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# Forgotten Air Pioneers:

## The Army's Rockwell Field at North Island

Wallace R. Peck

San Diego is a Navy town. Everyone knows that. Just look around. With one of the best harbors in the nation, coupled with unparalleled weather, it is home port for one-third of the U. S. Pacific Fleet, with mammoth nuclear-powered aircraft carriers, guided missile-equipped cruisers and destroyers, sleek attack submarines, loaded transports, and a vast array of other warships and various vessels, entering and leaving the bay regularly. All utilize facilities at the Naval Base, San Diego (the 32nd Street Naval Station) and at the Naval Base, Point Loma, while being supported by the Naval Weapons Station, the Naval Amphibious Base, Coronado, the Space and Naval Warfare Systems Center, the Fleet Anti-Submarine Base, the Broadway Complex, and numerous other installations, plus the Marine Corps at Miramar and at Camp Pendleton. In the heart of these activities is the Naval Air Station, North Island, visible as the mooring site of the great carriers and the base for over 220 naval aircraft, with a population often reaching 36,000. Certainly prominent, perhaps even dominant, is the Navy—today and for a long time past.

But these truths obscure the fact that North Island itself was once the center of *Army* aviation, and for a quarter of a century was the hub of the development of all United States military air power, not just the Navy's, but the Army's, too. Decades before North Island was honored as the "Birthplace of Naval Aviation," it was known as the "Cradle of Army Aviation."<sup>1</sup> Both the Army and the Navy were midwives at the birth and nurturing of infant aviation, and North Island was their common incubator. A review of some of that forgotten history might refresh lost memories and restore recognition to some of those pioneer Army aviators who were once a vital part of San Diego and of the nation.<sup>2</sup>

### Early North Island

In ancient geologic times, North Island was truly a separate island, as were Point Loma and Coronado. Shifting sands, debris, mud, and other detritus from coastal rivers and ocean currents over thousands of years slowly filled in the spaces, connecting Point Loma to the northern mainland and the other two islands to one another and to the southern mainland by an elongated sandy beach, producing a peninsula that ran south to what is now Imperial Beach, resulting in the creation of San Diego Bay.<sup>3</sup> North Island became covered with local vegetation, brush, and scrub, some large enough to be called trees. Native American tribes often camped on the island, which abounded with sea lions, otters, rabbits, and other small game, while a variety of fish were plentiful nearby.<sup>4</sup>

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Wallace R. Peck, a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley (A.B., 1950, LL.B, 1957), is a retired San Diego attorney. Born in San Diego, he lived on Rockwell Field at North Island from 1934-1938, the son of a U.S. Army Air Corps staff sergeant who was stationed there. He later served as a pilot in the U. S. Air Force in the early 1950s.



*Coronado, with North Island and Point Loma in the background, ca. 1886-87. ©SDHS #1290B.*

Early maps and drawings show North Island to have been far smaller than it is today, with water on three sides and an uneven shoreline shaped something like a ragged pennant jutting into the bay. It was separated from the south “island” (now Coronado) by a shallow slough, later called the Spanish Bight, with a sand bar about two hundred yards in length that created a flimsy barrier between the bay and the ocean. Serving as a land bridge to the south, this connection was often underwater at high tide, making North Island a real island for at least part of the time. On the west side, near the entrance to the bay and across from Ballast Point, was another shallow slough that came to be known to some as Whaler’s Bight.

In 1602 the island was briefly explored by men from the ships of the Spanish explorer, Sebastián Vizcaíno, who rowed across the narrow strait from Ballast Point to find fresh water flowing from a spring on what was described as “a large sand bar in the middle of the bay...surrounded by sea so that it appears to be a sand island.”<sup>5</sup> The ships left after a few days, with permanent settlement of San Diego not beginning until 1769. No significant use was found for the island until many years later in 1846 when it was made part of a 4,185-acre land grant from the last Mexican governor, Pío Pico, to a prominent and well-connected citizen, Don Pedro C. Carrillo. The grant of the *Yslas o Penínsulas de San Diego* encompassed not only the island, but, also, today’s Coronado and the Silver Strand.<sup>6</sup> Even though given without any cost to Don Pedro, the new owner could not make productive use of the property, and within a few years sold out. Title changed hands several times over the ensuing decades, with plans of American entrepreneurs to subdivide never being fulfilled. By 1903, the entirety of North Island ended up in control of wealthy John D. Spreckels, the sugar scion, who included the Hotel del Coronado among his many business interests in and around San Diego. Spreckels maintained a bridle path around its perimeter for horseback riding by hotel guests, and often there were hunting parties for the chasing and shooting of quail and rabbits.<sup>7</sup> At the northeast corner, he built a ship repair facility in 1887, called Marine Ways,

where sailing vessels, fishing boats, yachts, and other ships could be pulled ashore on underwater rails for maintenance and repair.<sup>8</sup> By 1909, the only permanent change was the planting of 40,000 eucalyptus trees along the eastern side of the island on the bluffs overlooking the Spanish Bight to shield that bleak eyesore from the sight of vacationing hotel guests.<sup>9</sup>

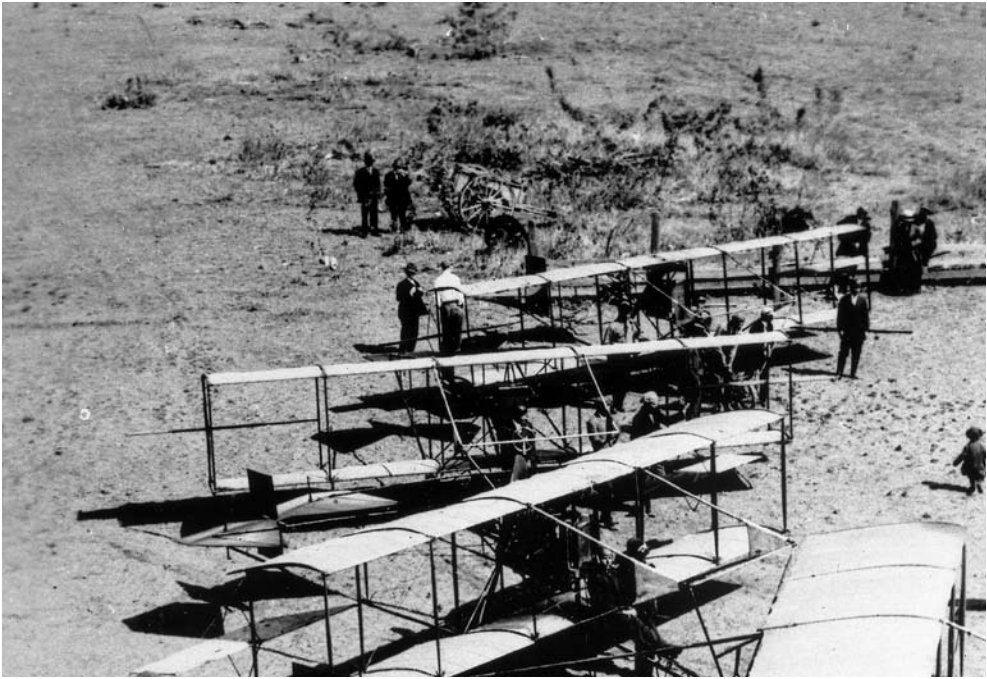
Meanwhile, the United States government had its eyes upon at least part of North Island. In 1893, it condemned slightly more than eighteen acres at the southwestern corner for about \$10,000 to build a 7,500-foot jetty to protect the entrance to the bay. Construction was started the following year, taking eleven years to complete. Then, in 1901, another 38.56 acres were condemned near the same location for about \$20,000 to install a gun emplacement to guard the entrance to the bay and to augment the batteries being situated on the other side at Fort Rosecrans. By 1904, two 3-inch, 15-pound guns were in place, and the fortification christened Fort Pio Pico in honor of the last Mexican governor who had granted the land nearly sixty years before.<sup>10</sup> Most of the rest of the island remained in its natural state.

## **Arrival of Aviation**

Across the continent, bicycle makers Orville and Wilbur Wright made their first controlled flights in a powered “flying machine,” as they called it, on December 17, 1903, at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina—a startling accomplishment adapting a catapult and a 12-horsepower, four cylinder engine, to get off the ground and, on their fourth and last flight of the day, to stay aloft fifty-nine seconds and cover a distance of 852 feet.<sup>11</sup> For the most part of the next three years, the public knew little about the development of human flight. The Wrights spent the time secretly perfecting their invention, while unsuccessfully seeking to interest the skeptical U. S. government, European nations, and the Japanese in the new contraption. Others, here and abroad, were actively experimenting with various designs, trying to keep them in the sky.<sup>12</sup>

One entrepreneur was Glenn H. Curtiss of Hammondsport, New York, another bicycle maker who became interested in manufacturing and racing motorcycles. He became “the fastest man alive” by setting a record in 1904 of 136.29 miles per hour. He then turned to flying gas-inflated airships powered by motorcycle engines, which he designed and manufactured, and finally in developing true aircraft.<sup>13</sup> Working initially with Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone, and a group that organized itself as the Aerial Experiment Association, Curtiss established the first airplane manufacturing company in the United States. He flew his first “aerodrome” in March 1908, assisted greatly by Dr. Bell who conceptualized the idea of ailerons in lieu of the Wrights’ wing-warping for in-flight banking and turning.<sup>14</sup> By July of that year, Curtiss had perfected his third model, the June Bug, versatile enough to win the trophy being offered for a flight of one kilometer (3,281 feet), which he did at a speed of thirty-nine miles per hour.<sup>15</sup> By 1909, he was participating in flying meets and aerial demonstrations throughout the country and in Europe with improved variations of his machines.<sup>16</sup>

The first “international” (there was at least one foreign pilot) air tournament in the United States was held in January 1910 at the old Domínguez Rancho, a few miles south of today’s Compton, California. Curtiss and his team of two other pilots



*Curtiss School of Aviation on North Island, 1911. ©SDHS #87:16425.*

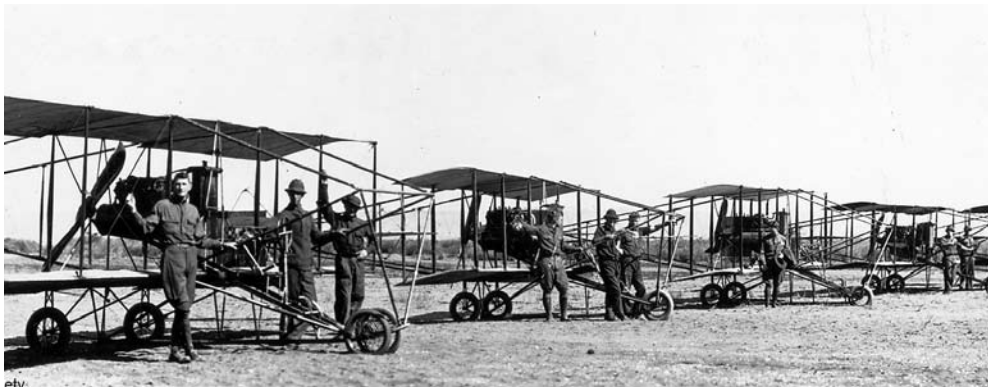
participated, flying before crowds in the grandstands exceeding 25,000 people, with thousands more in surrounding areas, watching new speed records (nearly 55 miles per hour) and altitude records (4,140 feet) being established by competition among the fliers.<sup>17</sup> This led to San Diego's first exposure to manned flight in a controllable powered machine.<sup>18</sup> Responding to an offer of \$5,000 by San Diego merchants promoting a fund-raiser for the planned Panama-California Exposition, one of Curtiss's pilots, Charles Hamilton, brought his plane to San Diego on a railroad flat car, and made the first local flight on January 23, 1910, taking off from and returning to the Polo Field in western Coronado near the Spanish Bight. Two days later, while unsuccessfully trying for an altitude record, he made an untimely forced landing on the sand dunes of North Island—a dramatic, but unscheduled, introduction of the airplane to the future home of Army and Navy aviation.<sup>19</sup>

Glenn Curtiss visited isolated North Island at the start of the following year. He found it ideal for the operation of a winter flying school (Hammondsport, in western New York on the banks of frozen Lake Keuka, hardly being suitable during that part of the year). It was also a superb site for trying to convince the military to buy his planes. The Spanish Bight was made to order as a place to perfect a hydroaeroplane that could take off and land on water, a venture he thought might entice the Navy. With the urging of the newly formed San Diego Chapter of the Aero Club of America, Spreckels' Coronado Beach Company agreed to a three-year lease to Curtiss, without the payment of any rent, to use the vacant island as an aviation school starting in January of 1911—the genesis of manned flight on North Island.<sup>20</sup>

The Curtiss School of Aviation took over an abandoned hay barn and converted it into a hangar. The San Diego Aero Club built two more shelters, which were

covered with only canvas and tarpaper, and helped clear brush for landings and takeoffs. Curtiss solicited the military to send students for training, free of charge. The first class consisted of six neophytes—three Army officers and one Navy officer, plus two (later, three) civilians. The school's aircraft consisted of four Curtiss-built planes, three with 60-horsepower, 8-cylinder engines (the type used by Curtiss to win the newly-created Gordon Bennett Trophy at Rheims, France, in 1909), and a smaller one that was adapted mainly for ground work by student pilots, which they called "grass cutting."<sup>21</sup>

Four years earlier, on August 1, 1907, the U. S. Army had taken its first tiny step into the new world of aeronautics when it established an Aeronautical Division as part of the Signal Corps to take charge of ballooning and "to study the flying machine and the possibility of adapting it to military purposes." "Division" was hardly an apt description, as it consisted only of a captain and two subordinates. The first plane was purchased from the Wrights in 1909, and a few officers learned to fly by individual instruction. It took another two years until any candidates were picked for training at a formal flying school—the Curtiss School of Aviation on North Island. The three Army officers, selected from thirty volunteers, who joined the first class in 1911, were: 35-year-old First Lieutenant Paul W. Beck, Second Lieutenant George E. M. Kelly (who later that year became the first Army



*Aircraft and crews of the Army's First Aviation School on North Island, 1914. ©SDHS #80:1714.*

fatality), and Second Lieutenant John C. Walker, Jr., all three having been assigned the previous year as Army observers of the air meets at Los Angeles and San Francisco. The only Navy officer in the first class was Lieutenant Theodore G. Ellyson.<sup>22</sup>

The Curtiss School of Aviation at North Island continued with classes in the winters of 1912 and 1913, attracting students through heavy advertising, each being charged \$500 for the course (\$600 for hydroaeroplane instruction), which could be applied toward purchase of a plane. The classes included students from Japan, Greece, and India, one single woman, and two married couples. By this time, Curtiss had designed aircraft with dual controls, making instruction a bit easier than running alongside of planes on the ground while shouting commands, although there were still problems with foreign students who had difficulties with the English language.<sup>23</sup>

## The Army Arrives

Curtiss invited the Navy, and later the Army, to share North Island with him. The Navy responded first. Having purchased three planes (two from Curtiss, one from the Wrights), it was seeking a winter location for its new Naval Aviation Detachment (four officers and six seamen). It selected North Island over Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. In January 1912, a Navy detachment set up camp, informally called “Camp Trouble,” on the northeast corner of the island, with tents serving as hangars (one for the Curtiss planes and one for the Wrights’) and other tents for personnel. The Navy operated alongside the Curtiss school for the next few months, but on May 3, 1912, the entire group was ordered to Annapolis, Maryland, the camp was disbanded, and the Navy left the island, not to return for five years.<sup>24</sup>

That same year, 1912, the Army started looking for a place to establish a permanent flying school. Sporadic pilot training had taken place at College Park, Maryland, where a military school had been started the previous year, but it could not be fully utilized during winter months, requiring the temporary transfer of all activities to Augusta, Georgia, where rain and cold were also problems.<sup>25</sup> The belief at the time was that excessive wind was a major limiting factor to flying the unstable machines of the day, so the Army undertook a nationwide survey of possible sites— weather, temperature, and wind velocity were measured— concluding that the best location, as far as wind was concerned, was near Phoenix, Arizona, but it was much, much too hot, and the next was Los Angeles, but, surprisingly, it was said to have no available space. The third choice was North Island, a proven location, ready, waiting, and almost empty, with an average wind velocity of 5.6 miles per hour, only slightly greater than Phoenix at 4.1 and Los Angeles at 4.42.<sup>26</sup>

The decision was made to use North Island, accepting Curtiss’s offer, and on November 4, 1912, the first Army detachment of eight enlisted men arrived, followed a couple of weeks later by the commanding officer and soon thereafter by ten more officers and ten more enlisted personnel. Aircraft from College Park arrived in December—a total of two planes, a 60-horsepower Curtiss and a 40-horsepower instruction plane. This was the beginning of the Army’s twenty-six year presence.<sup>27</sup>

A camp was established at the north end of the island, near the Marine Ways dock of the Spreckels Company. Hangars were constructed out of canvas, and tents set up as shelters for other materials and personnel. Some planes and equipment were housed in Curtiss’s hangars at a cost to the government of \$25 per month, with additional personnel and planes arriving from Texas City, Texas. New aircraft were received from time to time from the Wright Brothers in Dayton, Ohio, and from Curtiss in Hammondsport, New York. By November 1913, a year after the first arrivals, the primitive station was named the Signal Corps Aviation School, San Diego. During that first year, at least twelve officers were qualified as Military Aviators.<sup>28</sup>

Flying in those early days was perilous. Perched out front in the open on a canvas wing, the pilot sat close to a rudimentary engine, exposed to the wind and elements— and without a parachute. Sudden death or severe injury was not unexpected in case of a mechanical malfunction or an error in judgment. Twelve

out of the first 48 Army pilots—25 percent—were killed in flying accidents. They were truly guinea pigs, experimenting in the unknown, learning by trial and error.<sup>29</sup> The first accident at North Island occurred in February 1913, followed by the first death in April (Lieutenant Rex Chandler, the first person to be killed in a “flying boat” on his one and only flight), another death in May (Lieutenant Joseph D. Parks, holder of the altitude record of 8,700 feet, which he set only two weeks before), and two more, in the same plane, in November (First Lieutenant Eric L. Ellington, the instructor, and Second Lieutenant Hugh M. Kelly, the student).<sup>30</sup>

Much public controversy ensued from the string of accidents and deaths. The principal cause was attributed to the use of “pusher” aircraft, those with the engine and propeller in the rear, which was the original design of the Wrights and of the early planes of Curtiss. Crashes, even at the low speeds of the day, would often dislodge the engine, catapulting it forward, crushing the pilot who was precariously seated in front of the engine. The front page of the *San Diego Union* was devoted to the details of the Ellington/Kelly crash, under the headline “Intrepid Navigators of Air Crushed, Mangled to Death in Fall of Government Biplane,” with charges that the aviators were “slaughtered” by a parsimonious government using antiquated machines.<sup>31</sup> Another officer, Lieutenant Henry B. Post, also made front-page headlines<sup>32</sup> when he was killed a few months later in February 1914, his Wright-manufactured plane smashing into the bay after attempting a new altitude record.<sup>33</sup> This crash led to the grounding of all pusher-type planes in favor of the “tractor” type, which had the engine and propeller forward of the crew. The grounding left the Army’s air school at North Island with just five planes, and only two of those were flyable, the other three being under repair and barely serviceable.<sup>34</sup>

The years 1913-15 were times of both daring and experimentation at North Island, small steps in the development of the military air service, although with minimal financial backing from the government. In December 1913, Lieutenant Joseph E. Carberry and Lieutenant Walter R. Taliaferro, flying together, set a new American altitude record for a plane carrying two persons of about 7,000 feet, which Lieutenant Carberry and another bettered the following month by reaching 11,690 feet. Endurance records also went into the books, with Lieutenant Taliaferro staying aloft for 9 hours and 45 minutes in September 1915, before landing with a dead motor starved for gas. Previously, he had set a distance record, flying 220 miles in about 3 1/2 hours. Unfortunately, he met the fate of many others, after doing his first and last “loop the loop” in a Curtiss tractor, the plane suddenly dived into the bay, killing him instantly, only a month after setting the endurance record.<sup>35</sup> The accident filled the front page of the *San Diego Union* with several articles, his recently taken wedding picture, and photographs of rescuers searching the bay for his body.<sup>36</sup>

The Army’s exclusive occupancy of North Island was interrupted by a Marine invasion in July 1914, when the Fourth Regiment of the Marine Corps set up camp under the command of Colonel Joseph H. Pendleton (for whom Camp Pendleton was later named). Some 1,400 officers and men moved in, pitched hundreds of tents, set up field kitchens, dug latrines, cleared land, laid out roads, piped in water, provided electricity and telephone service, established a rifle range, and repaired the dock, creating an orderly, Marine-efficient facility in an area near the Spanish Bight, but away from the flight operations of the Army. It was called Camp



*North Island, Army Signal Corps School, 1916. ©SDHS #15620.*

Howard. This occupation lasted only for about five months until December of that year, when the regiment was reassigned to various other duties, although a few Marine caretakers were left on the island until 1916 for patrolling purposes and to operate the rifle range.<sup>37</sup>

### **Organizing for War**

The occupation of North Island by the Army was always somewhat tenuous, having established an operational base at the invitation of Curtiss, who had a rent-free lease for only three years to operate a private flying school. There was some uncertainty about the legal status of the military presence from the beginning. The three-year lease period ended in early 1914, by which time the Army's military school was in full operation with planes, hangars for twelve aircraft, personnel, and support facilities—and Curtiss had left. Of course, Spreckels and his Coronado Beach Company knew this, giving permission for the continued construction of temporary buildings by the Army, while expressly conditioning their consent on its not being interpreted or construed as conferring any permanent right to the Army. As a consequence, although a number of buildings, including hangars and machine shops, were erected in a semicircle at the north end of the island near the shoreline of the bay, they were all buildings that could be dismantled or even abandoned, when and if necessary.<sup>38</sup>

Starting in 1913, attempts were made by the Army to buy North Island, without result. The situation was aggravated in December 1915, when the Coronado Beach Company sent a notice to vacate the property "as soon after March 31, 1916, as possible," since the company, which had been paying taxes on the property all along, declared that it wanted to subdivide and sell lots as "high class residential property," as it had tried to do with the South Island. But the Army stayed put, continuing to build, albeit only impermanent structures, so that by June 1916, there

were twenty-two buildings making up the Army facility.<sup>39</sup> America's entry into the First World War in April 1917 brought matters to a head. After a joint Navy/Army board concluded that North Island "is the best location in this country for the establishment of a joint Army and Navy aviation station for the primary training of pilots," and with the urging and politicking of San Diego's Congressman William Kettner, Congress authorized the president to issue an executive order seizing the property, with compensation to the owners to be determined later.<sup>40</sup> President Woodrow Wilson signed the order on August 1, 1917, and the Army immediately assumed control in the name of the United States of America, although Spreckels was allowed to continue to operate his Marine Ways dock for a time.<sup>41</sup>

As is often the case, the government and the Coronado Beach Company had vastly different views on what should be paid for the land. A condemnation trial followed, with the jury fixing the value of the entirety of North Island at five million dollars. Appeals were taken, with the United States asserting that the original 1846 grant by Governor Pío Pico to Don Pedro Carrillo was made under Mexican law, which reserved to the national government the right to use the property for defense purposes, and, therefore, the United States, as the new sovereign and successor to the government of Mexico, did not have to pay anything at all! When the case finally reached the Supreme Court of the United States in 1921, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes gave that argument short shrift, declaring it "wholly incredible" that the Mexican law would allow taking of private property without compensation, and the verdict was upheld.<sup>42</sup> Over seven years after taking the property, the federal government finally ended up paying the owners \$6,098,333, which was the amount of the award plus accumulated interest of over one million dollars.<sup>43</sup>

The years immediately prior to America's involvement in World War I found the nascent air arm of the Army trying to organize itself into something more than a few rudimentary planes and a struggling flight school. In 1914 the name Aeronautical Division of the Signal Corps was changed to the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps, which, arguably, was an improvement. Congress authorized a nationwide complement of 60 officers and 260 enlisted men, requiring the officers to be unmarried lieutenants of the line.<sup>44</sup> Trying to establish some kind of military structure, the first formal regulation for aviation schools (there was only one such school in the United States) was issued in January 1915—General Order No. 1, which covered pressing matters, such as:

Dogs without collars and muzzles will be shot.

Horses will be tied on the picket line provided for private mounts, and not to trees, fences, water pipes or buildings.

Officers will be required to devote a minimum of six hours per week to professional study or reading.

Detailed typewritten instructions were also handed to new student pilots, with dire warnings such as:

If you hate work, don't take up aviation.

If you are the sort of person who likes to keep his hands clean, don't take up aviation.

If you are a bluffer, don't take up aviation, you can not expect to bluff the atmosphere.

If you expect to be married soon, or are in love, don't take up aviation.<sup>45</sup>



*Wartime scouts and trainers of Army Air Service at Rockwell Field, 1918. ©SDHS #15665.*

Another unexpected difficulty appeared. As a totally new branch of the military, operating in an unexplored environment, utilizing recently invented machines that required coordinated skills, daring, and specialized training, the pilots being produced were all young, seemingly very young—mostly in their twenties. Who were to command these neophytes? An attempt was made to remedy the problem by admitting to the school older and established infantry and artillery officers. In 1916, two colonels and one lieutenant colonel were sent to the flying school at North Island.<sup>46</sup> There is no report on the success of this program, but one of the colonels was aboard a plane that became lost and ended with a forced crash landing in the delta of the Gulf of California below the border. The two officers were not found for eight days, with the colonel barely alive. The pilot, the young lieutenant who got lost, was able to walk about thirty miles for help leaving the colonel behind, so maybe age was important in some respects.<sup>47</sup>

When the war broke out in Europe in August 1914, the entire tactical air strength—that is, ready combat units—of the U.S. Army consisted of six airplanes, 12 officers, and 54 enlisted men. A dramatic expansion of the Army's air capabilities followed. By the end of hostilities in November 1918, the Air Service had 185 squadrons, with 8,000 aircraft, 20,568 officers, and 274,456 enlisted men.<sup>48</sup> North Island was heavily involved in this phenomenal growth, both before and during the war. The first organized fighting unit of planes and men, the First Aero Squadron, was formed there in 1915 under the command of one of the Army's original pilots, Capt. Benjamin D. Foulois (called by some the "father of U. S. military aviation").<sup>49</sup> Although it was short on aircraft, in July the squadron was sent by railroad train to Ft. Sill, Oklahoma—15 officers, 11 enlisted men, one civilian—and eight planes. The next year Capt. Foulois and the squadron saw the nation's first aerial combat duty, somewhat futilely attempting to assist General

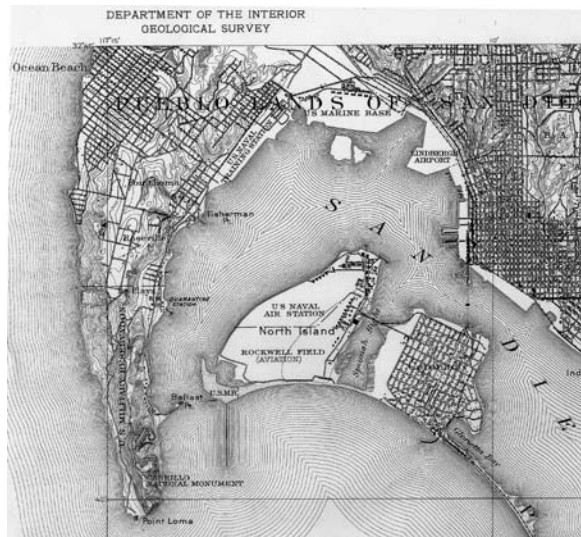
John J. Pershing and his expedition chasing Francisco “Pancho” Villa in Northern Mexico by flying search and reconnaissance missions.<sup>50</sup> In September 1917 the squadron arrived in France—but without any aircraft, having to rely upon the British, French, and Italians for modern planes.<sup>51</sup>

The Army assembled another group at North Island, the Second Aero Squadron, which in December 1916 was sent to the Philippine Islands. The next year, it created the Sixth Aero Squadron and dispatched it to Hawaii, and then organized and assigned the Seventh Aero Squadron to Panama.<sup>52</sup> It was clear that the Air Service was expanding during the 1914-16 period, but its growth was gradual. In June 1915, the Army’s flying school at North Island consisted of 30 officers, 185 enlisted men, 12 civilians, and 30 planes. Two years later, even though the war had been raging in Europe since August 1914, with daily aerial combat almost from the beginning, the school was slightly larger, but not by much. By the time the United States did enter the war in April 1917, there were only about 37 Army officers, 387 enlisted men, and 50 civilians on North Island. Nevertheless, things had started to happen, and it was no longer the sole flying school, as two others had been set up in other parts of the country. By the end of the war in late 1918 there were twenty-eight such schools.<sup>53</sup>

Shortly after the start of American involvement in the hostilities in Europe, the Army’s Aviation School on North Island received a more formal name, being changed on July 20, 1917 to Rockwell Field, in honor of Second Lieutenant Lewis C. Rockwell, a young pilot killed along with his passenger, Corporal Frank S. Scott, in 1912 in a crash at College Park, Maryland.<sup>54</sup> The following year, in May 1918, the formal status of the air operations of the Army was also upgraded, when the Aviation Section was separated from the Signal Corps, its home since first established in 1908, and designated as the Army Air Service. It held that designation for the remainder of the war and until 1926 when it was again restructured and elevated to become the Army Air Corps.<sup>55</sup>

## The Navy Returns

Life on North Island, especially from the Army’s viewpoint, changed drastically in 1917—not just because of the onset of the war, but because the Navy returned. When Congress approved acquisition of the island, it was for the express purpose of accommodating aviation training schools of both the Army and Navy, and as soon as the property was acquired in August, the Navy immediately started appearing on the scene. The Army, not particularly enamored about this radical change, having opposed



1930 U. S. Geological Survey Map showing the boundary between Rockwell Field and the Naval Air Station as fixed in 1918. University of San Diego archives.

usurpation by the Navy for years, had no choice. After considerable negotiations, a dividing line between the two bases was established, with the Army agreeing to abandon to the Navy the northern part near the bay and to shift its operations to the southern side of the island. Despite the agreement, the Army refused to budge until new buildings were constructed for its planes and personnel, and the Navy could not move in until the Army moved out. An interservice squabble developed, with the Navy's commanding officer and its personnel being quartered for several months across the bay in Balboa Park, far from the island. By March 1918, things were finally settled, the boundary was redrawn, and as contractors finished new buildings for the Army, it turned over its existing structures to the Navy. By June, the Army had fully evacuated the north end, the Navy was finally able to fully move in—over ten months after the property was acquired—and the Naval Air Station launched.<sup>56</sup> About the same time, construction of a causeway over the Spanish Bight for automobiles and railway trains provided a permanent connection of North Island to Coronado, tying in at Fourth Street, and relieving the island's historic dependency on tugs, barges, ferries, and other watercraft.<sup>57</sup>

On the Rockwell Field portion, the war brought on rapid expansion, with new ground facilities being constructed—officers' quarters, a hospital, a research laboratory, three hangars—with about five hundred Army aircraft utilizing the field. In August 1918 Rockwell Field's mission was changed from its traditional primary pilot training to a pursuit and gunnery school.<sup>58</sup> Space was cramped, especially with the Navy then occupying over half, and additional sites were needed for aerial and ground gunnery practice as well as for flight training. Two vacant areas to the south were acquired by the Army Air Service for use as auxiliary airfields. One was Ream Field near Imperial Beach, named in honor of Major William R. Ream, the first flight surgeon at Rockwell Field who was killed in an air crash while participating in a Liberty bond promotion, and the other on Otay Mesa which was simply called East Field (today's Brown Field).<sup>59</sup>

The gargantuan expansion of the armed forces of the United States ended abruptly with the conclusion of World War I on November 11, 1918. "Demobilization" was the watchword of the day, and it took place with lightning speed. The order came from Washington to stop all construction of permanent buildings at Rockwell Field, and to return all unspent funds to the U. S. Treasury. The school itself was shut down and all training operations ceased in January 1919. Without hesitation, 1,200 enlisted men were promptly discharged, leaving about 400 men to deal with the base's three hundred planes, which were then dismantled and crated. By late 1919, the field was almost back to its prewar condition, with only 84 officers and 381 enlisted men, and by the middle of 1920 it was down to 34 officers and 153 enlisted men, having started a policy of out-sourcing—replacing enlisted personnel with civilians.<sup>60</sup>

The Army at Rockwell Field had certainly done its part in the war effort, first training over 800 pilots, then during the last few months of the conflict serving as a pursuit and gunnery training facility for several hundred accomplished airmen.<sup>61</sup> It nurtured some of the heroes of the first great conflict and many of the leaders of the second. In celebration of the Armistice, 212 planes were assembled for an aerial show over San Diego on November 27, 1918, with the Army sending aloft 141 planes and the Navy 71. It was a spectacle to behold and long remembered, all of the planes flying together in various formations, filling the skies like flocks of

migrating birds, while interspersing aerial stunts. How far aviation had advanced was indicated by the headline the following day in the *San Diego Union* with its back-handed complement: "212 Planes Go Through Daring Feats in Mass Flight Without Mishap."<sup>62</sup> Flying had come a long way in fewer than fifteen years.

