-3 and the second by a score of 12-5. The games took place in Brooklyn at Eastern Park. Eastern Park served as the Bridegroom's home field from 1891 to 1897. The complete 1893 schedule for both teams is available online at *The Baseball Almanac*. See <http://www.baseball-almanac.com/> (accessed October 3, 2005).
 41. Winifred Davidson, "Old Tales of the Southwest: Early Baseball," SDHS Manuscript Collection; "1935 Notes," SDHS Manuscript Collection.
 42. For more on the muscular Christianity movement see, Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).
 43. Marston, *Family Chronicle*, 2:253.



Helen D. Marston Beardsley, 1941. Courtesy of Wellesley College Archives.

REVELATIONS OF A REFORMER: HELEN D. MARSTON BEARDSLEY AND PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL ACTIVISM¹



By Kyle E. Ciani

In 1920, Helen Marston's article, "Mexican Traits," appeared in the August edition of *Survey* magazine, the premier journal of social work in America. Her article explained the work of Neighborhood House, San Diego's first settlement house, where as a resident worker Marston interacted with Mexican families on a daily basis. She had authored the article as an advocate for the Mexican families who utilized the social resources offered at Neighborhood House, hoping to counter Anglo "preconceptions" that found Mexicans to be lazy thieves and liars. Marston pointed out, "the women of our neighborhood carry the double burden of home with its many babies and of work in the fish canneries, whither they go, day or night, at the sound of the whistles." In regards to Mexican men and boys, she noted their work in the district's industries "when these plants are in operation, and some of them work for desperately long stretches. . . . The idling which we so resent is sometimes merely the result of spurts of night work, followed by a few hours of sleep in the adjacent lumber yards."²

Marston wrote from her position as resident worker and as a native San Diegan born to one of the city's most prestigious couples, George W. and Anna Gunn Marston. She admitted that "I grew up to think all Mexicans lazy people, with a care-free philosophy that put off doing everything until tomorrow." But her resident years in the San Diego settlement from 1917 through 1920 altered her perspective. That change began with her Wellesley College education from 1913 to 1917, described by one historian as transformative, turning a "shy [girl] with no experience at public speaking and little exposure to educated women reformers or to pacifism" into a devoted social activist.³

This essay offers an initial look at the effects of such a transforming bent by tracing Marston's early activist years and analyzing some of her first published thoughts on social reform. An outline of the social geography of San Diego in the 1910s offers a backdrop to understanding why Helen's actions fell within accepted boundaries of her cultural station. Growing poverty in San Diego served as the foundation for her concern and she involved herself in the projects initiated by the city's activist community. Reformers cringed at the rhetoric chanted by civic leaders who touted the city's healthy living and economy. Those in the know understood the reality of ill-constructed, poorly ventilated housing, growing tuberculosis cases, and steady unemployment among unskilled workers. Helen was at the center of knowledgeable reformers who advocated for the city's poor. Most importantly, she understood how to utilize her elite status—as a member of a trusted family among locals, as a graduate of a prestigious college, as a

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friend to the most dynamic reformers of the era—to secure funding and positive publicity for Neighborhood House.

Experience with reforms on the East Coast and in the Midwest prompted Helen to use journalism as a channel for change in San Diego. The *Survey* account signals a time when Marston moved beyond social welfare reform and into peace advocacy. It also represents her first foray into communications beyond the intimate circle of family and friends cushioning her beliefs. Correspondence between Marston and her parents, as well as to her classmates at Wellesley, indicate that even as a twenty-five-year-old woman and still during her thirties, she sought permission to strike out on her own.⁴ Yet during that time, this “shy” and “unassuming” woman chose a very public forum to contemplate the effects of reform. As the major mouthpiece of social action, the *Survey* drew an international audience of reformers throughout the country as the most influential and widely read professional journal of its time in the social welfare field.⁵ Her article was not the first piece on San Diego published in the *Survey* but only a few others appeared in the journal during the 1910s-1930s.⁶

While both local and national scholars have used George White Marston as a touchstone for explaining Progressive politics, his youngest child, Helen, may provide a more provocative account of the effects of reform on a family of privilege.⁷ In an oral history interview, San Diego peace activist Lucia Simmons made the point that Helen’s activism offers an important alternative to understanding life among the city’s elite. Simmons understood the Marston family home life to be the key, commenting that Helen “...grew up in not only an affluent home, but a very loving home. It was just ideal.”⁸ Her marriage in 1935 to American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) attorney John Beardsley secured her place as a liberal-minded woman, an unusual designation for a daughter of an elite businessman in San Diego. In fact, one newspaper’s wedding announcement revealed, “Mr. Beardsley and Miss Marston became acquainted through their mutual interest in liberal activities.”⁹ Helen’s “liberal” convictions, however, were firmly in place by the time she met Beardsley. While a student at Wellesley College, Helen followed the benevolent footsteps of her parents and immersed herself in the social welfare agendas so familiar to students of female activism in the Progressive Era.¹⁰

Wellesley brought Helen in contact with activists who enacted national reforms in compulsory education, labor and immigration law, social welfare, and established an international peace movement. Helen engaged in all of these activities, returning to her hometown eager to implement similar changes.¹¹ In fact, one could easily tire by reading her autobiographical sketch outlining her numerous commitments to social activism. She became a key figure in San Diego’s fledgling reform community as she helped launch programs at its first settlement house, Neighborhood House, organized in 1914. During her summer breaks from Wellesley she helped at the settlement, becoming familiar with the people who used its programs and the local reformers who worked to better serve their needs. Upon graduation she returned to San Diego and entered the settlement as a resident worker, leaving in fall 1920 to reside at the Chicago Commons settlement.

As with college, Marston was surrounded by activist women in Chicago, namely Jane Addams, who within the year recruited her to travel to Vienna and help with war refugees and the organization of a WILPF Congress. These international actions pressed her further into leadership roles with WILPF and tightened her friendships with both Addams and Balch.¹² WILPF work took up much of her time from 1921 to

1924; however, Helen continued to be involved with Neighborhood House, although not as a resident worker. In January 1924 Emily Greene Balch traveled to San Diego to recuperate from exhaustion. In spite of this convalescence, she gave several talks on peace organizing while in the city. Marston connected with Balch during that visit, even hosting one of the talks at her home. 1924 was a pivotal year for Marston in terms of her involvement with the Women's International League: she helped prepare for the International Congress held in Washington, D.C. and attended its WIL International Summer School in Chicago. San Diego and its Mexican barrio, however, continued to pull her home.¹³

Encouraged by Addams and Balch, Marston launched the San Diego WILPF branch in 1924, returning also to her work at Neighborhood House. She dedicated herself to the settlement for another five years, strengthening as well her connections to socialism. Indeed, her activism flowed well beyond the peace movement. In 1933 alone, Marston traveled to West Virginia to provide care for children in mining towns, helped organize Socialist leadership in her hometown, sat on the board of the Los Angeles chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and established an ACLU branch in San Diego.¹⁴ During the 1930s, her advocacy centered on disarmament, securing resources for the unemployed, and affirming civil liberties for those least represented by the courts. She gave birth to her son George in 1937 but still continued her volunteerism, focusing on refugee work during World War II and WILPF efforts into the 1960s.¹⁵ Helen involved herself in San Diego's movement to end the Viet Nam war, and was known to march for peace at the age of eighty-seven.¹⁶

Engagements by middle-class, college-educated women with a community's poor represent a side of Progressivism that scholars have long recognized as a vital component to the era, but one in which those interested in San Diego have not yet fully assessed. Few historians have attempted to retrace the paths taken by Progressive activists such as Helen D. Marston Beardsley and members of the reform community in which she associated, opting instead to narrate the machinations of male-dominated partisan politics.¹⁷ Yet through the lives of these social reformers we see the conflicting views facing Progressives seeking urban change as well as the complexity of their decisions to alter their worldviews.

As president of the settlement's board of directors in 1920, Marston wrote her first-person account for the *Survey* with advocacy in mind. The newly formed Community Welfare Council in San Diego included Neighborhood House among its twenty-three agencies cleared for funding eligibility, and Marston's article helped legitimate the local program.¹⁸ Her article gave readers a glimpse into life at a southwest settlement, and emphasized interactions with the predominantly Spanish-speaking clientele. Established in 1914 by members of the College Woman's Club¹⁹ (a predecessor to the American Association of University Women), Neighborhood House provided services typical of most settlements in the United States: pure milk, instruction in English, clean water for bathing, day care for the children of wage earners, and health screenings for infants and young children. Its location in the center of the tuna-canning district allowed convenience for cannery workers to take advantage of the settlement's day nursery, and it soon became a center of activity for Spanish-speaking families.

The Mexican client base provoked uneasiness among members of San Diego's Anglo community who voiced several concerns stemming from trans-border movements: the spreading invasion of disease, gambling and prostitution from Tijuana

and threats of violent action from Mexico's revolutionaries kept San Diegans wary of the need to police the border.²⁰ San Diego's labor organizers emphasized this disorder as a rallying cry for Mexican workers in the city to join their movement in solidarity against American capitalists who, they argued, encouraged vice and unfair labor practices in Tijuana. As reported by one historian of the San Diego Labor Council, in 1920 the group "sought and received the support of San Diego's Mexican community in its fight against drugs, liquor, and prostitution," and helped stage the celebrations of Mexico's Independence Day in San Diego's Balboa Park rather than in Tijuana.²¹

The presence of Mexican immigrants—especially ones who fit popular stereotypes of the poor, ignorant, unskilled peasant—sparked action throughout the southwest as a cornerstone of the Americanization movement. Led by Progressive reformers, many of them female settlement house workers, Americanization "advocated the creation of a homogenous national culture based on Anglo-American values," and found favor among California's reform community. Governor Hiram Johnson acted on this energy by creating in 1913 the California Immigration and Housing Commission (CIHC). Historian Gayle Gullett explained that, "to supporters of Americanization in California, Mexicans posed the most serious challenge to the state," but that educational programs offered through home teaching and in settlements could meet the challenge head on by teaching Anglo standards of food preparation, hygiene, and familial ethics to Mexicans families.²² Writing for the CIHC in 1915, home teacher Amanda Mathews Chase minced no words in her justification for why Californians benefited from Americanization programs: "Mexicans lack social mobility because they are shiftless and thriftless... These people are *not* a hopeless proposition. But they need education of a peculiar sort—education that shall be a disciplinary tonic—that shall give them standards—that amounts to evolution."²³

Gullett cited Helen Marston's *Survey* article and an equally provocative piece by another San Diego native, Edith Shatto King, as evidence of the intensity of the Americanization movement. Writing as the first head worker of Neighborhood House, King's *Survey* article appeared in 1917 at the height of angst in the city regarding border issues.²⁴ Their words, however, do not carry the zealous nativism shown by Amanda Mathews Chase. Rather, the messages penned by Marston and King seem to advocate for providing better health care and housing to immigrants because such provision represents a humane and just action. They emphasize how learning English can improve job opportunities for Mexican laborers, and in contrast to Chase, note an inherent loyalty and industry among Mexicans. King hoped to counter messages like Chase's explaining "The honesty and trust worthiness of the average working-class Mexican in my experience is based almost entirely on a feeling of personal loyalty rather than on any generally accepted American standard of right living. Such loyalty is perhaps the most hopeful groundwork for future character development in the eyes of their American neighbors. A small grocery man of my acquaintance informed me that he had never lost money when he gave credit to the Mexican working people in San Diego."²⁵ In describing the needs of children, King emphasized "I do not believe anyone on the border can guess what a generation of Mexican children might become were they properly taught not only English and the three Rs, but also skilled hand work, offering a real opportunity to earn a decent living."²⁶

The two reformers were clearly affected by their interactions with families they encountered in their settlement work. Edith Shatto King's account emphasized that American prejudices against Mexican families, especially toward Spanish-speaking

children attending the public schools, caused the greatest harm to Mexican people living in the United States. She chastised teachers who provided special classes for Norwegian immigrants who did not speak English but ignored Mexican children in the same situation. King would lead San Diegans to rethink how they provided resources to those most in need by guiding a study of the city's social needs and helping to establish Neighborhood House. Consequently, English instruction for people of all ages and literacy levels served as a centerpiece of the settlement's programs. Marston's memoir shows signs that Mexican clientele she met at Neighborhood House unconsciously pushed her to come to terms with the false foundations that supported ethnocentric ideology in the early twentieth century. She also struggled with convictions regarding gender norms that emphasized Mexican men as incapable of earning sufficient wages to support their families, thus forcing their wives and daughters to both earn wages and perform all domestic duties.

Both women came to terms with racist ideologies learned during their San Diego childhoods and adopted new ways of thinking about Mexicans. Their settlement house experiences introduced King and Marston to realities rather than perceptions, and in documenting their interactions with these "neighbors" they encouraged other Anglos living in San Diego to look beyond stereotypes.

SAN DIEGO THROUGH REFORMERS' EYES

The Marston name carries historical weight in San Diego. Led by its patriarch, George W., the Marston family contributed vision, energy, wealth and time to establishing San Diego by 1920 as a major player in the tourist and trade industries. Much has been written about George White Marston's philanthropic largesse and political connections. He was, after all, a two-time mayoral contender and driving force behind the Nolen Plan, the establishment of San Diego's YMCA, and the San Diego Historical Society (SDHS).²⁷ His wife, Anna Gunn Marston, led several charitable interests as well, including the city's leading benevolent society, the Woman's Home Association.²⁸ Together they raised five children in San Diego—one son and four daughters—who each carried on the charitable commitment to their hometown²⁹.

Indeed, the city owes its historical conscience to the Marston family. In 1907, George purchased the land on which the Junípero Serra Museum sits, securing a place for the development of San Diego's historical society. Like many families of distinction, the Marstons left behind in varying degrees snippets of their lives for history buffs and professionals alike to peruse. In 1956, Mary Gilman Marston completed a two-volume biography of her father to honor the legacy of his contributions to San Diego.³⁰ She and her siblings also donated papers from the much-beloved family business, Marston's Department Stores, to the SDHS and turned over the family home to the society, used now as a museum to highlight the beauty of Arts and Crafts furnishings and architect-



*Helen D. Marston, Wellesley, Class of 1916.
Courtesy of Wellesley College Archives.*

ture.³¹

Helen's experiences differ from her parents and siblings in that her volunteerism reached beyond the local community and into the international arena. By all accounts, Helen D. Marston Beardsley lived an austere life dedicated to ending armed conflict, providing equitable treatment of laborers, and ensuring the provision of adequate medical services and housing to impoverished families. She is not included in the extensive literature on Progressive-era female reformers, with the exception of an article by peace studies scholar Joan Jensen. Perhaps her private nature would not allow such a spotlight. Upon her death in 1982, an obituary described the eighty-nine-year-old Helen Marston Beardsley as "a self-effacing woman who gave few, and only brief interviews," but during her lifetime she stirred up enough political interest to find herself on Richard M. Nixon's "enemies list," a distinction she found amusing.³²

Born June 26, 1892, Helen attended the best schools San Diego could offer and never wanted for material goods.³³ She came of age during the height of Progressive debate in San Diego.³⁴ The city handed her father his first political defeat in 1913 when his controlled growth mayoral platform lost to one of development.³⁵ That same autumn, Helen headed east to enter Wellesley College in Massachusetts, a move that would dramatically influence the direction of Helen's adult life. Choosing a Wellesley education hardly represents a break from family tradition as she simply followed the path forged by her elder sisters who had all attended the prestigious school.³⁶ But for Helen, the experience catapulted her into Progressive reform.

At Wellesley, Helen connected with a network of professional women, such as economist and future Nobel Peace Laureate Emily Greene Balch, who guided her pacifist leanings into a firm belief.³⁷ Marston never had the opportunity to take class from Balch, but in Helen's memoirs she credited Balch with strengthening her commitment to disarmament.³⁸ Joining her parents on a European tour while it was under siege in 1914, she later recognized in her adult years that this trip would "confirm [her] absorption in problems of peacemaking."³⁹ Helen's views began appearing in letters to her parents, especially those to her father.⁴⁰ In a letter to him in February 1916, Helen argued that federal money should be directed toward "forming good relations with Japan, and in taking care of the women and children in factories and so forth, rather than arming to protect them against an army that we merely assume is coming."⁴¹ Her convictions to save federal funding for domestic programs rather than military expenditures would strengthen throughout her life.

While Helen studied in the East, reformers in San Diego engaged in actions that influenced pivotal change. Members of the College Woman's Club (CWC) had been concerned for several years over the focus on commercial development despite evidence of growing poverty among San Diegans.⁴² CWC members believed that city leaders had long ignored the needs of impoverished families, and proceeded to remedy the situation by using a common progressive tactic: launching a systematic survey of the city's social needs. The club voted to charge its Settlement Committee with "find[ing] a trained worker competent" to survey the city. Recommendations from Paul U. Kellogg, Survey Editor, and Shelby M. Harrison, head of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits for the Russell Sage Foundation, led the group to contract with experienced reformers Edith Shatto King (a San Diego native) and her husband, Frederick King.

The Kings had moved to San Diego in 1909 for Fred's tuberculosis. Another reformer and long-time friend, Mary Hill, persuaded the couple to help her organize

PATHFINDER SOCIAL SURVEY OF SAN DIEGO

Report of Limited Investigations of Social Conditions
in San Diego, California

UNDER DIRECTION OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN'S CLUB

INVESTIGATORS
EDITH SHATTO KING
FREDERICK A. KING

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The title page of Edith Shatto King and Frederick A. King's Pathfinder Survey of San Diego (1914). University of California, San Diego.

an Associated Charities. Even though he was sick at the time, Fred King accepted the challenge, and became the first secretary of the San Diego Associated Charities.⁴³ For Edith, the move to San Diego represented a return to her childhood home. One of her first assignments as a social worker came in 1907 when she worked on an investigation of women and child labor in the cotton mills of the South and New England.⁴⁴ She then assisted in collecting data for a national study of the living and working conditions of young department store clerks.⁴⁵ So in selecting the Kings, the CWC chose a highly professional and dedicated couple that had a long track record of social welfare experience.

The CWC membership helped gather evidence and arrange interviews with the social worker community, making it possible for the report research to be conducted within three weeks. Their findings, published in 1914 as *The Pathfinder Social Survey of San Diego*, documented the grimy side of San Diego life, and according to its authors represented the first document produced by the social work community in San

Diego.⁴⁶ The Kings' investigations fell into eight categories: public health and sanitation; public education; recreation; delinquency; industrial conditions—foreign population; betterment agencies; civic improvement; and taxation and public finance. Lack of any coordinated oversight in the city was a central theme that ran through the document; a secondary concern emphasized that some groups, like Mexican families, continued to be overlooked by existing agencies.⁴⁷

Through their research, the Kings found that housing conditions in San Diego did not mirror those of the urban squalor in eastern cities and factory towns; however, they urged civic leaders to pay closer attention to certain districts. Out of five hundred places inspected in 1912-13 by the Department of Public Health, officials ordered two hundred closed to residential living, with the following description typical of neighborhoods containing condemned dwellings:

There are distinctly slum conditions in San Diego in shacks along the waterfront and among the Mexicans, negroes and whites in the tenement houses and cottages of the district south of F Street, and west of Sixteenth Street to the waterfront. One instance was given of a tenement which housed twenty-three persons in four rooms...They were living in such places, not from choice, but from the fact that these places offered cheap rates...It is difficult for poor Mexicans to secure cheap rents in San Diego, consequently they crowd themselves and several families into some old house or unsanitary shack. Some of these latter are presented to the view of the tourist on arriving.⁴⁸

The Kings likely recognized that these kinds of descriptions would fuel the worries among civic leaders, especially those who promoted the community as a healthy alternative to industrial cities in the East and Midwest. Five years earlier in 1909, authorities had launched a clean-up campaign of the notorious "Stingaree District," located from the waterfront through the downtown. Infested with saloons, opium dens, and prostitute cribs, the Stingaree had been an open sore on an otherwise healthy looking city. In preparation for the 1915 Panama-California Exposition, leaders authorized Walter Bellon, the plumbing inspector for the City Health Department, to survey the district. He found dilapidated buildings with open privies, rat colonies, and standing sewage.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, the most destitute of San Diego's poor lived in these dwellings, and demolishing the dwellings only served to push these people onto the streets.

Despite these actions, little had changed by the time the Kings surveyed the area. Businessmen feared that too much talk of "unsanitary shacks" would no longer attract stable investors or health conscious and wealthy tourists. To be sure, by 1916, the Annual Report of the Department of Public Health admitted, "It is now a well established fact that San Diego offers little to the tubercular, in fact such cases frequently do poorly here."⁵⁰

High infant mortality rates also posed special concern for San Diego reformers. While in relation to that of other cities, mortality from childhood diseases remained low, it still posed a problem, especially among families segregated from finding adequate medical attention. This was not a new revelation to reformers. In a report to the Associated Charities on November 18, 1910, City Physician Francis Mead had concluded that infant mortality among "Americans" was low, but "high among Mexicans who are hopelessly ignorant."⁵¹ Mead's report was silent on the status of other minority groups left to fend for themselves such as the Chinese, African

American and Indian populations, but it signaled to the Charities that infant mortality was indeed a serious problem among the city's working poor. The CWC and the religious community, especially Catholic parishes, took interest in helping Mexican families with finding basic services to raise them from poverty; however, their efforts were often met with disdain by the majority of San Diego voters. *The Pathfinder* study was an attempt to counter these sentiments.