## **Postwar Adjustments and Times**

Postwar military life was different. With the shortage of funds supplied to the military, both branches of the service had to fight for the money needed for improved aircraft, modern facilities, and trained personnel, with only limited success. The Army and Navy continued to have spats over the joint occupancy of North Island, perhaps important at the time, but seemingly minor from today's vantage point. Each unsuccessfully wished the other would leave, yet each accommodated the other. When the Navy started using the island in 1920-21 for lighter-than-air operations, the Army objected, but was ignored. Yet in 1924, when the Navy needed mooring facilities for the arrival of the giant airship *Shenandoah*, space was provided by the Army at Rockwell Field.<sup>63</sup> Interservice rivalry was always present, but never dominant. They got along—mostly.

With the war over, new purposes for the continued existence of the Army air arm had to be found, and skills had to be maintained by existing pilots and developed in new pilots. In 1919-20, Army planes from Rockwell and nearby March Field in Riverside County were used for daily forest patrols, flying over the Cleveland National Forest, looking for fires that periodically ravaged the area. By this time, the aircraft were equipped with radios, but they were unreliable in mountainous areas. Adopting a practice perfected by the Navy, the patrol planes carried homing pigeons, which were released with a message when a fire was sighted. This could hardly be classified as high-tech communications, but it was seemingly effective. Altogether, over 34,000 miles were flown and twenty-four fires reported, so a beneficial peacetime use was found, at least for a while.<sup>64</sup>

Another interim task was undertaken in 1919 by the Ninth Aero Squadron stationed at Rockwell Field, which engaged in daily patrolling of the international border. Flying from North Island to sixty miles east of Yuma, Arizona, in the morning, and returning in the afternoon, they were not looking for aliens who might be coming into the United States, but were searching for smugglers that might be transporting arms and ammunition into Mexico. Auxiliary fields were established at Calexico and Yuma. The pilots were often unsuccessful in navigating over the wilderness along the border, and planes were sometimes lost on both sides of the international dividing line. This task had to be suspended at the beginning of 1921 when the squadron was transferred to other California air fields. The permanent contingent at Rockwell was reduced to only twelve officers, two warrant officers, and supporting personnel, although three flying cadets and nine enlisted men were left with the thankless job of patrolling for a short while.<sup>65</sup>

In 1920 Rockwell Field was designated as an Aviation General Supply and Repair Depot, and in 1921 was again renamed the Rockwell Air Intermediate Depot. Instead of being the center of exciting flights of hundreds of aircraft, training of both fledgling and experienced pilots, developing combat pursuit tactics, and practicing aerial gunnery, the base became responsible for the mundane, but undoubtedly important, task of supplying and repairing Army



*The T-2 and Pilots Lieutenants Macready and Kelly demonstrating the amount of gasoline and oil used on a nonstop cross-country flight, 1923. ©SDHS #10658.*

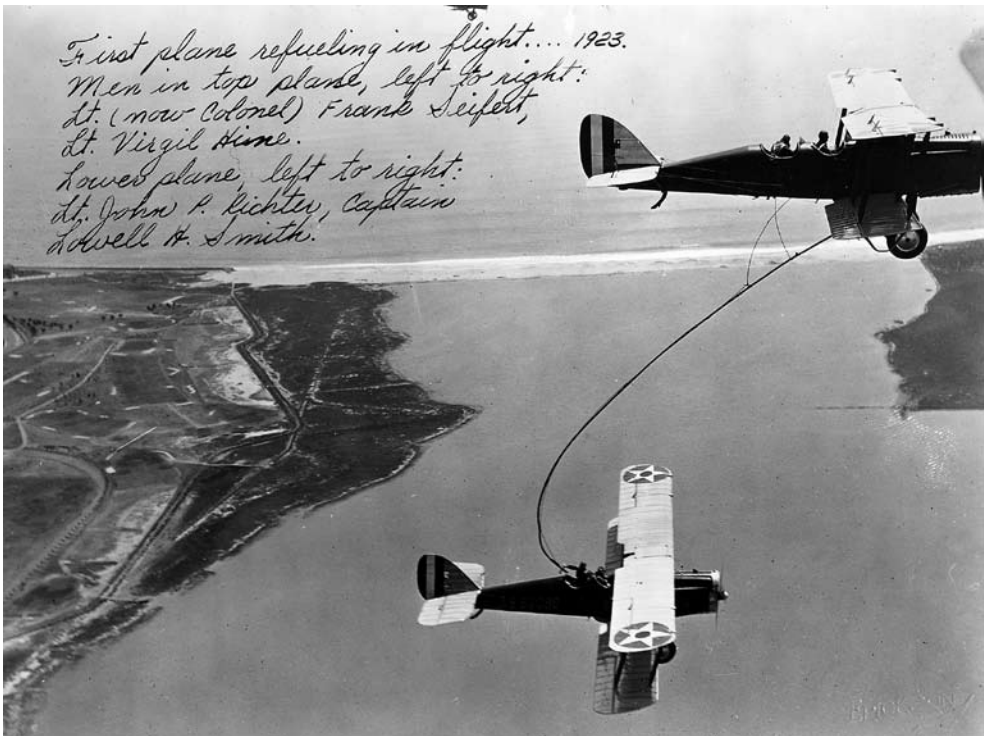
aircraft for the Ninth Corps Area, which covered Hawaii and the Philippine Islands.<sup>66</sup> The next year, on October 13, 1922, one of the nation's pioneer pilots and future five star general, Major Henry H. "Hap" Arnold, started his two-year tour as commanding officer of Rockwell Field, having previously served at Rockwell as a lieutenant in 1914, as a captain in 1916, and a major in 1919 when he was the district supervisor and base commander.<sup>67</sup>

Despite its pedestrian assignment, the Army's Rockwell Field continued to be the center of record-setting events during the 1920s. In 1922, Second Lieutenant James H. "Jimmy" Doolittle, who had trained at Rockwell, had been a gunnery instructor there during World War I, and was a pilot of one of the 212 planes over San Diego celebrating the Armistice, made two record-breaking long distance flights that terminated at Rockwell Field. The first was in May, when he and Lieutenant L. S. Andrew flew from San Antonio, Texas, in a DeHavilland DH-4, with intermediate refueling stops at El Paso and Nogales, taking 12 hours and 10 minutes at an average speed of 100 miles per hour.<sup>68</sup> Later that year, he flew solo in a DH-4, coast-to-coast, from Pablo Beach, Florida, to North Island, with only one intermediate refueling stop at San Antonio, Texas, covering over 2,000 miles in 21 hours and 20 minutes.<sup>69</sup> This flight broke the solo record set the previous year by Lieutenant William D. Coney who flew from Rockwell Field to Jacksonville, Florida, in 22 hours and 32 minutes flying time (not total time), but was killed trying to establish a new record on his return flight.<sup>70</sup>

The same year as Doolittle's record cross-country flight, two other pilots who had trained at Rockwell Field attempted to fly nonstop across the United States, something that had never been accomplished. Lieutenant John A. Macready and Lieutenant Oakley G. Kelly set out to prove that it could be done. They used one

of the two (only two were ever made) single-engine, Netherlands-built Fokker F.IV, high-wing monoplanes, purchased by the Army Air Service, but equipped with a 420-horsepower American Liberty engine, and redesignated as the T-2. It took three tries.<sup>71</sup> The first flight, starting from Rockwell Field on October 5, 1922, heavily laden with gasoline and oil, failed to achieve sufficient altitude to clear the mountains and fog just before reaching Banning, California, so the pilots turned back, but then elected to stay aloft, and in so doing set an unofficial endurance record of 35 hours and 18 minutes before landing.<sup>72</sup> The second try, undertaken a month later, made it as far as Indianapolis, Indiana, over 2,200 miles away, where the flight was aborted due to cracked cylinder heads, which had been kept functioning by pouring the pilots' drinking water, consommé, and coffee into the radiator. They first landed on the Indianapolis Speedway, but then unwisely elected to go on to nearby Fort Benjamin Harrison for repairs, where the engine froze due to overheating just prior to touching down, with the pilots having to run from the plane out of fear of a potential fire from the dead but smoking engine.

Undeterred, a third attempt was made the following spring, this time starting on the east coast at Roosevelt Field on Long Island, New York. The plane barely made it off the ground being loaded with 737 gallons of fuel and 40 gallons of oil. The flight successfully ended at Rockwell Field on May 3, 1923, after 26 hours and 50 minutes in the air, at an average speed of 99 miles per hour for the nearly 2,700 miles. The two crew members alternated at the controls for six-hour periods at a time, with the operating pilot sitting high up front in the nose of the plane, out in



First air-to-air refueling. Lieutenants Smith and Richter were in the receiving plane while Lieutenants Hine and Seifert were in the tanker, 1923. ©SDHS #6051.

the open, with the engine by his right side and the propeller a few feet away, while the other pilot was hidden down inside the fuselage, and although he had controls, he had no forward vision. In triumph, the plane, with "Army Air Service Non Stop Coast to Coast" emblazoned on each side, buzzed down San Diego's Broadway only 100 feet above waving crowds, before landing at Rockwell Field to a waiting throng. The pilots received congratulatory telegrams from the president and his cabinet, as well as many others, and were awarded the Mackay Trophy. The T-2 was immediately donated to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C., where it is still on display over eighty years later, now a part of the National Air and Space Museum since its opening in 1976.<sup>73</sup>

Still another memorable flying experiment took place in San Diego skies starting in June 1923, when air-to-air refueling was successfully demonstrated by Rockwell Field officers of the Army Air Service. Two DeHavilland DH-4s were modified in the shops at Rockwell to permit the transfer of fuel from one to the other by a dangling 40 to 50-foot hose while airborne. Auxiliary tanks for gasoline and water were added to both planes. In June, the first flight took place, which lasted about six and one half hours, with two transfers of gasoline, the pilot in the rear cockpit having to grab the hose and insert it into the receiving plane's fuel tank—establishing that it could be done.<sup>74</sup> The following day, having shown how to do it, the same pilots unsuccessfully tried to set an endurance record. They stayed in the air nearly 24 hours, but when fog intervened, and transfers had to be made below 100 feet, an earlier than planned ungraceful landing became necessary, as the plane was forced to set down in the marsh east of North Island, where it nosed over. The two men aboard were uninjured.

After repairing the plane and building a second tanker, another attempt at an endurance record was made in August 1923, when the moon was full and night transfers could be more easily made. This flight, involving fifteen fuel deliveries through the hose, totaling 687 gallons of gas and 38 gallons of oil, with four hot meals being lowered in a basket from one plane to the other, lasted 37 hours and 15 minutes, covered about 3,293 miles, setting new endurance, distance, and speed records, while proving the feasibility of air-to-air refueling, as well as the durability of the engine and of the crew. Manning the open cockpits of the endurance plane on each of the three flights were Lieutenant Lowell H. Smith, the pilot, and Lieutenant John P. Richter, the receiver who had the critical task of handling the hose.<sup>75</sup> To further demonstrate the flexibility of mid-flight refueling, two months later in October 1923, the same two airmen flew nonstop from the Canadian border to the Mexican border, about 1,250 miles, rendezvousing with refueling planes over Oregon and Central California, before landing at Rockwell Field after 12 hours and 13 minutes in the air.<sup>76</sup>

Today, North Island is mostly paved over, with two huge concrete runways, one over 9,000 feet long, plus taxiways, ramps, parking areas, hangars, shops, support buildings, and streets. Not much has been left bare. But it wasn't always so. For over two decades after the arrival of airmen, much of the island was sand dunes and the landing and takeoff areas were just plain dirt, with several planes often taking off side by side, causing many problems—clouds of dust and sand in the dry season, puddles and mud in the wet. As Army and Navy aircraft became heavier, and the engines larger, the problems became aggravated. It was not until 1933 that a paved landing and takeoff area, circular in shape and 2,200 feet in



Rockwell Field is in the foreground while the Naval Air Station is near the bay, 1924. ©SDHS #7660.

diameter, was constructed for the Army, and not until much later were solid runways built for the Navy.<sup>77</sup> Until then, keeping the grass down was a continual chore.

Another major difficulty was the proliferation of jackrabbits. They had always been present on the two islands, and proved to be a nuisance to the new residents of Coronado, who saw their freshly planted flowers and shrubbery disappear overnight to the voracious animals.<sup>78</sup> But as more and more houses were built in Coronado, the nuisance faded. Not so on the mostly-primitive North Island. In her appropriately titled history of North Island, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, Elretta Sudsbury delightfully describes the jackrabbit encounters of the 1920s.<sup>79</sup> In 1923, for example, a shooting event was staged with rabbits the target. In years following, there were annual roundups, involving Army and Navy personnel, as well as civilians, armed with sticks and clubs, marching line-abreast, herding the varmints toward the water where they would be clubbed or drowned. To enliven things even more, starting in 1928, “Ford Rabbit Derbies” were held, involving Model-Ts with two occupants in each, chasing rabbits with only clubs as weapons, which makes it seem doubtful that many jackrabbits were eliminated, but the fun is obvious. Various rabbit hunts were continued until at least 1940, after which field expansion slowly minimized “the great rabbit menace.”

Perhaps the most famous historic event took place in 1927, when Rockwell Field was peripherally involved in the flight of 25-year-old Charles A. Lindbergh

across the Atlantic Ocean. Lindbergh learned to fly as a civilian before enrolling as an Army Reserve flying cadet, following which he was commissioned a first lieutenant in the Missouri National Guard, and then became an airmail pilot. Although many crewmen had flown in thirteen separate flights across the Atlantic, the first as early as 1919, a \$25,000 prize was now being offered for the first to fly nonstop from New York to Paris. Several pilots and manufacturers had their sights on the prize, as did Lindbergh who decided to attempt the venture flying solo. Using a newly designed plane, the *Spirit of St. Louis*, built by the Ryan Airlines of San Diego in only sixty days, Lindbergh made 23 test flights over San Diego during an 11-day period, landing and taking off at Dutch Flats, Camp Kearny, and Rockwell Field. When it came time to start across country to his New York jumping off point, Rockwell was selected because the field was large enough to handle his heavily loaded aircraft, although Lindbergh was not too happy about the bumpy condition of the field. Having taken on at Rockwell only half of the gasoline he would later carry, he started his first leg, a 1,500-mile flight to St. Louis, Missouri, on the afternoon of May 10, 1927, accompanied by three other planes—two from the Army, one of which was carrying the base commanding officer, and one from Ryan, with company representatives aboard. After circling North Island, Dutch Flats, and the city, the four planes headed east. About thirty-five minutes later, the escorting planes left Lindbergh on his own over the mountains of San Diego County as he continued on to St. Louis, then New York, and finally to fame and fortune in Paris, France, eleven days later.<sup>80</sup>

The name Lindbergh is forever identified with San Diego, and when the mud flats adjacent to Dutch Flats were filled with dredged materials from deepening the bay for the Navy's new aircraft carriers, the airport that was created was named Lindbergh Field, which was dedicated on August 16, 1928.<sup>81</sup> As part of the dedication ceremonies, the military put an armada of 222 planes in the air—140 from the Navy, 82 from the Army—with most of the planes taking off from North Island, all passing together over the new airport and the 50,000 watching citizenry and dignitaries. Once again, the *San Diego Union* was enthusiastic, with its headline: "Dedicate Lindbergh Field with Great Aerial Spectacle," but had to add, much as it had in 1918 Armistice celebration, in another banner heading accompanying a great picture of about 100 low-flying aircraft: "Mighty Aerial Drama Staged Without Single Accident," with a subheading: "No Accidents to Fliers or Spectators."<sup>82</sup> Total confidence in aviation was still lacking, even in 1928, after a quarter of a century of powered flight.<sup>83</sup>

The beginning of 1929 found Rockwell Field pilots and personnel engaged in another try at an air-to-air refueling endurance record. For takeoffs and landing, the newly opened Los Angeles Metropolitan Airport (now the Van Nuys Airport) was used because of its better weather, while Rockwell Field was one of the two sites where refueling aircraft were waiting. Flying a mono-wing, trimotor, Fokker C-2A, named the *Question Mark* because of the uncertainty as to how long it could stay aloft, it took to the skies on New Year's Day, 1929.<sup>84</sup> Manning the Fokker were four officers, each of whom would become world-renowned in World War II—Maj. Carl A. Spaatz, Capt. Ira C. Eaker, 2d Lieutenant Elwood R. Quesada, and Lieutenant Harry A. Halverson—and their mechanic, Sgt. Roy W. Hooe. The flight was followed daily on the front pages of major newspapers, especially in San Diego. To save weight, no radios were installed, and communications were



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*The Question Mark and its Crew—Major Carl Spaatz, Captain Ira Eaker, Second Lieutenant Elwood Quesada, First Lieutenant Harry Halverson, and S/Sergeant Roy Hooe, 1928. ©SDHS #14863:1.*

by holding up signs, by dropping messages, and by firing flare pistols. The first message to them said: “Don’t Forget Rose Bowl,” which was being played that day between Georgia Tech and the University of California (Tech won, 8 to 7). The crew knew the publicity value of the flight and remembered to fly over the game.

Initially, the *Question Mark* cruised back and forth between Rockwell Field and the Metropolitan Airport, refueling by a 50-foot, 2.5-inch thick, fire hose hanging beneath the tanker airplane. The commander of the operation, Major Spaatz (then spelling his name “Spatz”), standing in an open hatch, was responsible for grabbing the swinging hose, attaching a grounding wire, and then inserting the hose into the reception tank. Unfortunately, the hose had only one shut-off valve, and this was far from his reach on the tanker plane. Shortly after midnight of the first day, Spaatz was drenched with fuel when turbulence yanked the hose out of his hands. On the next refueling, he appeared totally nude, except for a parachute harness, worried about the effects of the gasoline on his skin. On three occasions he was sprayed with fuel and considered bailing out for medical attention, but found that oil and zinc oxide took care of possible skin and eye problems, so he stayed aboard, once again fully clothed.

Among his many repair and maintenance duties, Sergeant Hooe had to walk on open catwalks under the wing to service the two outboard engines. When one engine began acting up, the plane stayed close to the Metropolitan Airport in case

an emergency landing was necessary. Finally, when the left engine died, the flight was ended after covering about 11,000 miles and being refueled 43 times—12 of these at night—with 5,660 gallons of fuel and 245 gallons of oil. The plane landed on January 7, after 150 hours and 45 minutes—nearly seven days in the air—a new record and great publicity for the Army Air Corps at a time when funds and support were scarce. Each crewmember was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross (except Lieutenant Eaker who only received an oak leaf cluster on the one he already had).<sup>85</sup>

### The Navy Wins, The Army Leaves

For more than a decade, the Army and Navy kept asserting conflicting demands, each wanting the other to leave North Island. It seemed inevitable that the Navy would prevail, since the Army had many airfields throughout the country, even though its growth was severely hampered by budgetary restrictions during the late twenties, while the Navy, although similarly limited on funding, was taking on expanded functions, focusing on the development of aircraft carriers and the perfecting of various forms of seaplanes. San Diego Bay was ideal for both enterprises. As a consequence, North Island became overloaded with fleet squadrons, Marine aircraft, and Army Air Corps planes. The situation became aggravated about 1928 when Rockwell Field was designated as headquarters for the Army's Seventh Bombardment Group, the Eleventh Bombardment Squadron, and the Ninety-Fifth Pursuit Squadron, each with its complement of additional aircraft, causing pilots to complain that often the field was hidden all day under a cloud of dust from the vast number of planes operating off of the unpaved fields.<sup>86</sup> At the same time, the Army announced plans for the construction of more quarters, barracks, hangars, shops, and other facilities.<sup>87</sup>

In 1929 another joint Army/Navy board was formed to investigate the congestion on North Island. It recommended that the Army leave as soon as suitable accommodations could be found elsewhere. Not surprisingly, the Secretary of the Navy promptly ratified the recommendation, but, also not surprisingly, the Secretary of War (as the civilian Army head was then called) demurred on the basis of the costs involved. An offer was received from Chula Vista of 769 acres of land for a new airfield to replace Rockwell Field, but the site was rejected as inadequate. Further offers were made by the counties of Marin and Alameda in Northern California for locating new bases, which the Army ultimately accepted, but still did not move.<sup>88</sup> When it was reported in 1931 that three tactical Army units with 37 planes would be moved from Rockwell to March Field later that year, the *San Diego Union* headlined: "Army Air Units Drift from Rockwell Field, Navy Ready to Step In."<sup>89</sup> The Navy was ready, but the Secretary of War again squelched its hopes in 1932 by declaring that: "It is believed that military need for the area will be constant," which was followed by Army Chief of Staff General Douglas MacArthur's assertion that the base was not crowded at all; he unequivocally affirmed that "the Army has adopted . . . the definite policy of the retention of this field as it is a component part of our defense system."<sup>90</sup>

The year 1932 saw another major change. Almost no new facilities had been constructed since the end of World War I and "temporary" buildings were still in use. Now, the Great Depression was underway, resulting in even greater

cuts in military funding for both the Army and the Navy. Yet the attempt to get the unemployed back to work led to expenditures for new public works projects, which, much to the chagrin of the Navy, resulted in \$1.6 million being appropriated for new construction at Rockwell Field of buildings previously planned for 1928 but stymied by the Navy, including ten homes for officers, thirty homes for noncommissioned officers, new sewer, water, and gas systems, roads, walks and other modernizing improvements—hardly indicative of a prospective departure by the Army.<sup>91</sup> Also included was the first hard-surface landing area on Rockwell Field, previously described, replacing the dirt utilized for twenty years. The Army appeared to be solidifying its position. National Guard and cadet units used the base for pilot training, air navigation classes were increasing, and then in 1933 the Army announced plans to move its overhaul facilities to Alameda County and to replace them with 75 to 100 more operational planes, with the field becoming home to the Nineteenth Bombardment Group of 40 heavy bombers. This was too much for the Navy, which already had about 350 aircraft stationed there with multiple sorties each day. When the Army was offered land in El Cajon Valley for a new airfield in 1934, the Secretary of the Navy promptly endorsed the proposal, but again the Secretary of War declared the proposed site was unsatisfactory, that over five million dollars had been invested at Rockwell Field, and that reopening the matter was completely out of the question. The turf war seemed unending.<sup>92</sup>

But end it did. Less than a month after assurances from a visiting House of Representatives subcommittee that the Army would stay and another squadron of planes added,<sup>93</sup> the dispute between the two services was resolved by the intervention of the president of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, a former assistant secretary of the Navy and a rabid Navy supporter, who visited North Island on October 2, 1935. A few weeks later he executed an executive order that had been carefully negotiated between the War and Navy Departments terminating the joint use of not one, but four separate military facilities, by transferring jurisdiction of the entirety of North Island to the Navy, along with all of Ford Island in Hawaii, and Old Bolling Field near Washington, D. C., while giving the Army exclusive use of the Naval Air Station at Sunnyvale, California. Major flight operations by the Army Air Corps at Rockwell Field were promptly discontinued, with its squadrons moving north to March Field near Riverside, but the supply and repair depot was allowed to remain until it could find a place to relocate. A formal ceremony was held transferring control to the Navy, which immediately started landing its planes on the Army's prized circular mat, and the name Rockwell Field became "South Field," although the Army continued to use the old designation.<sup>94</sup> Eighteen years of joint use had come to an end, it was thought—yet the Army still held on.

It took over three more years before the Army Air Corps fully abandoned its surviving foothold on North Island. During this time, it continued to occupy an administration building, storehouse, repair shops, several small hangars, noncommissioned officer quarters, and a couple of duplex quarters, all of which formed a surviving outpost of sorts, mostly grouped closely together on the southeast side. Meanwhile, the Navy took possession of over 130 structures, quickly demolishing many of the old wartime buildings, while making use of most of the permanent facilities.<sup>95</sup> But the clock was ticking. At long last, at the

repeated urgings of the Navy, starting in October 1938, the Army finally began packing up and moving what remained, with most of the remnants and the 350 officers, enlisted men, and civilians, going to the newly constructed Sacramento Air Depot in Northern California. A final farewell dinner party was held at the close of business on January 31, 1939 by the Navy base commander (who was away in Washington, D. C.)<sup>96</sup> Nice words were undoubtedly exchanged by all, but as Richard Pourade wrote, "It was not a happy hour for the Army."<sup>97</sup> The Army's twenty-six years on North Island, which had started in 1912 with two flimsy airplanes and fewer than a dozen men, were finished. The Navy has been there, in exclusive control, ever since.

In 1967, the State Department of Parks and Recreation, in cooperation with the City of Coronado, dedicated a small monument, which stands today in Sunset Park at the end of Ocean Boulevard, near the Gate 5 entrance to the North Island Naval Air Station, with a plaque tersely summarizing a wealth of history:

Site of First Military Flying School (U. S. Naval Air Station, North Island).  
The flat lands beyond have been part of aviation history since Glenn Curtiss founded the first military flying school in America on January 17, 1911. The Army operated Rockwell Field until January 31, 1939. The Navy commissioned the present air station on November 8, 1917.<sup>98</sup>

## Concluding Thoughts

North Island today is nothing like the barren, scrub-covered, rabbit-infested sand bar tramped by Vizcaíno's crew in 1602 and first deeded to Don Pedro Carrillo in 1846. Extensive filling has smoothed its ragged contours, adding over five hundred new acres, primarily on the north and west sides. The historic Spanish Bight, where Glenn Curtiss tested his first hydroaeroplane, is no more, having been filled in and covered with a golf course, tennis courts, roads, buildings, and other facilities. The original island has lost its separate geographic identity, making North Island and Coronado part of a single land mass, truly a peninsula as described in the original rancho grant signed by Governor Pico. But the name North Island endures, as should the memories of the thousands of pilots, and their toiling mechanics and ground crews, who passed through the portals of Rockwell Field for over a quarter of a century. Their achievements were many, often being recognized by capturing many awards, prizes, and trophies. One of these, the Mackay Trophy, was established in 1911 as an annual award to the most meritorious flight of the year by an Army pilot. Fliers that served at Rockwell Field were awarded this prestigious trophy thirteen separate times between 1912 and 1934, (and further research would probably uncover even more honorees).<sup>99</sup> The multiple awards and citations help to confirm that Rockwell Field was a principal center of aviation development during its formative years. Of course, the many speed, altitude, distance, and endurance records of the day rapidly faded, as each was surpassed by even greater achievements by others.<sup>100</sup> Yet each was a major step in the unparalleled progress and growth of air power, exhibiting what was feasible at the time by intrepid men and their flying machines. The famous and the unsung—they are all part of our heritage and should be remembered. It is

hoped that a mention here of just some of them, as well as a few of their exploits and accomplishments, can be deemed an overdue salute to all of the Army air personnel who served right here in San Diego—at Rockwell Field on North Island.

## NOTES

1. In 1963, the House Armed Services Committee designated North Island as the “Birthplace of Naval Aviation,” (Naval Air Station North Island Web site: <http://www.nbc.navy.mil/index.asp?fusaction=NBCInstallations.NASNI> (accessed August 7, 2006), but as early as 1923, it was described as the “Cradle of Army Aviation.” H. H. Arnold, *The History of Rockwell Field*, (privately printed, 1923), 1, 20. In 1928 Major T. C. Macaulay, a pilot who had trained at Rockwell Field but was then executive secretary of the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, used the same title in reviewing the Army’s history in “North Island—Cradle of Army Aviation,” *San Diego Magazine* 4, no. 9 (1928). A bit more expansive and promotional was the claim made by local boosters in the late 1920s that San Diego was the “Air Capital of the West.” Richard F. Pourade, *The Rising Tide* (San Diego: The Union Tribune Publishing Company, 1967), 123. In fact, this was the title given to the 1991 edition and the recently published second edition of Mary L. Scott, *San Diego: Air Capital of the West* (Virginia Beach: The Downing Company Publishers, 2005).
2. The most detailed and thorough history of North Island, through 1967, with abundant historic photographs, but no index, was written for the North Island Historical Committee by Eretta Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets, The History of North Island, San Diego, California* (San Diego: Neyenesch Printers, Inc. 1967). This was updated and republished by the San Diego Publishing Company, under the auspices of the NAS North Island Jackrabbits to Jets Committee in 1992. All references herein are to the 1967 edition. The Navy maintains a history of North Island on its Web site: [www.nasni.mil/history.htm](http://www.nasni.mil/history.htm) (accessed August 7, 2006). A narrower history, limited to the Army’s involvement through 1923, was written by Major H. H. Arnold, who served as the commanding officer of the Army base, *The History of Rockwell Field*. Typewritten copies can be found at the San Diego Historical Society Research Library and at the San Diego Aerospace Museum Library & Archives. Archivists at the latter institution hope to have it published sometime in the future. A short history of Rockwell Field, with photographs of remaining buildings, by the National Park Service, is part of its “Aviation: From Sand Dunes to Sonic Booms” at [www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/aviation/rok.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/aviation/rok.htm) (accessed August 7, 2006).
3. Iris Engstrand, *San Diego: California’s Cornerstone* (San Diego: Sunbelt Publications, 2005), 5-6.
4. Katherine Eitzen Carlin and Ray Brandes, *Coronado: The Enchanted Island* (Coronado: The Coronado Historical Association, 1987), 16.
5. Richard F. Pourade, *The Explorers* (San Diego: The Union-Tribune Publishing Company, 1960), 65-68; Engstrand, *California’s Cornerstone*, 45-46.
6. Cecil C. Moyer, *Historic Ranchos of San Diego* (San Diego: Union-Tribune Publishing Co., 1969), 95.
7. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 4-5.
8. Carlin and Brandes, *Coronado*, 39.
9. *Ibid.*, 108-09.
10. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 19; Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 4, 224. The brick fort survived until February 4, 1941, when nearby dredging caused it to forlornly tumble into the bay.
11. Valerie Moolman, *The Road to Kitty Hawk* (New York: Time-Life Books Inc., 1980), 149-58. A replica of the first Wright plane is on display at the San Diego Aerospace Museum.
12. For a history of these early developments, see Henry Serrano Villard, *Contact! The Story of the Early Birds* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987).
13. C. R. Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss: Pioneer of Flight* (New York: Syracuse University Press, reprint 1991), 18-58.
14. A Frenchman named Robert Esnault-Pelterie had come up with the same idea as early as 1904. Bill Gunston, ed., *Chronicle of Aviation* (Liberty, MO: JL International Publishing Inc., 1992), 44.
15. Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 102-114.