The Kings echoed Mead's conclusions, finding that out of 1,191 documented births in 1913, eighty-five babies died before reaching the age of one year. One hundred and thirty-five children under the age of five also died that year.⁵² The Kings explained: "This is perhaps not large compared with the infant death rate in eastern industrial cities, but it is far too large for a city whose natural advantages and size should make ideal conditions for babies." They made two suggestions for curbing infant mortality: first, that the city implement a visiting nurse program whose professionals would train mothers in the proper care of infants and solutions; and second, to establish a free day nursery "where working mothers can leave their babies in the care of trained nurses while away from home."⁵³

Immediately upon release of the survey, the CWC membership began implementing the programs suggested in the *Pathfinder*. The survey team had pinpointed the Logan Heights neighborhood as the community that would benefit most from social welfare programs, thus the CWC established a settlement house program in the area. In 1914, they opened Neighborhood House (NH), located on 14th Street near Market, just one block north of the San Diego Free Industrial School.⁵⁴ Edith Shatto King accepted the job as head resident, a position she would keep for only one year, resigning in December 1915 because of her husband's illness.⁵⁵

Like most other settlement houses across the country, programs at NH included a day nursery for the children whose parents worked in the nearby fish canneries; within two years, CWC members included a kindergarten as partial remedy for the "many neglected-looking children playing in the streets."⁵⁶ To deal with the concern over infant mortality among Mexican families, the group opened an infant welfare station at NH in 1916 and adopted the classic Progressive strategy of using visiting nurses to extend care to the neighborhood. Mary Hart Taylor, RN, a public health nurse in charge of the city's child hygiene division, supervised visiting nurses in providing medical examinations for babies, distributing pure milk to families, and teaching hygiene classes to mothers and daughters.⁵⁷

But the first few years of operation proved troubling for NH residents and their clients as prejudice and disease infested the community. Suspicious Anglos worried about the presence of so many families who did not speak English, especially in light of the ongoing revolution in Mexico. Some believed that certainly these families included a communist subversive. Members of the Advisory Council for San Diego's Associated Charities discussed these suspicions in their meetings, realizing the need for stepping up assistance to Mexican families. In March 1916, the Council noted, "The police have recently been arresting a number of Mexican men. Three of the families have had to come to us for assistance. The Advisory Committee felt that just as far as it was possible to do so, these families should be turned to the county for help."⁵⁸ Anglo San Diegans also worried about the dangers of sickness as measles and pneumonia leapt from the soldiers stationed at Camp Kearney and raged through the barrio. The influenza epidemic of 1917 hit the Mexican community particularly hard, but nervous Anglos saw only that these life-threatening illnesses would harm their families.⁵⁹

In an effort to prevent further outbreaks of measles, diphtheria and influenza, settlement residents took advantage of newly available federal grant money offered through the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917.⁶⁰ Neighborhood House personnel used Smith-Hughes funds for maternal education, arguing that the population they served consisted primarily of farm laboring families. Smith-Hughes granted states the funds to promote education in agricultural-related industries and among agricultural workers.⁶¹ As such, Mary Hart Taylor established in 1918 a Little Mothers Club to train young girls in the care of pre- and post-natal women and their babies. She also implemented a program to test Mexican children for “subnormal mental and physical development.”⁶²

Despite opportunities for federal funding, settlement house residents and volunteers knew that confronting prejudices toward the primarily Mexican population formed a key piece of their activism. Helen Marston and Edith Shatto King used the *Survey* to attract national attention and highlight the progress made through Neighborhood House. While they focused on describing the prejudices they witnessed within the San Diego community, their stories also reveal their personal struggles with overcoming long-held stereotypes of lazy, ignorant, and uncivilized immigrants.

A PUBLIC PERSONA AWAKENED

Like so many other college-educated women of the Progressive-era, Helen Marston’s college experience intensified her desire to reform the country.⁶³ Throughout her years at Wellesley, Marston worked intermittently at settlement houses—in Boston’s Denison House, Henry Street Settlement in New York’s Lower East Side, and at San Diego’s Neighborhood House during her summer breaks—but upon her graduation in 1917, Helen returned to San Diego and entered Neighborhood House as a full-time social worker and educator.⁶⁴

Progressive reformer Daisy Lee Worthington Worchester described Helen Marston as the leader of “a group of young college women” who recruited her in 1917 as the head worker for Neighborhood House. According to Worchester, after only three years in operation, the settlement needed “reviving,” having suffered from the “blight of war, [and] the disorganization of every form of social work which dealt with foreigners.” Worchester remembers her year in residence at Neighborhood House as one of “increasing horror” as the effects of measles, pneumonia, and influenza epidemics took their toll on area residents. Worchester blamed a “corrupt” Board of Supervisors for the lack of concern toward the needy and charged that they made “certain that every dollar which was spent would do a dollar’s worth of good for them and their political aspirations.”⁶⁵

As a middle-class Anglo, Marston had been raised believing Mexicans a “lazy people,” yet she admitted observing a very different persona among the families using NH programs.⁶⁶ Over cups of coffee with Mexican mothers and young daughters waiting their turn at the settlement’s Municipal Milk Station, Marston entered a world of female companionship very different than connections made in Wellesley dorm rooms. She developed a deep respect for these women who carried “the double burden” of cannery work and domestic responsibilities.

Settlement house workers were long familiar with cultural barriers between themselves and their largely immigrant neighbors. Marston’s memoir publicized that problem by underscoring an important realization: that the ethnocentrism informing her childhood could not be legitimated by her adult interactions with Mexican families. After working with youth at Neighborhood House, Marston decided that

Mexican girls worked harder than their brothers. Yet she also began to understand that her earlier perceptions of an innate laziness among Mexican males had little to do with initiative and everything to do with opportunity. She struggled with this realization, claiming, "the imputation of laziness to men and boys has more foundation," but also admitting that, "the issue is a harder one to decide."⁶⁷

Such a change in perspective did not come immediately, even to someone as devoted to social justice as Helen Marston. In the 1920 *Survey* article, Marston revealed her ethnocentric self by explaining that Mexican fathers needed more ambition to adequately support their families. She admitted, however, not knowing the Mexican father well, thereby opening the door to understanding how race, gender and ethnicity defined opportunity. Marston recognized the "distinct effort" made by some Mexican fathers to attend English classes offered at Neighborhood House but also admonished those fathers not in attendance for not trying hard enough to learn technical skills and English. She understood that the problem for Mexican fathers and their sons lay in their "lack of ideas rather than an unwillingness to work," yet she struggled with these realizations.⁶⁸

Marston was not alone in her revelations. Edith Shatto King preceded Marston in using the *Survey* to emphasize how her San Diego childhood had prejudiced her outlook of non-white families. Recalling that her father blamed Mexicans if anything was missing about the garden, King admitted to the *Survey* audience in 1917, "as a child, I was never taught to fear or hate the 'dirty' Mexicans, only to despise them." Mexican and Anglo children did not play together and it was that segregation that eventually shook King's thoughts on Mexicans. She recounted an incident from childhood in which a group of Mexican children had grown angry at not being able to play in the favorite spot of Anglo children. Their anger confused her as a child but set King on a path that eventually led her to work toward social justice through settlement work. The memory of Mexican children unjustly persecuted served as the foundation for King's implementing English classes at Neighborhood House so that the children could perform better in the public schools. She also organized dances and playgroups so that Mexican youngsters had their own safe places to play.⁶⁹

King's actions had little to do with Americanizing or control as some scholars of settlement workers have charged. Rather, she wanted to remedy some of the hurt her family and friends had inflicted on their Mexican neighbors in the past. Yet she, as well as Marston, fell to using stereotyped descriptions of families as a way to highlight likeable characteristics: festive costumes rather than threadbare rags, wafts of perfectly spiced foods rather than the meager rations put before children, and families gathered in gay circles of music rather than parents dead tired from long hours of physical labor. Marston and King used the notions of a primitive culture to shine a positive light on their Mexican clients. King romanticized the poverty of Mexican migrants, offering her readers a sanitized vision of crude conditions:

They lived, for the most part, in shacks decorated with long strings of red peppers drying in the sun...On moonlight nights one rarely passed by without hearing the soft tones of La Paloma from a guitar or a violin, and sometimes laughter and gay Spanish words, coming from the shadows under the pepper trees. Other families of Mexicans liked the open starlight better than shack or garden. They traveled in groups and camped about the country wherever work was to be found . . . Men, women and children worked together. And how vivid in my memory are the women at work in the peanut

fields, clad in gay colors of red and yellow with a black shawl . . . their fat brown babies close by, naked in the sun.⁷⁰

So much of California's history depended on those romantic notions. Civic leaders had long been using the romance of Hispanic culture to entice newcomers to their communities. The Panama-California Exposition exploited the beauty of a Spanish past,⁷¹ popular fiction embraced the stereotypes, and advertisers painted portraits of festive Latin scenes on fruit boxes to entice buyers.⁷²

The reality of life for those who came to Neighborhood House looking for purer milk and free health checks was far different. King failed to explain that Mexican migrants had no other choice than to keep their babies in the field while they labored from 4 a.m. to 6 p.m., often in the hot sun. Likewise, living under the open sky was their only option, not one of choice. Surely King as Neighborhood House's head worker understood these realities, so her decision to paint a romantic picture was one taken from an activist stance.

Marston also romanticized living conditions, writing that the Mexicans' "primitive ways of living help," their situation because "cracks let in air, sunshine is sought for its heat, and there is little furniture to make cleaning hard."⁷³ Her rationalization of their poverty is perhaps annoying to the modern reader, but no more so than Marston's rationale of an inherent dishonesty among Mexican people, especially men. She wrote, "Everyone knows that the Mexican does not have the same standards of honesty tha[n] the American," claiming nationalism and gender had much to do with the trait:

Certainly to tell the truth is not so important a thing among our neighbors as it is among us. In small matters it is more important to please. Yet I think one can generally get into a sincere relation with Mexicans just as one can with Americans. Our Mexican boys, while they lie freely to hide evil done, yet have, I think, been as frank with us, when questioned directly, as American boys have been. I have twice had boys say, on top of a lot of lies, "Well, I will tell you the truth," then tell it straight out. A woman, speaking of a nurse who had been kind to her, said, "I tell her no lies." Some of my friends, I think, would tell me no very big lies (emphasis Marston's).⁷⁴

What exactly can we make of this woman who turned her back on society's coming out parties but held tightly to ethnocentrism in the face of the grit and grime of poverty? After all, she authored the *Survey* article as a form of advocacy for the Neighborhood House community. The article shows her intellectual understanding of the intercultural environment in which she worked, and the power of communicating that setting in an international journal. In 1920, Marston enjoyed the professional connections of her Wellesley degree as well as her experience in eastern settlements; publishing in the *Survey* proved the strength of these connections. Her article illuminates the discrimination and prejudice endured by Mexicans in San Diego but it also reveals a good deal more about white reformers operating in the area. Marston allows the reader to see the personal tension experienced in her re-evaluation of a worldview that posited white superiority.

The Mexican mothers who visited Neighborhood House perhaps tried to assert their power over retaining their cultural ideals. However, poverty often served as a barrier to succeeding in their goals.⁷⁵ But Marston unwittingly reveals that, in some areas, she clung to irrational stereotypes of her Mexican "friends" and believed that women using the milk station needed to understand and adopt American ways in order to better preserve the health of their children. We see Marston's humanness in

this contradiction: reformers did not always set out to control those in their care but in their attempts to improve lives they, in fact, did issue a fair amount of control over people's lives.⁷⁶

It is these sentiments that are perhaps most troubling in studying Helen Marston Beardsley, for they detract from her efforts to elevate the standing of Mexicans in San Diego. Contradictory and conflicted in the way she expressed her respect for Mexicans, Marston struggled to rethink Anglo prejudices that characterized Mexicans as a dishonest and primitive people. Yet at the same time, she championed their rights to earn wages, live in clean affordable housing, and have access to medical care, proper nutrition, and day care for their children. In explaining why Mexicans lived primitively, Marston noted, "Is it not possible that these descendants of the Mayas are a backward people today, because for centuries they were deprived in their own country of the proper soil in which to develop?"⁷⁷ Land reform in Mexico had long been a plea of the masses, harkening back to Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821 and continuing into the twentieth century. Marston's comment was simply acknowledging her engagement with the larger social issues at work in the lives of Mexican immigrants, although few in San Diego's elite sympathized with the plight of landless peasants. In fact, many San Diegans became angered with the jump in immigration that resulted from the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution in 1910. Marston opened herself to criticism from her contemporaries by acknowledging that Mexicans had been unjustly denied property for this was truly libelous thinking for a "Southwestern Anglo" in 1920, and especially for a woman.

Her position as a college-educated "New Woman" did little to legitimate her ideas among the majority of conservative-minded Anglos in San Diego. The Social Gospel – the responsibility of the wealthy (and thus most capable) to provide for those less fortunate – had informed her parents' philanthropy and certainly played a role in forming Marston's ideas about her role in elevating the status of Mexican families.⁷⁸ The steadfast philanthropy of her parents nurtured her social activism from the time she was a young girl. Her Wellesley education and subsequent training as a settlement worker may have intensified her convictions to help the poor but George and Anna Gunn Marston gave her their blessing to throw herself into San Diego's underworld. In fact, when Neighborhood House fell short of operating funds in the summer of 1925, George Marston stepped in with a seven hundred dollar donation to get them through the year.⁷⁹ However, their beliefs also coincided with ideas popular among the majority of Southwestern Anglo citizens in the early twentieth century.⁸⁰ The Marstons understood that their whiteness and wealth gave them a responsibility to help those less fortunate, believing this assistance critical to the "civilization" of certain cultural groups in the city, primarily Mexican Americans and Chinese immigrants. Their daughter's attitudes and actions represent movement away from such engrained notions of racial superiority and toward an awakening of cultural sensitivity.

Can we say that Marston hid her ethnocentrism under the cloak of reform? Perhaps those living in the barrio would have rather dealt with blatant displays of racism stripped of any hidden messages. Or did her experiences with the poor transform her worldview? Certainly by the onslaught of the Great Depression she had awakened to the injustice served up by a white power structure that employed darker skin at a lower wage. As a member of the ACLU, in 1934 Marston made six trips to the Imperial Valley to support Latino migrant farm workers striking against the lettuce, melon, and pea farmers. These acts demonstrate Marston's final coming of age, since

the strike ultimately hurt her father's department store business when lettuce growers threatened a boycott of the Marston Department Stores.⁸¹

Marston's association with the ACLU introduced her to John Beardsley, a deputy city attorney in Los Angeles and key ACLU member. She married Beardsley in 1935 at the age of 43, later than most of her contemporaries but a characteristic common among early twentieth-century female peace activists.⁸² A widower, Beardsley found in Marston a partner as equally devoted to social justice as himself. Before moving to California in 1905, Beardsley had served as secretary of the Associated Charities in Des Moines, Iowa. Once in California his specialty in Constitutional law guided his efforts toward securing free speech. In 1923 he organized the Southern California Branch of the ACLU, and would later become a Superior Court Judge.⁸³

Marriage and subsequent motherhood fixed Helen's activism as quiet yet steady throughout the 1940s and '50s. Helen and John's son, George M. was born in 1937. The Beardsleys called Los Angeles their home, and Helen remained there even after John's death in 1946, eventually returning to San Diego in 1960. Anti-war protests during the late 1960s introduced a new generation to Helen D. Marston Beardsley, many of whom reminisce fondly about the group of gray-haired matronly protestors.⁸⁴ In her seventies during the Viet Nam protests, Helen had a long and steady commitment to disarmament, embracing the idea as a teen and deciding in college to dedicate her life to pacifism and socialism. Having experienced little of oppression in her own life, she ventured back to San Diego ready to enlighten the city's authority to the need for reform and to uplift the poor with access to vital services.

Years later in an interview regarding the history of San Diego's Neighborhood House, Marston "spoke with disdain" of those volunteers and staff dedicated to the Americanization of Mexicans, and vehemently separated herself from their company. Instead, Marston proudly recounted the time settlement workers cared for the Mexican twin babies brought to the settlement by their father after their mother had abandoned them. That racial ethnic integration and acceptance was the kind of incident Marston hoped her friends *and* critics would remember.⁸⁵

Reformers like Helen D. Marston Beardsley questioned their parent's ideologies in an era of incredible racism and class conflict. They made career choices that led them into impoverished neighborhoods as social workers and educators, and they communicated their changing perceptions about their place in American society through such public instruments as the *Survey*. For the historian, especially the historian of women in the United States, these female reformers have helped us better our own careers as we have used their stories to engage in debates about conflicted influences of reform during the Progressive Era. Helen D. Marston Beardsley embodied the characteristics of the New Woman—young, white, middle class, college-educated, enthusiastic, and energized by the possibilities of change—and she found like-minded women at college and upon her return to San Diego.

Marston took a different path than most women of her social position but she first had to come to terms with long-held stereotypes informing her attitudes about why certain men and women remained oppressed. Female reformers in San Diego, like Helen Marston Beardsley and Edith Shatto King, were not naïve to the conservative political and social agendas of their hometown that pushed aside welfare supports; rather they used their positions as members of the white establishment to voice their discomfort with the status quo at the national and international levels, making their revelations a very public affair.

NOTES



1. I first presented this research at the 2002 meeting of the Western Association of Women Historians at the Huntington Library, and thank Professor Kathleen A. Brown for her commentary and the Department of History at Illinois State University for providing travel funds. In developing the ideas into this essay, Jason Kaplan, graduate assistant extraordinaire, tracked down obscure citations and Douglas Cutter helped me clarify my thoughts. I discovered Helen's *Survey* article one dreary, winter morning in the library at Michigan State University when I longed for the ocean breezes of San Diego. Her activism awakened my ideas about Progressive reform, and charted my research path back to the beloved Casa del Prado in Balboa Park. There, friend and Marston expert Gregg R. Hennessey encouraged me to explore Helen's influence. He read very early versions of this essay, improving its analysis each time, for which I am very thankful.
2. Helen D. Marston, "Mexican Traits," *Survey* 44 (August 2, 1920), 562.
3. Joan M. Jensen, "Helen Marston and the California Peace Movement, 1915-1945," *California History* 67 (1988), 120. A little studied organization a decade ago, the WILPF has since enjoyed considerable attention from historians who have produced invigorating analyses. These include the works of Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women: the Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Linda K. Schott, *Reconstructing Women's Thoughts: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Before World War II* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1997); Carrie A. Foster, *The Women and the Warriors: the U.S. Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1946* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995); Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993); Jo Vellacott, "A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory: the Early Work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom," *Women's History Review*, 2, no. 1 (1993): 23-56; and Anne Marie Pois, "The U.S. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and American Neutrality, 1935-1939," *Peace & Change* 14, no. 3 (1989): 263-284.
4. A bit of Helen Marston Beardsley's personal correspondence can be found in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Collection (SDWILPF) at the San Diego Historical Society Research Archives (SDHS) but I relied on the sources cited throughout Jensen's article to affirm this point.
5. To understand how the *Survey* promoted Progressive agendas see Daniel T. Rogers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998); and Clarke A. Chambers, *Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey: Voice for Social Welfare and Social Justice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971).
6. An index search of volumes 30 (1911) through 47 (1922) of the *Survey* indicate only a handful of articles devoted to topics in San Diego, including the presence of Japanese in the city and the importance of building the structures in Balboa Park for the 1915 Exposition. Special thanks to Jason Kaplan for his research assistance in validating this point.
7. In addition to connections with San Diego's commercial development, the Marston name has surfaced in the intriguing tale of murder, prostitution, and social reform in antebellum New York City. See Patricia Cline Cohen, *The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth Century New York* (New York: Vintage, 1998) for how George White Marston's father, George P., became entwined in the infamous murder trial.
8. Page 8 of the Lucia Simmons Interview by Craig Carter, 5 December 1986, San Diego Historical Society Oral History Program, transcript in SDHS.
9. "Helen Marston to Wed John Beardsley at Home Rites," *San Diego Sun*, 22 June 1935. The

San Diego Union announcement described Beardsley as a “nationally known liberal”; the *Sun* story elaborated on the reasons for his professional reputation by explaining how in 1931 he had carried an appeal to the United States Supreme Court to reverse the conviction of Yetta Stromberg in the California Red Flag law. The *Sun* noted that the reversal represented the “first time the high court declared a law unconstitutional on the ground that it violated the freedom of speech guaranteed by the First Amendment.”

10. A sampling of this extensive literature includes, Victoria Getis, *The Juvenile Court and the Progressives* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Sonya Michel, *Children's Interests/Mothers' Rights: The Shaping of America's Child Care Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Elizabeth R. Rose, *A Mother's Job: The History of Day Care, 1890-1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Elizabeth J. Clapp, *Mothers of All Children: Women Reformers and the Rise of Juvenile Court in Progressive Era America* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State Press, 1998); Joanne L. Goodwin, *Gender and the Politics of Welfare Reform: Mothers' Pensions in Chicago, 1911-1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Kriste Lindenmeyer, “A Right to Childhood.” *The U.S. Children's Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912-46* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992); Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Linda Gordon, *Pitied but not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare* (New York: The Free Press, 1994) and Gordon, eds. *Women, the State and Welfare* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).
11. Joyce Antler made an in-depth study of several notable women who graduated from prestigious schools in the late nineteenth century—Jane Addams, Marion Talbot, M. Carey Thomas, Rheta Dorr, Margaret Anderson, Vida Scudder, and Hilda Worthington Smith—and Wellesley graduates from the class of 1897 to assess the “formative place of familial relationships in the after-college lives of educated women.” Antler’s assessments focused on the women comprising alumnae from an earlier generation than Helen Marston but her findings are relevant for understanding Marston’s return to San Diego. Antler found among the Wellesley class “women with professional callings still identified themselves as daughters,” and “often the desire to return home influenced the kind and location of work women chose. Several women exchanged better jobs for less satisfying ones in their home towns so they could live with their families.” Perhaps more telling is the filial relationship between Helen’s elder sister, Mary Gilman Marston, and her parents. Mary graduated from Wellesley in 1903, never married and remained devoted to her parents, the family home, and her siblings’ families. Indeed, “status as a daughter...seemed as important among this social circle as professional achievement.” See Antler, “‘After College, What?': New Graduates and the Family Claim,” *American Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (Autumn 1980), 425-426.
12. For an interesting comparison of how the country received these female activists, see Harriet Hyman Alonso, “Nobel Peace Laureates, Jane Addams and Emily Greene Balch: Two Women of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom,” *Journal of Women's History* 7, no. 2 (1995): 6-26.
13. See Jensen, “Helen Marston and the California Peace Movement, 1915-1945,” 121; and SDWILPF for details of each activity.
14. Helen D. Marston Beardsley Autobiographical sketch (HMB Sketch), Box 2, file 27 (HMB correspondence), SDWILPF
15. HMB sketch.

16. Simmons Interview, 4.
17. Rosanne M. Barker makes a similar case in her study of educational reformer Pearl Chase in "Small Town Progressivism: Pearl Chase and Female Activism in Santa Barbara, California, 1911-1918," *Southern California Quarterly* 79 (1997): 47-100.
18. The Community Welfare Council organized in 1920 as a way to coordinate fund raising efforts among charitable agencies in the city. Helen Marston attended the first meetings as the Neighborhood House representative; her father presided over the meetings represented the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Details of meetings can be found in the San Diego Community Chest Records, 1920-1925, Volume 1, (SDCC/UW), United Way of San Diego Archives, located at the San Diego chapter headquarters. My thanks to Larry Johnson for giving me full access to these records and offering a warm environment at the headquarters in which to conduct my research.
19. Reformers Charlotte Baker, M.D. and Mary Anderson Hill launched the College Woman's Club in 1911 when the College Graduate's Club (organized in 1896 and changed to the University Club) no longer welcomed women. The sexual discrimination derives from a complex of change occurring at the state and city level, including women's newfound suffrage rights and their engagements in developing reform initiatives. See Alma Kathryn Robens, "Charlotte Baker: First Woman Physician and Community Leader in Turn of Nineteenth Century San Diego," (M.A. thesis, San Diego State University, 1992); and Sylvia K. Flanigan, "Social and Intellectual Affiliation: Formation and Growth of San Diego's University Club," *The Journal of San Diego History (JSDH)* 31, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 40-50.
20. Lawrence D. Taylor, "The Wild Frontier Moves South: U.S. Entrepreneurs and the Growth of Tijuana's Vice Industry, 1908-1935," *JSDH* 48, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 204-229; Vincent Cabeza de Baca and Juan Cabeza de Baca, "The 'Shame Suicides' and Tijuana," *Journal of the Southwest* 43, no. 4 (Winter 2001): 603-635; Eric Michael Schantz, "All Night at the Owl: The Social and Political Relations of Mexicali's Red-Light District, 1913-1925," *Journal of the Southwest* 43, no. 4 (Winter 2001): 549-602; James R. Curtis and Daniel D. Arreola, "Zonas de Tolerancia on the Northern Mexican Border," *Geographical Review* 81, no. 3 (July 1991): 333-346; and James A. Sandos, "Prostitution and Drugs: The United States Army on the Mexican-American Border, 1916-1917," *Pacific Historical Review* XLIX, no. 4 (November 1980): 621-645.
21. Mary Catherine Miller, "Attitudes of the San Diego Labor Movement Toward Mexicans, 1917-1936," (master's thesis, San Diego State University, 1974), 18.
22. Gayle Gullet, "Women Progressives and the Politics of Americanization in California, 1915-1920," *Pacific Historical Review* (1995), 78; and Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).
23. Amanda Mathews Chase, *Second Annual Report of the CIHC*, 139-146, as cited in Gullet, "Women Progressives," 83.
24. Edith Shatto King, "My Mexican Neighbors," *The Survey* 37 (March 3, 1917): 624-626.
25. King, "My Mexican Neighbors," 626.
26. King, "My Mexican Neighbors," 624.
27. Gregg R. Hennessey is the recognized authority on the family with the following *JSDH* articles among his essays tracking their accomplishments: "Creating a Monument, Re-creating History: Junipero Serra Museum and Presidio Park," *JSDH*, 43, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 136-163; "George White and Anna Gunn Marston: A Sketch," *JSDH*, 36, no. 2-3 (Spring/Summer 1990): 96-105; and "George White Marston and Conservative Reform in San Diego," *JSDH* 32, no. 4 (Fall 1986): 230-253. The 1913 and 1917 mayoral campaigns are assessed by Uldis Ports, "Geraniums and Smokestacks: San Diego's Mayoralty Campaign of 1917," *JSDH* 21, no. 3 (Summer 1975): 50-56.
28. For detailed analysis of efforts by this benevolent association see Kyle E. Ciani, "The Power

- of Maternal Love: Negotiating a Child's Care in Progressive-Era San Diego," *Journal of the West* 41 (Fall 2002): 71-79; and Richard D. Sexton, "The San Diego Woman's Home Association: A Volunteer Charity Organization," *JSDH* 29, no. 1 (Winter 1983): 41-53.
29. Three children lived into their second century: Mary Gilman Marston and Elizabeth Bade both died in 1987 at the ages of 107 and 102, and Harriet Headley died ten years later at the age of 108. Their brother, Arthur Marston, was 91 and Helen Marston Beardsley died at age 89. All were active members in their communities, involving themselves in the local chapters of the YMCA, YWCA, and Neighborhood House. The sisters were members of the American Association of University Women, the League of Women Voters and various women's clubs in their respective communities, such as San Diego's Wednesday Club. An overview of the family's involvements can be discerned from Gregg R. Hennessey's articles and Mary Gilman Marston's chronicle cited above; remembrances and obituaries in the Marston Family Biographical Files, SDHS; and Raymond Starr, "Philanthropy in San Diego, 1900-1929," *Southern California Quarterly* 71, no. 2-3 (1989): 227-273.
 30. Mary Gilman Marston, Comp. *George White Marston: A Family Chronicle* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1956).
 31. See the articles in *JSDH*, 34, no. 2 & 3 (Spring/Summer 1990), a special issue commemorating the George White and Anna Gunn Marston House.
 32. "Helen Marston Beardsley, Activist for Peace, Rights Is Dead at 89," *San Diego Union*, February 23, 1982.
 33. San Diego's elite families sent their daughters to the Bishop's School for Girls located at that time on First Avenue in downtown San Diego. Founded in 1909 by Joseph Horsfall Johnson, the first Bishop of the Los Angeles Diocese of the Episcopal Church, the school prepared well-heeled daughters for continued educations in prestigious East Coast schools such as Vassar, Wellesley, Mt. Holyoke and Smith College. Helen graduated from Bishop's in the spring of 1913.
 34. In addition to debates over the direction the city should take in building or controlling industrial growth, citizens also voted on the makeup of governing bodies during this time. In 1915, voters decided to shift from a commission government to a mayor-council system. On how these shifts fit into the larger political agenda of southwest cities, see Amy Bridges, *Morning Glories: Municipal Reform in the Southwest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
 35. Hennessey, "Creating a Monument, Re-creating History," 146; Ports, "Geraniums and Smokestacks."
 36. Marston Biographical Files, SDHS.
 37. Patricia Ann Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden: The Community of Women Faculty at Wellesley* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
 38. HMB sketch.
 39. HMB sketch.
 40. Helen's correspondence with her father was a trait shared among Wellesley students. See Antler, "'After College What?," 425.
 41. Jensen, "Helen Marston and the California Peace Movement, 1915-1945," 120.
 42. Historians of urban politics have noted similar sentiments among reform-minded women in cities across the country. See Maureen A. Flanagan, *Seeing With Their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871-1933* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); and Sarah Deutsch, *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
 43. When King became too ill to continue his responsibilities, Alice Adams Robertson recommended Wood Worchester as his replacement. In her memoir, *Grim the Battles*, Daisy Lee

- Worthington Worchester reflected that her doctor's orders to "rest at sea level" solidified the couple's choice to move to San Diego and join the growing reform community. Wood served as its secretary, but the day-to-day grind of operating an Associated Charities fell to Mary Hill. See Worchester, *Grim the Battles: A Semi-Autobiographical Account of the War Against Want in the United States During the First Half of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Exposition Press, 1954), 149-151; Shelton, "Neighborhood House of San Diego," 32; Cyrus Wayne Stephens, "The History of Social Welfare Agencies in San Diego County, 1872-1914," (master's thesis, San Diego State College, 1966), 44.
44. The investigation emerged from the advocacy of the National Child Labor Committee who lobbied Theodore Roosevelt to pass legislature that forbid employers to hire children under the age of fourteen and to improve working conditions in textile mills, mines, and factories known to depend on female and child labor. The NCLC was established in 1904 out of the growing concern over child laborers. High accident rates, missed school, poor health and vulnerability to adult abuse heightened the attentions of NCLC members, five thousand strong by 1909. See Walter Trattner, *Crusade for Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); and Marjorie Sarbaugh-Thompson and Mayer N. Zald, "Child Labor Laws: A Historical Case of Public Policy Implementation," *Administration & Society* 27, no. 1 (May 1995): 25-53.
 45. Worchester, *Grim the Battles*, 150.
 46. Edith Shatto King and Frederick A. King, *The Pathfinder Social Survey of San Diego* (San Diego: Labor Temple Press, March 1914).
 47. Shatto King and King, *Pathfinder Social Survey*, 3-4.
 48. Shatto King and King, *Pathfinder Social Survey*, 11-12.
 49. Walter Bellon Manuscript, 1956, SDHS.
 50. "Annual Report of the Departments of Public Health for the year 1916," p. 7 in Box 40, San Diego County Department of Public Health Collection (SDPH), Special Collections, Malcolm A. Love Library, San Diego State University (MLL).
 51. "Minutes of the Advisory Council, 18 November 1910," in Box 1A, folder (Minutes of Advisory Council Meetings, 1909-1912), Family Services Association of San Diego Collection (FSASD), MLL.
 52. Total birth figures taken from page 6 of "Annual Report of the Department of Public Health for the year 1916," SDPH.
 53. Shatto King and King, *Pathfinder Social Survey*, 17.
 54. San Diego's Free Industrial School (FIS) became one of the first vocational schools in the state. Established in 1894, members of the Woman's Home Association, especially Mrs. J. F. Carey, championed the building of FIS. Coming on the heels of the 1893 Depression, the motivation behind FIS is easy to understand. Articles of Incorporation note that organizers hoped to provide a structured environment for girls and boys living along the waterfront and viewed as leading idle lives. Located near the wharf and in a neighborhood dominated by newly immigrated families—primarily Italian, Portuguese, and Mexican who earned their living by fishing—the FIS provided recreational play to occupy children's time. Its main goal, however, was to train these boys and girls for productive wage earning. Boys learned how to use tools for a variety of trades and girls learned domestic skills, especially cooking and sewing. See Endorsement files, FSASD; and Lucien C. Atherton, "Vocational Side Lights," *Parent-Teacher Courier*, February 1943, 12.
 55. Scott Dittmyer and Kathryn Grant, "Historical Study of Neighborhood House," (master's thesis, San Diego State University, 1978), 33.
 56. "Neighborhood House, 1916," Box 1A, folder (Endorsement Files), FSASD.
 57. "Annual Report of the Department of Public Health for the year 1921," SDPH; and Dittmyer

- and Grant," *Historical Study of Neighborhood House*," 34.
58. "Minutes of the Advisory Council, 24 March 1916," Box 1A, folder (Minutes of the Advisory Council Meetings, November 1911-April 1916), FSASD.
 59. Dittmyer and Grant, "Historical Study of Neighborhood House," 39-40; Cynthia Jane Shelton, "The Neighborhood House of San Diego: Settlement Work in the Mexican Community, 1914-1940," (master's thesis, San Diego State University, 1975), 39, 44.
 60. The impetus for Smith-Hughes derived from the "rural crisis" troubling the nation in the early twentieth century. Politicians, government officials, reformers, and academics became increasingly concerned over the conditions that made "country life" far more difficult than urban living. These same authorities worked to develop programs that focused on vocational education to improve "family farmers' productivity and physical health, as well as to remedy inequities perpetuated by racism and ethnic prejudice." Sponsored by Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia and signed into law by President Woodrow Wilson in February 1917, the Act "mandated the establishment of a Federal Board of Vocational Education to provide national oversight to burgeoning federal and state involvement in various kinds of 'practical' vocationally oriented education aimed at adults as well as children and including a wide variety of subjects beyond scientific agriculture."

Smith-Hughes represented the second of two federal acts designed to assist rural communities. The first, Smith-Lever Act, passed into law May 1914 and expanded farm demonstration work that had been initiated by the General Education Board eight years earlier. The Smith-Lever Act committed the federal government to supplying four million dollars a year to extension work, and mandated that state governments would match the figure each received from the federal source. See Judith Sealander, *Private Wealth and Public Life: Foundation Philanthropy and the Reshaping of American Social Policy from the Progressive Era to the New Deal* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 35-36, 52, and 94-98. Sealander's discussion of the debates concerning the nation's increased dependency on federal monies emphasizes the growing savvy of state officials to take advantage of federal resources, especially in funding parent education classes in California public schools.
 61. Sandra Schackel's analysis of agricultural extension work in New Mexico explains the importance of federal grants to maternal education. See Sandra Schackel, *Social Housekeepers: Women Shaping Public Policy in New Mexico, 1920-1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 111-139.
 62. Shelton, "Neighborhood House of San Diego," 41.
 63. In *Creating a Female Dominion*, Robyn Muncy points out that college life during the Progressive Era directed young women toward careers and vocations that helped women and children, such as teaching, social work, and public health nursing.
 64. HMB sketch; and Shelton, "Neighborhood House of San Diego," 37-38.
 65. Worcester, *Grim the Battles*, 154, 150.
 66. Marston, "Mexican Traits," 562.
 67. Marston, "Mexican Traits," 562.
 68. Marston, "Mexican Traits," 562.
 69. Shatto King, "My Mexican Neighbors," 624.
 70. Shatto King, "My Mexican Neighbors," 624.
 71. City fathers worked feverously to compete on the international market, winning two choice World Exposition contests as well as luring the U.S. Navy to its port. On the influence of the Expositions, see Matthew Bokovoy, "Humanist Sentiment, Modern Spanish, Heritage, and California Mission Commemoration, 1769-1915," *JSDH* 48:2 (Summer 2002): 177-203, and "San Diego's Expositions as 'Island on the Land,' 1915, 1935: Race and Class in

- Southern California," Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1999. The military, especially the Navy, has played a major role in the city's economy since 1911. For an overview of this impact, see Gregg R. Hennessey, "San Diego, the U.S. Navy, and Urban Development: West Coast City Building, 1912-1929," *California History* 62 (Summer 1993): 129-149; and Roger Lotchin, *Fortress California 1910-1961: From Warfare to Welfare* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).
72. Haas, *Conquest and Historical Identities*; Iris H. W. Engstrand, "In Search of the Sun," in *California Light, 1900-1930*, Patricia Trenton and William H. Gerdtz, eds. (Laguna, CA: Laguna Art Museum, 1990), 53-59; Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).
 73. Marston, "Mexican Traits," 563.
 74. Marston, "Mexican Traits," 563.
 75. Scholars have found that families receiving aid from reformers during the Progressive Era worked to retain their cultural identities in the face of controlling actions and policies. See Sherri Broder, *Tramps, Unfit Mothers, and Neglected Children: Negotiating the Family in Late Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988); Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
 76. For example, Mina Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) and Ruth Hutchinson Crocker, *Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1992).
 77. Marston, "Mexican Traits," 564.
 78. Hennessey, "Creating a Monument, Re-creating History," 139.
 79. "Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Directors Community Welfare Council," July 28, 1925, SDCC/UW.
 80. For an excellent discussion of ideological constructs in the West that allows one to place California's policies and movements in its historical context, see Eliot West, "Reconstructing Race," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 34:2 (Spring 2003): 7-28. Book length overviews of Anglo American racist ideology and domination in California include, Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); and James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984).
 81. HMB sketch.
 82. Schott, *Reconstructing Women's Thoughts*, 7.
 83. San Diego Sun, June 22, 1935. Beardsley's marriage to Helen was his second, having first been married in 1900 to Anna M. Lyman of Des Moines, Iowa, who died in 1934.
 84. In personal conversations with me, various San Diego locals who engaged in peace activism during the 1960s and 1970s have echoed the sentiment expressed by Joan Jensen regarding Helen Marston Beardsley's presence at anti-war rallies.
 85. Shelton, "The Neighborhood House of San Diego," 55, 60.

LAND, WATER, AND REAL ESTATE: ED FLETCHER AND THE CUYAMACA WATER COMPANY, 1910-1926



By Theodore Strathman

The lands without water are worthless. The water with no lands upon which to use it would be valueless. Just what rule of fairness or equity would suggest that those who use their money to develop and supply the water which transforms these barren lands into dividend-paying orchards should not be allowed as much interest upon their investment as if they had put the money in to a savings bank, while the parties who owned the lands should have had the value of the same increased twenty or thirty fold, the writer is unable to appreciate.¹

Charles Crouch, Cuyamaca Water Company attorney

I have let my garden die this fall, I can buy shipped in vegetables cheaper than I can pay water and raise it at that rate. We are like a man that is made to dig his own grave, paying for a pump that they can sell water to the city of San Diego which I understand they are doing at present at the rate of between two and three million gallons per day.²

C. A. Weston, Cuyamaca Water Company customer

From 1910 to 1926, Ed Fletcher, manager and part-owner of the Cuyamaca Water Company, attempted to transform the troubled system into a profitable business. At the same time, he viewed the Cuyamaca Company as a tool he could use to aid his real estate development schemes in the suburban areas east of the city of San Diego. Fletcher used novel technology and the rate-setting power of the California Railroad Commission to increase deliveries to the western portions of the company's service area where he owned substantial amounts of land. As the above quotations suggest, however, Fletcher encountered stiff resistance from some customers who believed their farming operations could not survive rate increases.

The conflict between Fletcher and many irrigation customers reflects more than just a simple dispute over the cost of water. Rather, this conflict was at its heart a question of the future economic development of the El Cajon Valley and its surrounding communities. Fletcher's economic interests as a real estate developer and the manager of the Cuyamaca Water Company (CWC) demanded that larger farms give way to smaller ones, and that ultimately much of the area become suburban in character. Fletcher's success in improving the Cuyamaca Company's infrastructure, and in setting water rates that generated profits for the company while simultaneously increasing the

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Ed Fletcher and his employees standing at the entrance to the Ed Fletcher Company, ca. 1910. Edward Fletcher stands on the right. William Gross, for whom Grossmont was named, stands on the far left. ©SDHS #81:10665.

value of his real estate developments, had important consequences for the trajectory of suburban development in greater San Diego.

Fletcher's battles with irrigation customers also suggest that conflicts between rural and urban water users, a common struggle in much of the arid West, were in the context of San Diego's hinterlands more complicated than this simple dichotomy would suggest. While many customers in the eastern portion of the Cuyamaca Company's service area complained that Fletcher discriminated against irrigators and favored residential users, Fletcher's management of the company revealed more subtle patterns. For Fletcher, the proliferation of small, highly improved farms was a desirable development. Nevertheless, Fletcher viewed these farms not as an end in themselves but as a first step in the eventual transformation of undeveloped lands to communities of "bedroom" suburbs.

The San Diego Flume Company was organized in the nineteenth century and consisted of a storage reservoir created by the Cuyamaca Dam, a diverting dam on the San Diego River, and a thirty-five mile long wooden flume that delivered the water to the Eucalyptus Reservoir. From there, a pipeline took the water a short distance to the La Mesa Reservoir east of San Diego city limits.³ While he believed the system was in a "deplorable condition," and though he lacked the capital, Fletcher viewed the company as an attractive investment possibility.⁴ Having acquired an option to purchase the system for \$150,000, Fletcher persuaded James Murray, a Montana capitalist who had earlier funded Fletcher-led ventures in the county, to provide \$125,000 of the purchase price. Fletcher borrowed funds for his share, and the two formed a new corporation called the Cuyamaca Water Company, to which they transferred the properties of the



San Diego flume running adjacent to groves. Courtesy of the Helix Water District Archives.

recently-purchased Flume Company.⁵

In his 1952 memoir, Fletcher presented his involvement in the Cuyamaca Water Company as “accidental,” but it was no mere coincidence that he became involved in water development in the El Cajon Valley and its environs.⁶ Fletcher was above all a real estate developer, and perhaps more than any other San Diego booster, he recognized the speculative power of water. Unlike some of his competitors, though, Fletcher’s vision of the region’s growth had an agrarian component, a quality that can be traced to his early experiences in the county. After arriving in San Diego at the age of fifteen, he worked as a salesman for produce wholesalers Nason and Smith.⁷ Within a year Fletcher was working as an agent for the firm, traveling throughout San Diego’s “back country,” arranging sales from farmers, making produce deliveries, and settling accounts with customers.

These peregrinations acquainted Fletcher with the agricultural potential and water resources of the county as well as their possible role in development. Fletcher himself acknowledged that it was in part his “handling fruits and produce in my business” that suggested the connection between water, agriculture and real estate. He argued that “in the long run a plentiful supply of water, and good land in a citrus belt in San Diego County would some day be of great value and a profit maker; that water was the basis of real value in San Diego County.”⁸ By the 1910s, Fletcher had become involved in several real estate ventures focused on two main areas: the strip of coastal lands from Del Mar to Oceanside and the lands stretching east from San Diego’s city limits to El Cajon.⁹ The latter of these was the area served by the Cuyamaca Water Company.

To Fletcher, ownership of the water system serving the lands he intended to develop made good business sense. Under irrigation, the small farm plots served by the CWC would blossom. The addition of a water supply made agriculture possible and thus boosted land values. Control of the Cuyamaca system would allow Fletcher



La Mesa 1919. Courtesy of the Helix Water District Archives.

to ensure that his real estate ventures would have a supply of water. The initial purchasers of land would pay Fletcher for water that would in turn increase the value of all land in the area. Fletcher also believed that once settlement in the San Diego area became dense enough to allow for suburbanization east of city limits, the improvements made on these agricultural lands would increase the value of adjacent tracts.

San Diego developers had operated private water companies since the late nineteenth century, but by the Progressive Era the state had begun to regulate these enterprises as public utilities. The California Railroad Commission, created in 1879 to curb what many state residents viewed as unjust rates and services, was reorganized by three amendments to the state constitution and the Public Utilities Act of 1911. With these pieces of legislation, lawmakers granted the Railroad Commission the power to regulate not only rail companies but private corporations operating telephone or telegraph networks and systems delivering oil, heat, power, and water.¹⁰

Shortly after the reorganization of the Railroad Commission, Fletcher utilized its newfound jurisdiction to gain an increase in rates charged by the Cuyamaca Water Company. When Fletcher and Murray purchased the San Diego Flume Company (SDFC) in 1910, they also acquired the contracts under which the company supplied water to customers in the El Cajon Valley and its environs. These contracts typically stipulated that the Flume Company would deliver a specific quantity of water at a location and pressure agreed upon by the two parties. In addition to sales to individuals, the Flume Company reached agreements with several land development companies. In these cases, the development companies typically agreed to pay a yearly fee for access to the SDFC's system.¹¹ While these contracts constituted an important asset to the CWC, by the time of the system's sale, the rates charged to many early customers were substantially lower than prevailing prices. Fletcher therefore filed a

petition with the Railroad Commission in June 1912 asking for permission to increase the company's rates.