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16. *Ibid.*, 183-225.
17. Carlin and Brandes, *Coronado*, 89-91; Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 5-6; Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 231-34.
18. San Diego may have been the site of the first controlled flight of any kind, although verification of the facts is in dispute and there are many doubters. John J. Montgomery (1858-1911) is said to have flown his glider a distance of 600 feet on Otay Mesa as early as 1883. "John J. Montgomery," SDHS, [www.sandiegohistory.org/bio](http://www.sandiegohistory.org/bio) (accessed August 7, 2006); Scott, *Air Capital*, 8-10. Montgomery Field, on John J. Montgomery Drive, is named in his honor, as is the John J. Montgomery Middle School on Ulric St., the Montgomery High School on Palm Ave., and the neighboring Montgomery-Waller Park. At the site of the flight there is a weather-beaten and fading memorial of the event which declares: "He opened for all mankind the great highway of the sky" (California Register of Historic Resources, No. 711). Montgomery died at age 53 in the crash of one of his gliders.
19. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 6-9. Charles Hamilton, a heavy-drinking, reckless but daring pilot, died in bed in 1914 at the age of 32 of an internal hemorrhage after surviving many wrecks and two nervous breakdowns. Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 296-97.
20. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 9-10; Carlin and Brandes, *Coronado* 109-12; Richard F. Pourade, *Gold in the Sun* (San Diego: The Union-Tribune Publishing Company, 1965), 121-24. The Aero Club of San Diego was formed in January 1911, with over 300 members. The membership fee was \$5 while dues were \$1 per month. Edward L. Leiser, *San Diego Flying Days*, unpublished, San Diego Aerospace Museum Library & Archives, vol. 1, chap. 5, 1.
21. Gary F. Kurutz, "The Only Safe and Sane Method...The Curtiss School of Aviation," *The Journal of San Diego History* (JSDH) 25, no. 1 (1979). For details of the embryonic, but exciting, contest at Rheims in August 1909, involving 10 different makes of flying machines and the world's few top pilots, see Villard, *Contact!*, 73-84, and Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 183-200.
22. Lieutenant Theodore G. "Spuds" Ellyson, a 26-year-old graduate of the Naval Academy, became the first Navy officer to learn to fly. He worked closely with Glenn Curtiss in developing and flying a hydroaeroplane at the Spanish Bight. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 9-20. Still in the Navy, with the rank of commander, he was killed along with two others in 1928 when his plane disappeared on a night flight in the fog near Annapolis, Maryland. Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 331; Scott, *Air Capital*, 31; Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 126-27.
23. See Kurutz, "The Only Safe and Sane Method."
24. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 23-26.
25. Alfred Goldberg, ed., *A History of the United States Air Force 1907-1957* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1957), 7.
26. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 20-21. Even before the invention of the airplane, the aviation engineer and glider pioneer Octave Chanute (1832-1910) used the San Diego area because of its low wind velocities to carry out studies involving the science of flight, including the photographing and analysis the flight of gulls and pelicans. Fred A. Carpenter, *The Aviator and the Weather Bureau*, (Harrisburg, PA: Mount Pleasant Press, 1917), 7; Pourade, *Gold in the Sun*, 17, 34; Scott, *Air Capital*, 9.
27. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 22-23.
28. *Ibid.*, 26-28.
29. Goldberg, ed., *History*, 7.
30. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 24. For details of Lieutenant Chandler's crash, see *San Diego Union*, April 9, 1913; for Lieutenant Park's crash, see *San Diego Union*, May 10, 1913. Lieutenant Eric L. Ellington was something of a phenomenon. Born in North Carolina in 1889, the son of a Confederate officer, at the age of 16 he was admitted to the Naval Academy at Annapolis, where he graduated third in a class of 300 in 1909. He petitioned to be transferred from the Navy to the Army in order to get into the flying program, and President William Howard Taft granted his request by an executive order, the first time such an order had been issued. After serving in the cavalry, he was transferred to the air branch in 1912 and quickly became a leading Army pilot, being made an instructor only two months before the fatal crash at age 24. Ellington Field (later Ellington Air Base, and now Ellington Field, again) near Houston, Texas, was named in his honor. The Early Birds of Aviation, Inc. [www.earlyaviators.com](http://www.earlyaviators.com); obituary from *Clayton News-Star*, [www.geocities.com/Heartland/Plains/3975/Ellington/ellericl.html](http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Plains/3975/Ellington/ellericl.html) (both accessed August 8, 2006).

31. *San Diego Union*, November 25, 1913. A scathing front page article, critical of the “parsimonious policy” of the government, was written by Lincoln Beachey, one of the first students of Curtiss and a leading civilian stunt pilot of the day, who, too, lost his life in 1915 when the wings of his monoplane folded and he crashed into San Francisco Bay where he drowned. Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 307; Gunston, ed., *Chronicle*, 124. The San Diego Aerospace Museum has a large exhibit honoring the exploits of Beachey and his Curtiss aeroplane.
32. *San Diego Union*, February 10, 1914.
33. Lieutenant Henry B. Post was born in 1885, served in the Twenty-Fifth Infantry and was in the First Aero Squadron at the time of his death at age 28. He is buried at Arlington National Cemetery near other early aviators and also near a number of American astronauts. Henry Post Field, the airfield for Fort Sill, outside of Lawton, Oklahoma, was named in his honor. Arlington National Cemetery, [www.arlingtoncemetery.net/hbpost.htm](http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/hbpost.htm) (accessed August 8, 2006).
34. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 24, 30; Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 28-29.
35. *Ibid.*, 39, 50-51. Lieutenant Walter R. Taliaferro was born in Kentucky in 1880, served as an enlisted man in the artillery for seven years before being commissioned as an officer in 1908. He did surveying work in the Philippine Islands prior to being assigned to the Army’s aviation branch of the Signal Corps. He was buried in the Mount Hope Cemetery in San Diego. Camp Taliaferro, the World War I flight-training center near Ft. Worth, Texas, utilized by the RAF as well as others, was named in his honor. Lieutenant Joseph E. Carberry had a longer career. Born in Wisconsin in 1887, he was an honor graduate from West Point, served with the First Aero Squadron during the Mexican Expedition in 1916, and was on the staff of General Pershing, responsible for establishing airfields in France during World War I. He retired as a lieutenant colonel in 1924, was a contributor to military publications, and lived until 1961, passing away in Arcadia, California, at the age of 74. “The Early Birds of Aviation, Inc.,” [www.earlyaviators.com](http://www.earlyaviators.com) (accessed August 8, 2006).
36. *San Diego Union*, October 12, 1915.
37. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 30-35; Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 32. This was the second use of North Island by the Marines. In 1911, in reaction to unsettling conditions in Mexico, the newly-assembled 4th Provisional Marine Regiment camped on the island from March until June, calling the base Camp Thomas. Tension eased before the Marines could cross the border, and the regiment was disbanded. Mark J. Denger, “A Brief History of the U.S. Marine Corps in San Diego,” The California State Military Museum, [www.militarymuseum.org/SDMarines.html](http://www.militarymuseum.org/SDMarines.html) (accessed Sept. 27, 2006).
38. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 29; Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 28-29.
39. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 35.
40. Act of July 27, 1917, ch. 42, 40 Stat. 247. See Lucille Clark Duvall, “William Kettner: San Diego’s Dynamic Congressman,” *JSDH* 25, no. 3 (1979). Congressman Kettner opposed confiscation of the property without payment, insisting that fair value be paid. Joan M. Jensen, “The Politics and History of William Kettner,” *JSDH* 11, no. 3 (June 1965).
41. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 38-39.
42. *United States v. Coronado Beach Co.*, 255 U.S. 472 (1921). If the government’s argument had prevailed, the U. S. could have taken over, without cost, any privately owned property that once had been part of any Mexican land grant. Much of the land in California, and elsewhere, would have been at risk, even today.
43. Carlin and Brandes, *Coronado*, 144; Moyer, *Historic Ranchos*, 99.
44. Congress also created a new category of pilots: Junior Military Aviators to add to Military Aviators. Goldberg, ed., *History*, 8.
45. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 38-39.
46. *Ibid.*, 56-57.
47. *Ibid.*, 59-61. In 1917, the lieutenant, now captain, W. A. Robertson, established a new altitude record of 17,230 feet over North Island. National Aeronautics and Space Administration, [www.history.nasa.gov/Timeline/1915-19.html](http://www.history.nasa.gov/Timeline/1915-19.html) (accessed August 8, 2006). Later, as a major, he became the commanding officer of the Aerial Gunnery School at Cazaux, France, during World War I. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 75.

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48. United States Air Force Web site: [www.af.mil/history/overview.asp](http://www.af.mil/history/overview.asp); National Aeronautics and Space Administration, [www.history.nasa.gov/Timeline/1915-19.html](http://www.history.nasa.gov/Timeline/1915-19.html) (both accessed August 8, 2006). The Navy expanded, too, ending the war with over 2,100 planes and nearly 40,000 officers and men in Naval and Marine aviation. See also Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 55-56.

49. Captain Benjamin D. Foulois was born in Washington, Connecticut, in 1879, enlisted in the infantry, saw combat in the Philippines, was commissioned as a lieutenant in 1901 and assigned to the Signal Corps where he operated the first dirigible balloon purchased by the U.S. Government. In 1909, he started, but due to other assignments, was unable to complete flight training with the Wright Brothers. When the Army purchased its first plane from the Wrights, he was instructed to take charge of it, take it to Texas, and learn to fly it. He did, teaching himself, soloing and becoming, at the time, the only active duty pilot in the military. It was said that he was the only "pilot navigator, instructor, observer and commander" in U. S. Army from November 1909 to April 1911, during which time he made many improvements to the Wright plane, including the substitution of wheels for skids. He retired in 1935, after 37 years of service, and lived until 1967, passing away at the age of 87. See United States Air Force, [www.af.mil/history](http://www.af.mil/history) (accessed August 8, 2006).

50. It was learned that the planes of the day could not handle the mountains, winds, and dust storms. The operation was a "near fiasco." Within a month, only 2 of the 8 planes were still operational, and they ended up being scrapped. Goldberg, ed., *History*, 10.

51. Gunston, ed., *Chronicle*, 149. In World War I, the U.S. bought 4,881 planes from the French and 143 from the British. Goldberg, ed., *History*, 16.

52. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 42, 52, 124.

53. *Ibid.*, 45, 64. Arnold's history actually says there were 73 officers as of April 1917, but this seems to be a typographical reversal of digits; the number probably should be 37. Later, in June, he reports there were then 38, which seems more accurate.

54. *Ibid.*, 65. Second Lieutenant Lewis C. Rockwell came from Cincinnati, Ohio. He was a West Point graduate, class of 1907, who served in the infantry until volunteering and transferring to the Aviation Section. Learning to fly at the school at College Park, Maryland, he had the dubious distinction of being one of the two killed in the first multiple-fatality air crash, when the Wright plane he was piloting on September 28, 1912, plunged to the ground killing him and his passenger, Corporal Frank S. Scott. At that time, he was the fourth military officer to meet death in an aviation accident. See "The Early Birds of Aviation, Inc.," [www.earlyaviators.com](http://www.earlyaviators.com). Corporal Frank S. Scott, the passenger on the fatal flight with Lieutenant Rockwell, was the first enlisted man to be killed in an air accident. Born in Braddock, Pennsylvania, in 1883, he was orphaned in 1889 after losing his parents in the Johnstown flood. He was in the field artillery before the Signal Corps, becoming a chief mechanic for the Wright Type-B plane. Scott Field (later Scott Air Force Base) in Illinois, about 25 miles east of St. Louis, Missouri, was named in his honor. Air War College, [www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/documents/frankscott.htm](http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/documents/frankscott.htm) (article by Scott AFB History Office) (accessed August 9, 2006).

55. See United States Air Force History, [www.af.mil/history/overview.asp](http://www.af.mil/history/overview.asp) (accessed August 9, 2006).

56. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 38-47.

57. *Ibid.*, 50; Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 76-77. The causeway lasted until 1945 when it was torn down after the filling of the Spanish Bight and the building of a surface street to Coronado. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 252.

58. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 71-72.

59. *Ibid.*, 74. For the history of Ream Field, see the Imperial Beach Chamber of Commerce, [www.ib-chamber.biz/IB-history.htm](http://www.ib-chamber.biz/IB-history.htm) (accessed /August 9, 2006).

60. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 81, 95-96.

61. *Ibid.*, 71.

62. *San Diego Union*, November 28, 1918, which also marveled: "The fact that not even a slight accident occurred is considered miraculous."

63. The plan to make North Island a permanent lighter-than-air Navy base was canceled in late 1922, and thereafter the base was only a terminal point for such airships. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 71, 80, 101. The *Shenandoah* crashed during a storm over Ohio on Sept. 3, 1922, killing 29 of the 43 aboard. Gunston, ed., *Chronicle*, 225.

64. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 84-86. For a number of years, from 1918 to the mid-1920s, the Navy raised and maintained homing pigeons near the West Beach on North Island, which were carried in all planes and balloons for emergency communication. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 102-03.
65. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 86-96. The Navy, too, was trying to make productive use of its planes. In 1919-20, responding to a request from the California Department of Fish and Game, it used its aircraft to radio the location of schools of sardines for local canneries, whose catches were in serious decline until helped out by the Navy. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 75-76.
66. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 95, 99.
67. Ibid., 30, 54, 104, 120. Major Henry H. "Hap" Arnold, born in Gladwyne, Pennsylvania, in 1886, was a West Point graduate, class of 1907. After serving in the infantry, he was taught to fly in 1911 by the Wright Brothers in Dayton, Ohio, becoming the first Army officer to be certified as a Military Aviator. One of the first flight instructors, he established many records, including an altitude record in 1912 of 6,540 feet, and was awarded the Mackay Trophy that same year for "the most outstanding military flight of the year," an extended reconnaissance flight in one of the early Wright planes. He received his second Mackay Trophy in 1934 for leading ten Martin B-10 bombers on a round trip from Washington, D. C. to Fairbanks, Alaska. He was an early advocate of air power, particularly strategic bombing with four-engine bombers, supported General Billy Mitchell at his court-martial trial, with his career also being threatened, held many offices and duties leading up to World War II, when he was named the commanding general of the Army Air Force with the rank of four-star general, accumulating numerous medals and decorations from throughout the world. Three years following his retirement in 1946, after 43 years of service, he was awarded a fifth star, becoming the first to hold the rank of General of the Air Force. He was an author of military books, both before and after the war, and of boys books encouraging flying. He died in 1950, age 63. Among many biographies, see United States Air Force, [www.af.mil/bios](http://www.af.mil/bios) (accessed August 9, 2006).
68. The DeHavilland, originally a British airplane, was redesigned in 1917 by the U. S. for use with the powerful, American-built, 400-hp Liberty engine. Designated as the DH-4, 3,431 were manufactured in the United States for the Army Air Service, 1,213 saw service in France during World War I, and many were used for more than a decade after the war. U. S. Centennial of Flight, [www.centennialofflight.gov](http://www.centennialofflight.gov) (accessed August 16, 2006).
69. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 102; Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 86; Gunston, ed., *Chronicle*, 196. Lieutenant James H. "Jimmy" Doolittle was among the most famous of Army pilots. Born in Alameda, California, in 1896, he attended the University of California and then trained at Rockwell Field, being commissioned a second lieutenant in March 1918. Following the establishment of various flying records in 1922, he entered the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, obtaining a master of science degree in 1923 and a doctor of science degree in aeronautics the following year. In 1925 he was attached to the Navy to fly high-speed seaplanes setting a record for such aircraft of 232 mph, receiving the Mackay Trophy for this accomplishment. In April 1926 he broke both ankles in a fall in Chile, but went on to perform aerial demonstrations with his ankles in casts. He became commanding general of the Twelfth Air Force in North Africa, later the Fifteenth Air Force in the Mediterranean Theater, and then the Eighth Air Force in Europe and the Pacific, ending his active military career in 1946 as a lieutenant general when he went on reserve status, fully retiring in 1959, having been named "aviator of the decade" in 1950. A quarter of a century later, in 1985, he was honored with a fourth star. He died in 1993 at the age of 96 and is buried at Arlington National Cemetery. United States Air Force, [www.af.mil/bios](http://www.af.mil/bios) (accessed August 9, 2006); Gunston, ed., *Chronicle*, 264, 298, 460.
70. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 97; Gunston, ed., *Chronicle*, 184. The flight of Lieutenant Coney was extensively covered in the *San Diego Union*, starting on February 22, 1921, with headlines and photos of the pilot and his plane, and ending on March 31, 1921, with his death several days after crashing in Louisiana. A reporter called Lieutenant Coney the "most spectacular and daring night flier that the army has developed since the war."
71. All three flights are described by Lieutenant Macready in "The Non-Stop Flight Across America," *The National Geographic Magazine*, July 1924, 1-92.
72. Since the record was not officially recognized, the two pilots did it again over Dayton, Ohio, in April 1923, staying aloft, on their third attempt, even longer for a record 36 hours, 5 minutes. Ibid., 47-49.
73. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 111; Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 95; Gunston, ed., *Chronicle*, 203; Scott, *Air Capital*, 44. For details regarding the T-2, see Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum,

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[www.nasm.si.edu/research/aero/aircraft/Fokker\\_t2.htm](http://www.nasm.si.edu/research/aero/aircraft/Fokker_t2.htm) (accessed August 9, 2006). Lieutenant John A. Macready was another great flying trailblazer, born in San Diego in 1887. During his younger days, he was the Pacific coast amateur lightweight boxing champion, a miner, a businessman, and a justice of the peace in Searchlight, Nevada. He graduated from Stanford University in 1912 with a degree in economics, enlisted in the Air Service in 1917, receiving his wings at Rockwell Field, became an instructor, and authored a book on basic flight training. For six years he was assigned to the Experimental Test Center at McCook Field, Ohio, where he was a test pilot, setting records for high altitude (40,800 feet), making the first night parachute jump, demonstrating the first aerial crop dusting, and participating in the first aerial photographic expedition across the U. S., taking eight weeks and covering about 10,000 miles (which is detailed in the same 1924 issue of *National Geographic* that contains Lieutenant Macready's article regarding the endurance flight (see note 72, above). During one period, he held records for altitude, endurance, and distance. He was awarded the Mackay Trophy in 1921 (for an altitude record of 34,509 feet), in 1922 (with Kelly for an endurance record of over 36 hours), and in 1923 (with Kelly for the cross-country non-stop flight), the only person to receive three such awards. He resigned from the service in 1926, but was recalled to active duty in World War II, commanding several Air Force groups until retiring in 1948. He died in 1979, nearly 92 years old. "John A. Macready," SDHS, [www.sandiegohistory.org](http://www.sandiegohistory.org) (accessed August 9, 2006). Lieutenant Oakley G. Kelly, the other pilot aboard the T-2, started as a flying cadet in the Signal Corps Reserve, receiving a regular commission in 1920. His first assignment was as a flying instructor at Rockwell Field. He served 30 years in the Air Force (and its predecessors), rose to the rank of colonel, saw action over the Mediterranean, spending his later years as an air inspector for the Eighth Air Force and Twelfth Air Force in England and Africa. His hometown of Grove City, Pennsylvania, celebrates *Oakley Kelly Day* on the first weekend in May of each year, and the town's airport is located on Oakley Kelly Drive. He died in 1966. See Bolling Field history at [www.dcmilitary.com/airforce/beam](http://www.dcmilitary.com/airforce/beam) (accessed August 9, 2006).

74. In 1921 there was a previous aerial refueling, of a sort, when a daredevil stepped from the wing of one plane onto the wing of another with a 5-gallon can of gasoline strapped to his back. See Aviation Timeline at [www.aerofiles.com/chrono.html](http://www.aerofiles.com/chrono.html) (accessed August 9, 2006). It is doubtful if anyone in the Army Air Service thought that this was a practical alternative.

75. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 115-16; Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, Grunston ed, *Chronicle*, 205; Scott, *Air Capital*, 44. The two aboard the tanker plane were Lieutenant Virgil Hine and Lieutenant Frank W. Seifert. Seifert later became a San Diego city councilman.

76. Arnold, *History of Rockwell Field*, 123; Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 97. Lieutenant Lowell H. Smith was another one of those pioneer airmen whose name keeps reappearing in histories of air development. Born in 1892, he started his flying career in 1915 as a pilot for Pancho Villa in Mexico before joining the Army Air Service in 1917. In addition to perfecting the first air-to-air refueling, he commanded the Army's famous Around-the-World-Flight in 1924, which, after being serviced at Rockwell Field, formally started from Seattle with four planes and ended with two of them, including his, circling the globe, taking five months and over 371 hours of flying, for which he received decorations and, with the others, the Mackay Trophy. He died in 1945 and is buried at Arlington National Cemetery. Arlington National Cemetery, [www.arlingtoncemetery.net/lsmith.htm](http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/lsmith.htm) (accessed August 9, 2006).

77. As money became available, more and more warm-up and operating areas were paved in the Navy section, so that by the mid-30s, about 450,000 square yards of bituminous pavement and 120,000 square yards of concrete pavement had been laid covering about 178 acres, reducing but not eliminating the various pests that made their home on the island. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 123.

78. Carlin and Brandes, *Coronado*, 30. Another problem was gophers. In 1897, the Coronado city council authorized the payment of 5 cents a head for gophers, dead or alive. Coronado Museum of History and Art Exhibit.

79. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 134.

80. Charles A. Lindbergh, *The Spirit of St. Louis* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, reprint 1993), 118-36, 503-04.

81. Engstrand, *California's Cornerstone*, 133.

82. The *San Diego Union*, August 17, 1928, reported that there were 222 planes in the sky, although the plan was to put up 400 planes. Pourade, *The Rising Tide*, 123-25, agrees with these numbers, but Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 128-30, gives the total number as 304, with the Navy having 222 and the

Army 82. Who could tell?

83. The mayor of San Diego was equally effusive and proud, writing that despite unfavorable flying conditions, "not a single mishap occurred to personnel or plane." Harry C. Clark, "The Mass Flight and Dedication in Retrospect," *San Diego Magazine* 4, no. 9 (1928).

84. In the interests of full disclosure, the author of this article should mention that he has a very personal interest in the historic undertaking of the *Question Mark*, as it was during its flight that his father, a private in the Army Air Corps, who was a member of its ground support crew, met his mother, who was a waitress at the Metropolitan Airport cafe. They married six months later, and the author appeared the following year.

85. Details of the flight were reviewed in Walter J. Boyne, "Question Mark," *Journal of the Air Force Association* 86, no. 3 (2003), which can be found at [www.afa.org/magazine](http://www.afa.org/magazine) (accessed August 9, 2006). See also, Scott, *Air Capital*, 49. It is remarkable that one flight involved so many future leaders of World War II. Captain Carl A. "Tooney" Spaatz, the commander of the *Question Mark* is a name right near the top of all Air Force leaders. Born in Boyertown, Pennsylvania, in 1891, he graduated from West Point in 1914, serving with the infantry in Hawaii before being assigned to the Air Service. Training at Rockwell Field, he obtained his wings in 1915, and then became part of the First Aero Squadron flying from New Mexico over Mexico looking for Pancho Villa. After a distinguished career, he retired in 1948, serving in many organizations until his death in 1974, age 83. He is buried at the Air Force Academy in Colorado.

Captain Ira C. Eaker, the chief pilot of the *Question Mark*, is another Air Force great. Born in Field Creek, Texas, in 1896, he started his military career in the reserves until commissioned a second lieutenant in the infantry of the Regular Army in late 1917. In 1918, he received flight training in Texas, and upon qualifying was assigned to Rockwell Field. In 1945 he became deputy commander of the Army Air Forces and chief of the Air Staff. Having logged over 12,000 flying hours in 30 years of flying, and having accumulated numerous medals and foreign decorations and awards, he retired in 1947, after which he was promoted to lieutenant general. In 1985, twenty-eight years after his retirement, special Congressional legislation awarded him a fourth star. He passed away in 1987, over 90 years old.

Lieutenant Elwood R. "Pete" Quesada reached comparable heights. Born in Washington, D. C., in 1904, he attended a seminary school, then the University of Maryland and Georgetown University, before enlisting as a flying cadet in 1924, receiving his wings and commission in the reserve. After his assignment at Rockwell Field and his participation in the flight of the *Question Mark*, he was an attaché in Cuba for years, an aide to the assistant secretary of war, and flew the famous explorer Martin Johnson throughout Africa collecting animals for the New York Museum of Natural History. He retired in 1951, later serving for three years as the director of the Federal Aviation Agency. He died in 1993, at the age of 88. United States Air Force, [www.af.mil/bios](http://www.af.mil/bios) (accessed August 9, 2006).

Lieutenant Harry A. Halverson the fourth officer aboard the *Question Mark*, also had an interesting career. Born in Boone, Iowa, in 1895, he started in the Army as a private, receiving his commission and wings as a second lieutenant in the Air Service in July 1918, serving in various locations, including Rockwell Field, and participating in operations surrounding the Around-the-World flight in 1924. Active during World War II in China and North Africa, he held numerous command assignments before retiring in 1946. He died in 1978, age 83. History of the 376th Bombardment Group, [www.376hbgva.com/history](http://www.376hbgva.com/history); Maxwell Air Force Base, AFHRA Personal Papers, [www.maxwell.af.mil](http://www.maxwell.af.mil) (both accessed August 9, 2006).

Sergeant Roy W. Hooe, the sole enlisted man aboard the *Question Mark*, was born in Charles Town, West Virginia, in 1892. He joined the Army Air Service in 1920. In 1921 he was assigned to then Colonel Billy Mitchell and was aboard the first aircraft to drop a bomb down the smokestack of a naval ship. In 1927 he was chief mechanic for Lieutenant Lester Maitland and Lieutenant Albert Hegenberger (another Rockwell Field alumnus) on their cross-country flight preparatory to the two pilots becoming the first to fly from California to Hawaii. He died in 1973 at the age of 78 and is buried in the Arlington National Cemetery. He was inducted into the Airlift/Tanker Hall of Fame in 2001. Airlift Tank Association, [www.atalink.org/hallfame/hooe.html](http://www.atalink.org/hallfame/hooe.html) (assessed August 9, 2006).

86. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 128.

87. Major J. H. Houghton, "Great Expansion and Construction Program Starts at Rockwell Field," *San Diego Magazine* 4, no. 9 (1928).

88. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 142-43, 152.

89. *San Diego Union*, September 30, 1931.

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90. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 150.
91. William & Watts Architects, "The Architectural/Historical Significance of Building at Naval Air Station, North Island, San Diego," May, 1988, a survey prepared for the U. S. Navy. Most of these structures are still being used, part of the Rockwell Field Historic District, and since 1991 have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places as being exemplary of mission and Spanish colonial revival architecture.
92. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 175-77; Leiser, *San Diego Flying Days*, 198, 203, 204, 210.
93. Leiser, *San Diego Flying Days*, 1.
94. Sudsbury, *Jackrabbits to Jets*, 190-91.
95. *Ibid.*, 190-91.
96. *Ibid.*, 214-15. *Coronado Citizen*, February 2, 1939.
97. Pourade, *The Rising Tide*, 224.
98. California Registered Historical Landmark, no. 18, November 8, 1967.
99. The years were 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1931, and 1934. No awards were given for 1916 and 1917. National Aeronautic Association of the USA, [www.nasm.si.edu/research/aero/trophy/mackay.htm](http://www.nasm.si.edu/research/aero/trophy/mackay.htm) (accessed August 9, 2006).
100. By way of example, the *Question Mark's* record of 150 hours in the air in 1929 was topped later that same year, first by a flight of 172 hours and then by one of 420 hours. The next year, records of 553 hours and then 647 hours (almost 27 days) were established. Aviation Timeline, [www.aerofiles.com/chrono.html](http://www.aerofiles.com/chrono.html) (accessed August 9, 2006).

# John Nolen and San Diego's Early Residential Planning in the Mission Hills Area

Winner of the 2004 Architect Marc Tarasuck Award

Melanie Macchio

At the turn of the twentieth century, San Diego had little resemblance to the large, overcrowded, polluted metropolitan centers that pockmarked the country. The area had been long inhabited, but the city itself had existed for little more than half a century. Moreover, the city's population and development had been subject to constant fluctuation as it struggled to develop. Still, after 1900, building permit issuance had begun a steady rise and, more importantly, the city was gaining a solid circle of businessmen and investors. As entrepreneurs achieved authority in the city, they began a movement to transform San Diego into a legitimate cosmopolitan venue. The City of San Diego established the Civic Improvement Committee as part of that movement. In 1907, the committee hired landscape architect John Nolen to complete a comprehensive plan for San Diego's development.<sup>1</sup> Though the plan was never fully utilized, it had a significant effect on the development of San Diego's planning policies and, very likely, influenced the layout of the Mission Hills Subdivision. The success of Nolen's ideas is illustrated today by the continuing sustainability of the Mission Hills residential area.

In order to understand San Diego's early city planning, it is important to conceptualize the city planning movement on a higher level. City planning, like many fields, was born from necessity. The Industrial Revolution brought floods of workers into cities all over the world. The nineteenth-century photographs of Jacob Riis in New York and Eugène Atget in Paris resonated with politicians and city dwellers alike. The photographs showed dirty children sleeping in alleys, crowded streets, and dilapidated dwellings overflowing with poverty.<sup>2</sup> Religious and governmental organizations attempting to deal with the poorly housed masses emerged, but their treatments were only temporary and the problem had become permanent. Large cities had become the status quo.

Landscape architect John Nolen was one of the men who sought to treat the effects of the United States' mounting urbanization. His work ranged from comprehensive city plans to private grounds, but his urban projects were all heavily influenced by those already attempting to address the dilemmas of the city. In the United States, Calvert Vaux and Frederick Law Olmsted had produced dozens of designed landscapes, including Central Park and several city plans such as Berkeley, California, and Riverside, Illinois. Similarly, Daniel Burnham

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*From left to right: Colonel Ed Fletcher, George Marston, and John Nolen. Philadelphia native John Nolen was hired to create a comprehensive development plan for San Diego in 1907. ©SDHS #1840-B.*

had assembled the team that designed and implemented the White City for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.<sup>3</sup> Parallel movements occurred all over the world. Nolen drew from all of these precedents in an attempt to solve the physical, psychological, and moral ills of urban life.

He also had his own influences that differentiated him from his predecessors. First, Nolen was born to a middle class family and, therefore, was not tied to traditional, conservative, upper-class ideals. In addition, he spent years in administrative positions before beginning his degree in landscape architecture. That work experience honed his concern for practicality, an element that appears throughout his work. Finally, and possibly most significant, Nolen worked in a time and place hugely influenced by progressive thinkers. His constant references to clean air, the needs of children, and access to things beautiful for all, though completely understood in current times, were new concepts brought forth in the age of progressivism.<sup>4</sup>

In 1907, San Diego's Civic Improvement Committee, created under the auspices of the city's Chamber of Commerce and Art Association, began its search for a consultant to initiate a plan of development for the growing city. The improvement committee was chaired by Julius Wangenheim and originally consisted of George Cooke, Edward Grove, A. Haines, Melville Klauber, George W. Marston, E. E. White, and Leroy A. Wright. To some extent, these men all had a stake in the success of San Diego. Their task was to turn San Diego into a nationally

competitive city on both an economic and cultural level. On May 28, 1907, George Marston sent a letter of inquiry on behalf of the committee to several of the country's most eminent landscape designers and architects.<sup>5</sup> The list included George E. Kessler and Company of Missouri, Warren H. Manning of Boston, the Olmsted Brothers of Brookline, and John Nolen of Cambridge.<sup>6</sup> All of the men had worked on the design of nationally significant parks, estates, and municipal properties. In 1907, the committee chose John Nolen to assist them in creating a plan for San Diego.<sup>7</sup> Nolen completed and published *San Diego: A Comprehensive Plan for its Improvement* in early 1908.<sup>8</sup>

Nolen, like many early residents, traveled to San Diego from the East Coast. Upon his arrival, he remarked, "to an eastern man accustomed to hard, cold winters and the severe industrial conditions of New England, Southern California seems like a land of promise."<sup>9</sup> The statement revealed more than just observations on the climate; it revealed the extent to which San Diego was still comparatively undeveloped. Nolen had lived and worked outside Boston, a region blighted by high density and fast-paced polluted cities. The City of San Diego, on the other hand, was enormous in acreage, but still dusty from unpaved streets. There were miles of oceanfront, but no beaches south of Point Loma.<sup>10</sup> Nolen's "promise" referred to the possibilities of what San Diego could be, not what it was.

In his *San Diego: A Comprehensive Plan for its Improvement*, Nolen projected that San Diego would develop into a sizeable city. This showed considerable foresight because, at the turn-of-the-century, San Diego bore little resemblance to any of the country's other major cities. San Diego had seen a tremendous boom and bust in the late 1880s due to the introduction of the railway, but the city's population grew less than one percent in the decade following the bust. By 1907, San Diego's population had failed to reach the 40,000 it had seen in 1886. Although San Diego was connected to Los Angeles by train and to San Francisco by ferry, it was still difficult to reach.<sup>11</sup>

Nolen organized his plan into eight chapters. In the first two chapters, he addressed the unique possibilities for development that existed in San Diego and the mistakes that had already occurred in the city's development. The following five chapters outlined the major issues that demanded attention. Nolen believed that addressing these main points would rectify past mistakes and enable San Diego to meet its full potential. Finally, he concluded with a chapter summarizing his recommendations. In this chapter, he also discussed the practical and financial nature of implementing his recommendations.

Nolen warned that his general plan was not meant to be binding. Instead, it was an attempt to illuminate issues affecting the city with as much foresight as possible. He explained this most clearly when he wrote:

The gravest neglect is right here—the failure to replan and replan, to readjust and readjust, to constantly use art and skill and foresight to remodel existing conditions and to mould and fit for use the new territory about to be invaded.<sup>12</sup>

Nolen knew that cities were not static; they must be allowed to grow and expand. Therefore, city planners should use guidelines and keep key goals in mind. Only then would the city develop in synchronization with its population



Looking north along Fifth Avenue from E Street, 1908. Nolen argued that the grading of hillsides in the attempt to create straight streets destroyed much of San Diego's natural beauty. ©SDHS #80:6010.

growth instead of developing before its time or, even worse, after the chance for planning had passed.