The Railroad Commission's decision in this hearing illustrates its potential as both a protector of customers and guarantor of corporate interests. After reviewing the history of the Flume Company and the CWC, the Commission decided that the Cuyamaca Company "was from its inception a public utility and, as such, subject to the jurisdiction of the Commission as to its water rates."¹² In its ruling, the Commission declared that the CWC could increase the rates it charged its customers, including those served under the contracts inherited from the Flume Company. At the same time, though, the Commissioners declared that before the new rates could take effect, the Cuyamaca Company must show evidence that it was taking steps to repair the flume to ensure that it could properly serve its customers.

Fletcher's response to the Railroad Commission's demand illustrates both his creativity in the management of the CWC and his desire to keep water rates as low as possible. The Commission informed Fletcher that he should reline the entire flume in concrete, a repair that Fletcher claimed would cost the company \$1.4 million.¹³ The Railroad Commission would probably have allowed for a further rate increase after the repairs were made, since it based rates on the value of a water company's properties and tried to guarantee that its owners would receive a "reasonable return" on their investment.¹⁴ Fletcher, however, believed that increased water rates would harm his real estate developments in the areas served by the CWC. Seeking cheaper methods to repair the flume, Fletcher instructed his engineer, William Post, to investigate the possibility of lining the inside of the flume with a rubber roofing material. After a successful experiment along one mile of the flume that convinced the Railroad Commission that this alternative was practicable, the CWC lined the entire length of the structure in this manner. The relining of the flume, which kept the structure functioning for another twenty years, cost the company about \$45,000.¹⁵ Besides satisfying the Commission's demands, the repair of the flume also significantly improved the system's efficiency: relined stretches of the flume lost about three percent of water diverted, compared to losses of over thirteen percent before the repairs.¹⁶

The efficiency of the flume was especially important because the Railroad Commission could prohibit the CWC from adding new customers if it found that the system could not reasonably accommodate them. New customers were important as a source of revenue, but Commission approval to add more consumers also allowed Fletcher to subdivide more land in La Mesa and its environs. Almost as soon as Murray and he had purchased the Flume Company, Fletcher began to investigate the possibility of increasing the capacity of the system. To begin with, the CWC filed requests with the California Division of Water Resources for permission to make additional withdrawals from the San Diego River. In another attempt to "perfect" its claims, the CWC purchased rights from riparian users along the river.¹⁷

To accommodate these increased withdrawals from the river, Fletcher and his engineers planned a series of improvements to the Cuyamaca Company's system. Fletcher designed a series of upstream reservoirs to increase diversions from the San Diego River.¹⁸ Furthermore, he built two storage facilities near the downstream terminus of the flume. The first was the Grossmont Reservoir, built in 1913 to hold water for the suburb of the same name.¹⁹

Fletcher's construction of the second of these downstream structures, the Murray Dam, revealed once again his willingness to experiment with new techniques in order

to increase profits while keeping the price of water low. In the flood of 1916 that destroyed the city of San Diego's Lower Otay Dam, the CWC's La Mesa Dam survived only when the flood waters receded after coming within a foot of the earthen structure's crest.²⁰ Fletcher and Murray decided to replace the La Mesa Dam, both to ensure the safety of the reservoir and to increase its storage capacity. To design the new structure, Fletcher hired John S. Eastwood, a controversial engineer who specialized in multiple arch dams. Fletcher was attracted to Eastwood's multiple arch design because it used less concrete and was thus less expensive to construct than traditional gravity dams.²¹ For Fletcher, Eastwood's design allowed the CWC to increase its capacity and the number of customers it served without placing too much strain on the company's finances. Unlike an irrigation district or a municipality, the Cuyamaca Company could not



Downstream face of Murray Dam, 1917, showing one arch of the multiple arch structure. Courtesy of the Helix Water District Archives.

draw directly (through bond issues) on the resources of its customers. With the endorsement of the Railroad Commission, Fletcher and Murray constructed a dam that was within their "relatively limited financial resources."²² Furthermore, their use of Eastwood's comparatively novel technique meant that they could continue to serve both domestic and agricultural customers. Since water was a factor of production for the irrigators of the El Cajon Valley and surrounding areas, the unit cost of water was a crucial concern. While domestic customers could absorb some increase in water rates,

Fletcher believed that these low water rates would help entice settlers to the semi-rural communities that he was helping to develop. Fletcher's real estate promotions thus stressed the potential for small-scale agriculture in San Diego's suburban areas.

A 1926 advertisement for Maryland Heights, a Fletcher-sponsored subdivision north of La Mesa, highlighted the agricultural potential of suburban San Diego. After assuring settlers of suburban amenities and an adequate water supply, the advertisement noted that nearly 500 acres of the area consisted of "small, highly improved ranches," where producers of tomatoes could earn "\$200 to \$250 an acre clear profit," and growers of winter vegetables generally could "average from 25% to 50% net on their investment" each year. As the advertisement's promise of profits for growers of vegetables suggests, these small farms in themselves would attract settlers. In addition, though, the well-maintained farms increased land values in the area, and Maryland Heights' position "directly in the path of San Diego's growth to the north and east" made the area an attractive investment.²³ Fletcher's ideas about regional economic development, then, depended upon a supply of cheap water that would make possible the initial phase of agricultural settlement. As a real estate promoter, Fletcher stood to gain from the increase in land values created by these early settlements.

In its first ten years under the management of Fletcher, the Cuyamaca Company



La Mesa, 1925. Courtesy of the Helix Water District Archives.

appeared before the Railroad Commission at least fifteen times in hearings pertaining to water rates. Under the first rates set by the Railroad Commission, the CWC charged customers on either a domestic or irrigation scale, depending upon the size of the tract served. Customers who owned a parcel of land less than one-half acre had to pay a flat domestic rate of \$1.25 per month. Tracts larger than this qualified for the irrigation rate, which was 1.25 cents per 1,000 gallons.²⁴

The Cuyamaca Company soon realized that this dual rate structure posed several problems. First, some large landowners subdivided their tracts but insisted that the CWC honor their original contracts for irrigation water. For example, in a 1914 letter to the Railroad Commission, the Cuyamaca Company complained about a fifteen acre tract that had been split into more than eighty lots. The tract, which had originally been devoted to growing lemons, had an outstanding contract with the San Diego Flume Company that provided for 1.25 inches of water. Under the Railroad Commission-mandated rate schedule, holders of such contracts would pay seventy dollars per year for a right of one inch; thus the CWC would earn \$87.50 for water sales to these fifteen acres. The company complained that this rate was unfair because the owners were taking delivery of their full allotment and then selling it to purchasers of smaller lots. The subdividers, then, were acting as water retailers, but unlike the CWC, they were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Railroad Commission. This practice was especially unfair, according to the CWC, because there were now forty-one houses that received Cuyamaca water but did not pay the domestic rate. In material terms, the CWC argued that it should collect \$615 per year for sales to these houses, rather than the \$87.50 it received from the original contract holder. The existing rate structure was flawed, the Cuyamaca Company argued, and “we should eliminate the question of size of the tract of land and sell water according to the quantity with a minimum charge to everyone alike, whether it be domestic or irrigation.”²⁵

Another problem with the dual rate structure based on tract size arose when *de facto* domestic customers claimed the irrigation rate by virtue of owning a piece of land

over the one-half acre limit.²⁶ An official of the CWC complained to the Railroad Commission in 1915 that “these so-called irrigation customers are playing horse with this Company and none of them are entitled to an irrigation rate except for the fact that they own an area a very few hundred[th]s in excess” of the minimum.²⁷ The records of the Cuyamaca Company illustrate that there were in fact many such tracts.²⁸

Responding to complaints issued by the CWC and its customers, the Commission initiated an investigation into the question of rate differentials for domestic and irrigation customers.²⁹ In a 1917 decision, the Railroad Commission disposed of the dual rate structure based upon tract size. Under the new rate structure, the CWC charged a flat rate of four dollars for the first 2,000 cubic feet a customer used each month. Once a customer exceeded this amount, an irrigation rate of 2.5 cents per hundred cubic feet went into effect.³⁰ For the CWC, the new rate structure eliminated the problem of domestic customers claiming an irrigation rate on the basis of the amount of land they owned. However, Fletcher maintained that the company was still losing money. In subsequent hearings, the Commission allowed several adjustments to the rate structure that granted the CWC the “reasonable return” its owners desired. By 1920, the Commission allowed the CWC to increase the irrigation rate to six cents per hundred cubic feet for customers in the “flume service” area (the eastern portion of the system, where customers drew water directly from the flume) and seven cents for “pipeline” customers (those in the western areas near Grossmont and La Mesa).³¹ The Railroad Commission set the domestic rate, which applied to the first two thousand cubic feet, at twenty-one cents per hundred cubic feet.³²

In its efforts to increase water rates and add more clients, the Cuyamaca Company faced opposition from many of its customers. An important leader of some of these disgruntled customers was D.G. Gordon, an attorney and citrus farmer who lived in the El Cajon Valley town of Bostonia. At the CWC’s first hearing before the Railroad Commission in 1912, Gordon appeared as a representative of customers who lived adjacent to the flume.³³ Over the next several years, Gordon repeatedly demanded that the CWC abide by the terms established by the Commission, and his correspondence with Fletcher and the Commission reveals both Fletcher’s goals and the resentments they engendered.

Gordon and other “back country” residents who held outstanding contracts when Fletcher and Murray purchased the SDFC argued that the new owners of the system should honor these agreements. In an application before the Railroad Commission, the Cuyamaca Company asked to be recognized as a public utility; the Commission granted this request and stipulated that under agreements already signed and based on its existing water rights and infrastructure, the CWC could enter contracts to deliver a maximum of 473 miner’s inches.³⁴ The Railroad Commission’s decision also stated that the CWC could take on new domestic customers only if it complied with several orders, including the repair of the flume and the delivery of water to all irrigation customers with valid contracts. On both of these points, Gordon and others challenged the CWC. While Fletcher boasted to the Commission that the flume relining was a “howling success,” Gordon was much less sanguine.³⁵ He claimed that the relining did little to strengthen the redwood structure, which could collapse and leave irrigators without a supply of water.³⁶ Gordon’s complaints appear to have made little impression on the Commission, which allowed the CWC to continue to operate the flume.

The irrigators in the eastern portions of the Cuyamaca Company’s service area also claimed that Fletcher was failing to meet their needs even as he was increasing deliver-

ies to domestic customers. In a complaint filed with the Railroad Commission in 1914, Gordon, representing about 100 irrigators who held contracts for more than a third of all water the CWC sold, argued that the company's deliveries were inconsistent at best.³⁷ During the preceding year, Gordon claimed, the CWC had delivered a full supply to these irrigators for a total of about five and a half months. During several weeks in the dry season, irrigators received no water at all.³⁸ Gordon argued that the CWC's failure to deliver water resulted not from a lack of supply: stream flow had been sufficient to keep the system's reservoirs nearly full. According to Gordon, the CWC was diverting water from its rightful claimants to domestic customers, a practice that was not only injurious to the successful operations of agricultural enterprises, but in violation of the Railroad Commission's orders as well.

Gordon's ire was especially aroused by the CWC's sale of water to the city of San Diego. Fletcher began making sales to the city in 1914 on what he claimed was a temporary basis.³⁹ Having satisfied the Railroad Commission that the CWC was complying with its order to repair the flume, Fletcher felt justified in selling "surplus" water to the city.⁴⁰ Gordon and other irrigators expressed outrage; in their view, Fletcher was simply depriving them of water because he could sell to the city at ten cents per thousand gallons, a much higher price than he received from irrigators. In a complaint filed with the Commission, Gordon depicted Fletcher's actions as a deliberate attempt to steadily remove irrigators as the chief recipients of CWC water. Efforts by the CWC to increase the capacity of the flume, Gordon argued, were designed to increase the domestic supply, which included "virtually all uses, except farm irrigation, which by [the Cuyamaca] Company is considered inferior."⁴¹ To Gordon, the actions of the city of San Diego foreboded more purchases from the CWC in the future: the municipality's expenditure of \$100,000 for a new pipeline from the La Mesa Reservoir to city limits suggested the CWC's deliveries were anything but temporary.

In a decision upheld by the California Supreme Court, the Railroad Commission increased irrigation rates in 1920. This decision effectively denied the claims of Gordon and other back country irrigators, and it suggested the importance of the Commission in providing state sanction to the CWC's operations.⁴² While the Commission did offer an important arena in which customers could protest the actions of a water company, its mandate to offer investors a reasonable return allowed the utility to increase rates with the imprimatur of state authority. The "reasonable return" doctrine became an important point of contention between the Cuyamaca Company and its customers. Gordon, for example, argued that the Railroad Commission should not grant the CWC rate increases to the detriment of irrigators. "The Commission," he wrote to Fletcher, "has been too easy with you. You are not in fairness entitled to an income from this system while consumers are suffering such heavy losses."⁴³ An attorney representing disgruntled CWC customers put the issue even more clearly in a hearing before the Commission. The Flume Company had never been a successful venture, the attorney argued, so why should Fletcher and Murray be able to purchase it, "and by investing large sums of money and by simply putting it under the Railroad Commission, exact that the Railroad Commission allow them a fair return from the beginning when it never had paid?"⁴⁴

While the Commission remained unmoved by the arguments of Gordon and other back country irrigators, their claims were not simple paranoia. Fletcher managed the CWC in a way that suggested he was less interested in the needs of the "flume service" customers than expanding the company's water sales to the western portion of the

service area. From his first years as the manager of the system, Fletcher believed the CWC's future was in sales to these customers, who used water mainly for domestic purposes. William Post, an engineer for the CWC, acknowledged this vision in a 1913 letter to Fletcher. Reporting on the future development of the system, Post wrote, "You do not propose any further irrigation sale, but intend to concentrate on extension of domestic water sales."⁴⁵ Domestic customers would be added in the towns of La Mesa and East San Diego, where Fletcher believed suburban growth would occur as the population of San Diego expanded eastward.

Fletcher's correspondence reveals that he indeed wished to add pipeline service customers at the expense of flume service irrigators. In a 1917 letter to Fletcher, Gordon complained about the CWC's irrigation rates; why, he asked, should customers pay 3.33 cents per thousand gallons when they could pump water at a rate of two cents? Fletcher forwarded the letter to his secretary Lou Mathews with a hand-written note instructing Mathews to keep it for future reference, "as he has admitted that [flume service customers] can pump water for two cents per thousand gallons."⁴⁶ If these customers had another means to water their crops at low rates, Fletcher reasoned, why should the CWC be obligated to continue to serve them? While it is unclear if Fletcher publicly expressed this desire to eliminate flume service customers, he certainly made it clear to the Railroad Commission. "The people of the El Cajon Valley," Fletcher wrote to Commissioner Irving Martin, "have testified that they can develop water cheaper than they can buy it from us. We would like to have them do it, and be relieved of that burden." Fletcher argued that "the only way to eliminate the people of El Cajon Valley is to increase the rate, thereby reducing the demands on our system," and allowing the CWC to increase sales to the city of San Diego and pipeline customers.⁴⁷

The building program of the CWC reflected this intention to concentrate on the western portion of its service area. The construction of Murray Dam, for example, increased by four times the storage capacity of the system at the terminus of the flume, near the communities of La Mesa, Lemon Grove, and East San Diego.⁴⁸ Gordon and other back country irrigators complained that this improvement did nothing to increase the amount of water available for customers further upstream. Even before the structure was built, Gordon complained that the CWC diverted water from Cuyamaca Reservoir and stored it in La Mesa Reservoir, a practice that left flume service customers wanting in times of shortage.⁴⁹ While domestic customers in the vicinity of La Mesa could draw a gravity supply from Murray Dam, upstream irrigators could not. Furthermore, Gordon and others argued, the Cuyamaca Reservoir could not provide all customers between it and Murray, and on several occasions in the previous years, shortages had forced the CWC to pump water from the bed of the San Diego River and institute a surcharge to cover the additional expense.⁵⁰ Facilities like Murray Dam not only failed to increase deliveries to customers upstream; they also added to the expenses of the company, for which all consumers had to pay through increased rates.⁵¹

The records of the Cuyamaca Company indicate that Fletcher succeeded in increasing sales to customers in the western portions of its service area. The relining of the flume and filings with the California Division of Water Rights apparently satisfied the Railroad Commission that the CWC was making honest efforts to improve its system for the benefit of all its customers.⁵² As Table 1 illustrates, the CWC steadily increased sales to domestic customers from 1915 to 1923; in this period, domestic

sales more than tripled. By 1923, the CWC still sold over three-quarters of its water to irrigation customers, but in absolute terms, the quantity of water sold to irrigators slightly declined in this period. The table also demonstrates the importance of sales to the city of San Diego. In 1921, for example, almost half of the water sold by the CWC went to the city. Perhaps as significant as the amount of water delivered was the number of domestic and irrigation customers. Throughout this period, domestic consumers were the bulk of CWC customers, and three-quarters of the net increase in customers from 1916 to 1921 consisted of domestic users.⁵³

Table 1: Consumption of Cuyamaca Company Water, by Irrigation and Domestic Customers and the City of San Diego, in Cubic Feet⁵⁴

YEAR	IRRIGATION	DOMESTIC	TOTAL	CITY	GRAND TOTAL
1915	136,128,000	11,719,000	147,848,000	50,077,000	179,925,000
1916	146,204,000	13,876,000	160,080,000	68,245,000	228,325,000
1917	117,192,000	11,884,000	129,076,000	None	129,076,000
1918	112,171,000	16,358,000	128,529,000	49,468,000	177,997,000
1919	114,953,000	17,383,000	132,336,000	45,402,000	177,738,000
1920	119,658,000	19,567,000	139,225,000	None	139,225,000
1921	98,781,000	23,535,000	122,316,000	105,425,000	227,741,000
1922	102,659,000	28,105,500	130,764,500	None	130,764,500
1923	125,915,900	39,345,800	165,261,700	None	165,261,700

Although the CWC continued to sell most of its water to irrigators, Fletcher was willing to engage in business practices that alienated many of these customers. There are several reasons for this pattern. First, domestic consumers provided a customer base that offered several benefits in terms of the profitable and efficient operation of the system. Domestic customers, for instance, could be counted on to use a relatively consistent amount of water per household. The water needs of irrigators, on the other hand, varied significantly from year to year, depending on factors like rainfall and the weather. Table 2 illustrates the relative consistency of domestic consumption compared to irrigation use, which fluctuated more markedly. From a business perspective, then, domestic customers would allow the CWC to rationalize important aspects of its operations. The company could determine with some accuracy how much water it would take to service a given number of households, for example.

Table 2: Cuyamaca Company Water Use per Customer, in Cubic Feet⁵⁵

YEAR	DOMESTIC	IRRIGATION
1918	6,566	261,011
1919	6,868	266,116
1920	6,931	249,559
1921	7,160	184,206
1922	6,850	159,283

Domestic customers would also be less sensitive to fluctuations in water rates. Since water was a factor of production for back country farmers, they were much more likely to protest increases in water rates, a fact not lost on Fletcher, given his experi-

ences with customers like Gordon. Furthermore, many irrigators living adjacent to the San Diego River pumped water from underground supplies. If the rates charged by the CWC rose above the cost of pumping, these irrigators would turn to this alternative supply.⁵⁶

Sales to the city of San Diego were especially attractive to Fletcher for a couple of reasons. First, the city purchased CWC water at ten cents per thousand gallons, a higher rate than that paid by irrigators in the company's service area. Furthermore, sales to the city involved little added expense to the CWC. According to the Cuyamaca Company (if not the flume service irrigators), only "surplus" water was sold to the city.⁵⁷

Besides the benefits that domestic customers offered to the CWC, Fletcher's decision to expand service to these consumers also aided his work as a real estate developer. In his sixteen years as manager of the CWC, Fletcher succeeded in expanding the company's deliveries to areas in which he owned or directed subdivision projects. The communities of Grossmont, Mount Helix, and Murray Hill were all developed by Fletcher in the 1910s, and these tracts were located in the western portion of the CWC service area.⁵⁸ Significant improvements to the company's system, such as the new Murray and Grossmont Reservoirs, provided additional water to these areas. In conjunction with Fletcher's road-building activities, the extension of CWC service to these areas created a significant infrastructural base that increased land values and attracted home seekers.⁵⁹

The Cuyamaca Company's ability to have its irrigation rate based on amount of water used rather than lot size was an important victory for the company. Since the irrigation rate went into effect only after a customer had consumed 2,000 cubic feet of water, all CWC consumers paid the higher domestic rate for this first amount. The amount of water used at the lower irrigation rate would depend upon a variety of factors, including land use and the concentration of land ownership. The relationship between settlement patterns and profits from water sales can be illustrated by considering a fifty-acre piece of land. For the CWC, the least profitable situation would be one in which one person owned this whole tract. If this landowner irrigated his or her tract, he or she would pay the domestic rate on only a small fraction of the total water used. A more desirable situation for the CWC would be one in which the land was more densely settled; if one hundred houses were located on half-acre lots, the CWC would have one hundred domestic customers and would have to sell little or no water at the irrigation rate.

A third pattern of settlement offered the CWC even greater benefits. In 1922, Chester Harritt, superintendent of the Cuyamaca Company, wrote to Fletcher about the value of the system and the water use of its customers. According to Harritt, "an irrigator who only irrigates from 2 to 5 acres is a much greater asset to the company than a straight domestic customer."⁶⁰ On small tracts of this size, an irrigator would often not use enough water for the irrigation rate to go into effect. The owner of a small farm would therefore use a significant amount of water but would pay a high rate for it.

Fletcher and his attorneys attempted to convince the Railroad Commission that such small-scale agriculture was practicable in the San Diego area, and that it could be carried on profitably even with increases in CWC water rates. The hearings of the Commission, while ostensibly about the expenses of the CWC and the rates it needed to charge to operate profitably, were also a forum in which Cuyamaca Company



1925 flume inspection. Left to right: Chet Harritt, CWC engineer Tom King, Ed Fletcher. Courtesy of the Helix Water District Archives.

officials and customers debated the viability of farming in the CWC service area. In 1919, the CWC applied with the Commission for an increase in domestic and irrigation rates; at the hearing held the following February, a number of customers protested that the system was poorly managed and that agriculture would be unprofitable if rates were increased further.

Fletcher's strategy before the Commission was to argue that an increase in domestic and irrigation rates would allow the company to operate profitably while still leaving room for practicable agriculture. Fletcher's attorneys called several witnesses who testified that their farms made reasonable profits. The CWC also used experts such as engineers and tax appraisers to discuss factors like soil quality, the amount of water required to grow different crops, and the relative prices charged by other water companies and municipalities. Fletcher's main contention was that irrigators in the CWC's service area were able to make profits if they worked their land properly, and that farmers in other parts of southern California operated successfully while paying more for water.⁶¹

Complainants' attorneys, on the other hand, maintained that the rates charged by the CWC were already so high as to render agriculture a losing proposition for most farmers.⁶² The successful irrigators called by the CWC, they claimed, were exceptions rather than the rule. Attorney Jesse George, for example, argued that the profits claimed by a farmer raising winter vegetables were excessive and did not take into account the cost of labor provided by the farmer and his wife. The complainants also called expert witnesses of their own, including an official with the El Cajon Citrus Association, who maintained that the average grower in the area lost nearly \$250 for every acre planted in lemons.⁶³ According to the protestants, the profits claimed by some lemon growers in recent years were an aberration caused by external factors such as the influenza epidemic which increased the demand for lemons because of their apparently curative properties. Under normal circumstances, irrigators claimed, the high price of CWC water made lemon growing unprofitable.⁶⁴

Fletcher and his attorneys countered these arguments about the failure of lemon growers by maintaining that the El Cajon Valley and adjacent areas were not suited for citriculture. Other crops, especially winter vegetables, were more suited for the region and would bring reasonable profits to farmers, even with increased water rates. For example, Fletcher called as a witness the owner of an eleven-acre ranch near La Mesa. This farmer grew guavas as well as eggplants, tomatoes, and peppers, and Fletcher attempted to illustrate that this tract operated profitably with Cuyamaca water.⁶⁵

To bolster its claims that truck gardening was profitable in the San Diego area, the Cuyamaca Company also pointed to farmers working lands within the limits of the city of San Diego. Fletcher called W. H. Judy, the city's manager of operations, who testified that the municipality offered no special irrigation rate to farmers; all users paid eleven cents per one hundred cubic feet. According to Judy, approximately 500 acres within city limits (concentrated mostly around Pacific Beach, Point Loma, and La Jolla) were under irrigation, and Fletcher noted that these lands were about the same distance from downtown San Diego as the farms in the La Mesa area.⁶⁶ According to Fletcher, farms in the western portion of the CWC's service area could engage in truck gardening as successfully as those within city limits, even with the increase in rates sought by the company.

Attorneys for the disgruntled flume customers challenged the claims of Judy and the CWC attorneys by pointing to the racial composition of those farmers irrigating successfully within city limits. In his cross-examination of the city's manager of operations, Jesse George asked if the majority of these farmers were Japanese, which Judy acknowledged was the case. "And what has been your experience," George asked, "can the American gardeners compete with the Japs?" Judy maintained that success was within the reach of white farmers if they would "get out and work" like Japanese do. The protestants' attorney pressed Judy further, attempting to force him to concede that Japanese truck gardeners could only operate profitably under the city's water rates because of their purported ability to observe a simpler "standard of living."⁶⁷

Judy refused to concede that white farmers could not operate successfully with the city's prevailing rates, and Fletcher pointed out in his re-examination that a sizable minority of the city's irrigators were white, but the exchange reveals the extent of "yellow peril" hysteria as well as divergent opinions about the causes of white farmers' woes. California's Alien Land Laws prohibited Japanese from owning land, but loopholes in the legislation meant that white farmers in the state still had to contend with what many saw as unfair competition from Japanese and Japanese American farm tenants and owners.⁶⁸ As several scholars have noted, the proponents of the back-to-the-land movement of the 1920s, which relied in many parts of the West upon irrigation, argued that one of its benefits would be the displacement of Japanese farmers by settlements of stable, white family farms.⁶⁹ The increasing price of water may have troubled white irrigators of suburban San Diego because it not only threatened the profitable operation of their farms but also the racial composition of their communities. If the CWC continued to increase its rates, white irrigators may have worried, only ethnic Japanese farmers would be able to work the land in its service area.

The white irrigators who complained of the CWC's high rates, whether their language was explicitly racial or not, expressed concerns about the future of family farming in the company's service area. One problem was the increase in land values that accompanied water deliveries. While Fletcher and other real estate developers welcomed this development, some farmers (many of whose lands and homes were



Sycamore Canyon trestle, eastern El Cajon, 1928. Courtesy of the Helix Water District Archives.

mortgaged) were concerned. Increased land values might mean higher tax assessments for farmers and more limited opportunities for increasing their acreage through purchases of additional tracts. The protestants contended that with increases in land prices and water rates, only a farmer with “a little nest egg on the side” could profitably engage in raising citrus. Clarence Preston, attorney for the protestants, went so far as to suggest that conditions for citriculture were so

poor that “there are two crops that are controlling: One is the crop of fruit and the other is the crop of suckers that come to this country to buy these orange groves and imagine they are going to make their fortunes out of them.”⁷⁰

In these and other rate hearings, the Railroad Commission had to weigh the CWC’s request for a “reasonable return” against farmers’ complaints about losing money on their investments. One of the principal problems confronting the CWC system, the Commission discovered, was that its service area was sparsely settled, which meant that it cost the company a relatively large sum per customer served. The Commission reasoned that if the CWC added more customers, the investment per consumer would decrease. One solution to the financial woes of the CWC, then, was for the commissioners to grant rate increases which could fund expansion of the system. This course would not only “enhance the value of the land of the present consumers under this system and add to the wealth of the community, but will also create a market for the commodity which this utility delivers.”⁷¹

The Commission’s decision in this case must have pleased Fletcher, for it effectively sponsored a program of expansion while guaranteeing a revenue stream to fund it. Furthermore, the commissioners seem to have paid little heed to irrigators who claimed they could not bear irrigation rates over the present 2.5 cents per hundred cubic feet. For his part, Fletcher contended that “the statement that the irrigator cannot pay 5 cents [per] one hundred cubic feet for water is absolutely erroneous.”⁷² The Commission apparently agreed and granted an increase that set the irrigation rate at between five and six cents per hundred cubic feet. To have left rates alone would have forced the commissioners to restrict the CWC to its current customers, since the Railroad Commission’s own engineers found that it would cost the company 4.5 cents per hundred cubic feet for all additional supplies it developed.⁷³

Fletcher must also have enjoyed the decision’s implications about the kind of expansion that the CWC would enjoy in the future. If the back country irrigators were right about their inability to farm profitably under increased rates, then the bulk of new customers would be located in the pipeline service area, precisely where Fletcher’s real estate interests lay. Furthermore, back country farmers confronted with higher prices might resort to pumping, thus freeing water for sale in downstream areas. The Cuyamaca Company would thus lose the burden of these irrigation customers who purchased much of their water at lower rates. As Table 3 illustrates, the Railroad Commission’s new rates allowed the CWC to decrease the amount of water delivered

to flume service customers while significantly increasing the revenues it received from them.

Table 3: Irrigation Consumption and Revenue, Flume Service Customers⁷⁴

YEAR	CONSUMPTION (IN CUBIC FEET)	REVENUE
1919	43,132,800	\$16,646.56
1920	45,572,740	\$18,414.34
1921	33,395,200	\$19,893.34
1922	31,157,460	\$22,157.76

Many back country irrigators grew frustrated with the Commission's apparent failure to consider their needs, and they continued to express their chagrin in letters and appearances at rate hearings. One farmer complained that these hearings had become mere formalities, and that Fletcher "takes it for granted that all he has to do is to ask the commission to grant him the right to raise his rates." According to this irrigator, the Commission focused its energies on assuring the CWC reasonable returns but cared little for the problems of its customers. "I have so much money invested in this little place of mine and it isn't paying me any interest," the farmer wrote to Commissioner Irving Martin, "so where is the commission for me to go before and ask that I be made safe and certain interest on my investment be paid?"⁷⁵ Under the new rates, another farmer complained, "the ranch business in this county cannot be successfully followed. The sufficient proof of this is found along the line of the Cuyamaca w[a]ter system, where not one acre in one hundred available to water service is actually under irrigation today."⁷⁶

The rate adjustments granted by the Railroad Commission in the early 1920's allowed the CWC to operate profitably. The Commission's auditors found that in 1921 the company made a seven percent return on investment (the CWC had lost money in three of the previous seven years).⁷⁷ However, Fletcher regularly attempted to sell the system to either the La Mesa, Lemon Grove and Spring Valley Irrigation District or the city of San Diego. After several efforts failed, Fletcher finally sold the Cuyamaca system to the irrigation district in 1926 for \$1.2 million.⁷⁸

In his memoirs, Fletcher maintained that he only earned \$78,000 from the operation and sale of the Cuyamaca Company, and he characterized his experience as its manager as "a headache" and "the greatest worry and trouble of my life."⁷⁹ In spite of these claims, though, his operation of the system was surely a success. His ability to increase rates allowed him to lose the burden of back country irrigation customers and focus instead on expanding deliveries further downstream. The improved infrastructure that this created in areas like La Mesa made possible new Fletcher-directed subdivisions.

Furthermore, Fletcher's management of the CWC made him a leading expert on local water development. He had at his disposal a team of engineers who conducted surveys and studies of the San Diego River and its tributaries. Fletcher's personal papers as well as the records of the CWC contain a steady stream of correspondence in which these experts discussed in detail the technical, financial, and legal intricacies of the company's quotidian affairs. In the 1920s and 1930s, when the city of San Diego took steps to develop its eponymous river, Fletcher frequently joined public debates in the city's newspapers, and he liberally supplemented his ideas with technical data he derived from his corps of experts.

Fletcher's struggles with flume service irrigators indicated that the future of San Diego's "back country" would be contested by a variety of interests. Aided by the rate-setting power of the California Railroad Commission, Fletcher helped create in places like La Mesa a landscape that was neither rural nor suburban in our understandings of those terms. These irrigated plots, Fletcher believed, would encourage settlement and increase land values in anticipation of a suburbanization that would surely accompany the growth of the city of San Diego. While Fletcher and city leaders alike viewed the areas to the east of San Diego as the "natural" destination of suburban expansion, Fletcher's experience with his customers and the Railroad Commission illustrated that land use patterns there were to an important degree the product of particular visions of regional economic development.

NOTES



1. Charles Crouch, "Legal Rights of Applicant," brief filed in Application No. 4515 Before the Railroad Commission of the State of California, March 8, 1920. Public Utilities Commission Records, California State Archives, Sacramento, California (hereafter cited as PUC Records, CSA), F3725:6939.
2. C. A. Weston to Railroad Commission, October 15, 1919. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:6947.
3. On the early history of the San Diego Flume Company, see Gregg R. Hennessey, "The Politics of Water in San Diego, 1895-1897," *The Journal of San Diego History (JSDH)* 24, no. 3 (Fall 1978), 367-383; Carl Joseph Courtemanche, "The Utilization of Water in San Diego County from 1890 to 1940: A Cultural Analysis" (master's thesis, San Diego State University, 1982), 6, 10.
4. Ed Fletcher, *Memoirs of Ed Fletcher* (San Diego: Pioneer Printers, 1952), 164. Ed Fletcher to M. C. Healion, January 12, 1910. Ed Fletcher Papers, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego, MSS 0081, Box 10, Folder 26 (hereafter cited as Fletcher Papers, UCSD).
5. Fletcher, *Memoirs*, 166. For Fletcher's account of his earlier dealings with Murray, see 179-180.
6. Fletcher, *Memoirs*, 163.
7. Fletcher, *Memoirs*, 1-18, 20-21.
8. Fletcher, *Memoirs*, 76.
9. See Fletcher, *Memoirs*, 117-130 for Fletcher's description of the development of these coastal lands. See also Samuel T. Black, *San Diego County, California: A Record of Settlement, Organization, Progress and Achievement* (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1913), 2:131, and Donald C. Jackson, *Building the Ultimate Dam: John S. Eastwood and the Control of Water in the West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 156.
10. Clyde C. Baker, *The California Public Utilities Commission: An Organizational Profile* (Davis: Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, Davis, 1966), 2-5. Gerald D. Nash, "The California Railroad Commission, 1876-1911," *Southern California Quarterly*, 44, no. 4 (December, 1962), 287-305. See also D.E. Pegrum, "Rate Theories and the California Railroad Commission," *University of California Publications in Economics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932), 10:6-11.

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11. Contract between El Cajon Valley Company and San Diego Flume Company, January 19, 1889. Cuyamaca Water Company Records, Mandeville Special Collections Library, University of California, San Diego, MSS 503, Box 4, Folder 3 (hereafter cited as CWC Records, UCSD).
12. *California Decisions*, 64, no. 3405 (November 21, 1922), 462.
13. Fletcher, *Memoirs*, 166.
14. Baker, *The California Public Utilities Commission*, 8.
15. William S. Post to H. W. Johns-Manville Company, September 29, 1913. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 9, Folder 24; Ed Fletcher to Stuart Haldorn, October 11, 1922. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 9, Folder 25.
16. "Measurement of Flume Leakage as Determined by C.H. Lee," February 16, 1915. CWC Records, UCSD, Box 2, Folder 2. See also Drawing No. 2003, "Types of Structures Contemplated for Replacement," July 1913. CWC Records, UCSD, Box 2, Folder 2. This folder also contains untitled reports and data on the cost of repairing the flume.
17. See "List of Appropriations of San Diego River and Tributaries, 1883-1913," n.d. CWC Records, UCSD, Box 4, Folder 4. See also assorted deeds showing transfer of riparian rights to the CWC in CWC Records, Box 4, Folder 2.
18. These structures included the proposed Fletcher and South Fork Dams, neither of which was ever built. See Thomas H. King to the Special Committee of the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, August 5, 1923. CWC Records, UCSD, Box 3, Folder 7; William S. Post, "Report on Boulder Creek Reservoir Site No. 5," February 17, 1913. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 40, Folder 14; Fletcher, *Memoirs*, 367.
19. Fletcher, *Memoirs*, 166.
20. Jackson, *Building the Ultimate Dam*, 157.
21. According to Donald Jackson, there are two basic "traditions" in dam design: the massive, or gravity tradition, which relies upon the weight of the materials in the dam itself to hold back the water; and the structural tradition, in which the shape of the dam is critical in resisting hydrostatic pressure. Jackson, *Building the Ultimate Dam*, 18-21.
22. Murray Dam, completed in 1918, cost the Cuyamaca Company about \$119,000. By comparison, the city of San Diego's Lower Otay Dam, built contemporaneously, was a concrete gravity dam of similar dimensions, but it cost six times as much as Murray Dam. Jackson, *Building the Ultimate Dam*, 158. R.C. Wueste to Hiram N. Savage, February 5, 1929. Hiram N. Savage Papers, Water Resources Center Archives, Berkeley, Folder 3:1. "Otay Dam Is Dedicated as Link in San Diego's Extended Water System," *San Diego Union*, September 2, 1919, 1.
23. "Maryland Heights: La Mesa's Garden Spot," advertisement in the *San Diego Union*, February 14, 1926, p. 12 ("Development Section").
24. Case No. 631 before the Railroad Commission of the State of California, July 29, 1914. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:852.
25. Manager, Cuyamaca Water Company to John M. Eshelman, January 3, 1914. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 10, Folder 8.
26. The Cuyamaca Company's records show numerous examples of such landownership patterns. See Cuyamaca Water Company, "Census Sheets," July 29, 1914. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:5018.
27. F. M. Faude (engineer for CWC) to R. W. Hawley, November 26, 1915. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 10, Folder 17.
28. See "Small Tract Plats, 1915-1916," n.d. CWC Records, UCSD, Box 3, Folder 10.
29. Case No. 631 Before the Railroad Commission. PUC Records, CSA F3725:852.

30. "Computations Showing Duty of Water on the System," September 25, 1918. CWC Records, UCSD, Box 1, Folder 5.
31. "Is the Cuyamaca Making Money?" *La Mesa Scout*, November 7, 1924, p. 6. The "pipeline" customers were served by pipelines that delivered water from one of the CWC's storage dams (such as the Murray and Eucalyptus reservoirs). The CWC sometimes classified these customers as "low service" (those between the City of San Diego and La Mesa) or "high service" (between La Mesa and the Eucalyptus Reservoir). See "Computations," CWC Records, UCSD, Box 1, Folder 5.
32. Chester Harritt to Ed Fletcher, November 13, 1922. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 10, Folder 5.
33. *California Decisions*, 64:3405, 462.
34. A miner's inch is a measurement of discharge and equals about one and a half cubic feet of water per minute. D.G. Gordon, "Application No. 724 before the Railroad Commission of the State of California," October 17, 1914. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 9, Folder 14. See also Decision No. 8145 for Applications No. 4515 and 4670 and Case No. 1272, September 24, 1920. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:6937.
35. Ed Fletcher to R.W. Hawley (Railroad Commission engineer), February 11, 1914. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 10, Folder 14.
36. Chester Harritt to Ed Fletcher, August 7, 1917. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 10, Folder 5.
37. Many of the complainants found in the records of the Railroad Commission lived in the Boston Ranch area of the El Cajon Valley and owned sizable tracts. For example, Gordon owned twenty-seven acres, E. W. Moyer seven, and R. T. Robinson eighty-five. See "Small Tract Plats," CWC Records, UCSD, Box 3, Folder 10.
38. Gordon, "Application No. 724," Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 9, Folder 14.
39. See Lou B. Mathews to Ed Fletcher, July 21, 1919. Application 4670, PUC Records, CSA, F3725:6947.
40. Ed Fletcher to D.G. Gordon, March 15, 1914. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 9, Folder 14.
41. Gordon, "Application No. 724," Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 9, Folder 14.
42. *California Decisions*, 64:3405, 466.
43. D.G. Gordon to Ed Fletcher, December 18, 1913. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 9, Folder 14.
44. Jesse George (attorney for protestants) in "Rate Hearing of Cuyamaca Water Company," CWC Records, Box 2, Folder 10, p. 1260.
45. William S. Post to Ed Fletcher, October 20, 1913. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 40, Folder 18.
46. D.G. Gordon to Cuyamaca Water Company, July 20, 1917. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 10, Folder 5. Fletcher to Lou Mathews, July 23, 1917. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 10, Folder 5.
47. Fletcher to Irving Martin, March 3, 1920. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:6938.
48. "Annual Report of the Cuyamaca Water Company to the Railroad Commission of California for the Year Ending December 31, 1919," PUC Records, CSA, F2511:2998. See also "Annual Report of the Cuyamaca Water Company," 1915. PUC Records, CSA, F2511:2997.
49. D.G. Gordon to Ed Fletcher, July 23, 1913. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 9, Folder 14.
50. "Rate Hearing of Cuyamaca Water Company." CWC Records, UCSD, Box 2, Folder 10, 1231-1248. See also Decision No. 8145. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:6937.
51. "Answer of Defendants Jesse George and Anna L. George to Application No. 4515," November 14, 1919. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:6937.

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52. See water rights summaries (dated 1920-1922) in CWC Records, UCSD, Box 4, Folder 2.
53. "Total Consumption of Water in Cubic Feet – 1915 to 1920 Inclusive," n.d. CWC Records, UCSD, Box 3, Folder 11. The figures contained in this folder only list the total number of customers as of September in each year. They do not show how many new customers connected to the system or how many discontinued their service.
54. Source: "Total Consumption of Water." CWC Records, UCSD, Box 3, Folder 11. Chester Harritt to Ed Fletcher, September 12, 1921. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 10, Folder 5.
55. Source: Chester Harritt to Ed Fletcher, November 13, 1922. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 10, Folder 5.
56. See Gordon to Cuyamaca Water Company, July 20, 1917. CWC Records, UCSD, Box 10, Folder 5; C. S. Alverson, "Report on the Underground Water of the San Diego River," July 27, 1912. CWC Records, UCSD, Box 2, Folder 15; Chester Harritt, "Description of Cuyamaca System," n.d. CWC Records, UCSD, Box 1, Folder 10.
57. Fletcher seems to have believed that the water he was selling was indeed surplus water. He asked an engineer to investigate the demands of current CWC customers to determine how much water he had available for sale to others, including the city. The engineer found that the CWC had a surplus supply of 3.8 million gallons per day that it could sell. F. M. Faude, "Net Safe Yield, Cuyamaca Water Company's System and Amount Available for Sale to Others Than Present Consumers," November 20, 1917. CWC Records, UCSD, Box 1, Folder 7.
58. Black, *San Diego County*, 129. While it is difficult to ascertain the precise acreage owned by Fletcher in this period, his investments in real estate were significant. When the La Mesa, Lemon Grove and Spring Valley Irrigation District reorganized in 1925, for instance, Fletcher petitioned to have several tracts included in the district. The irrigation district's delinquent tax list for 1929 listed Fletcher as the owner of 123 lots in the Fletcher Hills subdivision and co-owner of another 26 lots in the Boulder Heights tract in La Mesa. See "Petition for the Inclusion of Lands," *La Mesa Scout*, March 20, 1925, p. 2; "Delinquent Tax List," *La Mesa Scout*, August 1, 1930, sec 2, p. 1. As early as 1918, Fletcher wished to include in the district up to 5,000 acres that he and his partners owned. See Fletcher to J. H. Halley, May 6, 1918. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 9, Folder 31.
59. See Cuyamaca Water Company, "Small Tract Plats, 1915-1916," n.d. CWC Records, UCSD, Box 3, Folder 10. These maps show CWC pipelines and meters and indicate lot owners and purchasers of water.
60. Harritt to Fletcher, November 13, 1922. Fletcher Papers, UCSD, Box 10, Folder 5.
61. See, for example, CWC attorney Charles Crouch's arguments that irrigators in Claremont and Upland (in Los Angeles and San Bernardino Counties, respectively) paid twice what CWC customers did. "Rate Hearing of Cuyamaca Water Company." CWC Records, UCSD, Box 2, Folder 10, pp. 1130-1137.
62. The term "protestant" was used by the Railroad Commission in its transcripts to describe customers who filed complaints with the regulatory body. I use the term interchangeably with "complainant."
63. "Rate Hearing of Cuyamaca Water Company," 1164.
64. See testimony of J.H. Halley, a director of the Lemon Grove Fruit Growers' Association and an official with the Lemon Grove Mutual Water Company. "Rate Hearing of Cuyamaca Water Company," 1086-1098.
65. "Rate Hearing of Cuyamaca Water Company," 1209-1212.
66. "Rate Hearing of Cuyamaca Water Company," 1177-1179; 1188.
67. "Rate Hearing of Cuyamaca Water Company," 1180-1181.