In his initial chapters, Nolen discussed the significance of San Diego's environs. "Even in Southern California," Nolen contended, San Diego's "situation, climate, and scenery make it stand out in permanent attractiveness beyond all other communities." He went on to explain that "every type of scenery, beach and promontory, mesa and canyon, unite in never-ending variety to form a city that is strikingly individual in character and of great beauty."<sup>13</sup> He believed that these features and the consequential uniqueness of San Diego should be both embraced and preserved. Unfortunately, he argued, San Diego's "city plan is not thoughtful, but on the contrary, ignorant and wasteful."<sup>14</sup> He pointed out, however, that the formation of the Civic Improvement Committee proved residents had the foresight and energy to act.

Nolen also criticized the destruction of San Diego's natural topography. He characterized the massive grading that went on in an attempt to create straight streets as a "much uncalled-for expense and destruction of a rare opportunity to secure significant beauty."<sup>15</sup> The leveling of hills and mesas removed some of the city's most unique attributes, thereby assuring that it would never stand out as a great metropolis. In practical terms, the grading of hillsides created delays in construction, continual erosion issues, and an impassable road in inclement weather. Nolen argued that the expense would exceed the gain.

Nolen regarded the creation of impressive public spaces, such as courthouses and plazas, as an essential element in San Diego's development, so he chose to discuss that recommendation first. The redesigning of roads would come later, after the proper amount of land had been designated for other purposes and areas had become more developed. These priorities illustrated Nolen's conviction that public and municipal spaces had to be set aside while the land was still undeveloped. This prioritization also proved practical to his readers, many of whom would not be able to envision the need for better traffic patterns in a city populated by fewer than 40,000 inhabitants. Nolen believed that if his plans for the public plaza, civic center, and bay front were implemented, then population and traffic would surely increase. He knew that San Diego would develop differently than cities in the East. San Diego was not purely agricultural, nor was it purely industrial or commercial. Moreover, he noted, "the downtown traffic [in San Diego] was already congested and the popular ownership of automobiles [has] just begun."<sup>16</sup> He believed that the city could design its own future, rather than letting its future be designed for it.

Nolen's first specific recommendation centered on the need for a separate public plaza and civic space. He compared San Diego's small plaza between Third and Fourth Avenues south of D Street unfavorably to the large plazas of European cities. He argued that a noteworthy plaza was essential for both aesthetic reasons and as a space for official and leisurely gatherings. "It provides adequately for the convenient despatch [sic] of public business," he wrote, "and at the same time contributes to the appearance of the city that dignity, impressiveness, and beauty which should be considered indispensable."<sup>17</sup> The acquisition of land for this purpose should be made a priority, he argued. He suggested that the city acquire the property, determine a construction plan, and then sell off the unnecessary space in a controlled manner in order to subsidize the construction. This process



*In 1905, San Diego had a small plaza between Third and Fourth Avenues, south of Horton House (now the U. S. Grant Hotel). Nolen said that the city needed a larger plaza comparable to those in European cities. ©SDHS #989.*



*Skyline view of San Diego, 1911, with the recently opened U. S. Grant Hotel at the lower right. Nolen recommended the construction of a Great Bay Front where commercial and leisure activities could share space. ©SDHS #83:14740-32.*

would take time, but it would also allow the city to regulate what type of development went on around the city's most important buildings. The combination of quality control and slow growth would produce a more cohesive and efficient city with greater sustainability than San Diego exhibited at the time. He went into extensive detail on how and where the plaza should be erected, but few of his suggestions were ever implemented.

Nolen also called for the construction of a Great Bay Front that would fulfill both the commercial and leisure needs of the city. He pointed out that this concept had been implemented in Europe and England but neglected in the United States. The development of a multiuse waterfront, he explained, would give residents an aesthetically pleasing open space. It would also pay for itself in improved commercial trade.<sup>18</sup> However, his plan was not implemented. Bay front redevelopment would be initiated in the 1920s without regard to commerce or recreation. Instead, the United States Navy began construction on its largest western port in the country.

Nolen was particularly concerned to improve the health of the city's inhabitants. He implored the Civic Improvement Committee to address the lack of small open spaces that might be used for recreation. "Each school, each ward, each residence district in San Diego, by nature a play city, should have its own playground," Nolen argued.<sup>19</sup> He even made reference to statistics compiled by the newly formed "Playground Association." His concern for open space and playgrounds was at least partly fueled by a general trend of the time to place weight on health and recreation. In his chapter on street planning, he opened the chapter with an quote attributed to the secretary of the Federal Special Street Railway Commission:

The body's health glow comes from good circulation. So it is with the big city. A good circulatory apparatus is necessary to its general vitality and to its beauty. The traffic problem is to-day [sic] a surprise to people in all important centers. They cannot understand why it should be ever looming [and] the amplest provision [should be] made for it.<sup>20</sup>

The existence of a Special Street Railway Commission reveals a national concern with traffic and congestion. Nolen's response to the issue, of course, was to emphasize the importance of planning.

Nolen also addressed the problem of rectilinear subdivision platting. He wrote that San Diego developers had made multiple mistakes in street plan, but "the most glaring and serious, of course, is the attempt to implant a rectangular system, almost unrelieved by diagonals, on so irregular a topography."<sup>21</sup> Middletown and Horton's Addition Subdivisions, filed in 1869 and 1871, respectively, were two of the most notable examples of the rectilinear land plan.<sup>22</sup> They used the Jeffersonian gridiron pattern, even where the curve of the bay made it impossible to lay a straight coastal road. Nolen pointed out that this resulted in awkward intersections, steep roads, and oddly shaped blocks. In the case of Middletown, the gridiron pattern led to extensive litigation over the sale of lots that existed only at low tide.

Nolen paid particular attention to the existence of "paper streets," roadways that existed on maps but could not be built because of the topography. In Middletown, for example, the subdivision's developers drew Arctic Street to run directly north and south along the coast. However, because of the dramatic curve of the bay, Arctic Street would have been below the tide line in several areas if it had been constructed as originally drawn. As a result, the street was built in small sections that ended abruptly, forcing the traveler to turn inland and utilize another



*Aerial view of Mission Hills, 1927. Mission Hills planners incorporated many of Nolen's ideas, including a curvilinear street pattern. In this photo, Arden Way curves to the north of Sunset Boulevard while Alameda Street bends to the south. Inspiration Heights can be seen in the lower left corner. ©SDHS #5370-A.*

route. Other subdivisions like University Heights also created paper streets in and around canyon areas.<sup>23</sup> Streets were drawn straight through the canyons even though contemporary construction techniques did not allow such areas to be developed. Nolen suggested that such paper streets were an inefficient use of the land that stunted traffic flow.

Nolen solved the problem of paper streets and gridiron plans by proposing a curvilinear street pattern. Residents would be allowed to embrace the topography, not just to tolerate it. He explained "local conditions call for ever-varying local modifications, if the designer is to do his work well."<sup>24</sup> Still, he was careful to recognize the practicality of such a proposal. The earlier grid subdivisions were based, in part, on residents' need to be within comfortable walking distance of public transportation. People would not settle in an area where they would have to walk long distances to stores or streetcar stops. Population density would need to be maintained to keep an area efficient and manageable. Nolen understood these concerns and knew that a large sprawling city plan was not the answer. "As a matter of fact," he stated, "the proposed arrangement would occupy but little more ground than the present: it would simply be distributed with more discrimination."<sup>25</sup> He tried to ease the minds of both developers seeking to maximize their profits and residents seeking a navigable space.

The curvilinear street plan called for the development of a hierarchy of streets that served different functions. For example, Nolen suggested that a residential street should not be plotted at the same width as a business street. The residential street did not support the large delivery vehicles, nor did it contend with the intensive vehicle traffic. Nolen argued, "different streets have as different functions as different buildings. Unless they are carefully located and designed to fulfil [sic] these various functions, there must inevitably be incalculable loss and waste."<sup>26</sup> Efficiency was achieved not through the creation of uniform, grid-like streets, but through the discriminating and purposeful design of a tiered set of street widths.

Nolen's plan included five street types that both responded to practical needs and appeased the aesthetic "need and desirability of differentiation."<sup>27</sup> He used ideas promoted by the City Beautiful Movement, including the proposition that the city had to be aesthetically pleasing and comfortable to be truly desirable and healthy. Sunlight and fresh air were essential, but physical health was also influenced by mental health. The city, therefore, should provide for both. Nolen included the following street types in his plan:

- The Normal Residential Street, which is now usually 80 feet wide;
- A Wide Residence Street, 100 feet wide;
- An Important Business Street (D Street west of Third Street is in mind);
- A Boulevard, 200 feet wide;
- A Thoroughfare with Cars, 150 feet wide;<sup>28</sup>

Nolen also provided a cross-section sketch for each of the streets. He meant these renderings to be conceptual guidelines, not true planning drawings, explaining "I submit for the consideration of the committee five types of street treatment, not as fixed forms for street improvement, but as illustrations of what seem to me after careful study would be appropriate general types for San Diego."<sup>29</sup> Nolen reiterated his belief that cities should not be built according



*Fourth Avenue at Washington Street, 1908. Nolen advocated landscaping that distinguished residential streets from commercial streets. ©SDHS #671.*

to preordained guidelines but should be designed after consideration of the particular physical circumstances and social needs. He repeated this sentiment throughout the plan in an attempt to keep San Diego from replacing the insensitive grid system with an equally insensitive curvilinear pattern.

Nolen designed specific treescapes for residential and business streets, boulevards and thoroughfares. The type of tree and its placement, he suggested, would aid in deciphering the use of the street and ultimately improve traffic flow. This was a novel idea. Subdivision plans made prior to the turn of the century were designed to produce the most sellable space. The one exception was University Heights where the original subdivision map had included a university campus, parks, pedestrian trails, and a man-made lake.<sup>30</sup> There, however, a more rectangular layout for the subdivision, leaving space for a school but lacking the landscaping features, was actually realized.<sup>31</sup> The changed plans for University Heights illustrates the hesitancy of San Diego developers to partake in planned landscapes. Nolen knew that if landscaping was to take place, the city had to act as either the financial or administrative backer for such an endeavor. Nolen's final recommendation was for a System of Parks dedicated to the preservation of natural features. He gave San Diegans credit for "setting aside, close to the centre of town, 1,400 acres of natural canyon and mesa as a City Park," but he pointed out that that did not "excuse the city from recognizing other areas."<sup>32</sup> He suggested that the city should closely consider the burden of maintaining such a large park, when multiple smaller spaces would be more effectual. San Diego had relied heavily on City Park (now Balboa Park) as its singular preserved open space. However,



This compiled tract map (1929) juxtaposes the curvilinear streets of the Mission Hills Subdivision with the gridiron pattern used in the earlier subdivisions of Middletown Addition, North Florence Heights, and Arnold and Choates Addition. ©SDHS, San Diego M2694 SUB-TF-2.

the city had made little progress in utilizing the park. Nolen warned that the city should assess its existing holdings and take steps to distribute those resources properly.

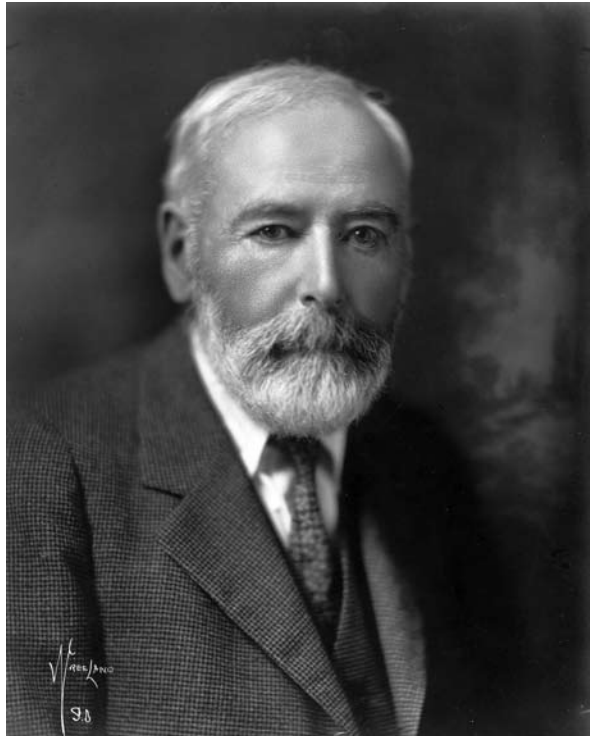
At the end of his report, Nolen was careful to point out that he understood the city's hesitation in pursuing such a drastic plan. He also gave an explanation of the tremendous time required to initiate such endeavors, writing that "it will take months to work it out even on paper, and years to execute it."<sup>33</sup> For Nolen, the success of his plans depended on their potential for practical application. He explained that "after careful consideration and a comparison with the programs and achievements of other cities, I believe the proposed undertakings are all of a reasonable nature."<sup>34</sup>

Nolen also understood that the plan could not be implemented without public support. The city was still years away from enacting any planning regulations. Any attempt to follow Nolen's advice had to be voluntary. For this reason, investors, developers, builders, and contractors had to be educated about the plan and convinced that it would not cost them precious profits.

The members of the Civic Improvement Committee worked with Nolen to establish a public relations campaign. George Marston allowed portions of Nolen's acceptance letter to be published in the *San Diego Union*.<sup>35</sup> Nolen's arrival in San Diego on November 16, 1907, was then announced in a front page article that described how he had

toured the city with committee members, including Julius Wangenheim and Marston.<sup>36</sup> It also included Nolen's initial comments regarding San Diego. Weekly updates on his activities as well as portions of his report draft appeared in the newspaper for the duration of Nolen's month-long stay. His final lecture was given at the San Diego Clubhouse and was transcribed for release in the following day's paper.<sup>37</sup> In this way, Nolen was able to address various socio-economic groups, from the most influential investor to the small-time builder. His attempts to educate the public did little to influence the broad implementation of his plan but they seem to have had a significant effect on the city's residential development.

Nolen was not directly responsible for designing the Mission Hills Subdivision, but



*Charles S. Hamilton (1847-1933) joined his brother Thomas and George Marston in filing the Mission Hills Subdivision in January 1908. He owned Hamilton's Ltd., a hardware and grocery business in downtown San Diego. He was married to Marston's sister-in-law, Elizabeth Le Breton Gunn. ©SDHS #OP:14230.*

the development became the microcosmic realization of Nolen's plans.<sup>38</sup> It was a comparatively small residential development, supporting only one streetcar line and one corresponding commercial node.<sup>39</sup> However, the subdivision's curvilinear streets laid out in a strict hierarchy and punctuated by heavily landscaped parkways derive straight from Nolen's diagrams. The street plan of Mission Hills stands in stark contrast to the gridiron pattern implemented in the neighboring North Florence Heights and Arnold and Choate's Addition Subdivisions.<sup>40</sup>

San Diego's best-known progressive entrepreneurs backed the development of the Mission Hills Subdivision. Department store owner and local philanthropist, George Marston, along with his brothers-in-law and business partners Thomas and Charles S. Hamilton, joined Elisha S. Babcock, Jr., in filing the Mission Hills Subdivision in January 1908.<sup>41</sup> Marston and the Hamiltons were successful local businessmen while Babcock had gained international recognition as the builder and proprietor of the Hotel del Coronado. All four men had a great deal to gain by developing San Diego. They were businessmen and Progressives who supported



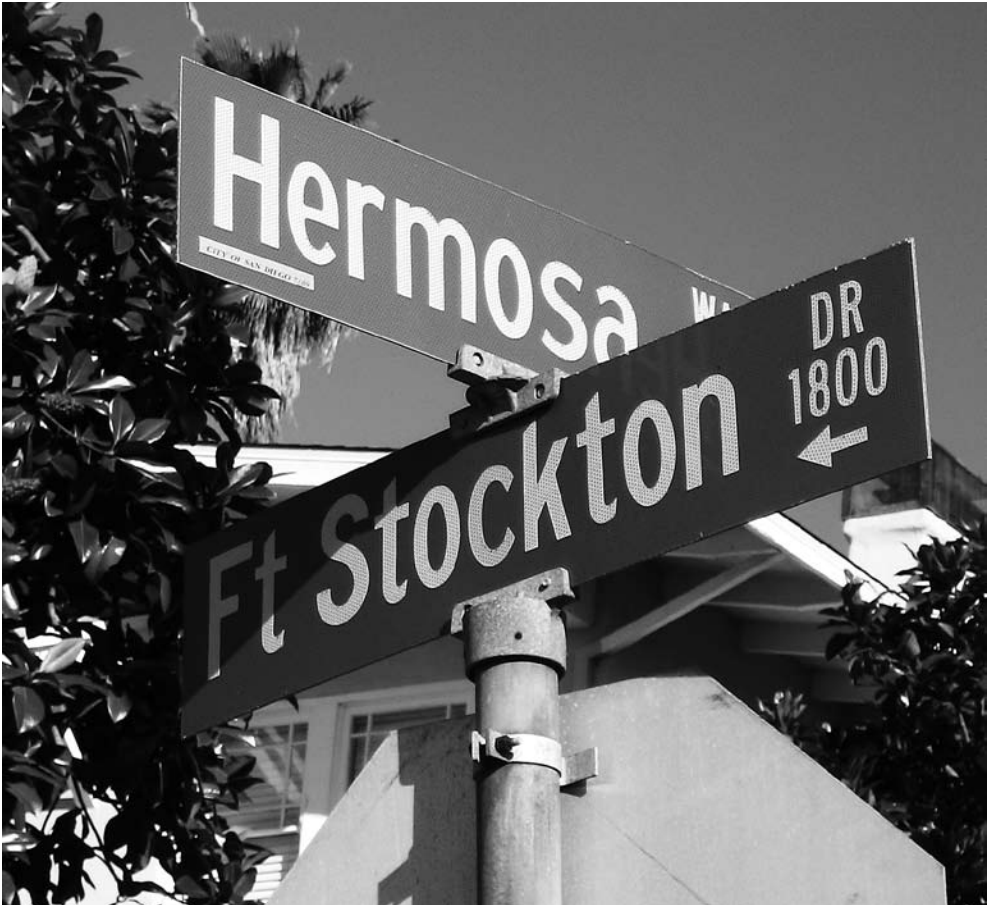
Elisha S. Babcock, Jr., in 1900. Babcock had gained international recognition as the builder and proprietor of the Hotel del Coronado. He joined George Marston and the Hamilton brothers in proposing a new subdivision in Mission Hills. ©SDHS #3662.

Nolen sent Marston a copy of his recently completed plan for Roanoke, Virginia, with the inscription "To George W. Marston with the friendship of John Nolen."<sup>43</sup> A comparison of Nolen's 1908 plan for San Diego and the design of the Mission Hills Subdivision supports the idea that the former influenced the latter.

The name "Mission Hills" reflected Nolen's suggestion that San Diego embrace its "romantic history...and give happy recognition to the topographical situation."<sup>44</sup> The subdivision was located close to the original site of the San Diego Presidio and the Mission San Diego de Alcalá. The name, Mission Hills, reflected both the history of the land and its location. It also set it apart from subdivisions named after earlier neighborhoods or after their developers.

Nolen's plan as both practical and forward-looking.

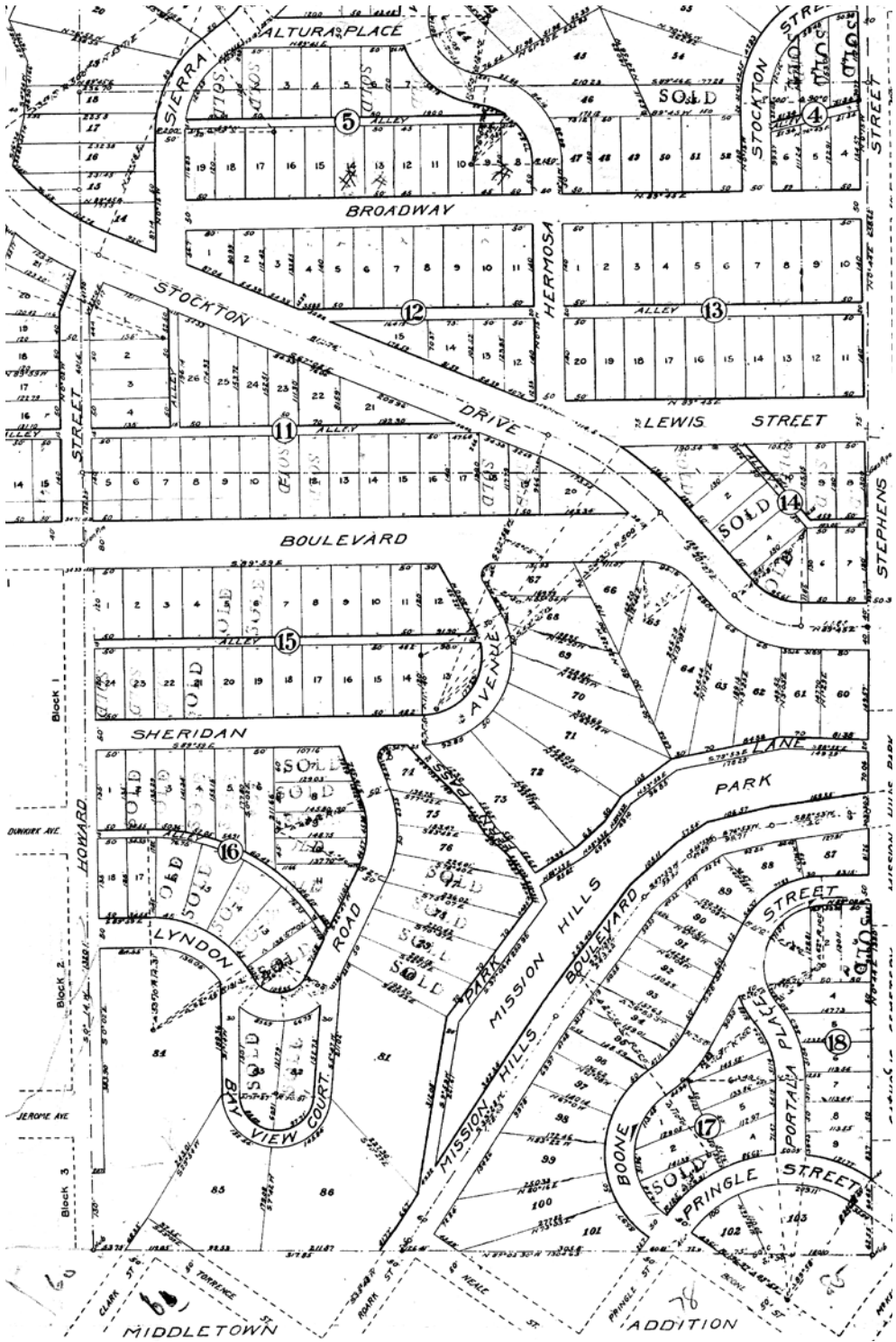
While the design of the Mission Hills Subdivision cannot be directly attributed to Nolen, evidence suggests that his work, *San Diego: A Comprehensive Plan for its Improvement*, influenced the subdivision's design. Marston, a member of the Civic Improvement Committee, regularly corresponded with Nolen while the latter formulated his report. He sought updates on the progress of the 1908 plan and reviewed drafts while the work was in progress.<sup>42</sup> In the summer of 1907, fewer than six months before the Mission Hills Subdivision map was filed,



*A street sign marks the intersection of Hermosa Way and Ft. Stockton Drive, 2006. Nolen encouraged San Diego builders to adopt historic or Spanish language street names. Author's collection.*

Street names also reflected San Diego's early history. Fort Stockton Drive refers to the army fort built by the United States on Presidio Hill during the U. S.-Mexican War. Portola Place pays homage to the Spanish explorer, Gaspar de Portolá. The names of Sierra Vista Street, Valle Vista Street, Hermosa Way, and Montecito Way reflected Nolen's contention that topographical descriptions should "express themselves in the soft words of the Spanish language."<sup>45</sup> Other topographical references included Park Lane, which skirted Mission Hills Park, and Sunset Boulevard, which called attention to its east-west orientation and subsequent view of sunsets on the bay.

Streets in Mission Hills were constructed in a hierarchical system similar to the one outlined in Nolen's 1908 plan. They respond to the contours of the canyons and the cliffs, creating a collection of curvilinear roadways. The original subdivision map shows the diversity of street widths in one section of Mission Hills. Sunset Boulevard had a width of ninety feet as it contained both businesses and residences. Other streets were considerably narrower. In fact, there were even sixteen-foot-wide alleys which supported little traffic and required no landscaping. The hierarchy, of course, also affected names. "Boulevard" was reserved for the



This portion of the original Mission Hills Subdivision map shows the diversity of street widths in the subdivision, which reflects a central idea in Nolen's plan. ©SDHS Mission Hills Subdivision Map, M784 SUB-DT/2-MIH.



*Sunset Boulevard in Mission Hills, 2006. Nolen particularly liked Queen Palm trees, or *Cocos plumosa*. Author's collection.*

largest thoroughfares while “Court” and “Lane” denoted smaller residential passages. This practice allowed the traveler to quickly recognize which roads were major thruways and which were more modest residential streets.

The Mission Hills subdivision plan also included landscaping. Residences were set back by landscaped parkways while the central road, Sunset Boulevard, was flanked by uniformly placed Queen Palm trees, or *Cocos plumosa*. Nolen had called for palm trees in his plan for San Diego, explaining that the plantings “aim to dress the street and relieve its barrenness, but avoid shading the houses.”<sup>46</sup> He believed that the non-native trees would add to the atmosphere of the city by underscoring its most natural element—the temperate climate.

While the planners of Mission Hills succeeded in using many of Nolen’s ideas, they neglected to make provisions for the small open spaces and park land that Nolen called for in his plan. This was partially mitigated in 1929 when Marston landscaped and dedicated the former San Diego Presidio site, Presidio Community Park. Later, in 1970, Calvary Cemetery, the Catholic burial ground of many early San Diegans, was redesigned as Calvary Pioneer Memorial Park.

Mission Hills provided the impetus for future Nolen-influenced development in San Diego, in particular, the adjacent Johnston Heights (later Inspiration Heights). The Johnston Heights tract map, filed during the boom of the 1880s, showed the original subdivision bound by Witherby Street on the west, Howard Street (now Saint James Place) on the east, the Middletown Subdivision to the south,



*Arden Way between Fort Stockton and Sunset Boulevard, 2006. Mission Hills' curvilinear streets took advantage of the area's natural topography. Author's collection.*

and undeveloped land on the north.<sup>47</sup> The lots were drawn at fifty-foot wide by one-hundred and twenty-five feet long. The uniform lot sizes created nearly a dozen parcel remnants of land too small to build on. The subdivision remained undeveloped until 1909, a year after the completion of Mission Hills.<sup>48</sup>



*Aerial view of the intersections between Orizaba Avenue, Miller Street, and Arden Way in Inspiration Heights, a 1909 subdivision inspired by the design of Mission Hills. ©SDHS 98:19755.*



*Palm trees line the sidewalk next to this house at the corner of Sunset Boulevard and Arguello Street, Inspiration Heights, 1913. ©SDHS #4275-1.*

In 1909, Johnston Heights was re-subdivided and named Inspiration Heights.<sup>49</sup> The earlier gridiron pattern planned for Johnston Heights was redrawn with more curvilinear streets that respected the hierarchy proposed by Nolen. Several of the planned street names which had reflected the original developers' names—Johnston Avenue, Dunkirk Avenue, Jerome Avenue, William Street, and Leverett Street—were not included in the new plan. Instead, the newly drawn streets were named Orizaba Avenue, Bandini Street, Bay View Avenue, Alameda Drive, and Loma Pass, following Nolen's suggestion that planners recall the city's history and utilize the Spanish language. Alameda Drive and Orizaba Avenue, both main corridors, were drawn at eighty-foot wide, while the remaining streets were only fifty-foot wide. Miller Street and Bay View Avenue (Couts Street north of Orizaba Avenue) widen as they approach Sunset Boulevard, one of the area's main thoroughfares.

Developers planted grassy parkways with the same Queen Palms seen in Mission Hills. The non-native palms had already become popular as a symbol of the city's temperate climate but, prior to their introduction in Mission Hills, they mostly had been relegated to public spaces. By the fall of 1907, Queen Palms had been planted along Park Boulevard in Balboa Park.<sup>50</sup> The trees created the continuity that Nolen had advocated in his plans. The sidewalks and uniform setbacks added to the visual narrative, creating a more efficient and aesthetically pleasing landscape than could be found in earlier subdivisions.

At first, Inspiration Heights lacked alleys, unlike the neighboring Mission Hills. The planners created no alleys when they drew the 1909 subdivision. In 1910, however, blocks one through six were again re-subdivided to create alleys in blocks two and six.<sup>51</sup> This third major re-subdivision of the Inspiration Heights made it almost indistinguishable from the Mission Hills subdivision. Both

communities reflected Nolen's recommendations.

San Diego's Mission Hills remains one of the most tangible results of early city planning theories. The subdivision proved to be both an efficient, livable space and a trend-setting prototype. The slow growth and quality control advocated by Nolen and utilized in Mission Hills succeeded in creating a sustainable model for both residential housing and, more importantly, for comprehensive planning in San Diego. Mission Hills continues to convey Nolen's hopes for San Diego and remains an important resource for the history of urban planning.



*Hermosa Way, Mission Hills, ca. 1925-28, with two houses built by architect William Templeton Johnson.*  
©SDHS #8371.

## NOTES

1. John Nolen was born in 1869 and raised in Philadelphia by his widowed mother. He attended preparatory school and college in the East at the progressive Girard School at the University of Pennsylvania, graduating in 1893 and beginning his career as an administrator in the education field. After almost a decade in different administrative roles, Nolen enrolled in Harvard University's graduate program in landscape architecture. Upon graduation, he opened his own landscape architecture firm on Harvard Square in 1905. Charles A. Birnbaum and Robin Karson, *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, (New York: McGraw Hill, 2000), 264-265, and John Loretz Hancock, *John Nolen and the American City Planning Movement* (Ph. D., University of Pennsylvania, 1964), 8-9.

2. Jacob Riis' *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1890) was illustrated with the author's photographs. Although often staged, the pictures drew attention to the poor conditions in which New York City's working class lived. In 1902, Riis published *The Battle with the Slum* (New York: The McMillan Company, 1902) that illustrated how little progress had been made in addressing the living conditions of the poor. Eugène Atget's widely published photographs showed the dusty, narrow streets and crowded conditions that turn-of-the-century Parisian workers were subjected to.
3. Many of the early city planners, including the Olmstedes, Calvert Vaux, Warren Manning, and Daniel Burnham, were trained designers, architects or landscape architects. For a general discussion of the rise of American city planning, see Mellier Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969) and Jon A. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). For more specific biographical information, see *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*.
4. Nolen referred to matters of both mental and physical health in all of his city plans. In Nolen's report for the City of Roanoke, Virginia, written almost concurrently with his first plan for San Diego, he constantly referred to the need for fresh air circulation, natural light, and clean waterways in city planning. In both reports, he compared the good circulatory system of a city to that of the human body. See John Nolen, *Remodeling Roanoke* (Roanoke: Stone Printing & Manufacturing Co., 1907). For a general discussion of the influence of the growing concern for human health in city planning, see Stanley K. Schultz and Clay McShane, "To Engineer the Metropolis: Sewers, Sanitation, and City Planning in Late-Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American History* 65, no. 2 (1978): 389-411.
5. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917*.
6. John Nolen to George W. Marston, June 3, 1907. San Diego Historical Society Archives, Collection 35, Box No. 1 of 6, George White Marston Papers.
7. Nolen to Marston, August 24, 1907. San Diego Historical Society Archives, Collection 35, Box No. 1 of 6, George White Marston Papers. The committee's decision was made by August 16, 1907.
8. John Nolen, *San Diego: A Comprehensive Plan for its Improvement* (Boston: George Ellis Co., 1908). The fact that San Diego's Comprehensive Plan of 1908 was not implemented precisely as Nolen had envisioned makes it difficult to discern how much his plan has influenced planning in the city. The influences of these visionaries should not be lost, however, because to understand the origins of a city, is to understand the city itself.
9. "Hope of San Diego in Early Action, Says Architect John Nolen," *San Diego Union*, October 20, 1907, Section 2.
10. United States Geological Survey Quadrangle Map 1902. The USGS Maps from the first decade of the twentieth century show only a minute fraction of San Diego's coast as beach space. La Jolla, the northernmost coastal area in the City of San Diego, had several small beach areas, but south of that only small portions of Ocean Beach and Mission Beach provided beach access.
11. United States Census Data, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/index.html> (accessed October 23, 2003).
12. Nolen, *San Diego*, 10.
13. *Ibid.*, 1.
14. *Ibid.*, 3.
15. *Ibid.*, 9.
16. *Ibid.*, 62.
17. *Ibid.*, 17.
18. *Ibid.*, 35.
19. *Ibid.*, 55.
20. George E. Hooker, quoted in Nolen, *San Diego*, 57.
21. *Ibid.*, 62.
22. Middletown 1869, Subdivision Map No. 383 and Horton's Addition 1871, Subdivision Map No. 369.