68. On the Alien Land Laws, see Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*, rev. ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998), 203-206; Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 139.
69. See Donald J. Pisani, *From the Family Farm to Agribusiness: The Irrigation Crusade in California and the West, 1850-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.), 442. Eric Boime has recently pointed to the importance of anti-Japanese sentiment in the movement for the All-American Canal in the Imperial Valley. Eric I. Boime, "Fluid Boundaries: Southern California, Baja California, and the Conflict over the Colorado River, 1848-1944," (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2002), 191-215.
70. "Rate Hearing of Cuyamaca Water Company," 1107-1108. See also in this record Jesse George's examination of S.C. French (p. 1212), in which the attorney intimated that newcomers to the region would have difficulty starting new farms.
71. "Decision No. 8145 for Application Nos. 4515 and 4670 and Case No. 1272," September 24, 1920. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:6937.
72. Fletcher to Irving Martin, March 3, 1920. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:6938.
73. Decision No. 8145. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:6937.
74. Chester Harritt to Charles Crouch, February 2, 1923. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:7147.
75. S.D. Hyatt to Irving Martin, February 26, 1923. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:7147.
76. E.B. Waite to Railroad Commission, September 8, 1919. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:6947.
77. Decision No. 12277 before the Railroad Commission of the State of California, June 26, 1923. PUC Records, CSA, F3725:7147. See also Thomas G. Hughes, "Cuyamaca Water Company" (report to Railroad Commission), April 2, 1924. CWC Records, UCSD, Box 2, Folder 8.
78. Fletcher, *Memoirs*, 173.
79. Fletcher, *Memoirs*, 165, 177.

◆ REVIEW ESSAY ◆

Helen Hunt Jackson: A Literary Life. By Kate Phillips. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. Bibliography, 26 b & w illustrations, index, and notes. ix + 370 pp. \$43.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Matthew F. Bokovoy, Acquisitions Editor, University of Oklahoma Press.

The literary influence of Helen Hunt Jackson's novel *Ramona* (1884) remains strong to this day for promotional efforts in Southern California. The aura of Spanish romance evoked in her popular novel suffuses the imagined landscapes of the entire region, and even animates tourism development in the U.S. - Mexico Borderlands. In San Diego and Orange Counties, the former Mexican ranches at Camulos and Guajome compete for the claim to be the "real" home of *Ramona* described in Jackson's book. During the 1910s in Old Town San Diego, the city's Mexican era historical district, the companies of John D. Spreckels transformed the Casa de Estudillo into "Ramona's Marriage Place" for tourism, replete with a wishing well, *carreta*, and a Spanish oven known as an *horno*. Over the years, hundreds of thousands of postcards promoted the site to such an extent that this author has found them in antique stores in tiny corners of rural Oklahoma. The town of Hemet in Riverside County has held an annual *Ramona* Pageant every year since 1923 to make the Spanish fantasy past of Jackson's *Ramona* an enduring regional mythology. Jackson's novel, as well as the early twentieth-century *The Mission Play*, written by John Steven McGroarty and performed at Mission San Gabriel, influenced the remaking of Olvera Street in Los Angeles during the 1930s.

The effusive romance of the novel was so infectious, said Carey McWilliams in 1945, that Southern Californians had "accepted the charming *Ramona* as a folk figure, but completely rejected the Indians still living in the area." In Jackson's mind, *Ramona* was a literary vehicle to publicize the contemporary predicament of both the Mission Indians and common Mexican American people of Southern California. McWilliams believed her *Report on the Condition and Needs of the Mission Indians of California* (1883), but especially *A Century of Dishonor* (1881) was "a valuable document" and Jackson did help "arouse a momentary flurry of interest in Mission Indians." In *Ramona*, Jackson imagined an egalitarian future through social criticism of past wrongs.¹ This naked fact, of course, is certainly lost underneath the tourism and culture industries in Southern California, which perennially promote misleading history and reproduce conventional understandings of Southern California throughout the United States.

In *Helen Hunt Jackson: A Literary Life*, Kate Phillips argues that Jackson's fiction, travel writing, and social criticism were the culmination of a life spent searching for sympathy among the less fortunate, travel to assuage feelings of rootlessness, and perseverance in the face of disappointment and loss. Phillips handles with great sensitivity the span of Jackson's life, and her biography supercedes previous Jackson scholarship. It is a major revision of Helen Hunt Jackson's life and an outstanding contribution to women's history, the cultural transition from the antebellum period to the industrial era, and American literary history. As the most influential and highly-paid female writer of her generation by 1881, Phillips admirably reclaims the stature of Jackson from parochial treatments of her writing six years before her death in 1885.² By reconsidering the sources and studying more than "thirteen hundred letters" from the author's life, Phillips was able to "correct a number of misperceptions about Jackson

and to understand her life and career in new ways.”³ Phillips creatively paints a portrait of Jackson’s life using phases of the author’s literary awakening, rather than chronology employed by traditional academic biographers. What emerges is a highly-readable, well-integrated, and sensitive story of a remarkable woman’s journey from humble beginnings to literary acclaim.

Helen Maria Fiske was born in Amherst, Massachusetts on October 14, 1830 to Nathan Welby Fiske, a professor of Greek and Latin at Amherst College, and Deborah Vinal Fiske, a homemaker and author of instructional children’s stories. Reared in an orthodox Calvinist household, the young Helen imbibed the pious worldview that was so much a part of the New England Protestant tradition. Submission and duty to the strictures of an angry God, and hard work and cheerfulness in the face of adversity were defining elements of her childhood. By 1841, Helen’s parents were determined to school her outside the confines of Amherst. An ambitious, bright, and curious young girl, the eleven year-old Fiske lived in Hadley and Charlestown with family friends where she pursued the proper instruction of Protestant education. Away from her family, Jackson became overwhelmed by feelings of homesickness. This would later influence her regionalist writing.

When viewing her later Indian reform writings, it was somewhat odd that Jackson would develop an interest in social activism. Reared in rural western Massachusetts, the environment of Helen Fiske’s Protestant moral education lay just outside the “burned-over-district” of upstate New York and the upper Midwest, where the Second Great Awakening kindled during the 1840s. The moral orientation of evangelical Protestantism preached by Charles Grandison Finney and abolitionist William Weld defined the antebellum quest for a perfect society and the Christian ethics undergirding social activism. At this time, such considerations eluded the young woman. The death of her mother in 1844 and the passing of her father in 1847 sent Jackson into a period of intense mental anguish and depression accompanied by feelings of loneliness. But she did learn from her father a life of active industry devoted to God. From her mother, Helen imbibed equal parts skepticism and cheerful Christian submission. Phillips believes that Deborah encouraged Helen to imitate “her own inventive, pictorial manner of writing,” which shaped Jackson’s power of imagination.⁴ From the age of sixteen, Helen became the ward of Julius Palmer, a close family friend and Boston lawyer. Her maternal grandfather David Vinal supported her and her sister financially. It was the ambition to persevere in the face of adversity, and the independence such survival entails, that laid the foundation for Jackson’s success.

The early literary career of the young Helen Fiske began in 1849 after she left the moralism and humdrum of the Ipswich Female Seminary and headed for New York City to attend the Abbott Institute. The diversity of city life and the undogmatic Christianity of John Abbott allowed her horizons to broaden and her literary ambition to flourish. Like her custodian Julius Palmer, Abbott encouraged Helen to develop her considerable, “God-given” talents at writing. Jackson spent a year-and-a-half teaching at the Institute while indulging heavily in “solitary study.”⁵ Both John and Jacob Abbott pursued profitable Christian-inspired writing, the independence of which made a favorable impression upon the fledgling young student. In 1851, Helen moved to Albany, New York with her custodian’s family, Ray and Ann Palmer, a home that she believed was “‘the pleasantest’ she had ‘ever known.’”⁶ She also met a young Amherst student that year named Henry Root. Although not a romantic relationship, the sentiment and intensity of the correspondence shows Jackson to be an expressive and

disciplined writer. Like many talented and ambitious women of the pre-Civil War generation, Jackson felt constrained by both Christian duty and its insistence upon feminine subjugation to men. Phillips explains that “it was the intellectual life of the ‘scholar’ - the literary life - that seemed to Helen most admirable among the several choices open to her.” Her letters to Root allude to the works of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jane Austen, Goethe, and Shakespeare. She told her confidant that the view of life of Ralph Waldo Emerson was “thrilling, and awakening, even though it does not always prove – practical.”⁷ Like many women with accomplished intellects and career ambitions that would come after her, such as Jane Addams and Edna St. Vincent Millay, Jackson strove to remain fiercely focused upon her avocation while balancing both family and romantic love. However, she did not exhibit a rebelliousness similar to Addams and especially Millay. Jackson strove for literary dedication and distinction within the norms between men and women shaped by the pre-Civil War generation.⁸

In the winter of 1851, Jackson met Edward Hunt, her future husband and brother of the New York governor. She was drawn to Hunt by his handsome looks and a soulful connection born of the fact that “both of them were orphans.”⁹ Although she was happy in her marriage to Hunt, he often was absorbed with his duties working for the Army Corp of Engineers. But he was very supportive of her literary endeavors and introduced Helen to Katherine Wormley, Anne Lynch Botta, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Moncure Conway. With her husband often absent from home, Jackson found herself alone and independent, but with plenty of time to pursue her interest in poetry and literature. In the 1860s, she experienced incredible loss. Edward died in 1863, followed two years later by the death of their son Rennie. With the horrors of the Civil War as a backdrop to this dark decade, Jackson developed intimate friendships with Moncure Conway and Thomas Higginson, whose radical brand of Unitarianism assuaged Helen’s pained heart. Both ministers stewarded Jackson’s literary career and instilled an urgent sense of social activism in the young writer, for both were outspoken revolutionary abolitionists. Phillips reveals admirably the influence of Higginson on Helen’s literary career. He believed that publication in America’s flourishing, eastern literary magazines was vitally important to establish a reputation as a writer. Although the literary marketplace was highly competitive, he urged Jackson to develop work in prose, poetry, short fiction, fiction, and eventually non-fiction. Her devotion to Higginson was so strong that it soured her friendship with Charlotte Cushman, America’s most famous stage actress of the late nineteenth century.

Throughout the 1870s, Helen Hunt Jackson became part of the Boston and New York literary scene, where she forged friendships with the most important writers and editors of the era. She received critical acclaim for her writing with publication in the top newspapers and literary magazines of the era, such as *Scribner’s Monthly*, *The Atlantic*, *Harper’s Monthly*, *the Nation*, and the *Century Magazine* (which absorbed *Scribner’s*). When Jackson first met Ralph Waldo Emerson in Newport, Rhode Island in 1868, she became overwhelmed by his praise for her work. Phillips explains that “Emerson remained one of Jackson’s staunchest supporters, most admiring her denser and more cerebral poems, whether or not they specifically demonstrated any Transcendentalist influence.”¹⁰ He believed her to be the greatest living poet in the United States.

In the late 1860s, Jackson excelled at poetry, not quite confident that prose offered her creative possibilities. Many of her earliest poems appeared in the *New York Independent*. Primarily *Scribner’s Monthly*, she published short fiction about heroines

who were productive and cheerful under the pseudonym "Saxe Holm." Plagued by tuberculosis and an easy restlessness, Jackson was fond of changing her environment. She was fond of rural exploration, especially in New England and later in her adopted home of Colorado Springs. Jackson developed a keen eye for "local color" and the life of rural inhabitants. It was through her travel essays and prose, argues Phillips, that Jackson "gradually discovered her deepest literary concerns."¹¹ Her early New England travel sketches depict a rural nostalgia for a countryside fast disappearing under the pressure of industrialism. She admired the California regionalist poet Joaquin Miller for his power to describe new places in the west. In 1875, she married William Sharpless Jackson, an executive with the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, in Colorado Springs. Despite their differences, William was a pillar of support for his wife's literary endeavors. His kindness allowed her regionalist writing to assume a critical stance that separated it from mere "local color" pieces that expressed a syrupy sentimentalism or blustery boosterism.

Although her travel essays on California and Colorado without doubt promoted visitation to rural places (thereby spoiling their Edenic qualities), Phillips believes "Jackson's concern for the preservation of Colorado's early lifeways sets her essays apart from the work of several other famous travel writers" and that her "western travel writings demonstrate more race tolerance than those of her peers."¹² Jackson sympathized with the Indians and ethnic Mexicans who had been displaced and disenfranchised by the extractive industrialism of 1870s Colorado and the coarse racist attitudes and actions of white pioneers. Despite her "ethnocentric" Protestant biases, Jackson felt empathy for those wronged and blamed whites for the demoralization of the unfortunate. As a result, her travel essays often describe Indians and other peoples of the west in a favorable light, as innocent victims of westward expansion and unlimited greed. She felt an affinity with those displaced or wronged. Phillips notes that her understanding "owes a good deal to her relationship" with William Jackson, whose family had been antislavery activists.¹³ It is this portrayal of Jackson by Phillips that will surely fire debate in scholarly circles in western history. It is an incontestable fact, however, that this was her point of view regarding the indigenous and Spanish-descent peoples of the west, not unlike Charles F. Lummis, the founder of the Southwest Museum, who described Indians and ethnic Mexicans, but nonetheless believed both groups were citizens by name and law.¹⁴ The wellspring of Jackson's concern for the displaced and disenfranchised emerged from her conversion to Unitarianism, her protest against the incursions of industrialism, her husband William, and her introduction in Boston to the Ponca Chief Standing Bear in 1879. Phillips believes Indian reform helped unearth her deeper concerns as "she struggled to find a more concrete moral purpose for her writing."¹⁵ Through the consciousness-raising tour of Standing Bear, Jackson also met Omaha Indian Sulette La Flesche (known as "Bright Eyes") and her husband Francis. Influenced by the land cause embraced by the Poncas and Sulette La Flesche's call for ordinary Americans to remedy the injustices done to Indians, Jackson published *A Century of Dishonor* (1881). She believed the "great difficulty with the Indian problem is not with the Indian, but with the Government and people of the United States." In the end, it made "little difference where one opens the record of the history of Indians; every page and every year has its dark stain. The story of one tribe is the story of all."¹⁶

With much praise for *A Century of Dishonor*, Jackson received offers to write travel essays about Southern California from Thomas Bailey Aldrich, the editor of *Harper's*

Monthly, and Charles Dudley Warner, editor at the *Century Magazine*. Naturally, her visits into the California backcountry led to an interest in the condition of the region's "Mission" Indian bands. In 1882, Jackson and Abbott Kinney of Los Angeles (the developer of Venice Beach) received appointments to investigate the conflict for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. She told Warner that "There is not in all the Century of Dishonor, so black a chapter, as the history of these Mission Indians." They were "peaceable farmers for a hundred years," argued Jackson, "driven out of good adobe houses and the white men who had driven them out, settling down calm and comfortable in the houses! - What do you think of that?" The report she and Kinney submitted to the BIA recommended that all treaties protecting Mission Indian lands become inviolate and suggested the Bureau ask, "What the Indians' own feelings are about going on reservations."¹⁷ When both of her Indian reform tracts fell on deaf ears in the literary marketplace, Jackson decided that romance and social protest fiction might tell the story better. The result was her acclaimed novel *Ramona* (1884), which fictionalized the injustices done to the Mission Indians and ethnic Mexicans of the region by the unlimited avarice of white society.

In this fascinating re-evaluation of Jackson's Indian reform work, Phillips places Jackson as a key figure in the history of American social activism. Although field scholars in western history have shown the Euro-American biases of social reform and progressivism in the West, Phillips paints Jackson within the current trends in western cultural history and ethnohistory, where Indian-White encounters sometimes created social and political networks that were beneficial for both peoples. With much evidence, Phillips shows the relationship between Jackson's actions and words. Helen Hunt Jackson joined other Euro-Americans such as anthropologists James Mooney, Alēs Hrdlička, and John Peabody Harrington and regional promoters such as Edgar Hewett, Jesse Nusbaum, and George Wharton James who viewed native peoples with sympathy and believed the injustices done to native peoples were stains on American democracy. James later heaped praise on the work of Jackson for her "indictment of churches, citizens, and the general government, for their crime of supineness in allowing our acknowledged wards to be seduced, cheated, and corrupted." The works of Jackson, said James, "should be read by every honest American."¹⁸ Phillips does well to reevaluate and place Jackson in the context of these figures.

The quality of Jackson's regionalist writings, especially *Ramona*, has been viewed as colonialist, racially-biased, and overly sentimental depictions of the romance for the mission and rancho era. Phillips certainly notes that Jackson's understanding of the Mission era was heavily biased and inaccurate, especially her depiction of benevolent Franciscan friars and kind, paternal *rancheros*. Nonetheless, Phillips believes "*Ramona* more clearly and unequivocally advocates the rights of Native Americans than any other nineteenth-century novel written by a European American."¹⁹ In the late nineteenth century literary marketplace, Southern regionalism and Civil War memoirs dominated reading preferences and American memory. Thomas Nelson Page and the Plantation School of sentimental literature shaped racial perceptions of newly freed African Americans throughout the country. Key to this genre was the recreation of black dialect for racist ends. Where Nelson Page and other prejudiced southern regionalists used the dialect novel to render African Americans poorly, Phillips reveals that through *Ramona*, Jackson expressed solidarity with "oppressed peoples" by avoiding the recreation of local dialects. In fact, she turned-the-tables on the oppressors. Phillips explains that "only white American settlers speak in dialect in the

novel, whereas the words of Indian, Mexican, and Spanish characters are set down in heightened, formal English, a language intended to distinguish them as the societal 'norm,' the legitimate offspring of the land." This fact, however, is certainly lost on close literary readings of Jackson's work. She might fit within a regionalist tradition established by Albion W. Tourgée, the writer and Union war veteran that best represented the emancipationist vision in the South and lampooned the insincerity of sectional reconciliation.²⁰

Helen Hunt Jackson: A Literary Life by Kate Phillips is an outstanding biography of a brilliant woman. For readers of this *Journal*, the book well reveals the phase of Jackson's life spent in California and the evocative regional mythology of Southern California that still lures.

NOTES



1. Carey McWilliams, "Southern California: Ersatz Mythology," *Common Ground*, 6, no. 2 (Winter 1945): 33.
2. Although a fine essay, see David Hurst Thomas, "Harvesting Ramona's Garden: Life in California's Mythical Mission Past," in Hurst Thomas, ed., *Columbian Consequences: The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective*, vol. 3, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 119-157; James Sandos continues the tradition of the Camulos/Guajome argument. See "Historic Preservation and Historical Facts: Helen Hunt Jackson, Rancho Camulos, and Ramonana," *California History*, 78, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 169-185.
3. Phillips, 4.
4. Phillips, 59.
5. Phillips, 69.
6. Phillips, 70.
7. Phillips, 73.
8. Allen F Davis, *American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Nancy Milford, *Savage Beauty: The Life of Edna St. Vincent Millay* (New York: Random House, 2001).
9. Phillips, 76.
10. Phillips, 125.
11. Phillips, 23.
12. Phillips, 176.
13. Phillips, 177.
14. Charles F Lummis, *A Tramp Across the Continent* (Albuquerque: Calvin Horn Publishers, 1892; reprint 1969); Charles F Lummis, *The Land of Poco Tiempo* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1893; reprint 1952); Sherry Smith is one of the few writers to explore similar figures outside of the usual colonialist framework, see *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans Through Anglo Eyes, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
15. Phillips, 222.
16. Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1881), 1, 337.

17. Jackson quoted in *The Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson, 1879-1885*, Valerie Sherer Mathes, ed., (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 210-211, 239-242. The letter is Jackson to Charles Dudley Warner, 31 October 1882.
18. L.G. Moses, *The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984; reprint 2002); Ale Hrdli ka, *Physiological and Medical Observations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico*, Bureau of American Ethnology, 34 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), 3-36; Carobeth Laird, *Encounter With an Angry God: Recollections of My Life with John Peabody Harrington* (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 1975), 1-57; Edgar Hewett, Circular Relating to Historic and Prehistoric Ruins of the Southwest and Their Preservation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904); George Wharton James, *In and Out of the Old Missions of California: An Historical and Pictorial Account of the Franciscan Missions* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1907), 301-302; Nusbaum, Rosemary, *Tierra Dulce: Reminiscences from the Jesse Nusbaum Papers* (Santa Fe: The Sunstone Press, 1980).
19. Phillips, 261.
20. Phillips, 39; David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 211-254; For ahistorical treatments of Jackson's work, see Anne E. Goldman, "I Think Our Romance is Spoiled,' Or Crossing Genres: California History in Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* and María Amparo Ruíz de Burton's *The Squatter and the Don*," in Blake Allmendinger and Valerie Matsumoto, ed., *Over The Edge: Remapping the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 65-84; See also Robert Irwin McKee, "Ramona and Postnationalist American Studies: On 'Our America' and the Mexican Borderlands," *American Quarterly*, 55, no. 4 (December 2003).

◆BOOK REVIEWS◆

This year (2005) commemorates the 400th anniversary of the publication of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's masterpiece: *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, one of the earliest novels in a European language. Throughout the Hispanic world, especially in Spain and Mexico, people are celebrating this anniversary through a variety of events, programs, and celebrations. New editions of the book, richly illustrated, and others in popular, modest editions, have been published.



Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s-1880s. By Miraslava Chávez-Garcia. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004. Bibliography, index, 1 map, notes, 10 b&w photos. 250 pp. \$39.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Michelle E. Jolly, Associate Professor, Department of History, Sonoma State University.

This important book makes an important contribution to our understanding of the significance of gender and the multiple roles of women in the conquest and settlement of California. Extending the path-breaking work of Antonia Castañeda and Virginia Bouvier on Spanish California, Chávez-Garcia investigates the ways in which California-Mexican and Native American women negotiated conquest in the Mexican and American periods. By analyzing court cases (including criminal and divorce proceedings) and other evidence from Los Angeles from 1770 to the 1880s, Chávez-Garcia argues that women "of all social classes, ethnicities, and regions have played multiple, key roles in the conquest, colonization, and development of Spanish, and, later, Mexican society," (xiv); that such women "negotiated patriarchal institutions and ideologies as well as the violent transition from Spanish, Mexican, to American rule," (xiv); and finally, that conquest, particularly the American conquest of California, profoundly "affected intimate aspects of personal life, including gender relations, marriage and the family" and "irrevocably altered" women's existence (175-6).