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23. University Heights 1888, Subdivision Map No. 951.
24. Nolen, *San Diego*, 58.
25. *Ibid.*, 71.
26. *Ibid.*, 57.
27. *Ibid.*, 58.
28. Nolen, *San Diego*, 61.
29. *Ibid.*, 58.
30. Original design for the University Heights Subdivision Map 1887. As the “boom” of the 1880s waned, this plan was replaced by a less creative development scheme that no longer called for park space, plantings, and only laid aside a small piece of land for the installation of a higher education campus.
31. University Heights 1888, Subdivision Map No. 951.
32. Nolen, *San Diego*, 73.
33. *Ibid.*, 90.
34. *Ibid.*, 90.
35. “Eastern Man Will Draw Plans for Improvement of San Diego,” *San Diego Union*, September 5, 1907, Section 2.
36. “Nolan [sic] Outlines Plans for City,” *San Diego Union*, October 18, 1907, Front Page.
37. “Act Now Declares Architect,” *San Diego Union*, November 2, 1907, Section 2.
38. Mission Hills 1908, Subdivision Map No. 1115.
39. The streetcar line information comes from route maps in Richard V. Dodge, *Rails of the Silver Gate: The Spreckels San Diego Empire* (San Marino: Pacific Railway Journal, 1960) and Mission Hills’ pricing lists between 1908 and 1910 which list the properties as being accessed by the Third Street Line. The commercial node information was disseminated from a survey of existing commercial structures in the area as well as a review of San Diego City Directories between 1907 and 1910.
40. North Florence Heights 1890, Subdivision Map No. 634; Arnold and Choate’s Addition 1872, Subdivision Map No. 334.
41. Mission Hills Subdivision Map.
42. San Diego Historical Society Archives, Collection 35, Box No. 1 of 6 George White Marston Papers.
43. Nolen, *Remodeling Roanoke*. This copy, dated August 28, 1907, includes the inscription as well as Marston’s personal bookplate. It is available at the library of the University of California, San Diego. The Mission Hills Subdivision Map was filed on January 20, 1908.
44. Nolen, *San Diego*, 71.
45. *Ibid.*, 72.
46. *Ibid.*, 65.
47. Johnston Heights 1887 Subdivision Map.
48. San Diego City Lot Books 1909-1911. Vol. 7. Early lot books for this subdivision show little increase in assessed values. Between 1909 and 1911, several lots showed significant increases in assessment value which likely means buildings were constructed on the lots.
49. Inspiration Heights May 28 (filed September 28), 1909, Subdivision Map No. 1212.
50. “176 Palm Trees on Park Drive,” *San Diego Union*, October 2, 1907, Section 2. The palm tree planting along Park Drive in City Park (Balboa Park) was spearheaded by the President of the Board of Parks Commissioners, George Marston.
51. Re-subdivision of Blocks 1-6 in Inspiration Heights August 29, 1910, Subdivision Map No. 1282.

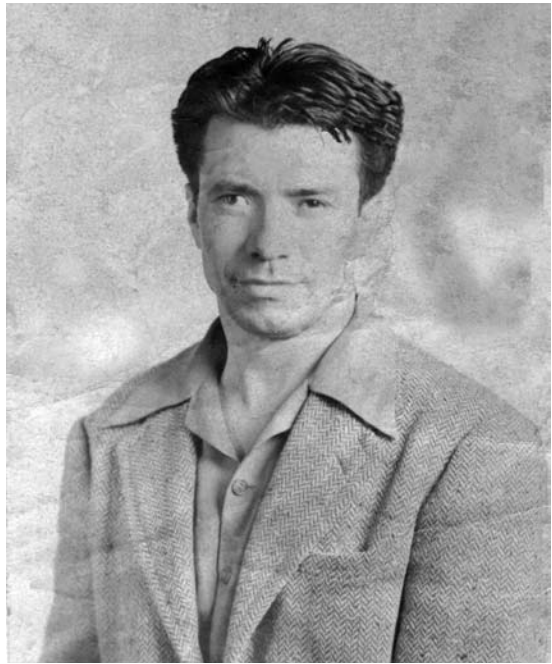
# Roberto Galvan: A Latino Leader of the 1940s<sup>1</sup>

Carlos Larralde

Roberto Galvan (1911-1958), labor union organizer and tireless worker for human rights, spent his life working to improve the lives of his people, the migrant Mexican workers in California. He worked through the International Longshoremen's Union, the Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), and *El Congreso de Habla Español* (the National Congress of Spanish-Speaking Peoples) to help the unfortunate: a Latino worker who lost his arm; a Mexican tractor worker who was battered and killed by Ku Klux Klan thugs on a narrow dark road; and desperate Mexicans who faced deportation. During the 1930s, nearly two million Latinos left the United States for Mexico in a massive "repatriation" program initiated by President Herbert Hoover. An estimated 400,000 were American citizens or legal residents of Mexican descent.<sup>2</sup>

Galvan spent years under the threat of deportation and death. His efforts to unionize Latinos caused him to be labeled as a Communist, even a Soviet spy. The Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, the John Birch Society, and the Minutemen blackened his reputation but they could not erase his legacy as a champion of civil rights.<sup>3</sup>

After his death in 1958, a "blessed Galvan" cult emerged to provide inspiration to Latinos. Families lit votive candles before his image in their home shrines. Objects that he had touched became relics. Some people even imagined that he had been reincarnated as César Chávez (1927-1993) who founded the National Farm Workers Association, later the United Farm Workers. At one meeting in Southern California, Chávez blessed his listeners on behalf of Galvan. More recently, it was suggested that Galvan had reappeared in the guise of fourteen-year-old Anthony Soltero of Ontario, California, who committed suicide on March 30, 2006, to protest the treatment of Mexican immigrants in the United States. Groups such as the National Alliance for Human Rights, also known as *Estamos*



*Roberto Galvan, organizer of El Congreso, on April 29, 1939. Author's collection.*

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*Unidos* (We Are United), and Justice for Immigrants also support Galvan's role as a spokesman and martyr for civil rights.<sup>4</sup>

Galvan used nonviolence civil right activities to promote "first and foremost" the rights of all California citizens, particularly his fellow poor and humble Mexicans in the San Diego and Southern California regions. He particularly focused on efforts to combat the Ku Klux Klan and to stop abusive working conditions. He also communicated with many people in the early civil rights movement, including Bert Corona (1918-2001), Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), and Luisa Moreno (1906-1992). This article is based on interviews with Galvan's friends, associates, and family members who sought to preserve his memory and achievements.

Galvan was born on June 6, 1911, in Leon, Guanajuato, Mexico, to a family of resourceful merchants and well-educated priests. His traditional Mexican name was Roberto or Norberto Galvan Cisneros though he preferred to be called "Bob" by family and friends. His cousin, the dignified Reverend Gregorio Farías, taught Galvan the values of respect and justice. "They instilled pride and good sense into me," explained Galvan to his son Carl. "Even if you eat beans, a good front and a nice parlor where you can conduct business and receive friends are needed."<sup>5</sup>

Galvan and his family arrived in San Diego on March 13, 1918, where they sought a safe haven from the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920). Galvan was a sensitive boy. When he first saw the ocean, he burst into tears and refused to speak for the rest of the day. His mother worried about his catching tuberculosis, one of the chief causes of death in Mexico during this period. Every time Galvan coughed, she fed him, and so he grew up near the kitchen. Having few friends, this loner lad did not play much. He loved to read and stare into space. If he used bad language, his mother jammed soap in his mouth. Good behavior was rewarded with chocolate dipped ice-cream cones. He grew up as the best-dressed child in the neighborhood.

Galvan began his career in sales—selling shoes, orthopedic equipment, and real estate. Later he joined the cannery industry, becoming secretary and, later, treasurer for the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). A member of the United Fish Cannery Workers Union, Local 64, CIO, he negotiated union wages for San Diego's Van de Camp cannery workers. Galvan gathered Hispanics, Blacks, Filipinos, Japanese and other organizers to pursue new strategies in the increasingly contentious battles for membership as distinct locals. From 1938 to 1952, he worked with the International Longshoremen's Union and the Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

Galvan supported labor unions in Los Angeles during a national conference of *El Congreso de Habla Español* on April 29-30, 1939. He particularly wanted to discuss with other union leaders unfair labor conditions faced by laborers in meatpacking plants, mines, canneries, mills, and cotton fields. He had a horror of bureaucracy and, at times, single-handedly ran San Diego's *El Congreso* by using the telephone for hours. Serious, ethical, and hardworking, he considered a handshake to be as contractually binding as a signature. He kept union members united and stayed in touch with laborers and the elderly, taking flowers to the sick, attending funerals, and going to community meetings. He was shocked at nothing and his idea for life could be related to people in few words: "I do not believe in perfection. I believe in improvement."<sup>6</sup>



*Reverend Gregorio Farias from Guanajuato helped to shape his cousin Galvan into a crusader for justice and respect. Author's Collection.*

Like many Latino leaders of his generation, he did not seek personal success but social justice. Galvan said, "Etiquette and humility are powerful tools that can achieve success. Conceit only creates problems."<sup>7</sup> Galvan and many of his contemporaries lived Spartan lives; many of them were Communists. As Christians, however, they also recalled the lessons of the New Testament. As Bert Corona pointed out, "No one is indispensable. Others will continue our self-reliance and arduous struggle and must adapt their thinking to the changed conditions."<sup>8</sup>

Paramilitary organizations that shot, tortured, or hanged Latinos, including the Ku Klux Klan, the Silver Shirts, the Italian Black Shirts, and the *Sinariquistas*,

or Mexican Gold Shirts, became the greatest challenges for Galvan and other civil rights leaders. An alien laborer who challenged his employer's authority might be hanged. Migrant workers were discovered hanging from trees in rural areas, sometimes with their abdomens split to expose the intestines. Some field workers were buried alive. A worker could have his throat cut if he or she argued with or insulted a white woman. Gas torches were used on captured minorities to "see them dance." Occasionally, the head of a Latino immigrant would be set on a fence post while the rest of his naked body lay in a ditch. The Klan once threatened to do this to Galvan if they ever caught him.<sup>9</sup>

According to Luisa Moreno, Galvan regularly received reports of the horrors faced by those who attempted to cross the treacherous Mojave and Colorado deserts into California. One pregnant woman trying to avoid the Klan's border patrol gave birth under a bush, screaming in pain. A compassionate man struggled to cut the baby's umbilical cord with a pocketknife, but both woman and child died. Some families were abandoned in the desert by their *Coyote* (smuggler) and left to their own fate. Women caught by the Klan in remote regions were brutally raped and assaulted, while some were murdered, their skeletons discovered in rural areas. Galvan witnessed some of the Klan's savage deeds but could rarely identify the victims.<sup>10</sup>

Galvan used Pedro Gonzalez's Burbank Spanish radio station, KELW, to warn Latinos about the Klan's activities and to encourage Latinos to join labor unions. He spoke a melodic Spanish, soft on the vowels and mild on consonants. "Dreams and optimism are the fibers of life. Otherwise we will get dried up inside and eaten up by hate like the Klan," he proclaimed. He interviewed workers, sometimes in English, who harvested and canned fruit and vegetables in the area. He reached radio listeners who lived as far away as New Zealand.<sup>11</sup>

Galvan drove regularly through Southern California with union files and two battered suitcases in his car. Because he ran a labor union from a hotel room, his lifestyle was erratic, always one step ahead of the Klan. One night, Galvan's car broke down in San Diego while he was on his way home from Escondido's *El Congreso* meeting. According to Bert Corona, "The Klan spotted Galvan and almost hanged him. Exhausted, he ran into an army patrol that saved him. While running to escape, he fell and broke a leg. The pain was intense as the bones pressed on a nerve."<sup>12</sup>

Galvan faced regular threats from the Klan. One night, white-hooded men showed up at his office. Galvan pulled a gun out of a desk drawer and aimed it at them, cutting their visit short. Later that evening, the Klan bombed his union office causing a worker nearby to die from agonizing burns. He regularly received anonymous phone calls. On more than one occasion, he discovered his tires slashed before he was supposed to attend a union meeting or speak to a civic group. After he discovered a stick of dynamite in his car, he and several other members of *El Congreso* began carrying guns. The emotional stress caused by the Klan's activities caused one distraught member of *El Congreso*, Jesus Mendoza, to shoot and kill himself.<sup>13</sup>

Galvan and other union organizers received no help from law enforcement agencies. Los Angeles Police Captain William "Red" Hynes ignored the Klan's beatings, shootings, lootings, and rapes. A rural Methodist minister was charged with owning unregistered pistols and rifles. According to Judge Robert Kenny,

"A worried Galvan reported to me that these weapons were intended to be used against *El Congreso*."<sup>14</sup>

The Klan had the support of many conservative Anglo-American fundamentalists in Southern California with their network of seminaries and radio gospel hours. In the early twentieth century, the Southern Baptist Church, which considered itself the state church of the Ex-Confederacy, moved from the southeast to the southwest. Members brought with them the "good news" of a blond-haired and blue-eyed Jesus along with the values of the conservative South. Baptist preacher Frank B. Fagerburg plastered a large Confederate flag on the wall of his office and supported segregated churches in Southern California. Other leading evangelical ministers, such as Los Angeles Methodist preacher Robert Pierce Shuler (1880-1965) and spiritualist Guy W. Ballard (1878-1939), sympathized with the Klan.<sup>15</sup>

Galvan protested the practice of racial segregation advocated by the Southern Baptist Church. He denounced the church's pastoral care "with its holier than thou attitude of condemning others, creating helpless resignation in the face of the enormity of brutal injustices." Galvan believed that when "Christ walked on the face of this Earth, he never ostracized anyone. His love radiated to everyone."<sup>16</sup>

In the 1940s, Charlotta A. Bass (1880?-1969), the African American editor of *The California Eagle*, discovered that the powerful pastor, Robert Shuler had aided the Klan from his bully pulpit at his Los Angeles' Trinity Methodist Church from 1924.<sup>17</sup> With his fire and brimstone

"Air Raids From the Pulpit" radio shows, Shuler delivered vivid scriptural revelations aimed at civil rights leaders and minorities, including Galvan, calling them "criminals who spoil paradise." Historian Kevin Starr has labeled Shuler the "Methodist Savonarola of Los Angeles," referring to the Dominican priest who preached against the moral corruption of the clergy in the early Renaissance.<sup>18</sup> Shuler and his close friend, John Clinton Porter, mayor of Los Angeles from 1929 to 1933, insisted that civil rights leaders would bring about Armageddon. They also fought against relief programs to aid those in poverty.<sup>19</sup>

Galvan's close associate at this time was Celia L. de Rodriguez, Chairman of the *Comite de Damas del Congreso* (Ladies of the Congress' Committee). Most of the *Damas* were religious women who organized the *Damas del*



The *Imperial Night-Hawk* was a popular pro-Ku Klux Klan journal in Southern California during the 1920s. It encouraged the oppression of Mexicans and other minorities. Author's Collection

*Congreso* on the same guidelines as the Young Ladies' Institute, a Catholic group founded in San Francisco, September 5, 1887. Members were Anglo, Asian and Hispanic. They met together in a two-story brick building in downtown San Diego. She believed that Shuler and Porter could not be ignored. Their tacit support of the Klan encouraged brutality, particularly in multicultural regions. Rodriguez and Galvan worked together for long hours in the union hall. According to Corona, they were "faithful friends." She guarded her sharp tongue and Galvan watched his temper. Together, "they survived the treacherous world of politics and the deadly Klan. As for the refined Rodriguez, she ignored men's rough manner of speech when she often drank beer with them."<sup>20</sup> She encouraged other *Damas*, like Aurora Castillo and Margarita Flores, to tackle health problems such as tuberculosis, hepatitis and smallpox.<sup>21</sup> They pressured health departments to deal with rat problems and improve sewage systems. Galvan later told California's former Immigration and Housing Commissioner Carey McWilliams, "If Celia de Rodriguez weren't a patient woman, she wouldn't have accomplished half of what she did."<sup>22</sup> On June 26, 1947, Galvan invited Rodriguez to speak in San

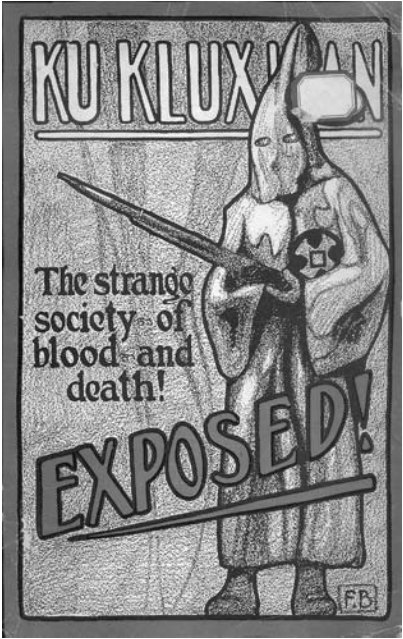


*This sarcastic Klan leaflet was printed in San Diego in 1946. It promoted hate and violence against African Americans. Galvan destroyed most of these leaflets. Author's collection.*

Diego against the Klan. Rodriguez, Castillo and Flores later joined the *Madres del Soldado* (Mothers of the Soldier) to boost morale during World War II.

Galvan also relied on the support of Carmen Lorenza Contreras of San Francisco who was in charge of *El Congreso's* advertising and publicity. The frugal, health-conscious woman gave eloquent speeches and inspired Latinos to support *El Congreso*. She also carried a gun, ready to shoot any Klansman who got in her way. She tangled with Senator Jack B. Tenney (1898-1970) over the Klan and, on one occasion, was jailed for contempt of court.<sup>23</sup>

The *Damas* also faced victimization by the KKK. Galvan wept when he heard that Margarita Flores had been brutally beaten by the Klan near Brawley. She lost her right eye and several teeth. Later, Rodriguez also was beaten by the Klan and left along a road in Anaheim. A few *Damas* disappeared and were never seen again. One informer claimed that



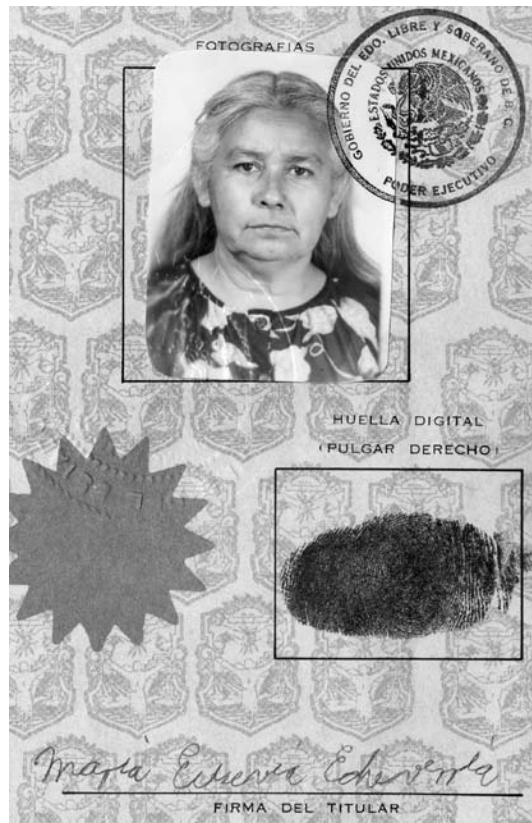
*Galvan kept this anti-Ku Klux Klan reference book in his desk. Author's collection.*

they were buried alive somewhere in the Imperial Valley.<sup>24</sup>

Most newspapers failed to report on the activities of the Klan. *The California Eagle* was a rare exception. On July 30, 1942, the Los Angeles newspaper exposed the Klan's operations at several aircraft companies. However, few reporters or editors knew about the Klan's brutality against Mexican aliens.

Between 1943 and 1946, Galvan repeatedly appealed to William Randolph Hearst, the American newspaper magnate to recognize unions' role in empowering and protecting working people. On September 2, 1946, he went with Corona and Eduardo Quevedo, two leading union organizers, to Hearst's office in downtown Los Angeles. Hearst's secretary gave them an appointment, thinking that they were a delegation from the Mexican government.<sup>25</sup> At first Hearst, who had numerous assets and business dealings in Mexico, treated them with courtesy. They discussed Hearst's extensive landholdings in Veracruz, Campeche and the Yucatan, along with his million-acre ranch, the Babicora, in Chihuahua.<sup>26</sup> But as soon as Galvan began to make his appeal for the rights of his people, it became apparent that he was a union organizer. Hearst became furious. He pounded his elegant rosewood desk and shouted, "How did you get in here? How dare you speak to me about unions?" A crystal vase on the desk crashed on the marble floor as Hearst called for security to throw these men out. Later Galvan recalled, "I felt like the Biblical David facing the giant Philistine warrior named Goliath. Only this time, I did not have a sling with stones."<sup>27</sup> He later hoped that a patriotic Hearst would use the power of the press to tackle discrimination in defense industries that refused to hire minorities. Numerous Latinos in military service were rewarded medals for bravery. Hearst, however, showed no interest in this subject.

Later, Galvan supported the "Locked Out Hearst Employees in Southern California." Kruger Clark, president of The United Furniture Workers of America, Local 576, Los Angeles, spoke in San Diego to support union rights while Galvan gave a moving speech on behalf of the cannery workers, stressing unity and encouraging them to support the Hearst boycotts. Galvan and many Latino workers identified Hearst with the main character in Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane*.



Maria Eusevia Echavarría de Santiago testified as a witness to Ku Klux Klan atrocities along the Mexican border. Senator Tenney used her testimony to denounce the Klan in his 1946 weekly Los Angeles KLAN radio show, "It Is Happening Here." Author's collection.

Galvan showed the film to Hispanic laborers in San Diego and provided raffle prizes. He also joined Hearst strikers in the late 1940s and passed out thousands of flyers to support them. Hearst saw these strikers as Communist-inspired troublemakers and pressured the FBI to keep a spy list of Latino union members.<sup>28</sup>

Galvan had little success unionizing newspaper workers since most were afraid to antagonize either Hearst's *Los Angeles Examiner* and Harry Chandler's *Los Angeles Times*. Hearst and Chandler had indefatigable energy, inexhaustible financial resources and efficient newspaper campaigns. Their provincial, anti-

*Citizen's Committee*  
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- FARLEY PARKER CHRISTENSEN
- JAMES M. CAIN
- VERA CASPARY
- LESTER COLE
- SYLVIA COMPINSKY
- ALBERT DEKKER
- PHILIP DUNNE
- MR. & MRS. GUY ENDORE
- DAVID HANNA
- DR. HARRY HOIJER
- DON HARTMAN
- ROSE HOBART
- E. Y. HARBURG
- CHUCK JONES
- MR. & MRS. MICHAEL KANIN
- ROBERT W. KENNY
- RING LARDNER, JR.
- EMMETT LAVERY
- DANIEL G. MARSHALL
- ALBERT MALTZ
- MAURY MAVERICK
- JUDGE STANLEY MOFFATT
- GEORGE MOORE
- SAM MOORE
- MILTON MERLIN
- ERIKA MANN
- FRANCES MILLINGTON
- ED MOSK
- MATTY MATTISON
- JUDGE STANLEY MOSK
- CAREY MCWILLIAMS
- JOHN MCTERNAN
- MARY MCCALL, JR.
- DR. DON MACQUEEN
- ALINE MACMAHON
- MRS. ESTHER MASATIR
- RABBI MAX NUSSBAUM
- MILDRED NORTON
- GENIEL OSTROW
- IRVING PICHEL
- ELLIS PATTERSON
- MRS. ANNE H. POLLOCK
- GERTRUDE PRICE
- JOHN RODEN
- IRVING RIES
- MR. & MRS. ROBERT ROSSON
- DR. FREDERICK REYNOLDS
- ANNE REVERE
- DR. ISADORE REES
- DR. KEITH SWARD
- MRS. MONTE SALVIN
- ALBEE SLADE
- DONALD OGDEN STEWART
- DR. H. E. SCARBROUGH
- ARTHUR SHEEKMAN
- BEN SOLNIT
- FRANK TUTTLE
- DALTON TRUMBO
- SHERRILL
- MP

Hearst's greatest weapon is his unlimited financial resources. He hopes to starve out the union members as he has done so often in the past in other sections of the country.

None of the ~~ix~~ 525 union members have received a pay check for twenty-six days. Their low wage in the past did not permit the building up of a reserve to meet this emergency.

Right now the greatest need is money to help pay rent and minimum food bills for these men and women, so that they can continue fighting for a decent life. The Citizens Committee hopes to raise \$10,000 for this purpose in the next ten days.

If any money is available over this amount, we will use it to acquaint the public at large with the real issues at stake. We hope that our activity will prevent any attempts on the part of management to break this dispute by means of force and violence.

You recall the terrible situation last year when tear gas and clubs were used by the police in an attempt to break the strike of the motion picture employees. We do not want to see a repetition of this shameful act, in this situation. We feel that the very presence of a responsible Citizens Committee with sufficient funds to acquaint the public with the true issues involved, will give pause to Hearst before attempting any such action.

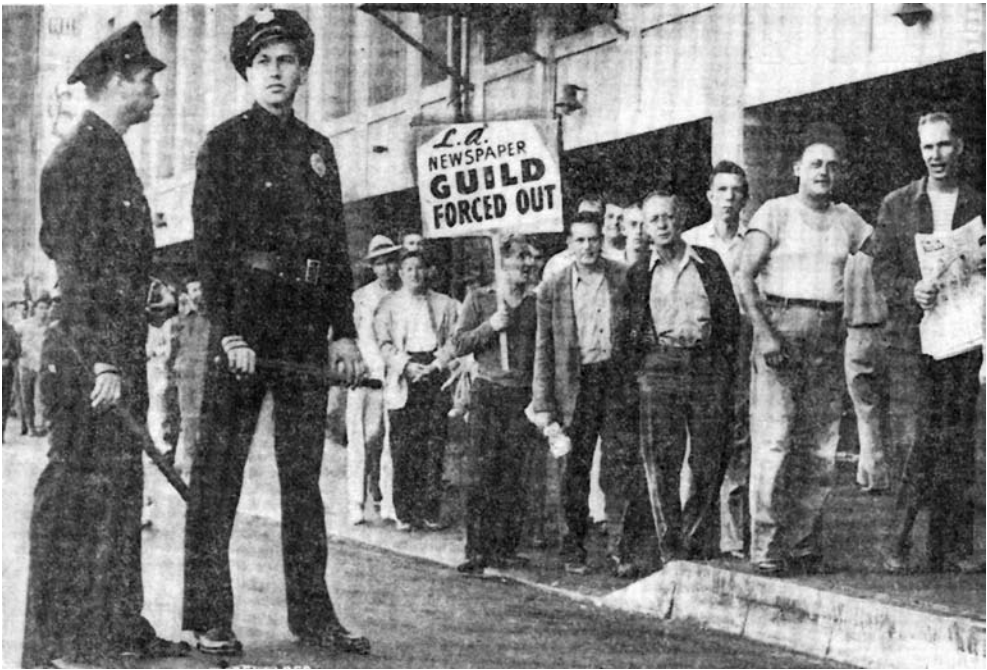
I am enclosing a copy of our advertisement which appeared in the Daily News last Wednesday.

Checks may be made out to Citizens Committee and forwarded to 1324 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, 15, Calif.

Very sincerely,  
*Albee Slade*

*929649*  
*Andy Russell*  
*Anthony Quinn*

Draft of a 1948 fundraising letter from the Citizen's Committee to Aid Locked out Hearst Employees. The author, Albee Slade, wrote "Hearst's greatest weapon is his unlimited financial resources. He hopes to starve out the union members as he has done so often in the past in other sections of the country." He adds, "You recall the terrible situation last year when tear gas and clubs were used by the police in an attempt to break the strike of the motion picture employees. We do not want to see a repetition of this shameful act." Author's collection.



*Hearst newspapers locked out more than five hundred Los Angeles newspaper guild members who sought more pay on September 5, 1946. Author's collection.*

union newspapers supported the repressive police Captain Hynes who threatened to disrupt union meetings. When he needed them, Hynes had the support of other police departments. "This bilateral cooperation also included the Ku Klux Klan," wrote historian Gerald Horne. In the end, Galvan and his fellow union leaders helped mold California labor not as "a history of the struggle of unions to achieve recognition but of a struggle for power between organized labor and organized capital...[which] accounts for the periodic convulsions in...[California's] social history."<sup>29</sup>

Senator Jack B. Tenney's California Un-American Activities Committee investigated the Ku Klux Klan between 1941 and 1947. George H. Weiner of the Subversive Activities Detail of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office testified that the Klan was basically harmless and that people like Roberto Galvan who complained about the Klan "have sought to gain their own purposes and make it appear like it [crimes against Mexicans] was [an] organized Klan activity." C. B. Horrall, Chief of the Los Angeles Police Department, supported Weiner's statements.