Chávez-Garcia's work is divided in two parts, emphasizing the profound transformation that the transition to American rule effected. In both parts, Chávez-Garcia explores family relations (particularly marriage), women's ability to hold, manage, and benefit from property, and women's challenges to patriarchal structures through formal and, to some extent, informal means. Chávez-Garcia's careful attention to nuances of class, race, and ethnicity, as well as gender, along with her use of court cases, offers an engaging look at the lives of ordinary women in Los Angeles from Spanish settlement through the American conquest. Given the scarcity of sources on women in this time and place, such a window into the lives of ordinary women is valuable and appealing. Historians, students, and casual readers will appreciate the detail of the stories Chávez-Garcia tells as well as the quantitative analysis that accompanies them.

Although Chávez-Garcia's conclusions about the success of women's adaptations in the face of American conquest sometimes seem overstated, she is nevertheless persuasive in her arguments that women were an active and important part of the process of conquest in California, that women of different classes and races had different agendas and strategies for contesting patriarchal power, and that they used the

system of patriarchy, both formally (through the courts) and informally (through flight, extramarital relationships, or violence) to achieve their goals. Her analysis of the impact of the American conquest on personal and family relations as well as economic, political, and cultural relations is particularly valuable. Her use of gender and patriarchy as tools of analysis allow Chávez-Garcia to trace important continuities and changes across three periods of conquest and colonialism in early California, bridging the gap between the Spanish-Mexican and American eras. *Negotiating Conquest* is a must-read for anyone interested in the process of conquest and colonialism or in the history of early California.



Bound for Santa Fe: The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest, 1806-1848. By Stephen G. Hyslop. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002. Index, notes, 38 b&w illustrations, and 1 map. xiii + 514. \$34.95 Hardcover.

Reviewed by Jeffrey W. Christiansen, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History Oklahoma State University.

Stephen G. Hyslop has produced a superbly written book on a subject that is becoming increasingly popular among historians. *Bound for Santa Fe* is a trail history with a social and military flare, for which Hyslop utilizes numerous literary records left by the people who journeyed to and from the western oasis of Santa Fe during the first half of the nineteenth century. Many western historians conceptualize the history of the American West in terms of “process” and “place.” Hyslop demonstrates effectively that the history of the Santa Fe Trail transcends this dichotomy, integrating the themes of process, place, and peoples. While this may sound prosaic, Hyslop demonstrates singular skill in illustrating the cultural diversity that developed on the Santa Fe Trail. He incorporates into his work encounters between American travelers and Native, Spanish, and later Mexican peoples.

Hyslop divides his work into three sections. In the first of these sections, he explores the nature of the Trail as a cultural exchange between the people who traveled to Santa Fe and those whom they met. It was, as he calls it, an “Avenue of Exchange.” This first part begins with a discussion of the expedition of Zebulon Pike in 1806-1807, and continues through the establishment of a trade route by William Becknell in 1821 and 1822, which became the Santa Fe Trail. The adventures of early explorers and traders such as Pike, Becknell, and others, and the subsequent stories they told, did much to encourage subsequent expeditions. As time passed, and the route became safer, trade became increasingly profitable causing greater numbers of traders and settlers to make the journey. He points out it was the follow-up trip made by William Becknell in 1822 along the route he had traveled the year prior “that truly launched the Santa Fe trade and made Becknell...the father of an enterprise that bridged the plains and linked America inexorably to the Spanish Southwest” (37).

In the second section, the author resourcefully uses first-hand traveler accounts to fashion the cultural geography of the region. Moving beyond physical geography, he looks at the Trail in commercial and cultural terms. The third and final section of Hyslop’s book offers a chronological account of the northern campaign of the Mexican-American War. He also shows that on the Trail, as in the West more broadly, expansion

followed close behind the establishment of commercial interests. From Pike's intrepid mission in 1806-1807 to the American war with Mexico forty years later, the narratives of those who traveled to and from Santa Fe repeatedly foreshadow a great conflict between the nations. Yet, Hyslop shows successfully that, while the war was undoubtedly a clash between nations, it was in hindsight perhaps, not a war between cultures, for it did little to hamper or halt the cultural melding that was occurring in the region—as he alludes to in his final chapter.

While *Bound for Santa Fe* is an excellent work of scholarship, and includes numerous relevant illustrations, Hyslop's otherwise outstanding book would benefit greatly by having more than one map. Though Hyslop's narrative shrewdly tries to give the reader a mental image of place and time, plentiful maps would serve to help the reader conceptualize the landscape and the reasons why the Santa Fe Trail succeeded over other possible routes. His third chapter entitled "The Foundations of Trade" and the chapters in Part Three covering the war are the sections of the book where some readers may wish to consult an atlas.

Much contemporary Borderlands work has focused on the interchange between Anglo and Hispanic culture. Though Hyslop does not offer a self-appraisal of his book's place in the historiography, *Bound for Santa Fe* is nonetheless a fine addition to the already impressive body of literature on the subject. His work demonstrates that the Santa Fe Trail was more than a conduit between two worlds—it heralded the themes of conflict and exchange that would typify U.S./Mexican relations to the present day. The Santa Fe Trail did more than merely connect different worlds, though it certainly did that; it helped to create a region that cultures would forever share "regardless of the boundaries drawn between them (436).



Don Agustin V. Zamorano: Statesman, Soldier, Craftsman, and California's First Printer. By George L. Harding. Second edition with a new introduction by Roberto Carlos Dalton Matheu. First printing, Los Angeles 1934. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2003. Drawings, notes, index, and bibliography. 188 pages. Hardback \$45.00.

Reviewed by Iris H. W. Engstrand, Professor of History, University of San Diego.

George L. Harding, former president of the California Historical Society and founding curator of the Society's Kemble Collection on printing, first published this remarkable biography of Agustín Zamorano (1798-1842) in 1934. A versatile soldier who imported the first printing press west of the Rocky Mountains, Zamorano produced reports to the Mexican government and proclamations to the people of California. He was also involved politically in San Diego and served as the acting governor of the Alta California territory for a year. Zamorano, perhaps best known for being the first printer in California, is probably least known for his role in the Plan of San Diego.

Zamorano, born of Spanish parents in St. Augustine, Florida in 1798, first came to California in 1825 as executive secretary of the territory of Alta California. Arriving with Governor José María de Echeandía in the fall of 1825, Zamorano became involved in California affairs during the transitional period following Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821 and its adoption of a republican constitution in 1824.

Late in 1826, Echeandía ordered the election of five representatives to meet in San

Diego for the purpose of choosing deputies to reorganize the territorial assembly and to select a member of the national congress. The representatives who met in San Diego in February 1827 were: Francisco de Haro for San Francisco; Estévan Munras for Monterey; Carlos A. Carrillo for Santa Barbara; Vicente Sanchez for Los Angeles; and Agustín V. Zamorano for San Diego. They chose former Spanish governor Pablo Vicente de Solá as congressman, but California-born Gervasio Argüello finally served.

From 1826 to 1831, Zamorano, as secretary, created letterheads from woodblocks and type, pounding proofs without a press. He then served as commandant of the presidio of Monterey beginning in 1831. With the acquisition of the press in 1834, Zamorano issued eleven broadsides, six books, and six miscellaneous works, in addition to numerous letterheads, before departing California in 1838. These small books and proclamations, marked *Imprenta Del C[udadano] Agustín V. Zamorano*, are extremely rare and represent the earliest printing in the Far West.

When Governor Manuel Victoria fled California in January 1832, Echeandía remained acting governor until the assembly met at Los Angeles. Pío Pico was then chosen governor in accordance with the Plan of San Diego, but officials of the pueblo of Los Angeles refused to recognize him. Zamorano then led a new rebellion in Monterey that resulted in the rule of Echeandía in the south and Zamorano in the north. When Governor José Figueroa arrived in 1833 from Mexico, Zamorano returned to his duties as secretary and printed Figueroa's Manifesto or Declaration of Amnesty to the people of California.

All of these details and documents, several of which are translated in full, are carefully woven together by George Harding in this skillfully written and thoroughly researched work. In addition, a genealogy is included showing Zamoranos and Maria Luisa Argüello's descendants, many of whom lived in southern California. It is well worth the effort for San Diegans interested in California's Mexican period to acquire this beautifully printed book. It contains a wealth of information, making it attractive for researchers, book collectors, and general readers alike.



Confronting Race: Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1815-1915. By Glenda Riley. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. Bibliography, index, and notes. 326 pp. \$39.95, cloth; \$21.95, paper.

Reviewed by Deborah Lawrence, Associate Professor of English, California State University, Fullerton.

Since the publication of Riley's book, *Women and Indians*, over two decades ago, scholarship on women's western history has proliferated. Now titled *Confronting Race*, this newly revised version includes recent findings and theories. However, Riley's argument remains the same: female gender roles on the frontier moderated Anglo women's racial and social-class beliefs, allowing them to empathize with Indians.

Riley examines a selected set of accounts written by 150 women and an equal number of documents written by men. Her sources include the diaries, daybooks, and journals of migrating men and women, as well as newspaper accounts of women and novels that women read. *Confronting Race* opens with an examination of the nineteenth-century American and European discourse on the ideology of domesticity and the separate-spheres concept and a discussion of the racially based perceptions of

Indians that the men and women held prior to setting out for the frontier. Men and women brought these cultural conventions and anti-Indian bias with them on the trail west. According to Riley, women began to alter their perceptions once they found that their original fears were unjustified. She also argues that women's attitudinal change toward Indians was linked to their shifting perceptions of themselves as they realized their own abilities to adjust to harsh frontier conditions. She contends, in an argument that is not entirely persuasive, that men who did empathize with Indians did not do so because they were changed by frontier conditions—they simply retained the sympathetic views that they brought with them.

Based on her findings, Riley argues that, in contrast to Anglo women, men did not modify their preconceived prejudiced opinions, and their relations with Indians remained adversarial. Men and women had different work roles on the frontier, and this contributed to their different perspectives regarding the western experience. Anglo men's responsibilities included fighting, hunting, and conflict, and consequently they regarded Indians as foes. Women's tasks, according to Riley, encouraged a collegial relationship with Indians. They offered food, traded, and even made friendships with Indian women, and they were less likely to resort to violence than were Anglo men.

As a final point in her book, Riley contends that, although women who migrated west displayed increasing empathy toward Indians, they were not able to change their views toward other racial, ethnic, and religious groups. She discusses the Anglo women's lack of compassion toward Mexicans, Asians, African Americans, Mormons and the natives along the Panama Route to California, with an emphasis on the latter two groups. Despite the women's changing views of Indians, the women were not able to free themselves from colonialist attitudes and, according to Riley, helped perpetuate racial problems.

By identifying and examining a variety of westering women—settlers, teachers, missionaries, army wives—Riley allows the complexity of their divergent attitudes to come forth. The book is not without its flaws, however. Although Riley's sources span the period between 1815 and 1915, the book's chronology skips all over the place. Consequently, Riley rarely takes into account that Native American-emigrant relations varied during each phase of the trail's development. For example, relations with the Indians in Wyoming deteriorated badly during the period of the Powder River War in 1866-67, and women's attitudes reflected the increased hostilities. Readers need to be able to factor in the dimension of time if they are going to evaluate for themselves westering women's attitudinal changes toward Indians. That criticism aside, Riley is to be commended for drawing our attention to the role that gender played in Indian-white relations.

Frontier experience was gendered. If we want to understand western history, we need to appreciate the women's perspective. By examining the shifting attitudes of migrating white women toward Native Americans, *Confronting Race* is a valuable addition to the literature on Indian-white contact in the West. Scholars and interested readers in the history of the frontier will not want to be without a copy.



Sunset Limited: The Southern Pacific Railroad and the Development of the American West, 1850-1930. By Richard J. Orsi. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. Photographs, maps, index, and notes. 637 pp. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Theodore Kornweibel, Professor Emeritus, Department of Africana Studies, San Diego State University.

Was the Southern Pacific Railroad really the “Octopus” of Frank Norris’ muckraking novel and popular perception ever since? Retired California State University Hayward historian Richard Orsi concludes that the SP was generally a force for public good. Largely ignoring California’s Progressive-era battles to regulate allegedly monopolistic railroads, he focuses instead on the Southern Pacific’s promotion of land settlement, water exploration, irrigation, scientific agriculture, wilderness preservation, and resource conservation. While the book focuses primarily on California, it addresses these topics wherever the SP had tracks, from Oregon and Nevada to Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Louisiana.

Sunset Limited is not a business history. It resembles the railroad “colonization histories” which have assayed the impact of other land-grant lines on the growth of the West. Surprisingly, for a book about the Central Pacific Railroad (which by the end of the nineteenth century had evolved into the much larger Southern Pacific), the main actors are not the “Big Four” (Huntington, Stanford, Crocker and Hopkins) but civic-minded, middle-level executives and technical experts. The result is a revisionist work that “does not try to convert the Southern Pacific from an all-evil into an all-public-spirited entity” (xvii), but instead sees the railroad pursuing vigorous business initiatives which simultaneously served its own interests and the general good.

The book is divided into five thematic sections, each containing several chapters. Part I chronicles the birth of the Central Pacific and its march to Promontory, then its growth into the mighty Southern Pacific stretching from Portland, Oregon, to New Orleans. As the only transcontinental line headquartered in the West, led by westerners, and built from west to east, it pursued policies that reflected the fitful growth and underdevelopment of that region in the late nineteenth century. Part II addresses land development. According to Orsi, the SP’s leaders envisioned a Jeffersonian West built on individual ownership of small farms. Consequently, the railroad tried to deter speculation by selling its federally-granted land in small parcels, often extending credit to farmers at low interest rates. The SP reasoned that even if little was earned from land sales, successful settlement would eventually generate freight and passenger revenues.

The Southern Pacific’s influence on water development in the West is the subject of Part III. The railroad’s need for water supplies for its locomotives every twenty miles led to the establishment of numerous towns, particularly in California’s Central Valley. As it met its own requirements, it also furnished water (often at no cost) to town residents. The SP stimulated private irrigation systems by freely making available its scientific data on soils and weather and granting canal easements across its land. But its biggest impact was in fostering public agencies such as the Imperial Irrigation District (after first stemming the disastrous Colorado River floods in 1905 and 1907). Completion of the SP-controlled San Diego & Arizona Railroad to El Centro illustrates how water needs laid a foundation for future general development. Railroad workers “drilled wells, tapped and improved springs, built reservoirs, installed pumps and

windmills, and developed complex distribution systems of pipelines, flumes, purification plants, and giant track-side tanks” (183-4). Another story concerns the Southern Pacific’s frustrating relations with the federal government in Nevada’s poorly-managed Truckee-Carson reclamation project.

Several SP managers were avid scientists who saw profit to society and their company in improving agriculture. Part IV details how the University of California’s struggling College of Agriculture was almost literally adopted by the SP. Not only did it make available its extensive soil and climate data, it sponsored farm demonstration trains which greatly helped the school shed its elitist image and persuade farmers to try new crops and cultivation methods. Understanding that California’s economic health could not be sustained on cereal crops alone, farsighted railroad officials actively promoted fruit and vegetable cultivation and pioneered refrigerator cars to ship perishable crops across the nation.

The book’s final section addresses the railroad’s influence in conservation. It realized early that preserving California’s natural wonders would grow tourism and population and thus the railroad’s prosperity. Consequently the SP helped block Nevada’s attempts to make Lake Tahoe its reservoir. The railroad also allied with John Muir in protecting Yosemite from private development, applying its political muscle to Congress and tipping the balance in favor of a federal park. The SP was also a proponent of resource conservation, helping to abolish hydraulic mining, promote scientific forestry, establish wilderness firefighting resources, and develop cattle trails that did not indiscriminately despoil the landscape. Again, the railroad identified its own business interests with the public good.

Sunset Limited is a persuasively-argued book. The author’s thesis—that many SP policies simultaneously promoted its own and the public good—is anchored in 176 pages of expansive endnotes, revealing three decades of research in Southern Pacific corporate records, federal archives, and private manuscript collections. Yes, one wishes that the political controversies which enveloped the railroad were discussed, to avoid the impression that the railroad’s leaders achieved Olympian detachment from political attacks while nobly pursuing enlightened policies. Readers should consult William Deverell’s *Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Railroad, 1850-1910* (1994) for a more balanced view. Nonetheless, scholars and history buffs alike will enjoy Orsi’s account of California’s most remarkable and significant business enterprise. Attractively priced, well illustrated, and comprehensively indexed, it is a major contribution to railroad, business, and conservation history. And it contains much to interest residents of the Imperial and San Diego counties.



Indians in Unexpected Places. By Philip J. Deloria. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004. Bibliography, index, notes, and 51 b&w photos. 320 pp. \$24.94 cloth.

Review by Todd Kerstetter, Department of History, Texas Christian University.

This book addresses important questions about how American Indian history has been written and how it should be written. The text emphasizes the years between 1890 (a year that many historians of Indians see as a major turning point due in large part to the Wounded Knee Massacre) and the 1930s (when Indians are reintroduced into American grand narratives due to the importance of the Indian New Deal). Philip J. Deloria takes his readers on a tour of those years when Indians have too often been missing in action. Deloria reminds us that Indians did not disappear, but, in fact, entered modernity with the rest of the nation. Using the essay format, he analyzes cultural artifacts (photographs, music, film) that show Indians in what he calls “unexpected places”—getting a manicure in a beauty parlor, riding in a car, playing football, and others. These images catch attention because they show Indians defying expectations of most in mainstream society. Deloria dissects both the images and the expectations, offering thoughtful, inspiring meditations on how historians and other academics can write better about American Indians, giving Indians their due as historical agents. Non-academics will enjoy this thoughtful treatment of neglected times and people.

Deloria’s essays address violence, representations of Indians in films, Indian participation in athletics, Indian use of technology, and music (both Indian production of music and depictions of Indians in music). The essay on athletics reflects on the career of Charles Albert “Chief” Bender, who had a noted baseball career in the early years of the twentieth century. The essay also provides personal reflections on the collegiate baseball and football exploits of his grandfather, Vine Deloria, Sr. In these cases, Indians participated in sports and made places for themselves in American culture, shaping it much as it shaped them. Deloria’s grandfather, for example, used sports to gain a college education at St. Stephen’s College (now Bard College) in New York. When he became a clergyman and returned to South Dakota, he started a baseball program for Indian youths and coached high school football, thus using sport to build community and to incorporate himself into the community.

Deloria’s creative analysis of a variety of cultural artifacts leads him to fascinating conclusions and also makes his finely crafted analysis approachable for non-academics. The fifty-one remarkable black and white photographs reproduced in the book will engage all viewers. By the time readers reach page four, they have already encountered four illustrations. All contribute to Deloria’s mission, but among the most riveting is “Red Cloud Woman in Beauty Shop, Denver, 1941.” It shows Red Cloud Woman, wearing a beaded Plains style dress, sitting under a beauty shop hair dryer and getting her nails done. At first blush, this certainly did seem to this reviewer an unexpected place to find an Indian. But, as Deloria suggests, one must stop and ask, “Why not?” Why would not an Indian woman be getting a manicure and her hair done? Point well made. In his chapter on music, Deloria crafts a beautiful marriage of media. He introduces the topic using a 1904 photograph of Geronimo at the wheel of a Cadillac and proceeds to analyze Michael Martin Murphy’s recording of the song “Geronimo’s Cadillac.” Before concluding, he covers poetry and other representations of Indians

and automobiles and how they shaped expectations about Indians and American history and culture.

Readers interested in southern California history will find little here that is relevant. Most of the action takes place elsewhere, although the book's themes are national. His essay on the film industry's depictions of Indians, and Indians' role in shaping those depictions hit closest to home. The prose sometimes has an informal feel and, compared to a tightly worked monograph, sometimes seems to wander. Ultimately, though, the format works well as Deloria spins out parables laced with thoughtful critical analysis that hit the mark. Readers will leave this book with a new appreciation for Indians in modern America and a better understanding of how to read and write American Indian history.



Bound For Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America. By Douglas Flamming. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. Bibliography, index, 5 maps, notes, and 40 b&w photos. 485 pp. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Mark Wild, Assistant Professor, Department of History, California State University Los Angeles.

After years of neglect the history of African American Los Angeles is finally getting the attention it deserves. Doug Flamming follows a number of historians who have used the West's largest city as a case study to reshape our understanding of the black experience in America. *Bound For Freedom* reaches further back in time than most of this other scholarship, and would be worthwhile for no other reason than that it covers a period of African American Los Angeles which, outside the occasional article and dissertation, has largely escaped scrutiny. Flamming does more than mine fresh territory. His study elegantly bridges Western and African American history by elucidating a theme—the fervent and contentious struggle to remake community—that has preoccupied both fields. The result is an impressive and accessible work of social history.

Bound for Freedom chronicles the generation that established the major social and economic institutions of black Los Angeles in the early twentieth century. Organized around influential community members and institutions, the book begins and ends with the celebrated activist and newspaper editor Charlotta Bass. For Flamming, Bass is emblematic of the middle-class community's character, a character based "less in wealth than in values, lifestyle, and aspirations" (8). It is a rather expansive definition of middle class, encompassing activities ranging from the acquisition of prime real estate to union organizing, but persuasive with respect to the individuals he covers. In building the major political, social, and business institutions of the black community, Bass and her contemporaries consciously strove for the same rights and lifestyles that many of their white counterparts took for granted.

The subtle contradiction in the title encapsulates the book's main argument: despite the very real freedoms that Los Angeles seemed to promise African American newcomers, they remained bound by many of the same constraints that had confined them in the South. Flamming rejects the "Paradise Lost" thesis of early twentieth century Los Angeles as an idyllic golden age. "Regardless of time period," he writes, "the basic rights of black Angelenos always faced attack from some quarter. And, just as consistently, African American leaders in the city always found themselves vying to

preserve rights they already possessed and to win rights they had not yet gained” (2-3). If this seems like a common sense statement, the body of the book yields a more surprising picture – a community committed to the principle of equal opportunity yet divided on the means of achieving it. Few studies devoted to African American life in the early twentieth century pay as much attention to the myriad local disputes involved in black political life. From district elections to the internal machinations of the NAACP, the activities of black Angelenos demonstrate an impressive variety of approaches to the struggle for freedom. In delineating the conflicts and coalitions that ensued Flamming makes perhaps his greatest scholarly contribution: the book eschews the simple dichotomies (Dubois vs. Washington; integration vs. separatism) that too often oversimplify the African American political tradition. Under this approach the middle-class character of black Los Angeles becomes less a confining label than a point of departure, and historians should debate the implications of Flamming’s argument for a long time to come.