Klan members who worked for Tenney as informants did not undergo scrutiny. For example, the Committee failed to investigate the KKK Exalted Cyclops of San Diego No. 64 under the leadership of V. Wayne Kenaston. During the 1930s, the group had expanded along the Mexican border "to further the spirit of the Klancraft..." and to eliminate undesirables. When several Mexican victims in 1943 testified against William H. Shahli, who had been a member of the Klan's Exalted Cyclops in Los Angeles since July 1941, Tenney's committee ignored their testimonies. Instead, Tenney interviewed Shahli, who stated that the Klan never promoted violence and did not use hoods anymore but retained their

robes. He pointed out that the Klan had “various local units in Los Angeles” and chapters throughout California. Galvan asked Carey McWilliams why Tenney favored Shahli. McWilliams used a network of attorneys to discover that Shahli had a criminal record and that he and hundreds of trusted Klan members were “unofficial collaborators” of Tenney. Shahli and other Klan officials informed secret agents who drafted some of the extensive reports on some 20,000 people for the California Un-American Activities Committee. McWilliams informed Galvan that some of these Klan members or sympathizers were at one time or another Pinkerton detectives. They detested labor unions, Socialists, and Hollywood.<sup>30</sup>

The Committee’s secret files were used to destroy careers and ruin lives. Later, the files were shipped in boxes to the state archives and forgotten for three decades. In 1998 and 1999, these dusty records were resurrected, providing some shocking revelations. The *Los Angeles Times* editors compared these state archives to the files of the Stasi, East Germany’s version of Hitler’s Gestapo. Historian Kevin Starr confirmed, “What might have been a possibly discreet and maybe even relevant investigation of Communism in certain areas of society just became a witch hunt.” McWilliams stated, “I refused to tell Bob Galvan that starting with myself, all those who were involved in civil rights were blacklisted for eternity. I was even accused of being a pedophile.”<sup>31</sup>

Conservative local business owners supported both the Hearst newspapers and Senator Tenney, including Walt Disney, Knotts’ Berry Farm Products and Alpha Beta under the general management of Claude W. Edwards. Disney encouraged Tenney to conduct hearings in San Diego to eliminate labor union leaders such as Moreno and Galvan. When Tenney heard that San Diego’s State Relief Administration consisted of “Stalinist gang” Communists, he did not hesitate to investigate. In fact, he used San Diego “Commies” to justify the massive expenses of the California Un-American Activities Committee. Even Latinos like Sheriff Eugene Biscailuz and Frank Alvarado, owner of the Los Angeles Crate Company, supported Tenney.<sup>32</sup>

In the end, the Committee’s 1947 report admitted that the KKK was “fully as reprehensible and evil as the many other fanatical, crackpot organizations encountered by the Committee in its six years of investigation.” Robert W. Kenny, Attorney General of California, spoke more forcefully: “The Klan is working to destroy the democratic liberties of all people.... You will find it interesting and perhaps frightening...to investigate the Klan further, in particular in rural areas concerning minorities. The Klan and Klan-inspired acts can be stopped by you.”<sup>33</sup> Despite this condemnation, the Klan was not included in the prominent anti-American list of the California Un-American Activities Committee in 1949. The Klan was still seen as a minor nuisance.<sup>34</sup>

Galvan failed to get support from exiled Mexican President Plutarco Elías Calles who spent five years in San Diego beginning in 1936. Observers found him to be “not always a strong leader and totally lacking in charisma.” While Calles listened to Galvan’s crusade against the Klan, he expressed strongly anti-Communist and even Fascist sympathies. For example, Calles read Adolf Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* with admiration. In September 1940 an exasperated Galvan had lunch with Calles to discuss the Klan’s atrocities along the Mexican border. After hearing him with interest, Calles suggested that they try communicating with the deceased victims through a certain spiritualist in Chula Vista. A flabbergasted Galvan later

telephoned McWilliams to tell him about the meeting. Calles' fascination with spiritualists remained with him long after he returned to Mexico in the spring of 1941.<sup>35</sup>

Galvan did not serve in World War II due to disabilities that disqualified him from military service. A car accident had left him with defective vision and hearing. A newspaper reporter at a Hearst publication accused him of avoiding the draft. During the war, Galvan volunteered as an area air warden, inspecting blackout draperies. His wartime service consisted of working with Japanese Americans who had been ordered to the Manzanar Camp, two hundred miles northeast of Los Angeles. He helped internees sell their personal belongings and also provided a storage building for their belongings until they could return home. He and a few other members of *El Congreso* stayed for a few weeks near the camps to comfort the prisoners. With the help of Francis C. Ellis of Riverside's First Congregational Church and others, Galvan managed to take a number of Japanese Americans to Mexico. In the summer of 1945, Galvan's *El Congreso* joined San Diego parishioners to provide food and funds for the small Japanese community, especially his friends, the Okimoto family.<sup>36</sup>

Galvan also promoted "Americanization" classes to speed the assimilation of Latinos into U. S. society. Galvan believed that, "If you cannot speak and write English, people will take advantage of you." McWilliams pointed out, "This wasn't just another noble endeavor where he had his name on the masthead. He knew exactly what it was to survive in a world where tolerance and diversity were detested."<sup>37</sup>

Galvan supported those defending the Mexican Americans involved in the Sleepy Lagoon case and the Zoot Suit Riots. He drove from Los Angeles to San Diego to try to prevent the editors of the *Union Press* from printing sensationalist headlines about the Zoot-Suiters.<sup>38</sup> In addition, he put pressure on Rear Admiral David Bagley in San Diego to stop violence towards Latinos. He threatened to send letters to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and to demonstrate against Bagley and other members of the armed forces. He also united the San Diego cannery workers. As a result, Bagley reconsidered his earlier indifference to this problem and began to discipline sailors for harassing Mexicans. His influence helped the Zoot Suit agitation even in Los Angeles. Galvan and the other *El Congreso* leaders were jubilant on October 28, 1944, when Los Angeles Judge Clement Nye released the Mexican juveniles indicted in the Sleepy Lagoon case. They were also delighted when the Zoot Suit agitation died down.<sup>39</sup>

Galvan's enemies, however, remained determined to silence demands for unions and civil rights. They began a serious effort to have Galvan and others deported. In 1944, Hearst's editors discovered that Galvan had joined the Communist Party in San Diego in 1944. The Klan printed leaflets about him and distributed them throughout San Diego County. Galvan became conscious of FBI surveillance when he noticed photographers hounding him. He learned to be cautious and not to leave a paper trail. He burned letters and telegrams from McWilliams and his *El Congreso* co-workers. He muffled telephone conversations and eliminated useless paperwork. Books and papers were stacked on his floor. Galvan quelled petty staff bickering. He commented, "As a union organizer, I feel alone and isolated. This loneliness grows painful and depressing. We must keep silence so those who hate us never hear our frustrations. To complain is a sign of weakness."<sup>40</sup>

Galvan learned from Rodriguez and Moreno that the FBI had hired a cannery worker and former Communist party member named "Anna" to spy on him. She intercepted Galvan's letters and tried to demoralize him and other union members. Tenney's California Un-American Activities Committee later used her legal testimony to indict him as a dangerous Communist. Around 1965, attorney Robert Kenny spoke with "Anna" but he never learned her real name.<sup>41</sup>

The evangelist Gerald L. K. Smith (1898-1976), one of the most dangerous supporters of the Klan, was known by opponents as the "Minister of Hate" because he spoke before large crowds on the dangers posed by minorities, especially "niggers" and Jews. His Christian Nationalist Crusade inspired violence throughout Southern California and undermined the work of *El Congreso*. He described migrant laborers as an "infestation of Mexican locusts preying on the wealth of California." A San Diego newspaper, *The Broom*, sympathized with Smith and the Klan and blamed Judge Robert Kenny, "Jews, Communists and their fellow travelers" for California's problems.<sup>42</sup>

Few newspapers reported Smith's speeches in favor of white supremacy. Carey McWilliams wrote in 1945 that members of the press "have kept a blanket of silence on Smith."<sup>43</sup> In fact, many people did not believe that the Klan posed a threat. Los Angeles Police Investigator Anthony Collins stated that, "The Ku Klux Klan is a dead issue in this city. There is no KKK." A few days later, however, a shamefaced Fletcher Bowron, Mayor of Los Angeles, acknowledged the Klan's strength.<sup>44</sup> Nor did the press investigate V. W. Kenaston, leader of the San Diego's Klan chapter, which Galvan found frustrating.

Spanish-speaking workers held weekly union meetings under Galvan's direction. He published the rights of cannery workers in both Spanish and English. His life was consumed with strikes, picketing, organizing, negotiating and operating labor unions. He supplied the labor for local packing associations, hauling facilities, farm equipment and the staff to take charge of pruning and insect control. On June 14, 1946, thousands of protesters demonstrated for civil rights and against Klan abuses in the Olympic Auditorium in Los Angeles.<sup>45</sup>

Galvan also became involved in the local incidents involving the Klan. In San Ysidro, white wooden crosses had been placed along the roadside bearing the names of Latino soldiers who died in World War II. They quickly disappeared. Marco Solano, a Mexican, reported that the Klan had taken the crosses. He was later hospitalized with a fractured jaw and an injury to his spine. One of his friends was found decapitated.<sup>46</sup>

In a separate incident, Galvan testified against Frank Zaffina, a railroad car inspector and a suspected Klan member, asserting that he had murdered two Mexicans in San Diego. On July 21, 1950, an anti-Communist riot at the Chrysler plant in Maywood resulted in two deaths. In the end, Zaffina pleaded guilty to a charge of battery. In the summer of 1951, "KKK-type terrorists" bombed the homes of minorities in Los Angeles. Galvan was afraid that the Klan would inflict horrors on rural Mexicans.<sup>47</sup>

Galvan walked along the waterfronts in San Diego, talking to employees in the tuna industry. Workers wore fish-streaked rubber aprons and high boots as they scaled, beheaded, gutted and cleaned fish. He saw how the Klan's attacks left workers with battered, bloody faces. One morning, a worker was discovered hanging from a light post with "KKK" carved on his forehead. To demoralize



*Gerald L. K. Smith (inset) spoke in Sacramento on October 25, 1945, although his speech was greeted by hecklers and protestors. Author's collection.*

Galvan and the rest of *El Congreso*, the Klan threatened to firebomb his house or to shoot him between the eyes and leave his corpse soaked in blood on the sidewalk. Galvan received chilling details of how in Ventura, Santa Paula, Los Angeles, Anaheim, Pomona and in San Diego powerful growers encouraged Klan chapters to hang and shoot unruly Mexicans. Civil rights leaders and Galvan had some success in curtailing the Klan's serial killers by getting laborers into unions and by pressuring regional authorities to uphold the law.

Galvan himself endured insults and threats. People confronted him and his family on the street, sometimes throwing eggs, tomatoes or stones. Anonymous letter writers threatened to shoot him. He responded by resisting authority. For example, he refused to salute the American flag at public meetings since he believed that it represented oppression to minorities. His co-workers, Rodriguez and Moreno, thought that Galvan could have avoided clashes with the Klan. However, the Latino community saw Galvan as their champion, bringing him flowers and candy. McWilliams wrote, "Galvan's suffering was their own and sealed a solemn pact with this dignified warrior who inspired confidence. He was their only political voice and hope."<sup>48</sup>

Undocumented Mexican workers crossing the border continued to face death. Many perished in vehicle compartments. One migrant was found strapped under the metal bars of a car seat with the vehicle's driver sitting over him. On another occasion, U. S. border inspectors discovered young boys hidden inside a gas tank, their clothes soaked with fuel. A three-year-old girl was stuffed inside a box. Another small girl barely survived in the side panel of a truck. A laborer was



*Fletcher E. Bowron, mayor of Los Angeles from 1938 to 1953. During World War II he supported the removal of Japanese into concentration camps. He later supported Senator Tenney's anti-Communist loyalty check ordinances. He ignored Ku Klux Klan atrocities. Author's collection.*

found frozen stiff and purple inside a meat freezer truck traveling from San Diego to Santa Barbara. Others drowned in rivers or decomposed under the hot Mojave or Colorado Deserts' withering sun. Witnesses gave accounts of skeletal fragments of Mexican workers discovered in locked grain cars on the Southern Pacific Railroad routes or in storage facilities in Oceanside. In August 1947, a worried Galvan talked to an *El Congreso* chairman Leroy Parra and Carmen Contreras about fragmented families that had lost their children during the border crossing. In one instance, a mother handed her baby to a fellow migrant in a truck full of people while she collected her belongings, then watched helplessly as the truck drove away.<sup>49</sup>

# FOR YOUR OWN SECURITY Take This Home - Read It - Discuss It With Your Friends

**DO YOU KNOW** that some citizens of today may not be citizens of tomorrow?

**DO YOU KNOW** the Terminal Island Four?

**Here are the facts:**

Frank Carlson, militant trade unionist; David Hyun, architect; Harry Carlisle, writer; Miriam Stevenson, dancer; all foreign-born Americans have been arrested under the infamous McCarran Law and have been held without bail on Terminal Island for four months.

**DO YOU KNOW** that this dangerous precedent may be used as a wedge to intimidate and attack the naturalized as well as native-born citizens?

**DO YOU KNOW** that the attack against the foreign-born and the deportation hysteria against the Mexican-Americans is only the opening shot for a general attack against all militant trade unionists and progressive Americans?

For the security of your own interests, the full weight of your conscience must be brought to bear for the immediate halt to this drive against the foreign-born.

To guard your own freedom, you must raise your voice for the freedom of the Terminal Island Four.

The ILGWU, along with the National CIO, AFL and thousands of educational and religious leaders have taken their stand against the McCarran law as unconstitutional and un-American.

You can support this stand and help free the Terminal Island Four by

1. **WIRING OR WRITING TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL HOWARD J. McGRATH WASHINGTON, D. C., DEMANDING THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF THE TERMINAL ISLAND FOUR.**
2. **WRITING OR TELEPHONING HERMAN LANDON, IMMIGRATION SERVICE, LOS ANGELES, FOR IMMEDIATE GRANTING OF BAIL FOR THE TERMINAL ISLAND FOUR.**
3. **WRITING TO YOUR CONGRESSMAN FOR THE IMMEDIATE REPEAL OF THE McCARRAN LAW.**

Please fill out and mail

I wish to help win FREEDOM for the Terminal Island Four and repeal the McCarran Law in the best interests of the American people.

Contribution: Amount \$.....

Name .....

Address .....

Phone .....

I wish to obtain more information.

**LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN**

Room 311, 326 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 13, Calif.

Telephone MUtual 1469



This 1950 leaflet by the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born warned Latinos and other minorities that "the attack against the foreign-born and the deportation hysteria against the Mexican-Americans is only the opening shot for a general attack against all militant trade unionists and progressive Americans." Author's collection.



*This political cartoon, printed in newspapers and leaflets during the McCarthy era, identified union organizers and civil rights activists with "underground commies and sympathizers" who served the interests of Stalin's USSR. Author's collection.*

Galvan believed that the hardships faced by migrants at the border were made worse by the activities of white supremacist groups. He argued that Klan activities, in particular, created a chaotic atmosphere that led to violence. U. S. authorities seemed incapable of bringing order.

In the late 1940s, Galvan faced the threat of deportation due to his association with the Communist party. He resigned his membership in 1947.<sup>50</sup> However, many journalists and business leaders in the tuna industry and agriculture remained

uncertain about his political loyalties. Tenney's Committee sent reports to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) of the U.S. Department of Justice, suggesting that Galvan and other Hispanic union leaders were Soviet Communist agents. Interrogators interviewed both Galvan and Leroy Parra more than once. "Tenney harassed Hispanics like Galvan who lacked political clout," revealed John Ternan, even though "not one of those defended was charged with using violence." Instead, "about two-thirds of the current cases were based on alleged past membership in the Communist Party." Eighty-two percent of those investigated had ended their Communist party membership before 1940.<sup>51</sup>

Fearing deportation, Galvan gave his wife Consuelo power of attorney on March 25, 1948. A year later, in March 1949, the INS issued a warrant of deportation to Galvan. They issued a second warrant on December 12, 1950. He discovered that colleagues Roberto Reyes and Randy Resendez, among others, had provided information about him to the FBI and reporters in order to gain U.S. citizenship. For over two years, the FBI had tapped his home and work telephones, bugged his car and home, and opened his mail. At the same time, he found that his support of union and public officials had begun to erode.<sup>52</sup>

The Cold War caused many people to become suspicious of labor and unions and civil rights organizations like *El Congreso*. Public officials feared that undocumented immigrants could bring A-bombs to the Southwest to aid Communist Russia. Journalist Bill Davidson wrote of Mexican smugglers: "Crossing the U.S. Border by plane, they land contraband at secret fields. A-bombs could be brought in the same way." Klan leaders, including Kenaston, persuaded U. S. border patrols to use walkie-talkies to search the California-Mexico border for Mexicans or other aliens with potential weapons. Government proposals suggested that armed forces with machine guns and tanks be used along the extensive Mexican border. They also recommended the construction of massive concrete walls. In addition, the Bureau of Customs and the INS (with assistance from the FBI and Army and Navy Intelligence) began halting "dangerous aliens" who were simply people who were willing to take other low-paying jobs.<sup>53</sup>

Richard H. Wells of the Los Angeles district of the Border Patrol (a branch of the INS) received a tip, probably from the Klan, on June 15, 1950, that a plane carrying Mexicans had landed near Brawley. Border Patrol agent J. E. Parker, in a Simpson airplane, warned Wells of further danger of "wetbacks" hiding in thick brush and waiting to join anti-American terrorism. Parker also searched for insurgents and other signs of trouble along the Mexican border. Moreno later told Galvan that she thought Parker was a Klan member.<sup>54</sup>

The Klan also tried to undermine the political clout of Latinos in San Diego. San Diego's Masonic lodge *Anahuar* supported Latino civil rights and invited Galvan to join their organization on December 27, 1951. However, Cardinal Francis Spellman, a fierce anti-Communist, prohibited Catholics from joining the Freemasons. It was thought that Klan members had drawn his attention to the rising Latino membership in *Anahuar*.<sup>55</sup>

In the 1950s, many union organizers were exiled from the U. S. in what the Border Patrol crudely named "Operation Wetback." Over 1.5 million Mexicans were either jailed or deported. Luisa Moreno was deported in 1950. Her husband Grey Bemis joined her in Mexico. Herman Gonzales-Landsberg, a restaurant worker, and Juan Diaz, a cannery worker, were served with warrants because



*Galvan's supporters printed this political cartoon in leaflets, comparing his deportation case with those of Carl Latva and Louis Ragni. The cartoon was originally published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, August 26, 1952. Author's collection.*

of their association with Galvan. Gonzales-Landsberg proved that he was an American citizen but he remained blacklisted. Two *El Congreso* members, Andres Hernandez and Juan Lopez, also faced deportation. Another labor union associate of Galvan, famous Chicago trade unionist Refugio Ramon Martinez, was banished to Mexico.<sup>56</sup> Martinez later told McWilliams, "Those who have made anything of our departure as labor organizers, I am afraid they have made too much. This is but a transition, a passing of the baton." Years later McWilliams recalled, "Erasing options and political mobility, Tenney's disciples and the Klan damaged Moreno and later Galvan and untold thousands of victims beyond repair. It all started when McCarthy hysteria hardened into dogma that made it impossible to calm fears and unify the nation. Ignoring facts, public officials were too busy trying to

score political points and ready to freeze out those who disagreed. There was no room for compromise.”<sup>57</sup>

When Galvan heard that the Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy hoped to address the California Legislature in Sacramento about Communist investigations on Latinos, he countered with, “If we are going to invite a rat to visit our state, why not invite a good rat, like Mickey Mouse?”<sup>58</sup>

Galvan also questioned the legitimacy of the Committee on Un-American Activities. By 1950, the “Tenney Committee” had become the State Senator Hugh M. Burns’s Committee. Burns, a defender of McCarthy, had files on some 20,000 Californians. For the most part, members of the Klan were ignored. Instead, Burns condemned Galvan and *El Congreso* “as a Communist front for racial agitation.” At a press conference, Galvan responded, “We the ordinary people can shape history instead of suffering it and create a new world. Something has to be done since your committee has created untold upheaval and caused California much grief.” Politicians, television cameras, reporters, and curious crowds stared at him in silence. McWilliams recalled how “Burns teased and baited Galvan as a dangerous alien. Public feelings ran high and Burns was inundated with mail against Galvan.”<sup>59</sup>

From 1952 to 1953, Galvan as a Communist alien was incarcerated in the Federal Prison System, Terminal Island, next to Los Angeles harbor, for deportation proceedings since he was not an American citizen. His wife Consuelo visited him in prison with their daughter Frances and son Carl. Galvan was relieved to learn in 1953 that their stepson James, a Korean war veteran, was helping to support the family. At home, Consuelo kept Galvan’s papers in perfect order on his walnut desk and never allowed any one of his numerous pens to run dry.<sup>60</sup>

Amelia Aguayo, an active member of *El Congreso* in East Los Angeles, also came to see her former colleague. She refused to talk about labor union conflicts or Klan issues. Instead, she hoped to cheer him up by telling him fictional stories about Klan members imprisoned by the FBI. Aguayo brought him mail and political news concerning the American policy toward Mexican immigration. She and other visitors noted that Galvan seemed under severe emotional strain. He washed his hands constantly and changed his underwear several times a day.

For two years, Aguayo and Celia de Rodriguez continued Galvan’s work in the San Diego, Imperial and Orange County unions. Rodriguez required all her fellow union members to practice shooting and to carry concealed guns in the event they had to defend themselves against the Klan. They hoped to organize laborers in the citrus groves, the vegetable fields, and in the cotton fields. In the canneries, they tried to have Galvan’s recommendations passed into state law. He wanted to provide workers with rest breaks, clean water, and sanitary restrooms. At this time, migrant women workers did not have access to toilets and so had to gather around each other for privacy when performing bodily functions.

Galvan was released from prison on March 24, 1954 on \$2,000 bail after Judge A. Douglas concluded that Galvan was “being punished for what he once was, for a political faith he briefly expressed over six years ago and then rejected.” Galvan had been a member of the Communist party from 1944 to January 1947 but the judge believed him to be innocent of espionage or other unlawful acts.

However, on May 24, 1954, Judge Jacob Weinberger sustained the expatriation of Galvan as a Mexican alien. He supported the 1951 INS order to deport Galvan on a



playful, even combative, attitude. To stay slender, he took long walks, sometimes over four miles a day.<sup>64</sup>

Galvan worked in a novelty shop, *El Cielo Lindo*, and studied to become a legal secretary. He often sat in the shop until midnight, reading Mexican law. He detested Mexican jails, typically full of citizens who had no hope of an early trial. Graft and corruption prevailed. On September 16, 1955, he became a certified legal secretary in Baja California. Judge Pedro Carlos Valencia came to respect Galvan's legal talents and his skill in both Spanish and English. On February 19, 1957, Galvan received an identification card as a professional translator and hoped to become a Mexican attorney.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, he remained wary of FBI or CIA investigators in Tijuana. According to Moreno, they "may have been the baker, waiters or the bookseller."<sup>66</sup>

Galvan's health failed him. He was diagnosed with liver and kidney cancer by Dr. Miguel Huerta. A special thirty-day permit allowed him to visit his family in San Diego and to undergo surgery and radiation treatments there, but the treatment came too late. His son Carl recalled his last days in the Paradise Valley Sanitarium in National City: "Deathly pale and with dark shadows under his eyes, my dying father in his home blessed visitors with trembling hands."<sup>67</sup> Father John Moore administered the last rites. Galvan tried to remain lighthearted, requesting a coffin with a built-in telephone and television and insisting that angels would serve him slices of rich chocolate cake. At the end, Galvan blessed himself, folded his hands against his chest, and drew his last breath on May 12, 1958.



The San Diego Masonic Anahuac Lodge certificate issued to Roberto Galvan on December 27, 1951. Senator Tenney believed that such organizations harbored Communists. Author's collection.



Galvan, deported to Tijuana, posed for a Mexican certificate in 1955. Author's collection.

Galvan's funeral was held at St. Anne's Catholic Church, a block from his home in San Diego. He was buried in the Holy Cross Cemetery. He had set money aside for his interment as he had a horror of cremation. The priest noted that Galvan never had received ribbons, awards or citations. Corona responded, "Survival is a privilege that entitles obligation; that is our honor." He later recalled how Klan members threatened to empty gunshots into the casket to obliterate Galvan's face, shouting, "One death is not enough for the Commie."<sup>68</sup>

Galvan's legacy continues with the work of activists like Jorge Reyes, a printer in Corona, who brought to light the continued activities of the Klan in Modesto, California.<sup>69</sup> In 2003, the Southern Law Poverty Center Intelligence Report reported that hate groups affiliated with the Klan, such as the Hammerskin Nation, the Aryan National Alliance, and the Underground Skinhead Action, maintain chapters in Fontana, San Diego, Long Beach, Hemet and Riverside.<sup>70</sup> Meanwhile, leading ministers of the World Church of the Creator and the Ministry of Christ Church support the Klan's biblical analogies and beliefs.

Groups such as the Neo-Nazis, the Klan, and the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) seek to shatter the achievements of civil rights leaders like Galvan. They act as vigilantes on the U. S.-Mexico border and promise to "weed out" the estimated eleven million illegal immigrants in the United States. In July 2006, white supremacist Howard Michael Marshall, a resident of Riverside County, received clandestine funds from the MCDC to build observation posts along the border. He remains in jail on attempted murder and assault charges.

Nearly three decades ago, Carey McWilliams reminded us that "Roberto Galvan's life is an example of how civil rights cease and political innovations are seen as a threat to democracy. Such conditions promote demigods. History has taught us this bitter lesson in different ways."<sup>72</sup>

## NOTES

1. The author thanks Professor Molly McClain for her editorial assistance. Roberto Galvan shared many details about his life with Bert Corona. Carl and Frances Galvan also shared valuable anecdotes about their father and family. Many of Galvan's papers were lost through the years either due to carelessness or because his papers reminded his family of his suffering as a labor union organizer.
2. President Herbert Hoover's "repatriation" program started in 1929. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt ended the program in 1933 but some state and local governments continued it through the decade and as late as 1944. According to an analysis of California Senate Bill 645, "an estimated 400,000 American citizens and legal residents of Mexican descent were forcibly removed to Mexico from California." Senate Rules Committee, Unfinished Business, SB 645, [http://info.sen.ca.gov/pub/bill/sen/sb\\_0601-0650/sb\\_645\\_cfa\\_20050906\\_192632\\_sen\\_floor.html](http://info.sen.ca.gov/pub/bill/sen/sb_0601-0650/sb_645_cfa_20050906_192632_sen_floor.html) (accessed 9/17/06). In 2005, the California State Assembly voted to establish a state fund that could be used to pay reparations to the estimated 5,000 survivors of an immense deportation of Latinos during the 1930s. Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger vetoed the bill. Steve Lawrence, Massiel Ladron de Guevara, "Braceros Want Pay for Past: Mexican Laborers Say They Are Owed a Decades-old Debt," *The Press-Enterprise*, (Riverside) August 16, 2005; "Hispanic Reparations Bill Passes Assembly," *The Press-Enterprise*, September 7, 2005; Wendy Koch, "U. S. Urged to Apologize for 1930s Deportations," *USA Today*, April 5, 2006; "The Scandal of Cheap Mexican Labor—43,000 Face Arrest and Deportation," *National Guardian* (New York), April 9, 1952.
3. The Minutemen were founded in June 1960 as an anti-Communist organization. They should be distinguished from the earlier Minute Men Association, a Los Angeles urban reform group operating from 1932 to 1938, and the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, created in April 2005.
4. Sharon McNary, "Inland Youth Mourned as 'Martyr,'" *The Press-Enterprise*, April 10, 2006; McNary, "Suicide Victim Honored at Demonstration," *The Press-Enterprise*, April 16, 2006. The practice of lighting candles before images of respected individuals is an act of respect rooted in Mexican Catholicism. Toríbio Romo González, a priest from Jalisco, Mexico, has become known as the patron of migrants. See Alfredo Corchado, "Legend of Saint Grows," *The Press-Enterprise*, July 30, 2006.
5. Carl Galvan, interviewed by author, February 26, 2002.
6. *Ibid.*; See also Carlos Larralde, "El Congreso in San Diego: An Endeavor for Civil Rights," *The Journal of San Diego History* (JSDH) 50, no. 1-2 (2004): 17-29.

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7. Carey McWilliams, interviewed by author, April 12, 1978. McWilliams quoted Galvan.
8. Bert Corona, interviewed by author, May 9, 1971.
9. "New Party Aids Victim of Klan Terror Incident," *Daily World News*, July 30, 1948; For the most recent interpretations of the Klan, see Shawn Lay, ed., *The Invisible Empire in the West: Toward a New Historical Appraisal of the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004); Matt Garcia, *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 75-77, 91-92; Martha Menchaca, *The Mexican Outsiders: A Community History of Marginalization and Discrimination in California* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 31-58. See also Larry L. King, *Confessions of a White Racist* (New York: The Viking Press, 1971); David J. Williams, *Sinarquismo in Mexico and the Southwest* (master's thesis, Texas Christian University, 1950).
10. Luisa Moreno, interviewed by author, April 17, 1971; Carlos Larralde and Richard Griswold del Castillo, "San Diego's Ku Klux Klan, 1920-1980," *JSDH* 46, nos. 2-3 (2000): 68-88.
11. McWilliams, interviewed by author, January 12, 1979. See Cecilia Rasmussen, *LA Unconventional: The Men and Women Who Did LA Their Way* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Times, 1998), 114-116. Pedro Gonzalez's radio career was documented in a 1987 feature film, *Break of Dawn*, starring Mexican folk singer Carlos Chavez and Maria Rojo. In 1984, Mayor Tom Bradley proclaimed December 22 "Pedro Gonzalez Day" in Los Angeles.
12. Corona, interviewed by author, May 9, 1971.
13. Corona, interviewed by author, May 9, 1971.
14. Robert W. Kenny, interviewed by author, January 12, 1979; Michelle Tuchman, "Robert W. Kenny Dies: Colorful Politician, Judge," *Los Angeles Times*, July 21, 1976.
15. "Baptist Church Denies Membership to Negroes," *Los Angeles Eastside Journal*, October 31, 1951. On Rev. Frank B. Fagenburg, see "Church Edict Hits Negroes as Members," *Los Angeles Daily News*, October 25, 1951. The same problems reoccurred years later. See John Dart, "Joining the Rush to Repent," *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 1995; Larry B. Stammer, "Reforms Are Urged for Baptist Church Group," *Los Angeles Times*, April 11, 1999. See also Kevin Philips, *American Theocracy: The Peril and Politics of Radical Religion, Oil, and Borrowed Money in the 21st Century* (New York: Viking, 2006), 148, 154, 158, 168; Donald E. Miller, *Reinventing American Protestantism: Christianity in the New Millennium* (Berkeley: University of California, 1997).
16. McWilliams, interviewed by author, January 12, 1979; Corona, interviewed by author, May 9, 1971.
17. Charlotta A. Bass, *Forty Years: Memories From the Pages Of A Newspaper* (privately printed, 1960), 55, 59. Although her office was not bombed, Bass faced the same Klan threats in Los Angeles. See Rasmussen, *LA Unconventional*, 12-13, 108-109.
18. Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California through the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 136; Mike Davis, *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1998), 305.
19. John Clinton Porter (1871-1959) presided at the opening of the Olympic games in 1932 and ignored the needs of minorities in Los Angeles during the Great Depression. A petition recall drive against Porter failed. Starr, *Endangered Dreams: The Great Depression in California* (New York: Oxford University, 1996), 227. For Captain William "Red" Hynes, see Carey McWilliams, *The Kramer Bill and Charles Kramer*, (Los Angeles, CA: United Anti-Nazi Conference of California, [1940]), 12, 13.
20. Bert Corona, interview, May 9, 1971; Young Ladies Institute, *The History of the Young Ladies' Institute* (privately printed, 1956), 1, 37. Roberto Galvan's copy in the author's collection contains the signatures of members who indicated their intention of joining a religious group. For more on the *Damas del Congreso*, see Mario Garcia, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology, & Identity, 1933-1960* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 164, 165.
21. Aurora Castillo, interviewed by author, May 18, 1995. Castillo co-founded the Mothers of East Los Angeles in the 1960s to prevent poor neighborhoods from being targets by environmental damage caused by industries. See Michael Quintanilla, "The Earth Mother," *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1995; Myrna Oliver, "Aurora Castillo; Advocate for East L.A.," *Los Angeles Times*, May 15, 1998; Elaine Woo, "Margarita Flores, 92, Watts' Walking Example of Love," *Los Angeles Times*, October 4, 2002.
22. McWilliams, interviewed by author, January 12, 1979; Corona, interviewed by author, May 9, 1971.

See also Mario T. Garcia, *Memories of Chicano History: The Life and Narrative of Bert Corona* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 109-111; Nancy Lynn Schwartz, *The Hollywood Writers' Wars* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 120.

23. Manuel Ruiz, interviewed by author, April 12, 1973; McWilliams, interviewed by author, January 12, 1979. Ruiz, a Los Angeles attorney, worked with Contreras concerning civil rights issues. He and other professional Latinos tried to get the Library of Congress to record interviews with the *Damas* and other civil rights leaders in order to chronicle the Klan's outrages. "These oral history projects should take their place alongside other priceless personal chronicles of America, such as the interviews describing the attacks on Pearl Harbor," stated Ruiz. The Library of Congress showed no interest in the project. See Manuel Ruiz, *Mexican American Legal Heritage in the Southwest* (Los Angeles: privately published, 1974), 81-88. Shortly before McWilliams died in 1980, he predicted the revival of Neo-Nazis, white supremacists, and the Militiamen by 2004. Authors Jim Gilchrist and Jerone Corsi envision the collapse of the United States due to millions of illegal migrants "ready to destroy democracy." See their *Minutemen: The Battle to Secure America's Borders* (New York: World Ahead Publishing, 2006).

24. Moreno, interviewed by author, April 17, 1971. She was active with the *Damas* throughout Southern California and, for several years, kept in touch with Margarita Flores and Cecilia de Rodriguez.

25. Corona, interviewed by author, May 9, 1971. Corona remembered these dates well since he kept the dates in his records, especially the appointment at Hearst's office in Los Angeles.

26. Galvan began his appeal to Hearst on January 12, 1943. W. A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst* (New York: Galahad Books, 1996), 29, 351, 356, 468-471. Hearst's problems with the Mexican government are reported in the *San Francisco Examiner*, November 13, 1921, and the *New York Times*, December 28, 1921. In 1953, the Mexican government bought Babicora from him for \$2,500,000. Years later, Hearst saw his properties with American ambassador Josephus Daniels and remarked, "I suppose they will take it all, piece by piece." Josephus Daniels, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 354.

27. "Judge Moffatt Frees Jailed Red," *Los Angeles Express*, September 8, 1950; William R. Bidner, Executive Director, Civil Rights Congress, "To Whom It May Concern," June 28, 1947. For more on Hearst's conservative policies, see *Selections From the Writings and Speeches of William Randolph Hearst* (San Francisco: private printing, 1948), 100-137; Anita Brenner, *The Wind that Swept Mexico: The History of the Mexican Revolution, 1910-1942* (New York: Harper & Row, 1943), 25, 177; *Los Angeles Times*, October 6-7, 1938. Unfortunately, scholars have had limited success in gaining access to the William Randolph Hearst papers since the bulk of his papers remain in the possession of the Hearst family.

28. Kruger Clark, President, United Furniture Workers of America, Local 576, Los Angeles, October 24, 1947; Albee Slade, "Citizen's Committee to Aid Locked Out Hearst Employees," undated, author's collection; Luisa Moreno, interviewed by author, April 17, 1971; Corona, interviewed by author, May 9, 1971.

29. Gerald Horne, *Class Struggle in Hollywood, 1930-1950: Moguls, Mobsters, Stars, Reds & Trade Unionists* (Austin: University of Texas, 2001), 62. See also "Hearst Locks Out L.A. Guild: Strategy Committee Formed," *Labor Herald: Official California CIO Newspaper* (Los Angeles), September 6, 1946.

30. "Mayor Bowron is Exposed as Gerald L. K. Smith's Pal," *State Labor News* (San Francisco), October 14, 1946; *Report Joint Fact-Committee on Un-American Activities in California, 1943*, 229, 245, 246, 259, 280; "Tell This Sordid Tale" (editorial), *Los Angeles Times*, April 18, 1998.

31. Jennifer Warren, "Newly Released State Papers Detail 'Red Menace' Era," *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1999. In an interview on July 12, 2000, State Librarian Kevin Starr, stated, "Tenney has remained a disgrace to California history and a demon to exorcise." McWilliams, interviewed by author, April 12, 1978. See also McWilliams, *The Education of Carey McWilliams* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 146-147; Stefan Kanfer, *A Journal of the Plague Years: A Devastating Chronicle of the Era of the Blacklist* (New York: Atheneum, 1973), 94-95; Cedric Belfrage, *The American Inquisition, 1945-1960* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1973), 76, 112.

32. McWilliams, interviewed by author, April 12, 1978; Marc Eliot, *Walt Disney: Hollywood's Dark Prince* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1993), 172; Lindley Bynum and Idwal Jones, *Biscailuz: Sheriff of the New West* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1950); Ray Haller, Mile McMahan and Frank Alvarado, *Baja California* (Los Angeles: 1953); Esther R. Cramer, *The Alpha Beta Story: An Illustrated*

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*History of A Leading Western Food Retailer* (privately published, 1973). A San Diego County official, A. Roe, told the Committee about San Diego's "Stalinist gang" Communists.

33. *Report Joint Fact-Committee on Un-American Activities in California, 1947*, (Sacramento, CA: Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the Fifty-Seventh California Legislature, 1947), 57, 58, 59, 60, 62. Robert Kenny, interviewed by author, August 12, 1979. There are several files on this topic in the author's collection.

34. *Report Joint Fact-Committee on Un-American Activities in California, 1949*, (Sacramento, CA: Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the Fifty-Fifth California Legislature, 1949), 267-410, 550-551. It is thought that Senators Fred H. Kraft and Clyde A. Watson, friends of the powerful Hearst, kept the activities of the Klan, the American White Guards, the National Copperheads and the Militant Christian Patriots, from being constantly mentioned in the report.

35. Carey McWilliams, interviewed by author, January 12, 1979. One biographer writes, "Calles's archives—lovingly maintained and ordered by his daughter Hortensia—conserve some surprising information." Enrique Krauze, *Mexico: Biography of Power: A History of Modern Mexico, 1810-1996* (New York: Harper & Collins, 1997), 435-437. For more information on Calles character, see Ramon Eduardo Ruiz, *Triumphs and Tragedy: A History of the Mexican People* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), 344-345.

36. Corona, interviewed by author, May 9, 1971; McWilliams, interviewed by author, January 12, 1979; First Congregational Church, *The Lighted Cross: The First 100 Years of Riverside's First Church, 1872-1972* (Riverside, CA: First Congregational Church, 1972), 35; Laura Wides, "For Ex-Internees, Closure Conferred," *The Press-Enterprise* (Riverside), August 22, 2005. For more on San Diego's Okimoto family, see Bill Bradley, *Time Present, Time Past: A Memoir* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 331-332. Cecilia Rasmussen, "L.A. Then and Now: Southland's Way Station for WWII Internees," *Los Angeles Times*, September 17, 2006. Apparently Galvan never realized that FBI agents in 1942 also rounded up more than 2,000 Japanese in Latin America and brought them back to Southern California to exchange them for American civilians trapped in Japan. They were sent to camps and classified as "dangerous enemy aliens." The National Archives in Laguna Niguel documents these activities.

37. McWilliams, interviewed by author, April 12, 1978. *Report Joint Fact-Committee on Un-American Activities in California, 1949*, 425-429; "Galvan Case Four Years Old," *Evening Tribune* (San Diego), May 24, 1954.

38. Moreno, interviewed by author, April 17 and 18, 1971.

39. Moreno, interviewed by author, April 17, 1971; McWilliams, interviewed by author, April 12, 1978. See Sleepy Lagoon Committee Collection, Box 3, Petitions, F 3, UCLA Special Collections, Los Angeles; Carey McWilliams, *Southern California County: An Island in the Land* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 319-320; Pagan, *Murder at the Sleepy Lagoon*, 221, 225-226.

40. Moreno, interviewed by author, April 17, 1971.

41. Robert Kenny, "To the Legal Committee For the ACLU," October 29, 1953, 2, author's collection; Kenny, interviewed by author, January 12, 1980.

42. Glen Jeansonne, *Gerald L. K. Smith: Minister of Hate* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1988); Laurence I. Hewes and William Y. Bell, *Intergroup Relations in San Diego: Some Aspects of Community Life in San Diego Which Particularly Affected Minority Groups* (San Francisco: The American Council on Race Relations, 1946), 26, 33, 36; "Bob Kenny's Gang Burns KKK Crosses in Los Angeles," *The Broom* (San Diego), October 21, 1946; Carey McWilliams, "Throngs Turns Out Not to Hear Gerald Smith," *PM*, July 30, 1945; "Cross Burners Defied by Negro Doctor," *People's Daily World* (New York), October 23, 1948; "Demonstration At Scene of Cross Burning," *California Eagle*, October 28, 1948; "Los Angeles Wants No Part of Gerald L.K. Smith," *Los Angeles Daily News*, October 17, 1948; "Smith Will Appear At Series of Meetings," *People's Daily World*, October 18, 1948; "GLK Smith Calls For Defeats of Liberals," *People's Daily World*, October 29, 1948; "Police Bullets Kill Wetback Knife Slasher," *Los Angeles Mirror*, December 4, 1959.

43. McWilliams, interviewed by author, January 12, 1979.

44. Moreno, interviewed by author, April 17, 1971; Corona, interviewed by author, April 12, 1999; "No Klan Here, Says Cop Boss," *People's World*, October 26, 1948; "Mayor Says He'll Act on Klan Terror," *People's World*, October 28, 1948. The broadcasts by Mayor Fletcher Bowron, Los Angeles Station KFI, on September 12, 1946 and September 15, 1946 concerning the Klan are in the KKK files, author's collection.

45. Moreno, interviewed by author, April 17, 1971; *Los Angeles Times*, June 15, 1946; Bass, *Forty Years: Memories From the Pages of A Newspaper*, 136-140.
46. Corona, interviewed by author, May 9, 1971 and September 12, 1999; Tony Acevedo, interviewed by author, January 12, 2000. Like some war veterans, Acevedo decided to dedicate his life to preserving the memory of Americans who fought the Axis powers during World War II. For more, see Flint Whitlock, *Given Up for Dead: American GI's in the Nazi Concentration Camp at Berga* (Cambridge, MA: Westview Press, 2005), 9, 194, 207, 228-230; Joe Vargo, "A POW's Spirit: He Knows the Names of Those Who Never Came Home," *The Press-Enterprise*, September 9, 2006.
47. McWilliams, interviewed by author, January 12, 1979; "Riot Victim Asks Charge Be Dropped," *Los Angeles Daily News*, July 29, 1950; "Ask for Jury Trial in Anti-Red Riot," *Los Angeles Daily News*, July 1, 1950; "Anti-Red Riot Case Ends With Order for Fine," *Los Angeles Times*, August 30, 1950; "Blasts Due to Race Dispute," *Los Angeles Mirror*, July 26, 1951; "Race Enmity Blamed in Home Bombs," *Los Angeles Daily News*, July 26, 1951; "Second Man Confesses in Bombings," *Los Angeles Daily News*, July 26, 1951. "Protect Citizens in L.A. to Prevent Recurrence of Home Bombings," *Los Angeles Times*, March 18, 1952; "L.A. Home Bombings Draw Denunciation from Mayor," *Los Angeles Daily News*, March 20, 1952; "Two More Threatened by Racists," *PW*, April 2, 1952; "Legal DDT Needed For KKK Vermin," *Los Angeles Mirror*, March 19, 1952.
48. McWilliams, interviewed by author, April 12, 1978.
49. Moreno, interviewed by author, April 17, 1971; Corona, interviewed by author, May 9, 1971.
50. Galvan remained friends with Ivan Ochoa and Henry Steinberg, both Communists. Steinberg was a 1949 candidate for election to the Los Angeles City Board of Education. Ochoa was knifed by the Klan and died from the stab wound. The eccentric Steinberg kept an embalmed Ochoa in his home. During dinner, he would talk to him. He kept the body until the decomposed corpse fell apart.
51. John Ternan, interviewed by author, August 24, 1999; Carl Galvan, interviewed by author, March 12, 2002; *Un-American Activities in California, 1940*, 33; Howard O. Welty, "Others to Face Contempt Trial in Red Hearing," *San Diego Union*, September 11, 1948.
52. McWilliams, interviewed by author, April 12, 1978; Moreno, interviewed by author, April 17, 1971; Corona, interviewed by author, April 12, 1999. For more recent information about the activities of the INS and FBI see Jonathan Peterson, "Bush Likely to OK Merger of INS, Customs Into Border Agency," *Los Angeles Times*, March 20, 2002; Eric Lichtblau, "Hanssen Spied for the Money, Report to Say," *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 2002.
53. Bill Davidson, "Smugglers Now Take to the Air," *Collier's*, November 18, 1950, 29. Members of the Un-American Activities Committee made large sums of money by selling articles to newspapers and magazines concerning "Reds" and the "dangers of the Mexican border." For example, Representative J. Parnell Thomas (Republican, New Jersey) sold sensational articles about "red spies" in the atomic bomb plants. See *Who's Un-American?* (Philadelphia, PA: CIO: Food, Tobacco, Agriculture and Allied Workers Union of America, 1947), 20.
54. Moreno, interviewed by author, April 17, 1971.
55. Certificate of *Gran Logia de Estado "Anahuar"* to Roberto Galvan, December 27, 1951, San Diego, author's collection.
56. Information about Refugio Ramon Martinez in Chicago and the role of Filipinos in the Alaska Cannery Workers Union can be found in records and pamphlets such as *Union Busting! Department of Justice Style* (New York: American Committee For Protection Of Foreign Born, 1951). Most Filipinos in Alaska were deported by 1951.
57. McWilliams, interviewed by author, May 12, 1978; "High Court Balks Deportations," *People's Daily World*, April 26, 1950; Laurent B. Frantz, "Deportation Deliriums," *The Nation*, March 26, 1955, 262-63; Tom Stempel, *FrameWork: A History of Screenwriting in the American Film* (New York: Continuum Co., 1988), 120, 121, 148.
58. McWilliams, interviewed by author, May 12, 1978; "Deportation Looms for Compton Teacher," *Los Angeles Mirror*, October 12, 1951; "Deportation Hearings Near for Red Suspects," *Los Angeles Daily News*, October 16, 1951.
59. U. S. House of Representatives and Committee on Un-American Activities, *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1951), 54, 97, 100, 122, 147;

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McWilliams, interviewed by author, April 12, 1978. McWilliams quoted Galvan.

60. Corona, interviewed by author, April 12, 1999; McWilliams, interviewed by author, May 12, 1978; Consuelo Galvan to Roberto Galvan, June 11, 1953, author's collection. Letters were never addressed to the Federal Prison System, Terminal Island, San Pedro, CA. Instead, they were addressed as to the recipient care of Immigration Services, Terminal Island, San Pedro, CA. The government used to see this prison as a "detention shelter" or as a "transfer center."

61. United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, "[Roberto] Galvan versus Press, Officer in Charge, Immigration and Naturalization Service," October Term, 1953, No. 407 (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Press, 1954), 523-534; "McCarran Act Bar to Reds is Ruled Valid," *Evening Tribune* (San Diego), May 24, 1954. For an extensive analysis of the Roberto Galvan case see: "Unequal And Alien Comments On The Limits Of Brown," *New York Law School Law Review* (Summer 2004).

62. Attorney Robert Kenny "To the Legal Committee For the ACLU," October 29, 1953, author's collection; Carl Galvan, interviewed by author, January 30, 2002.

63. John McTernan, interviewed by author, May 12, 1978; "The Changed Atmosphere for the Practice of Law," *Lawyers Guild Review* (Fall 1957), 104; "Galvan, S[an] D[iego] Alien, Faces Deportation," *San Diego Union*, May 25, 1954; "The Deportation Cases," *Lawyers Guild Review* (Fall 1958), 107; Dennis McLellan, "John T. McTernan, 94; Lawyer Fought to Protect Civil Rights," *Los Angeles Times*, April 4, 2005; Myrna Oliver, "Maury Maverick, 82; Texan Defied Tradition as Lawyer, Legislator," *Los Angeles Times*, February 7, 2003.

64. Corona, interviewed by author, April 12, 1999; Carl Galvan, interviewed by author, February 6, 2002; Karl M. Schmitt, *Communism in Mexico: A Study in Political Frustration* (Austin: University of Texas, 1965), 60-61. Aguayo helped Galvan's wife to collect his social security benefits.

65. Identification card of Roberto Galvan issued February 19, 1957, Tijuana, Baja California, No. 524354; certificate by Judge Pedro Carlos Valencia to Roberto Galvan, undated, Tijuana, Baja California; author's collection. As late as 1954, Galvan still used his old San Diego address, 2296 Julian Avenue. He used his Social Security number, 556-01-5500 until he died (author's collection). Diana Anhalt, *A Gathering of Fugitives: American Political Expatriates in Mexico, 1948-1965* (Santa Maria, CA: Archer Books, 2001), 135.

66. Moreno, interviewed by author, April 17, 1971. Galvan took notice of the case of Helen and Morton Sobell. On August 16, 1950, Mexican agents burst into the Sobell's Mexico City apartment and kidnapped Sobell, taking him to Texas. Once in the United States, Sobell was charged with conspiring with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to commit espionage. Elaine Woo, "Helen Sobell, 84; Activist Fought to Save Lives of Rosenbergs," *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 2002.

67. Carl Galvan, interviewed by author, February 6, 2002.

68. Corona, interviewed by author, April 12, 1999. Isabel Gonzalez, a co-worker of Galvan, attended his funeral. A few years before his death, she had written that "the threat of deportation has served... to keep the Mexican people as a whole in bondage." Isabel Gonzalez, *Step-Children of A Nation: The Status of Mexican-Americans* (New York: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 1947), 13.

69. Jorge Reyes, interviewed by author, April 28, 2005; Douglas Quan, "Activist Vows to Keep Fighting," *The Press-Enterprise*, May 1, 2006.

70. The Southern Law Poverty Center Intelligence updated its research report on hate groups on October 14, 2003. They listed 602 active U.S. Hate Groups. Because Skinheads are migratory and often not affiliated with groups, these listings understate their numbers. In Southern California, they are well camouflaged in regions like San Diego, Los Angeles and the Riverside area. Some Skinheads and other dangerous gangs have moved to high desert settlements like Victorville and Apple Valley. See Joe Nelson, "Stain Spreads on Desert Sands: Migration Pace Alarms Officials," *The Sun* (San Bernardino), April 27, 2006.

71. Jeffrey Snesner, "Rousing the Zealots," *Time* (June 2006); Tammy McCoy, "Inland Man Explains to Court his Views on White Supremacy," *The Press-Enterprise*, July 20, 2006; "Minuteman Finances Questioned," *The Press-Enterprise*, July 21, 2006; Tammy McCoy, "Man Not Guilty of Aiding White Supremacists," *The Press-Enterprise*, August 4, 2006.

72. McWilliams, interviewed by author, May 12, 1978.

# The Museum Of San Diego History

Museum Exhibit, San Diego Historical Society, Exhibition Review, *Belle Baranceanu: The Artist at Work*, opened September 16, 2006.

Bram Dijkstra and David Swanson, eds., *Belle Baranceanu: The Artist at Work* (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 2006).

Reviewed by Molly McClain, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of San Diego

*Belle Baranceanu: The Artist at Work* gathers together lithographs and paintings from the San Diego Historical Society (SDHS) and important private collections. It is the first major museum exhibition since 1985 devoted to the painter and muralist. The accompanying exhibition catalog edited by Bram Dijkstra and David Swanson provides insight into the art world of the 1930s and 1940s as well as a personal account of Baranceanu's life.

Belle Baranceanu (1902-1988), one of San Diego's most important artists, worked between 1925 and 1975. In her early paintings, she experimented with linear expressionist modernism, what Dijkstra in his essay describes as "a cubist-inflected use of razor-sharp outlines in the representation of form and by the emphatic delineations of planes of subtle color." In time, however, she developed a personal style that integrated abstraction with "realistic" representation. She remarked in 1932, "Just how much abstraction will be accepted and understood, and whether it will be the only means of pictorial expression I do not know."<sup>1</sup>

Baranceanu may be best known for the depression-era murals that she created for federal programs such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA) between 1933 and 1940. She painted *Scenic View of the Village* (1936) for the La Jolla post office, *Building Mission Dam* and *Portolá's Northern Expedition* (1937-38) for Roosevelt Junior High School Auditorium, and *The Seven Arts* (1939-40) for La



*Belle Baranceanu embarked on one of her finest large-scale works, The Seven Arts, for La Jolla High School in the summer of 1940. ©SDHS # 94:19243-2.*



San Diego Historical Society

The *Seven Arts* was destroyed in 1975 after an earthquake assessment doomed the La Jolla High School auditorium. ©SDHS #94:19243.

Jolla High School. The latter covered 575 square feet and required the construction of four levels of scaffolding to reach the top of the thirty-six-foot-high proscenium.

SDHS's exhibition provides a rare glimpse of *Building Mission Dam* and *Portolá's Northern Expedition*, saved from demolition in 1975. The former shows a procession of Native Americans carrying stone to the site of Mission Dam while the latter depicts Gaspar de Portolá departing San Diego Bay with the first expedition of Spanish soldiers headed north. The exhibition also provides the best available glimpse of *The Seven Arts*, destroyed after an earthquake assessment doomed the La Jolla High School auditorium. One of her largest murals, *The Progress of Man*, can be viewed at the Balboa Park Club while *Scenic View of the Village* remains in La Jolla.

Baranceanu also produced beautifully-composed portraits of women. Notable are *Virginia* (ca. 1926), *The Yellow Robe* (ca. 1930), and *The Johnson Girl* (ca. 1930). The latter, painted shortly after Baranceanu's fiancé died in an automobile accident, is characterized by Dijkstra as "one of the most moving psychological portraits in twentieth-century American art."<sup>2</sup>

The artist felt strongly that the nude human figure should be liberated from the restrictive rules governing polite society. She refused a teaching job at the Bishop's School in La Jolla when she learned that she would not be allowed to wear sandals. She also showed her disdain for contemporary racial attitudes by portraying nude African American subjects "honestly and straightforwardly, as if daring her viewers to confront the universals of human beauty."<sup>3</sup> *Seated Nude* (ca. 1931) is among one of Baranceanu's most beautiful works.

In 1935, Baranceanu was hired to design covers for a curriculum project



In 1935, Baranceanu painted *The Progress of Man* for the California Pacific International Exhibition in Balboa Park. Eleanor Roosevelt, who visited San Diego in 1935, described the mural as “one of the best she’d ever seen.” The mural remains on display in the Balboa Park Club. ©SDHS #89:17364.

developed by the San Diego City Schools. One series, devoted to animals, utilized her linoleum-block prints of deer, lions, skunks, mice, and rabbits. Later, she created her own limited edition relief-woodblock prints. *Deer* was accepted for the International Print Show at the Art Institute of Chicago while *Foxes* was purchased by the Library of Congress.

In 1946, Baranceanu took up a teaching position at Francis Parker School where she was allowed to wear her sandals and multicolored gypsy-style skirts. She continued there until her retirement in 1969. Swanson, co-editor of the exhibition catalog, remarked that Baranceanu “shared her passion for murals with the students.” She also taught them self-reliance, frequently using the phrase, “God helps those who help themselves.” She added, “That’s the *only* way you’ll learn.”<sup>4</sup>

In 1950, Baranceanu was elected president of the San Diego Art Guild. She continued to paint though she produced few major works. Artistic tastes had changed, bringing abstraction into prominence and devaluing the socially conscious work produced by WPA artists.



Baranceanu displays her limited edition relief-woodblocks, 1944. ©SDHS, UT 19440:6.



*Her woodblock print, Deer, 1937, was accepted for the International Print Show at the Art Institute of Chicago and, along with Foxes, purchased by the Library of Congress. Block print, 12 x 11 in. San Diego Historical Society, gift of the artist.*

Baranceanu's work as a teacher also absorbed much of her time. In 1960, she told a reporter from the *La Jolla Light* that she was "constantly torn between teaching and the things I like to do. If someone dangled a mural in front of me I think I'd drop the whole business and paint."<sup>5</sup>

SDHS's former curator, Bruce Kamerling, preserved many sketches, lithographs and paintings by Baranceanu. In 1980, he initiated the process of transferring her Roosevelt murals (along with four by Charles Reiffel) to SDHS's new museum in Balboa Park. He also encouraged the artist to donate her letters, photos, sketches, newspaper articles, and teaching notes to the Society's archives. Private collectors Dijkstra, David Swanson, and Estelle and James Milch also preserved many treasures.



San Diego Historical Society

*In 1937, Baranceanu was assigned to create two twenty-six-foot-high murals to flank the stage at Roosevelt Junior High School. In Building Mission Dam, a procession of Native Americans carry stone to the site of Mission Dam. ©SDHS #83:14637-1.*



*Portolá's Northern Expedition shows Gaspar de Portolá departing San Diego Bay with the first expedition of San Diego soldiers headed north. Baranceanu's murals for Roosevelt Junior High School will remain on view as part of the core exhibition on San Diego history in the San Diego Historical Society's galleries. ©SDHS #83:14637.*

The catalog that accompanies the exhibit, co-edited by Dijkstra and Swanson, explains the historical context in which Baranceanu and other WPA artists worked. Large color photographs illustrate works produced during her most creative period, the 1930s and 1940s. The catalog also provides insight into the artist's personal life. Swanson knew her as a child. He writes that she "chose her works deliberately, as precisely as she cut into woodblocks with a knife blade. I never associated Belle's manner with her art at the time, but she was meticulous in her appearance and demeanor, much the way most of her art appears today—all carefully considered."<sup>6</sup>

Baranceanu exhibited her work at the Art Institute of Chicago, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Library of Congress, the American Federation of Arts, the Denver Art Museum, the California Pacific International Exhibition, the Golden Gate International Exhibition, the National Academy of Design Painters and Sculptors of Southern California, the San Diego Art Guild, the Escondido Annual Art Exhibition, the Illinois Academy of Fine Arts, the University of Nebraska, and the Silvermine Guild of Artists, among other venues.

The first major show of Baranceanu's paintings and murals was held in 1980 at the San Diego County Administration Center. In 1985, University of California San Diego's Mandeville Gallery mounted a larger retrospective exhibition. Dijkstra played an important role in bringing Baranceanu's works before the public and encouraging art historians to reevaluate her work.

SDHS's exhibition displays paintings, woodblock prints, sketches, and ephemera rarely seen by the public and never before presented together in one show. According to Executive Director David Watson, the twenty-six-foot-high murals for Roosevelt Junior High School—*Building Mission Dam* and *Portola's Northern Expedition*—will remain on view as part of the core exhibition on San Diego history in the Society's galleries. The visual success of the exhibit owes much to the curatorial team led by David Krimmel.

The exhibition is located in SDHS's museum in the Casa de Balboa, Balboa Park. The museum is open to the public every day from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. For more information, contact SDHS at (619) 232-6203 or see their website, <http://www.sandiegohistory.org>.

## NOTES

1. Bram Dijkstra, "Belle Baranceanu and Modernism in San Diego," in *Belle Baranceanu: The Artist at Work*, eds. Dijkstra and David Swanson (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 2006), 8-9. See also Dijkstra, "Belle Baranceanu: The Artist at Work," *American Art Review* 18, no. 5 (2006): 152-159.
2. *Ibid.*, 22.
3. *Ibid.*, 24.
4. Swanson, "San Diego's Belle: The Artist and Teacher at Work," in *Belle Baranceanu*, 49.
5. *Ibid.*, 50.
6. *Ibid.*

BOOK REVIEWS

*Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin: A Cartographic History.* By Richard Francaviglia. Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press, 2005. Bibliography, illustrations, index, and notes. 231pp. \$44.95 cloth. \$24.95 paper.

Reviewed by David Miller, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, University of California, San Diego.

Historians differentiate themselves from their colleagues in the Humanities in at least one very important way: historians measure change and continuity over time. In *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin*, the historian and geographer Richard Francaviglia expertly navigates two disciplines and produces an extraordinary cultural history of mapping the North American West. He shows how human efforts to make sense of the vast physical space of the Great Basin were contingent on a host of factors including the politics of empire, the development of earth sciences, economic projects, and the lay of the land itself. Exploring, mapping, and claiming territory was by no means an inevitable process, and Francaviglia challenges both historians and laypersons alike to read maps within the cultural context in which they were produced. He observes “all cartography—like all exploration—attempts to conquer the unfamiliar by making it comprehensible” (p. 188). Maps reveal as much about the character of the land as they do about the imaginations of the people producing them.

Francaviglia takes his readers on a journey through time from the first sketches of European exploration in 1540 to modern GPS and air travel in 2005. The chronological organization allows Francaviglia literally to lay down these maps in order, side by side, and reveal the evolution of mapping the Great Basin. But evolution was not necessarily progress. The process of portraying greater accuracy and quantity of data never proceeded linearly, but ebbed and flowed depending on the mapmaker. Maps by Spanish explorers released for public display, for example, often included *less* information than previous editions because the Spanish Crown did not want to reveal too much knowledge about their imperial claims to French and British rivals.

Politics and ideology mixed to shape what information might appear on a map. American maps, for example, were more likely than European maps of the same era to retain the fabled Buenaventura River running from the middle of the continent, through the Great Basin, and to the Pacific. Francaviglia argues the existence of this river allowed Americans to imagine the easy movement of their empire westward, a project European maps tended to discourage. In other words, the river remained on the map because Americans wanted to believe that it, and their dream of continental expansion, still existed. On the other hand, misinformation could remove objects from the map. Underestimating the distance of the Rocky Mountains from California significantly reduced the size of the Great Basin. The absence of an expansive Great Basin on some nineteenth-century maps effectively removed it as a barrier to expansion in the American psyche. These maps had very tangible implications. Francaviglia concludes, “the mapmakers’ combined ignorance and wishful thinking helped support the advocacy of a

railroad line across the region fully four decades before the transcontinental railroad ultimately crossed it in 1869" (p. 72).

Changes in mapping the region also depended on available technology and scientific knowledge. Without the ability to determine longitude with any accuracy before 1761, exact positions were hard to fix and had to be reckoned. As the sciences of hydrology and geography combined after 1850 and produced a more accurate picture of drainage systems, mapmakers could conceive, and more accurately depict, the Great Basin as a system of watersheds. Improved scientific knowledge merged with specific economic projects to determine the form and content of maps. The mining industry in the 1870s demanded maps with cross-sections of the region's mineral and rock layers. Francaviglia shows how modern maps continue to reflect their economic function. A billboard advertising a casino "creatively incorporates a stylized roadmap" while a cartoonish railroad map presents travelers with "the four scenic" cross-country routes from which they may choose (pp.162, 166).

Francaviglia shows how Native Americans made their own mark on European and American maps. But the author's perspective is nonetheless Western. This minor shortcoming is understandable since just like the mapmakers he studies, Francaviglia had to choose a framework for his material. This book will be useful to several academic audiences. Environmental scientists, cartographers, and geographers have much to gain by considering the social and historical relativity of science and map making. Historians will appreciate Francaviglia's points concerning the role scientists and even the environment played in shaping the history of the American West. And anyone who has ever visited the Great Basin, taken an interest in western exploration, or attempted to re-fold an unwieldy map after careful scrutiny will enjoy his insights.

*Presidio, Mission, and Pueblo: Spanish Architecture and Urbanism in the United States.* By James Early. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2004. Bibliography, illustrations, index, glossary, and notes. 260 pp. \$29.95 paper.

Reviewed by Thomas Paradis, Associate Professor, Department of Geography, Planning & Recreation, and Director of Academic Assessment, Northern Arizona University.

This book aims to synthesize existing literature on Spanish colonial architecture and urban patterns in the former Spanish colonial settlements of the contemporary United States. Moving north from his previous book, *The Colonial Architecture of Mexico*, Early provides in this sequel a comprehensive resource focused on the remote Spanish borderlands of today's California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Louisiana, and Florida. An impressive historical research project in its own right, the book will appeal to students and professionals of many disciplines interested in the colonial built environment. Early's multidisciplinary approach is omnipresent throughout the book. In every chapter, social history, geography, anthropology, archaeology, religious, cultural and ethnic studies, and urban planning inform architectural history. "In addition to examining Spanish design and construction of buildings," Early begins, he is further concerned "with the

institutional, social, and religious forces which shaped them." This contextual element sets the book apart from typical architectural studies.

Following a brief preface, the book launches into an overview of Spanish settlement and construction in North America. Here we learn of Spanish colonial settlement patterns, examples of construction materials in different regions, and the spatial and financial challenges for New Spain in its efforts to sustain its northern "buffer zone." The core of the book follows in six successive chapters, each devoted to a contemporary U.S. state with a rich Spanish colonial heritage. This reviewer admittedly questioned why a book devoted to understanding an expansive colonial region would be organized around the largely arbitrary and Anglo American political geography of the States. This approach is justified, however, and it makes the book a useful state-by-state reference of surviving Spanish architectural treasures and town sites, akin to a place-based guidebook. From this perspective, the book's organization is effective and assists the reader greatly by zeroing in on a favored region or place.

This book excels in historical and architectural detail, perhaps to a fault. Each chapter follows a logical progression of its own, maintaining a consistency of topics for general-interest readers. Each chapter begins with a useful history of exploration and settlement, followed by detailed historical and architectural descriptions of specific places. If the author overlooked any substantial Spanish colonial town or site, this reviewer could not find one. Each chapter closes with a short discussion of the Spanish legacy following the U.S. occupation and a welcome overview of historic preservation efforts at prominent sites. This is the type of book that instills in its readers a strong desire to visit these places personally. The contextual histories of each state provide important socio-economic background and recognize the complex hegemonic influences inherent in the clash of cultures. Important gender roles are also addressed occasionally, as with the surprising account of female wall builders in New Mexico. Most impressive, however, is the detail woven throughout all chapters devoted to architectural descriptions of Spanish colonial buildings and communities, including religious, secular, and military structures, and the full range of high-style and folk-vernacular building traditions. The reader is left with a strong sense of the special diversity still existing in the Spanish-colonial landscape.

Notwithstanding the book's superb illustrations, historic maps, detailed glossary, and architectural features, an opportunity was missed with respect to three interrelated aspects: organization of the overall text; inclusion of a broad regional geographical context; and inclusion of educational illustrations and graphics. On the first count, an additional introductory chapter might have provided readers with the book's organizational rationale and intended audience. Why is the book structured around these six U.S. states, for instance, and why is their successive order apparently random? Second, this place-based text might have benefited from occasional maps revealing broad migration patterns, historical expeditions, and, at the very least, locations of the places emphasized throughout the text. Where are these places located vis-à-vis one another and with respect to dominant Spanish colonial and foreign power centers? Finally, a set of labeled diagrams of sample Spanish structures would greatly assist with visualizing architectural features and components, unless, of course, the book is intended for a more knowledgeable readership. Still, such issues pale in comparison to the overall scope and success of a work which will certainly find its way into the hands of a diverse audience.

*Californio Voices: The Oral Memoirs of José María Amador and Lorenzo Asisara.* Translated and edited by Gregorio Mora-Torres. Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2005. Bibliography, illustrations, glossary, index and notes. 262pp. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Robert M. Senkewicz, Professor of History and Co-Director of the California Studies Initiative, Santa Clara University.

In the 1870s, three members of Hubert Howe Bancroft's staff, Thomas Savage, Henry Cerruti, and Vicente Gómez, interviewed a total of almost eighty people who had lived in Alta California before the American takeover. These interviews were part of the research process for the preparation of Bancroft's seven volume *History of California*.

José María Amador was the subject of one of the more important of the interviews. His reminiscences, which were taken in July 1877 by Savage, stretched over seven or eight full day sessions. The interview was important for two reasons. First, Amador's experiences in Spanish and Mexican California were unique among those contacted by the Bancroft staff. His father, Pedro Amador, had been a member of the 1769 Portolá expedition. The son had a long military career, followed by extensive experience as a *ranchero*, and a stint in the diggings during the early days of the gold rush. Second, Amador introduced Savage to Lorenzo Asisara, a former Santa Cruz mission Indian. Savage interviewed Asisara as well, and embedded his remembrances into the larger Amador interview. The Amador/Asisara interview is the only document we have which contains the reminiscences of a Californio and of an indigenous Californian side by side.