Like any effective historical analysis, *Bound for Freedom* raises as many questions as it answers. The most obvious involves the relationship between the established black leaders Flamming covers and the self-styled radicals who assumed control of the freedom movement after World War II. To what extent did these later iterations represent a departure from, or continuation of, the prewar activists examined here? Flamming does not pretend to describe black Los Angeles in its entirety, and future researchers interested in this and other questions may in particular want to take a closer look at more proletarian aspects of the community he does not emphasize. But they will not be able to ignore a study which deserves a place in the canons of both African American and Western history.



Murder at the Sleepy Lagoon: Zoot Suit, Race, and Riots in Wartime L.A. By Eduardo Obregón Pagán. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. Bibliography, 15 illustrations, index, maps, notes, and tables. 328 pp. \$49.95 cloth. \$19.95 paper. Reviewed by Jaime R. Aguila, Assistant Professor of History, Department of Humanities and Fine Arts, The University of Texas of the Permian Basin.

Murder at the Sleepy Lagoon: Zoot Suit, Race, and Riots in Wartime L.A. by Eduardo Obregón Pagán will undoubtedly become a pivotal addition to ethnic and U.S. urban studies. The factors surrounding the infamous Sleepy Lagoon trial and the ill-fated Los Angeles Zootsuit riots have been misinterpreted in both intellectual and popular works as often as they have been addressed. The author successfully intertwines the international, class, race, and gender factors underlying the sensationalized events surrounding the murder of José Díaz, The Sleepy Lagoon trial, and the summer of 1943 riot, in which U.S. servicemen driven by naïve racist delusion and misdirected wartime nationalism, invaded the Mexican barrios of East Los Angeles in search of young Mexican American males.

Pagán convincingly argues that young Mexican Americans of this period “actively sought to renegotiate their social positioning in ways of their own design and choosing, in dialogue with their peers, their heritage, their times, and their social surrounding” (14). This is a significant corrective to accounts which, on the one hand, label Mexican-American men and women of that generation as gang members (i.e. the

movie "American Me") and, on the other, view these youth as victims with little agency other than the violence used in defending their reputations and neighborhoods.

Pagán clarifies many generalizations about this stage of Chicano history. Perhaps the most significant misnomer has been the term "*Pachuco*." For most Mexican Americans a definition and image of a Pachuco has always been easy to conjure; however, the problem arises when one dominant definition is called upon that transcends generation, class, and region. The label becomes even more problematic when used by period social scientists studying urban life in wartime Los Angeles. "Such observers were outsiders looking in, who, in their quest to understand a strange and fascinating group of Mexicans and Mexican Americans, relied heavily on definition by description or on the testimony of informants trying to explain the existence of a group deemed a nuisance to their own community" (128). The author demonstrates that the *Pachuco* was simultaneously many things to different people: to the average working class Mexican, they were neighborhood boys; to liberal reformers such as Carey McWilliams, they were victims of racist mainstream society; and to the uninformed and ignorant, they were pawns of a fifth column Axis conspiracy.

The misunderstood and vaguely defined nomenclature significantly contributed to the unjust accusation against the 38th Street club boys for the death of Díaz in 1942 and the following summer's Zootsuit attacks. The media, servicemen, mainstream society, and middle class Mexican American leadership (represented by Manuel Ruiz) inaccurately viewed all Zootsuiters as Pachucos and in turn all Pachucos as gang-members. Pagán demonstrates the term's evolution from an adjective describing a style of attire prior to Díaz's death to a noun. Pagán writes that during the summer of 1943, "the Pachuco as a symbol came to embody the essence of juvenile rebellion" (131)

Pagán demonstrates that the Zootsuit was a popular form of attire for Mexican American, African American, and Filipino youth during this era. But only a few could be accurately branded as resembling the *Tirilis*, the underworld operators that arose out of the El Paso/Ciudad Juárez area that spoke Caló and traded in vice during Prohibition. Even so, the *Tirilis* avoided bringing attention to themselves by seldom wearing Zootsuits. The predominance of the term "gang members" continues to plague the historical actors of that period, even within Chicano scholarship. Manuel G. Gonzales in *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States* described Díaz and the boys of 38th Street as gang members. Rodolfo Acuña in the fifth edition of his seminal work, *Occupied America*, also depicted the murder within the context of misguided actions of gang members.

Pagán's smooth style of writing will appeal to those in Chicana/o studies at the graduate and undergraduate level. It is well researched, including oral interviews with those accused in the Sleep Lagoon trial and friends and family members of Díaz.



Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965. By Nan Alamilla Boyd. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. Bibliography, index, maps, notes, and photos. xii + 321pp. \$27.50 cloth.

Reviewed by Barbara Berglund, Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of South Florida.

In *Wide Open Town*, Nan Alamilla Boyd has excavated the history of some of the queer communities that thrived in San Francisco's bars and nightclubs from the 1930s through the 1960s. In doing this, she has also brought to light their role in forging an activist movement as well as a larger, more cohesive gay-identified community.

In her work, Boyd seeks to upend the typical periodization of gay and lesbian history that marks World War II as a watershed moment in social movement formation and privileges the activities of two homophile organizations – the Daughters of Bilitis and the Mattachine Society. Rather, WWII is better understood as elaborating and extending trends already underway. Boyd shows that following the repeal of Prohibition, the burgeoning and overlapping industries of tourism and nightclub entertainment fostered the growth of queer venues and communities as visitors and city residents alike displayed an appetite for the performances of female and male impersonators amidst a general climate of sexual permissiveness.

Boyd argues that in order to fully apprehend the significance of these bar-based queer communities, it is necessary to understand that the ways these groups navigated raids and other forms of official harassment and claimed space for themselves functioned as political acts. She wants to free them from being seen “as a stepping stone for the more important project of homophile activism” (14). Boyd sees homophile groups and bar-based activism as comprising “two competing social worlds” (7). She explains that, “While bar-based communities used the First Amendment right to assembly to protect the queer use of bars and taverns, homophile organizations stressed individual rights and based on the Fourteenth Amendment's due process clause to lobby for their own protection” (17). The former reveled in “outlaw behavior” while the latter sought legitimacy and embraced “mainstream political action” (17). Although representing different interests, by 1965 the two groups had not only learned how to work together, but in the process, had formed a more inclusive gay community that would become effective in the political arena.

A fairly lengthy excerpt from one of the forty-five oral history interviews Boyd conducted frames each of the five chapters. She uses secondary sources to bring the story back to the Gold Rush, but the tale she is telling really begins with her exploration of the world of female impersonation in tourist-oriented clubs like Finocchio's and the Black Cat and the subsequent rise of the gay bar as a partly defensive maneuver to counter hostile tourist intrusions. Boyd next illuminates the cultures of a few of the bars that grew up around the lesbian community that settled in North Beach and highlights how the harassment and raids of places like Mona's and Tommy's Place made these venues sites of political struggle. She then moves into a discussion of the way the policing of queer spaces intensified in the wake of the increasing militarization of San Francisco during World War II and the legal strategies bar owners and patrons used to defend themselves. Following that, Boyd turns her attention to the development of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Mattachine Society and

“the ideological standoff between bar-based cultures and homophile communities” (18). The final chapter describes the local struggles that brought the two groups together and the resulting reorganization and emergence of a more united gay community.

Boyd has written a provocative book that makes a significant contribution to the field. But it is not without shortcomings. Unfortunately the book lacks the kind of richness one would expect from forty-five diverse voices. The same players appear again and again. There are also too many sections where the secondary material and historiographical debates seem to overshadow and stand apart from Boyd’s main story and others where her analysis is not justified by her primary sources. Moreover, although Boyd seeks to correct a historical imbalance, by privileging bar culture, the homophile organizations get short shrift and are rather derogatorily cast as “mainstream.” It seems it might be time to move beyond using a group’s relationship to the roots of gay liberation as a measure of its value.



No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland. By Chris Rhomberg. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004. Bibliography, index, 3 maps, notes, and 25 b&w photos. 328 pp. \$39.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Robert W. Cherny, Professor of History, San Francisco State University.

Chris Rhomberg, assistant professor of sociology at Yale, takes his title from Gertrude Stein’s comment that, for Oakland, “there’s no there there.” Rhomberg, who began this book as a doctoral dissertation at the University of California, Berkeley, discovered that, in fact, “an enormous variety of often extraordinary things have . . . happened in Oakland” (ix). Developing an explanatory framework based on analysis of socioeconomic structure, institutional politics, and urban civil society, Rhomberg focuses centrally on three events—the election of two candidates endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, a city-wide general strike in 1946 followed by election victories for labor, and the accession of African Americans to political power in the 1970s.

Rhomberg structures his analysis around the concepts of political regimes and social movements that pose a challenge to an existing regime. He first describes a patronage regime in the early 20th century, a regime often dominated by the political “machine” (Rhomberg’s term) of Michael Kelly. Allied with progressive Republicans, Kelly relied on support from working-class organizations, especially unions, and ethnic associations, especially Irish Catholics. In the 1920s, Kelly’s organization faced two challenges—from the downtown business establishment, led by Joseph Knowland of the Oakland *Tribune*, and from the rapidly developing middle-class suburbs. The Klan appeared in Oakland in 1921 and soon claimed thousands of members, mostly in the new suburbs. Early Klan forays into politics accomplished little, but in 1926 a scandal led Kelly to cooperate with the Klan, which led to the election of the Klan’s candidate for sheriff and another Klan candidate in 1927. Both Klan candidates quickly self-destructed, and Knowland emerged as central within a “managerial regime” of downtown business interests.

Between 1930 and 1950, Rhomberg argues that Oakland politics “revolved around a central axis of class conflict” (117). Employers broke many Oakland unions in the 1920s, but during the 1930s and World War II unions emerged stronger than ever.

Nonetheless, organized labor had almost no role in the managerial regime. In 1946, police action against a strike by retail clerks at downtown department stores escalated into a general strike. Unions then joined with disaffected business groups, formed the Oakland Voters' League, and won four of five city council seats in 1947. Public housing issues broke up the coalition, and the downtown business elite maintained its power.

Wartime job opportunities had brought many African Americans to Oakland. As job opportunities for African Americans contracted at the end of the war, and as much of the white middle class moved to the suburbs, Oakland and regional civic leaders developed proposals for urban redevelopment, including rapid transit, freeways, expansion of the port, and renewal of poor, mostly black, neighborhoods, producing what Rhomberg calls a redevelopment regime. The War on Poverty in the 1960s brought both federal funds and requirements for neighborhood participation in decision-making. From this emerged a network of neighborhood activists. In the late 1960s, the Black Panthers grew by protesting discrimination and violent treatment by the police; in the early 1970s, a reorganized Panther movement mounted a serious political challenge in Bobby Seale's unsuccessful mayoral campaign in 1973. The concurrent development of a black middle and professional class produced the first successful black candidates in the 1970s, initiating a black urban regime that opened up the city's political institutions to the black middle class.

Rhomberg makes discontinuity a central theme in his analysis. Any given urban political regime serves the interests of its members, he suggests, but excludes others. Thus, for each political regime, political stability rested on the nonparticipation of most groups in the polity. Those on the outside sometimes mobilized as social movements (the Klan, the unions, the Black Panthers), challenging the regime and necessarily calling into question "the content of the political community" (178). Space precludes an adequate summary of Rhomberg's full analysis. Both his narrative and his analysis should interest students of 20th-century urban politics.



Heart of the Rock: The Indian Invasion of Alcatraz. By Adam Fortunate Eagle. With Tim Findley. Forward by Vine Deloria, Jr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002. 66 b&w photos. appendix. notes. xii + 232 pp. \$29.95

Reviewed by James E. Klein, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of History, Georgia State University.

Adam Fortunate Eagle provides a first-hand account and analysis of this Indian demonstration of 1969-1971. In collaboration with former reporter Tim Findley, he places the Alcatraz action in historical context, tying it to events as well as societal attitudes present in America before and after the invasion. He demonstrates that the invasion broke down outdated stereotypes of Indians in popular culture and made the plight of contemporary Native Americans evident to non-Indian society. The invasion and occupation of Alcatraz also inaugurated the pan-Indian movement as the demonstration drew participants from various tribes and cultures, united by white society's disregard for their problems.

Heart of the Rock is a revision of Fortunate Eagle's 1992 work *Alcatraz! Alcatraz!: The Indian Occupation of 1969-1971*. Rather than merely updating the earlier work to

include events of the past decade, the author places the invasion within the twentieth-century Native American experience to emphasize the enormous impact this demonstration had on Indians of different tribes throughout America. In the aftermath of the federal government's termination and relocation programs of the 1950s, increasing numbers of Indians suffered isolated and debilitating urban existences. The Alcatraz occupation relieved this, attracting Native Americans from numerous tribes and sparking the modern pan-Indian movement. Interaction with members of different tribes also triggered interest in the traditional culture of individual tribal groups as Native Americans sought to rediscover their cultural heritage. The demonstrations in San Francisco Bay also had a significant impact on subsequent events, serving as the model for later Indian actions to convince the federal government to rethink its Indian policy. The occupation is understood best, the author states, if viewed in this context – as one of innumerable interrelated events in this cyclical story of social action and public policy.

What distinguishes this work from other studies of the Alcatraz action, such as Troy R. Johnson's comprehensive work *The Occupation of Alcatraz Island*, is that *Heart of the Rock* also is a personal account of Fortunate Eagle's life. The author discusses the reclamation of his Ojibway heritage and his desire to reconcile old differences with other Indian activists. As much as a history, this is the story of a man's life viewed from the perspective of advanced age. He notes that he and Richard Oakes, the spokesman of the Indian students who occupied the island, differed in methodology regarding the invasion, but sought similar goals: an increased awareness of Native American issues among non-Indians and a fundamental change in federal Indian policy. The author's discussion of Oakes' activism and the unfortunate end of his short life lends this book a tragic quality.

Fortunate Eagle's account is an enjoyable read. His writing is warm and informal, an oral story and historical analysis of this significant event. He speaks wistfully of the lost idealism of the 1960s, an indispensable ingredient of the Alcatraz invasion. Like Johnson's work, *Heart of the Rock* views the invasion not merely as an impromptu theatrical stunt. The action represented the culmination of decades and centuries of Native American frustration at federal Indian policy; as the catalyst for subsequent Indian activism such as the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Washington, D.C.; and the formation of the American Indian Movement in the 1970s. Engaging documents support the work. The appendix contains the proclamation that he drafted and Oakes delivered before the press in November 1969 delineating the Indians' claim to the former island prison. The author includes numerous photographs of the occupation from his own collection and from the archives of the San Francisco Chronicle, some of which have not been published previously.



Uneven Ground: American Indian Sovereignty and Federal Law. By David E. Wilkins and K. Tsianina Lomawaima. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001. Bibliography, index, notes, and tables. 336pp. \$19.95 paper.

Reviewed by Akim D. Reinhardt, Assistant Professor of History, Towson University.

In *Uneven Ground*, David Wilkins and Tsianina Lomawaima have crafted a book, for lay and academic readership alike, which tackles some of the major legal doctrines that structure relations between Indian nations and the United States federal government and its constituent states. No mere summary, the authors painstakingly forward their own reasoned interpretations of the validity and meanings of a number of legal doctrines in question: discovery, trust, plenary power, reserved rights, implied repeals, sovereign immunity, as well as disclaimers in tribal-state relations.

Those familiar with Indian law are well aware of the dizzying, labyrinthine nature of the field. It is a quagmire of paradoxes. The primary reason for its contortions is simple: stripped of legalese and constitutional varnish, Indian law is often little more than the federal and state governments' attempt to codify and rationalize the imperial conquest and colonial administration of American Indians. Such is never a simple task, and as conditions, agendas and mind-sets have changed over the preceding two-plus centuries, legislatures and courts have traveled circuitous routes in their efforts to justify maintaining colonial authority over Native peoples, at times contradicting precedent and reason. The result is a highly convoluted body of law. Wilkins and Lomawaima have attempted to undo some of the nastier tangles by interpreting, in a light much more favorable to Native sovereignty, the doctrines in question.

The authors have grounded their work in a bevy of detail worthy of the subject matter. They also do not pull any punches. For example, when discussing the United States Supreme Court's effort to justify the Major Crimes Act (in which Congress assumed criminal jurisdiction on Indian Reservations in certain cases), the authors note that the court "cited extraconstitutional, or extralegal, reasons for holding the act to be constitutional" (110). This is typical of the sharp rebukes that are preponderant in the book.

"The relationship between American Indian tribes and the U.S. federal government is an ongoing contest over sovereignty," the authors rightly assert in their introduction (5). One must then consider the philosophical implications of their book. On the one hand, this reviewer finds highly commendable their effort to strengthen the base of Native sovereignty. On the other hand, to what extent is the process of decolonization being advanced when the authors accept the legal system of the colonizer as their model of analysis? Must/should Native nations attempt to decolonize on the United States' terms? After all, doctrines like discovery are clearly European constructs, not indigenous ones. Or should Native nations look to establish their own legal and political systems as the primary mechanisms and ideologies that guide their quest for decolonization. The former is clearly more pragmatic. The latter is perhaps idealistic, but also more useful to an eventually decolonized Native America. And perhaps the two approaches are not mutually exclusive. Wilkins and Lomawaima are clearly working through the former approach. In so doing, they have produced a work that will stimulate scholars and attract the interest of dedicated lay people.



Death, Dismemberment, and Memory: Body Politics in Latin America. Edited by Lyman L. Johnson. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2004. Illustrations, index, and notes. 354 + xvii pp. \$45.00 cloth. \$22.95 paper.

Reviewed by Ryan F Long, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Department of Modern Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics, the University of Oklahoma.

Death, Dismemberment, and Memory is as fascinating as its title suggests. Its contributors elucidate the legacies of prominent Latin American political figures by examining what they left behind. Essays by ten different Latin Americanist historians explore the manifold ways in which bodies, bones, limbs, tombs, and other objects associated with the dead play central roles in high-stakes struggles over political power and cultural patrimony, disputes whose meanings shift as they endure for decades and, in some cases, centuries. Although heavy on Mexican topics (covered in four chapters), Johnson's volume considers a broad range of notorious deaths, from the executions of the Aztec Cuauhtémoc in 1524 and the Inca Túpac Amaru in 1572 to Brazilian president Getúlio Vargas's 1954 suicide and Che Guevara's execution in Bolivia in 1967.

The collection's strongest chapters focus less on their subjects' "pre-mortem" biographies and more on how they influence politics and culture from beyond the grave. Concentrated attention on posterity helps readers understand better how bodies and memories are preserved and manipulated in order to shape collective identities from above and below, and to achieve personal and collective political goals.

Daryle Williams and Barbara Weinstein's fine study of Vargas's suicide tracks the ebb and flow of the president's postmortem influence, which museums, popular demonstrations, scholarly institutions, and the media contest and preserve. The discussion of how different museums have preserved Vargas's bedroom, where he shot himself, reveals a great deal about how the passage of time shapes the material manifestations of collective memory. A particularly astonishing fact that Williams and Weinstein bring to bear on how death transforms a political legacy is that Vargas's suicide note was incorporated into the discourse of Brazil's Labor Party because of its populist message.

Samuel Brunk's essay investigates the decades-long whirlwind of debates that have surrounded Emiliano Zapata's assassination and the location of his remains. Emphasizing the agrarian leader's status as both a regional and national icon, Brunk carefully researches why reports of Zapata's death are considered by many to be exaggerated, and how different municipalities within Zapata's native state of Morelos have competed with one another and with Mexico City for the honor of becoming Zapata's final resting place. Jürgen Buchenau's piece about Álvaro Obregón opens with the decision made by his descendants in 1989 to transfer the preserved remains of Obregón's right arm from the Mexico City monument that honors him to his grave in Sonora. Obregón lost his arm in 1915, thirteen years before he was assassinated, and Buchenau's essay discusses not only the relevance of a specific body part to a leader's posthumous legacy, but also to his image as a living example of sacrifice. Donna J. Guy's chapter about the Peróns and Argentine popular religion centers on June 1987, when Juan Perón's hands were stolen from his tomb. Johnson's essay on the apparently fraudulent discovery of Cuauhtémoc's skeletal remains highlights how personal, local,

and national political interests can be fueled by a prominent historical figure's physical remains in spite of serious doubts as to the body's authenticity. Notably, both Guy's and Johnson's chapters discuss the Internet's prominence as a medium uniquely suited to enable popular participation in preserving memory.

Martyrdom and the irrepressible power of dead popular heroes come to the fore in at least three of the collection's essays, which illustrate how official attempts to discourage adoration or emulation by desecrating bodies or hiding graves often backfire. Such is the case with Túpac Amaru, whose severed head was placed on a pole in Cuzco, only to become a site of admiration for the fallen leader, not a warning to would-be rebels. As Ward Stavig illustrates in his essay on Túpac Amaru's influence on Andean popular resistance, which lasts to this day, when the Spanish publicly tore apart the body of his famous descendant, Túpac Amaru II, in 1781, it failed to put an immediate halt to the insurrection he had led. Nor were Spanish forces, as Christon I. Archer explains, able to snuff out Mexico's independence movement in 1811 when they executed its first leader and future national hero, Father Miguel Hidalgo y Castillo, and left his head on display for years. Paul J. Dosal's study of Che Guevara's death investigates the power of photography by explaining that Che's executioners posed the revolutionary's body for Freddy Alborta's camera in a way that created an unmistakably Christian image. Along with Archer, who tackles the commemoration of self-proclaimed Mexican emperor Agustín de Iturbide, Jeffrey M. Shumway examines the difficulties involved in remembering particularly divisive national icons. Shumway analyzes the repatriation of Juan Manuel de Rosas's remains in 1989 and its pertinence to then-president Carlos Saúl Menem's efforts to unite Argentines following the brutal military dictatorship of 1976 to 1983.

Due to its innovative framework and its impressive breadth, Johnson's anthology contributes significantly to the understanding of how many of Latin America's most prominent national figures are remembered. Overall, it successfully engages with the complex processes of veneration, interpretation, and rediscovery that construct the persistent and constantly changing power the dead wield over the living.

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