In this volume, Gregorio Mora-Torres presents us with the original Spanish text of the entire interview and his own fine English translation of the document. Mora-Torres also composed a penetrating introduction, which provides historical and literary context for these memoirs. In addition, he offers a glossary of Spanish terms and notes to assist readers through the more difficult parts of the document. Finally, a full bibliography points both specialists and general readers to other sources which can help them investigate Amador, Asisara, and their eras more fully.

In the Amador/Asisara interview, as in all the interviews the Bancroft staff conducted, the subjects covered were initially determined by the questions that the interviewer posed. But Amador, like many of the Californios who agreed to cooperate with the Bancroft history project, was able to emphasize what he wanted, to digress into areas he thought deserved more attention, and, in his particular case, to provide an arena for the reflections of an indigenous voice.

Amador offered vivid comments on the history of Mexican California. He described in great detail the military campaigns that the colonial and Mexican authorities undertook against the Indians of the Central Valley. Amador was wounded in one of these excursions, and he narrated how an Indian doctor removed the arrow and treated the wound with native herbs and roots. Amador could also be sharply critical of the Californio leadership. At one point he stated that the troops commanded by Vallejo, Alvarado, and Castro "had absolutely no discipline because their own leaders did not know how to teach it to them." Amador was also well aware of the class and racial distinctions that marked

Californio society. Even though he had spent years as an Indian fighter, he cast a sharp eye on the way in which the indigenous *vaqueros* were treated by the ranching elite after secularization of the missions. And he explicitly condemned the killings carried out by both the Californios and the North Americans during the Bear Flag episode.

Asisara made two extended contributions to the interview. The first, describing the death of Fr. Andrés Quintana at Mission Santa Cruz, is well known to students of early California, thanks to Edward Castillo's translation of that event. But Asisara also contributed another set of reminiscences in which he described at some length the daily routine of the natives at the missions. His judgments were sophisticated and complex. He was critical of the cruelty of one priest, for instance, yet at the same time acknowledged that this same man "took care to keep his people well clothed and well fed." His close first-hand account adds much to other native narratives of mission life, especially those of Pablo Tac and Julio César.

The University of North Texas Press should be congratulated for being willing to invest resources in a bilingual edition of this important document. Mora-Torres's excellent volume should become an indispensable source for all interested in the Mexican period of California history.

*This Small City will be a Mexican Paradise: Exploring the Origins of Mexican Culture in Los Angeles, 1821-1848.* By Michael J. González. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. Bibliography, index, and notes. 254 pp. \$22.95 paper.

Reviewed by Richard Griswold del Castillo, Professor, Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies, San Diego State University.

Los Angeles, California has grown in economic and political importance within the United States from a sleepy Mexican village of fewer than two-thousand souls to almost four million people. Los Angeles now has the largest Mexican-origin population in the United States, and the second largest in North America after Mexico City. This book is an important step towards understanding the origin and development of the Mexican culture of this city. González explores the ways in which the early settlers of this town sought to define themselves as Mexican. The project may seem to be a strange endeavor, unless one understands that most California historians have emphasized the ways in which the Mexican residents of California developed regional loyalties, defining themselves as Californios who were fiercely proud of their families and fought against the imposition of Mexican governors and their policies.

González reminds us that cultural is different from political identity, a valuable lesson when we seek to interpret the waving of Mexican flags during recent immigration rallies and marches. The thesis of the book is that the Angelinos in the Mexican era wanted very much to draw closer to their Mexican roots. They abhorred and fought the local Indians who reminded them of their own mestizo roots and the possibility of their "going native." In reaction to their fears of losing their civilization and identity they sought to associate themselves with the ideals of Mexican liberal thought and culture, a moral code that encouraged hard work, cosmopolitan life, education, reason, and social responsibility.

The book examines in great detail and with creative imagination a large number of primary source documents, including some that have escaped a close reading by prior historians. Using the philosophical directions of Giambattista Vico, González seeks to see the world through the thoughts and feelings of contemporaries. Accordingly the method is one of imagination, careful speculation, and creative reconstructions as he seeks to explore the most hidden and private aspects of life— the emotions and feelings surrounding violence, sexuality, and family.

In an unusual and original way, he examines words and ideas contained in an 1846 petition signed by key residents of Los Angeles. The petition to then governor Pío Pico protested the behavior and presence of an Indian *rancheria* near the pueblo. Key words from the petition provide the themes for subsequent chapters: “Indians and work,” “excess,” “the same,” “beneficial,” and “exterminate.”

Most notably the author challenges those who believe that Mexican-Indian relations in this period were idyllic and tranquil. He presents evidence of many Indian wars and atrocities as well as deprecating attitudes of the Californios towards the Indians. The point is that Mexican settlers feared the Indians because they represented the possibility of their own social and cultural degeneration. To assert their Mexican-ness they defined themselves in opposition to the Indian.

González notes the many ironies involved in the simultaneous cultural construction of “the other” and “the Mexican” in 1840s California. Mexican liberals, in theory, advocated the equal treatment rather than the extermination of the Indians. Indians were considered as Mexican citizens to be brought into the culture and body politic. But the killing and punishing of Indians undercut Angeleños’ desire for prosperity, peace, and discipline. Angeleños lived instead with the fear of retaliation and the impossibility of progress as long as the Indian lived with them. Of course a good number of Californios and Angeleños had Indian ancestors, if not relatives, a number of them from the local tribes. The war against the Indian influences in California was thus a war of Californios against themselves.

This book has the most thorough examination of education in Mexican California of any history written so far. We learn of the methods used, the texts, the lessons, and the atmosphere in the classroom. González also gives us a sensitive reconstruction of what it was like to be a woman in Mexican California. Marriage empowered women, but women were also oppressed by customs and expectations. Prostitution, marriage dissolutions, and education all had implications for the development of liberal ideas and sensibilities.

Given more than a hundred years of historical investigation and writing about Mexican California, it would seem impossible to say anything new on the subject. *This Small City will be a Mexican Paradise* does say something new and convinces us that history is more than just facts; it is also an imaginative reconstruction of our common humanity.

*Land of Sunshine: An Environmental History of Metropolitan Los Angeles*. Edited by William Deverell and Greg Hise. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh, 2005. Notes, index, maps, photographs, and illustrations. 350 pp. \$34.95 cloth. \$25.95 paper.

Reviewed by Theodore A. Strathman, Lecturer, Department of History, University of San Diego.

Urban places are the focal points of some of the most important works of environmental history, and as a city notorious for a host of environmental problems, Los Angeles has received its share of scholarly and popular treatments. In *Land of Sunshine*, William Deverell and Greg Hise have assembled a collection of essays that provides a multifaceted and nuanced account of Los Angeles's environmental history.

Deverell and Hise acknowledge that many scholars treat cities as parasites that devour resources and degrade natural environments. The editors explicitly reject this approach, however, and propose a perspective that examines "metropolitan nature" (p. 4). This strategy pays attention to how human societies transform first nature into altered environments that in turn influence a range of human activities. In this view, nature is not simply a commodity to be used and abused by cities but an actor that shapes, and is shaped by, human economies, politics, and culture.

The volume's thirteen essays are presented in three parts, each of which contributes to the editors' goal of exploring metropolitan nature in Los Angeles. Taken together, the essays in Part One suggest that the Anglo Americans who began to arrive in earnest after the conquest acted not on a blank canvas but on an environment that was the product of ongoing transformations, both human-inspired and otherwise. Paula Schifman's reconstruction of the Los Angeles prairie and L. Mark Raab's investigation of Indian interactions with the environment suggest the complexity of these transformations. Karen Clay and Werner Troesken's discussion of the California Land Act of 1851 points to the politics of land tenure as an important aspect of the creation of present-day Los Angeles.

Part Two contains the bulk of the book's essays and focuses on planning and politics. These essays point to the ongoing dilemma between economic development and the environmental costs of increased population and production. Several contributors argue that civic and business leaders have typically promoted economic growth at the expense of healthy environments. Essays by Daniel Johnson and Christopher Boone reveal how the heaviest environmental costs often fell on working class communities. City officials permitted oil drilling and meatpacking in working class wards in the 1890s and 1900s, while real estate developers protected the lucrative West Side in the 1920s by persuading the Regional Planning Commission to limit industrial zoning to the East Side. Industrial development, however, sometimes threatened the climatic and scenic amenities that sustained the recreation and tourist sectors so vital to southern California's economy. Part Two also points to the limits of planning. Elaborating on a critical theme of environmental historiography, Jared Orsi and John McPhee suggest that human control over nature is rarely if ever complete and is usually accompanied by unforeseen consequences. Orsi notes that flood control engineers'

solutions to flooding were typically restricted to technical questions, an approach that effectively precluded more ambitious programs involving reforestation and soil conservation. And success in fighting floods has remained elusive, in part because ongoing urbanization has only added to the danger by decreasing the amount of porous surface area in the metropolis. McPhee likewise notes how human activity, in the form of fire suppression, has increased the likelihood of devastating fires and concomitant debris flows.

Finally, Part Three explores the intersection of nature and culture in Los Angeles. The essays here drive home the point that there is nature in present-day Los Angeles, and that the city's landscapes are constructions that offer insight into the human history of the region. Douglas Sackman's fascinating essay examines gardening in the late nineteenth century, and the author contends that this act was wrought with socio-economic meaning. Gardens were sites of "conspicuous cultivation" that reflected social status and depended upon the often invisible labor of people of color (p. 257). Jennifer Price encourages readers to see nature in Los Angeles as neither nonexistent nor confined to the area's remaining open spaces. The metropolis, she suggests, is not the antithesis of nature, and Los Angeles continues to rely on the natural world, even if most Angelenos fail to acknowledge this connection.

*Land of Sunshine* offers readers a varied and lively selection of essays on Los Angeles's environmental history. This volume makes a good counterpoint to Mike Davis's *Ecology of Fear*, and the contributors have done well to remind readers that while disasters and degradation are part of the L.A. story, the city's landscape is about more than chaos.

Deverell and Hise explicitly reject stereotypes of Los Angeles as the unplanned metropolis, and they aspire to contribute to current debates about sustainability. While they are correct to note the ubiquity of planning in the Los Angeles region, their volume may overstate the case. The decisions of planners certainly played a critical role in the environmental history of Los Angeles, but the volume might have included more discussion of the actions of private companies and individuals. For example, an essay focusing explicitly on real estate development and subdivision would have provided for a discussion of sprawl and the loss of open space, surely critical issues in Los Angeles's environmental history.

*The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940.* By Matthew F. Bokovoy. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. Illustrations, photographs, notes, bibliography, and index. 316 pp. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Robert W. Rydell, Professor of History, Montana State University.

While not uncritical, Matthew F. Bokovoy's book is a largely positive account of San Diego's history as reflected and shaped by its two world's fairs. One fair, the 1915-1916 Panama-California International Exposition, hastened San Diego's development into a modern city; the other, the 1935-1936 California-Pacific International Exposition, provided a much-needed life buoy that kept San Diego afloat during the hard times of the Great Depression. Bokovoy's book is a welcome addition to the growing body of scholarship on world's fairs and underscores the

importance of what once was a vibrant tradition of American world's fairs.

Bokovoy organizes his study into two parts: "history as myth" and "myth as history." In the first, he examines the 1915-1916 fair, providing more detail about the fair's organization and history than any other account. In the second, he recalls the more recent exposition, one that he aptly calls "San Diego's Century-of-Progress Exposition," referring to the Chicago fair that did so much to shape Depression-era America.

There is much to learn from this book. Bokovoy sets the stage for the Panama-California fair against the backdrop of industrialization, military conflict with Mexico, and the polarized political environment of San Diego in the early years of the twentieth century. When it comes to the fair itself, he moves beyond the romance that often surrounds accounts of Balboa Park to detail the participation of Indians in the Painted Desert exhibit and the involvement of prominent scientists in shaping the fair's intellectual rudder.

Where Bokovoy truly breaks new ground in this book is in his treatment of San Diego's Depression-era fair. His account of the mix of modernistic buildings and models with still-standing structures from the earlier fair is a deft blend of analysis and narrative. And his chapter on the sexual politics of popular amusements at the 1935-36 exposition is a reminder that current debates about the sexual content of mass entertainment echo earlier arguments about artistic expression and sexual depravity.

There are many positive aspects to this book, but occasionally the author overreaches. A case in point is the author's assessment of Aleš Hrdlička, one of the world's most important physical anthropologists. Hrdlička headed the Smithsonian Institution's physical anthropology division and helped lay the groundwork for exhibits at the 1915-1916 fair that gave birth to the Museum of Man. In Bokovoy's account, Hrdlička comes across as a proto-multiculturalist and as an opponent of eugenics. Hrdlička's life work, both before and after the fair, suggests a rather different interpretation. The San Diego fair was not Hrdlička's first. At the 1904 St. Louis fair, he sawed open the crania of several Filipino performers who died while on exhibit at the exposition, removed their brains, and sent them back to the Smithsonian to augment his collections. For Hrdlička, world's fairs were always "anthropology live," shows where a performer one minute could be a specimen the next. After the close of the San Diego fair, Hrdlička championed the eugenics cause, providing exhibits for the Second International Congress on Eugenics and contributing papers for publications generated by the Race Betterment Foundation. At the time of the San Diego fair, California was a hotbed of both racism and eugenics, and Hrdlička, through his exhibits at the fair, fanned the embers of both.

San Diego's two world's fairs left enduring memories—not to mention the museum complexes in Balboa Park. Will San Diego hold another world's fair? This might seem like a silly question since most Americans think world's fairs went the way of the dinosaurs. But Japan hosted a world's fair in Nagoya in 2005 that generated huge profits for the exposition organizers, and Zaragoza, Spain, is hosting a smaller fair in 2008. Shanghai is following the Beijing Olympics with an expo (as world's fairs are called elsewhere in the world) in 2010 that will accommodate an estimated 75 million visitors. Will San Diego (or another U.S. city) follow suit? Don't hold your breath. Secretary of State Colin Powell ordered the

United States to withdraw from the international convention governing world's fairs because of high costs. Therefore the United States cannot hold another internationally-sanctioned world's fair until it rejoins the international convention and pays its back dues. Should it do so? Matthew Bokovoy's book will give pause for thought and cause some gnashing of teeth as San Diego joins other American cities in watching from the wings as Zaragoza, Shanghai, and Toronto (a candidate for the 2015 expo) reinvent the world's fair tradition for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

*"Winds of Change": Progressive Artists, 1915-1935.* An exhibition at the Irvine Museum (April 6, 2006 to September 2, 2006).

Reviewed by D. Scott Atkinson, Chief Curator & Curator of American Art, San Diego Museum of Art.

The Irvine Museum, housed on the first floor of a large Orange County business complex, played host this summer to *"Winds of Change": Progressive Artists, 1915-1935*, an exhibition of forty paintings by twenty-five California modernists. By today's museum standards, the presentation of *Winds of Change* was taciturn; conspicuously absent were didactic panels or extended labels written by museum educators, nor was there a catalogue written by the exhibition's curator. And, with the exception of an introductory statement that could apply to modernism produced in virtually any part of the United States, the only information that accompanied the paintings were labels divulging the essential "tombstone" information. A visitor to the exhibition without knowledge of the subject might find a docent, but little else to guide the way. Nevertheless, for the visitor with some knowledge of the art and history of the period who sought primarily a visual experience, *Winds of Change* contained its share of surprises.

Much modernism in California fell under the national rubric of "American Scene Painting" practiced by artists known as regionalists. Conservative by today's standards, their compositions were made modern by using simplified forms rendered in expressive color and flattened perspectives. Informed not by a quest for realistic portrayal but by subjective artistic scrutiny, these regionalists reveled in the heightened sense of place captured by their highly personalized rural and urban views. *Winds of Change* represented some of the most familiar regionalists working in the state with noteworthy examples by Emil Kosa, Maurice Logan, and Rex Brandt.

*The Corral* by Phil Paradise transposed the "American Scene" of Middle America to rural California. The stallions dominating the foreground appear alert to the gathering storm clouds. Their smooth curvilinear forms are reminiscent of agrarian scenes by Paradise's Midwestern contemporaries, regionalists Grant Wood and John Stewart Curry. Phil Dike's 1938 *Sunday Afternoon in La Plaza de Los Angeles*, the city's center throughout the nineteenth century, could have been a stylized town square painted by Thomas Hart Benton if not for the facade of the plaza church, *Nuestra Señora La Reina de Los Angeles*, visible in the background.

Among the highlights in *Winds of Change* was *Sunset Boulevard* by Mischa Askenazy, who emigrated to the United States from Russia as a small child. Its date is unknown, but *Sunset Boulevard* was probably painted after 1925 when

Askenazy settled permanently in Los Angeles. The central mass of buildings, wrapped by the winding street glistening from a recent rain and capped by a gray sky, appeared much more the set of a German Expressionist movie than the famous Los Angeles boulevard. *Inner Harbor* by Paul Sample was equally intriguing in its 1929 depiction of Los Angeles Harbor. Lines of gray representing moored boats interrupt the marine-scape, a patchwork arrangement of broad brush strokes.

Artists in the exhibition looking to Europe rather than home for inspiration included Frank Myers, a Cincinnati native, whose contributions to *Winds of Change* were, contrary to the thesis, painted prior to his relocation to California in 1940. *Football Players* and *The Charleston* combined cubism with "dynamic symmetry," a theory of geometrical ratios based on the golden section, applied first by the ancient Egyptians, then by the Greeks. These ratios were revived and reinterpreted in the early twentieth century as formulas around which modern compositions could be organized. Applying the principles of this theory not only led to the orderly arrangement of cubist facets, evident in Myers's works, but to a simultaneous Cézanne-like perspective in the paintings by Hamilton Wolf and Elanor Colburn. The best example was Colburn's *Bathing Baby*, where an infant faces the viewer at the center of the composition, while the mother is depicted both frontally and from above.

Edouard Vysekal, who absorbed the principals of synchromist color theory in Paris by studying with the American modernist, Stanton Macdonald-Wright, produced a tame but pleasing example of his mentor's style in *A Figure in Shadows*. More overtly avant-garde were *Abstract Composition* and *Abstract Nude* by Elanor Colburn's daughter, Ruth Peabody. Under the spell of Picasso, these late cubist paintings from around 1930 were the only wholly abstract works in the exhibition.

Despite its subtitle, *Progressive Artists, 1915-1935*, *Winds of Change* was, paradoxically, a very conservative survey of California Modernism. The paintings were selected mainly from the Irvine Museum's own collection, better known for its encyclopedic holding of California plein-air paintings, closely associated with the mainstream rather than the fringe. Thus the exhibition lacked works by the most progressive California artists of the period. Absent were paintings by Stanton Macdonald-Wright, who settled in Los Angeles in 1919, by Ben Berlin, who experimented with abstraction in the city during the 1920s, or by Lorser Feitelson, who brought his own modernist practice to the state in 1927. The California modernists at the Irvine Museum were, instead, an eccentric group not often included in museum surveys of the period. That point alone made *Winds of Change* as remarkable as unexpected.

*Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s*. By Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodríguez. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2006. Bibliography, illustrations, index, and notes. 427 pp. \$24.95 paper.

Reviewed by Jaime R. Aguila, Associate Professor of History, Department of History, The University of Texas of the Permian Basin.

Francisco Balderrama and Raymond Rodríguez's *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* remains one of the seminal works within Chicano history

and immigration studies. The study chronicles the plight of Mexican immigrants during the 1930s when the Great Depression changed their image and role within the U.S. economy from essential, exploitable labor to an unwanted liability in U.S. society. The release of this revised edition could not have arrived at a more opportune time in the midst of the current immigration controversy. Over the course of the last seventy-five years, immigrants' suffering has persisted due to their precarious status in the United States and their homeland's inability to provide for them.

The economic interdependency between Mexico and the United States existent since the late nineteenth century as well as the growing significance of the border region has maintained a seemingly perpetual immigration stream to the United States that has only been interrupted once—during the 1930s. By 1929 Mexican immigrants had created a niche on the fringes of U.S. society throughout the Southwest and as far away as Chicago and Detroit. Although constantly aware of the possibility of deportation, Mexican laborers and their children were completely caught off guard by the magnitude and ramifications of the Great Depression. Especially painful were the experiences of the nearly 600,000 U.S. born children of Mexican immigrants. The chapter titled "Accommodation: Al Otro Lado" (the first of two additional chapters in the revised edition) chronicles the stories of many children who did not understand why their native country was expelling them, the frustration of adjusting to a new life in Mexico, and their attempted reconciliation when they were finally able to return to the United States. Those behind the mass expulsion did not seek to determine if the repatriates were in the United States legally, and frequently banished people based on presumption, as was the case of María Ofelia Acosta who was born in the United States and whose parents were legal U.S. residents.

Certainly the 1930s was not the only period when Mexicans were expelled from the United States; a similar economic crisis led to such an expulsion in 1920-1921, albeit on a much smaller scale. Anti-immigrant hysteria contributed to the implementation of Operation Wetback in the mid 1950s, a program that deported hundreds of thousands of Mexican workers. Today U.S. misperception has attached the Mexican immigration process to terrorism and drug trafficking under the banner of border security. Policy-makers and U.S. society fail to comprehend the historical context of the current immigration debate, which magnifies the importance of *Decade of Betrayal*. According to the authors, the study "delineates the resultant consequences on both sides of the border, from the American and Mexican perspectives" (p. 3). This simple statement is equally pertinent to this study of the 1930s as it is for understanding the contemporary immigration debate. Many controversies arise from misconceptions and limited comprehension of the global issues that influence Mexican immigration to the United States. Consequently, the opportunity to review a revised edition need not focus on the body of material or a summary of events. Rather it should assess its place within the historiography, and its value not only to the academy, but also to the community at large; and certainly this study has demonstrated an influential position within both communities.

The final chapter, "Repatriation in Retrospect: ¿Qué pasó?" (the other new chapter in this edition), demonstrates the significance of this book for the repatriates, their families, and their quest for justice. After reading this book's first

edition, California Senator Joseph Dunn convened hearings “to hear testimony concerning the unconstitutional deportation and coerced emigration from the United States of approximately 1,000,000 Mexican nationals and their American-born children, during the Great Depression of the 1930s” (pp. 299-300). Such an event was not unique as conferences concerning this issue were sponsored by the combined efforts of academicians and local communities throughout the United States and Mexico. At one such meeting, Detroit researchers and community members attended a repatriation conference in San Luis Potosí, where participants planned future gatherings and discussed the creation of a museum commemorating these events. Such projects not only help enlighten U.S. and Mexican societies about their shared history, but provide a sense of relief and begin the path of healing for those victims who survived this dark period. Consequently, *Decade of Betrayal* combines excellent historical scholarship with a service to the community at large. This book is recommended for all levels of undergraduate and graduate study.

*Alambrista and the U.S.-Mexican border: film, music, and stories of undocumented immigrants*. Edited and with an introduction by Nicholas Cull and David Carrasco. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. 225 pp. CD and DVD. \$49.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Gail A. Perez, Associate Professor of English and Ethnic Studies, Department of English, University of San Diego.

During the past year, fifty to eighty thousand San Diegans took to the streets to protest the so-called Sensenbrenner Bill (HB 4437) that would criminalize the undocumented, beef up the border wall, and fine employers for hiring undocumented immigrants. Significantly, this was the largest public demonstration of any kind in San Diego history. Currently, vigilante groups such as the Minutemen are taking up positions along the border and on street corners near Home Depot; at this moment of extreme polarization, the reissue of Robert Young’s classic 1977 film *Alambrista* is timely indeed. This volume of essays and accompanying DVD and CD provide an important teaching tool for both schools and communities, articulating the Mexican and Mexican American perspective on the shadowed lives of undocumented workers.

In 2001, David Carrasco and Jose Cuellar gathered a group of scholars together to meet with filmmaker Robert Young and discuss reissuing his film with a new soundtrack and with the addition of new scenes. The package now includes the film, the soundtrack, a volume of essays, and a set of outstanding interviews with scholars. In fact, the best commentary on female migrants and on representations of women in the film is in the DVD interviews. Many of the scholars present during the 2001 meeting have contributed to the volume. Essentially, the essays are divided into two sections that cover both context (immigration history) and text (criticism and filmography). The result is a rich multimedia presentation that gives voice to those who migrate here, legally or not, explaining the forces that push them out of their homes and the repressive labor practices and laws that keep them powerless here.

Robert Young's early documentary work—"Sit In, Angola: Journey to a War and Cortile Cascino"—presaged a distinguished career in socially conscious filmmaking. Young, as Howie Movshovitz has commented, sees "people from the inside rather than the outside" (p. 171). *Alambrista* (literally, wire jumper or tightrope walker) came from Young's experiences making a film about the daily lives of migrant children, *Children of the Fields* (also included in the DVD). The eye of the camera is explicitly that of the hero, Roberto, with close-up shots tracing his life in Mexico, his border crossing, and his harrowing experiences in the fields of California. The film is in Spanish and English and takes the viewer through the dark side of the American Dream, a dream that fails Roberto as he returns to Mexico, unable to find work in the U.S. that will sustain his wife and child back in Michoacan. The film seems remarkably fresh because the events it portrays—thirst in the desert, exploitation on the job, life in squalid migrant camps, and the dismemberment of families—not only still occur but are also in some cases actually worse today than thirty years ago. The new musical score by Jose Cuellar draws on both traditional Mexican forms and on American blues, rock, and country to articulate the commonality of suffering among immigrant workers, a shared history that the current discussion of Mexicans often erases. Cuellar hits the perfect note because *Alambrista* takes pains to include in the cast "Okies," African Americans, and others who have worked in the factories in the fields. This is best represented in the film by Roberto's brief affair with a white working-class single mother. In this case, it is class and not race that brings their lives together.

The ten essays in the volume are a bit uneven both in content and relevance. Imaginative teachers, however, can provide the links between the film and particularly fine essays like Bill Ong Hing's "Operation Gatekeeper: The War Against the Alambristas of the 1990s," Teresa Carillo's "Watching Over Greater Mexico," and Albert Camarillo's overview of Mexican emigration to the United States. Each chapter is also accompanied by a set of study questions. From an artistic standpoint, Jose Cuellar's essay on composing the musical score is fascinating, and it highlights how the eclectic musical style underlines all the cultural and political borders that Roberto must cross. The poetry of the music makes the point that the oppressed are not just victims; they are creators of beauty as well. One of the most moving essays is by David Carrasco, "Dark Walking, Making Food, and Giving Birth to *Alambrista*." He argues that through labor—as work, as childbirth, as reproduction of family—one creates one's "orientation" to the world, both spiritually and materially. What, he asks, is the reality of those not allowed to find an orientation in the society in which they are "rent-a-slaves"? This in turn must lead us to ask what it is like to live among "non-people," and how this calls into question our own commitment to humanistic values.

As an Anglo American filmmaker representing Mexican themes, Robert Young takes on this very question. Clearly, his career testifies to his own moral outrage at living with such realities. Outstanding feature films such as *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* and *Nothing But a Man* demonstrate Young's own commitment to defining what it is to be an American in the face of a legacy of discrimination and injustice. *Alambrista* belongs with other cult classics like *Salt of the Earth*—groundbreaking films on labor, migration, and ethnicity that should be readily available. His vision embodies an empathy and a sense of our mutual connectedness that is sorely missing from current immigration discourse. The *Alambrista* Project does not

present a debate on the issue. Nor should this be misconstrued as bias. It presents the missing voices in the debate and articulates this global tragedy from the perspective of the workers; it puts a human face on the undocumented. Readers and viewers can come to their own conclusions about policy, but all debate, whether in the classroom or in community forums, should include this material.

## BOOK NOTES

Benjamin Heber Johnson. *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005. Illustrations, maps, notes, and index. 260 pp. \$20.00 paper. Ethnic Mexicans in Texas formulated an irredentist program known as the Plan de San Diego in 1915. Their attacks on railroads and ranches provoked a violent reaction by the Texas Rangers that crushed the rebellion. This monograph studies the rebellion, its suppression, and the political legacies of both.

William A. Douglass and Jon Bilbao. *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2005. Appendices, notes, bibliography, and index. 519 pp. \$29.95 paper. This new paperback edition of a work first published in 1975 traces the migration of Basques to the American West and Latin America.

John M. Nieto-Phillips. *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s-1930s*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. Illustrations, map, tables, graphs, notes, bibliography, and index. 320 pp. \$32.50 cloth. Examinations of ideology, political struggles, and tourism highlight this investigation of the creation of a Spanish-American identity among Spanish-speaking New Mexicans.

Matthew C. Whitaker. *Race Work: The Rise of Civil Rights in the Urban West*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005. Appendices, notes, bibliography, and index. 382 pp. \$35.00 cloth. Focusing on Phoenix since the Second World War, this book explores struggles over residential desegregation, school integration, and discrimination in employment.

Thomas Pinney. *A History of Wine in America: From Prohibition to the Present*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. Photographs, illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. 548 pp. \$45.00 cloth. The second of two volumes, Pinney's book discusses the proliferation of vineyards and the legal and economic struggles surrounding winemaking in the United States.

William B. Secrest. *The Man from the Rio Grande: A Biography of Harry Love, Leader of the California Rangers who Tracked Down Joaquín Murrieta*. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2005. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. 303 pp. \$34.50 cloth. This book details the life of the Mexican War veteran who pursued the legendary California bandit Murrieta in 1853.

S.F. "Jerry" Cook III & Tina Skinner. *Spanish Revival Architecture*. Atglen, Pennsylvania: Schiffer, 2005. Photographs, illustrations, bibliography, and index. 256 pp. \$49.95 cloth. Period photographs and some floor plans provide a visual compendium of a range of structures in the Spanish Revival style.

David Dary, *The Oregon Trail: An American Saga*. Oxford University Press, 2004. Illustrations, Appendices, glossary, bibliography, index, and notes. 432 pp. \$18.95 paper. The origins, popularity, and ultimate demise of the Oregon Trail are examined in this book. The author provides a background sketch of the Pacific Northwest and supplements his narrative with passages from emigrants' journals.

## CORRECTIONS

Suzanne Ledebor, "San Diego's Normal Heights: The Growth of a Suburban Neighborhood, 1886-1926," *The Journal of San Diego History* 52, nos. 1-2 (2006): 18-43.

The caption of the photograph on p. 30 should read: The polling place for the Normal Heights Precinct during the 1925 annexation election was in this garage behind 4805 Hawley Blvd. and faced Jefferson (Collier) Avenue. This precinct, according to the 1924 *Great Register of San Diego* listed 369 registered voters: 222 Republican, 94 Democrat, 5 Socialist, 1 Prohibition Party, and 47 who chose Non-partisan. Author's collection.



Endnote 2 on p. 36 should read: ...Between September 1996 and February 1997, the Normal Heights Community Planning Committee and the Normal Heights Community Association surveyed residents in an effort to determine what impact the completion of I-15 would have on Normal Heights and the area immediately adjacent to what would become the 39th Street Park.

Linda A. Canada, "'Sitting on the Dock of the Bay': 100 Years of Photographs from the San Diego Historical Society," *The Journal of San Diego History* 52, nos. 1-2 (2006): 1-17.

The caption of the photograph on the top of p. 7 should read: Sailors engaged in a race against four other "pulling" boats during World War I, ca. 1918. Large ships often had competitive rowing teams as part of their athletic program. The sailors' neckerchiefs indicate that they are wearing dress whites so this event may have taken place on a Sunday. ©SDHS 4382-7.



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The Conference Program Committee invites abstracts for individual papers (15-30 minutes in length) and session proposals (three or four papers in 75 minutes). Papers may address a specific subject or aspects of the broader themes of the conference. Among the themes the conference will focus on are:

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Abstracts should be typed and consist of no more than one single-spaced page. Each abstract must be accompanied by a CV of no more than three pages. Abstracts and CVs are due **no later than June 1, 2007**. Abstracts should clearly outline the paper's argumentation, its place within the broader themes in maritime history above, the umbrella organization to which the presenter belongs (if applicable), as well as the paper's estimated time limit. Abstracts should be sent, preferably by email, to:



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The Maritime Museum of San Diego,  
1492 North Harbor Drive, San Diego, California 92101.  
Phone (619) 234-9153, ext. 118. Fax: (619) 234-8345.  
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Organizations wishing to conduct their business meetings on Saturday October 13 may reserve facilities by contacting the Conference Coordinator, Robyn Wilner.

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#### Conference participants include:

The San Diego Aircraft Carrier Museum, The American Lighthouse Coordinating Committee, the Council of American Maritime Museums, the Historic Naval Ships Association, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the National Maritime Historical Society, the Museum Small Craft Association, the National Park Service, the Naval Historical Foundation, the North American Society for Oceanic History, the Nautical Research Guild, the U.S. Life-Saving Service Heritage Association, and the U.S. Lighthouse Society.

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