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# **“Sitting on the Dock of the Bay”**

## **100 years of Photographs from the San Diego Historical Society**

**Linda A. Canada**

San Diego Bay is one of the region’s greatest natural resources. For the earliest inhabitants, it was a place of beauty, a source of food and refuge, a transportation corridor, and a meeting place. Photographs from the San Diego Historical Society’s collection, spanning more than one hundred years, illustrate the many changes the bay has undergone.<sup>1</sup>

Physical forces have transformed the bay. Although it is still approximately fourteen miles long from the entry off Point Loma to the salt pans at its southern end, the depth and contours of the bottom of the bay have changed as military and commercial uses required removal of sand bars and deepening of the main channel. As early as 1850, city leaders realized the importance of improving the harbor for commerce. However, significant amounts of dredging were required to build and maintain an adequate shipping channel. This expensive work was not within the budget of the City of San Diego. Members of the Chamber of Commerce and local businessmen strongly encouraged the Navy to add new facilities around San Diego Bay. In fact, the greater part of bay improvements were eventually funded by the United States government.<sup>2</sup>

Other physical changes involved redirecting the San Diego River into Mission Bay, using dredge spoils to create Harbor and Shelter Islands and much of the land beneath the airport, and reshaping the shores of Coronado for military needs. These changes included filling in Spanish Bight and Whaler’s Bight, both on Coronado’s North Island, and broadening that area by placing dredge spoils along its north shore. They allowed for construction of more runways and additional military housing, and training facilities during World War II. Just south of Glorietta Bay in Coronado, a new peninsula was built as a training base for the Navy’s underwater demolition teams, later known as SEALs.<sup>3</sup>

Transportation and commerce have always been complementary uses of San Diego Bay. Goods and people arrived in San Diego by ship during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As early as 1850, William Heath Davis built a wharf to accommodate ships and to draw people to his “New San Diego” settlement—160 acres of land located approximately three miles south of Old Town.<sup>4</sup> By 1887, wharves and the small businesses and residences that supplied their needs were common sights along the bay. As time passed, the nature of these businesses changed, ranging from shipyards and chandlers, to lumberyards and canneries. Fishing boats unloaded their catch along the Embarcadero.

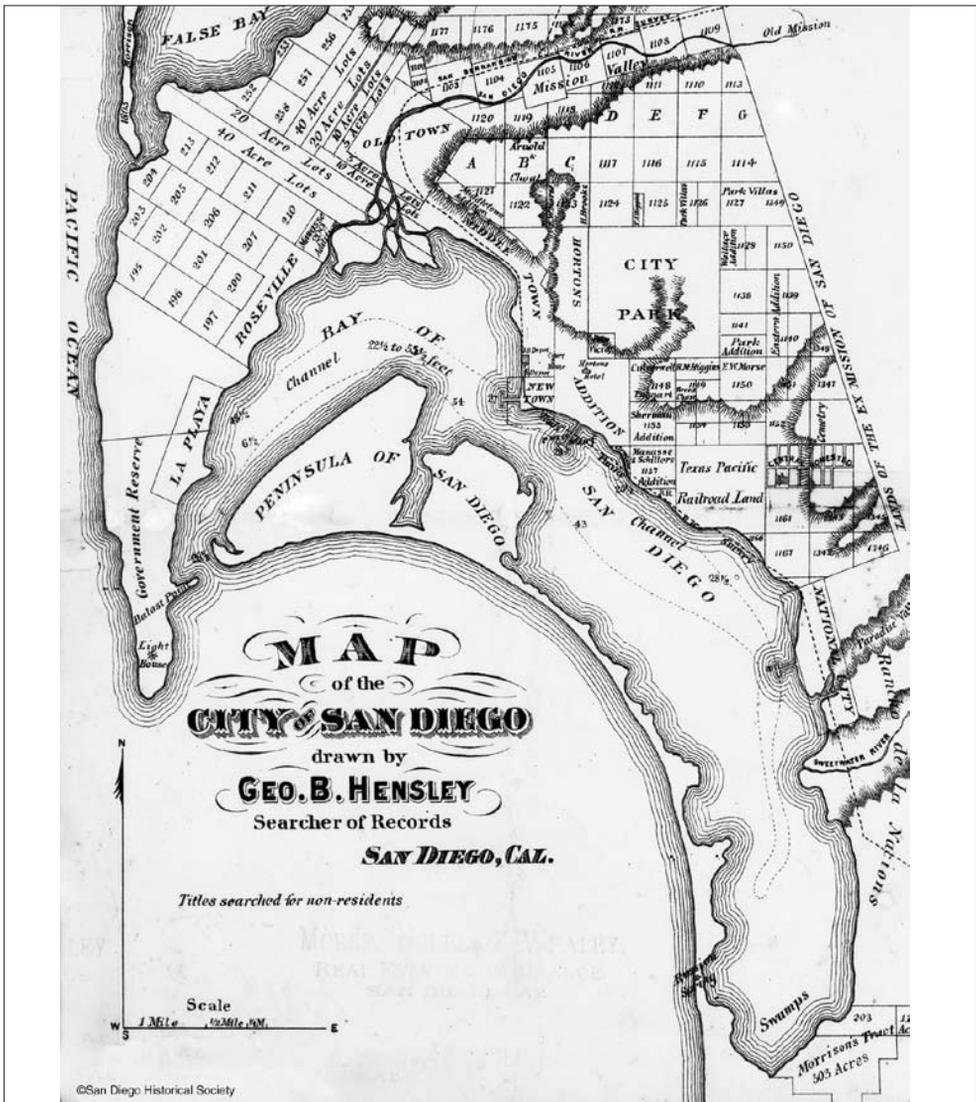
Today, land along the bay supports both recreational and military uses. The

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Linda A. Canada is a local historian who returned to the field of history following a twenty-year career as a lawyer. She was curator of the Museum of San Diego History’s exhibition for children, *Romp!*, and has curated public exhibitions for local historical societies.

marketing website for the San Diego Unified Port District lists ten miles of jogging trails, sixteen public parks, sixteen marinas and three museums. Because military facilities along the bay are not within the jurisdiction of the Port District, the Port's comprehensive summary of land uses for its 2,500 acres of land and 2,660 acres of water includes in its Master Plan only one small 26 acre parcel leased to the Navy for its Fleet School.<sup>5</sup>

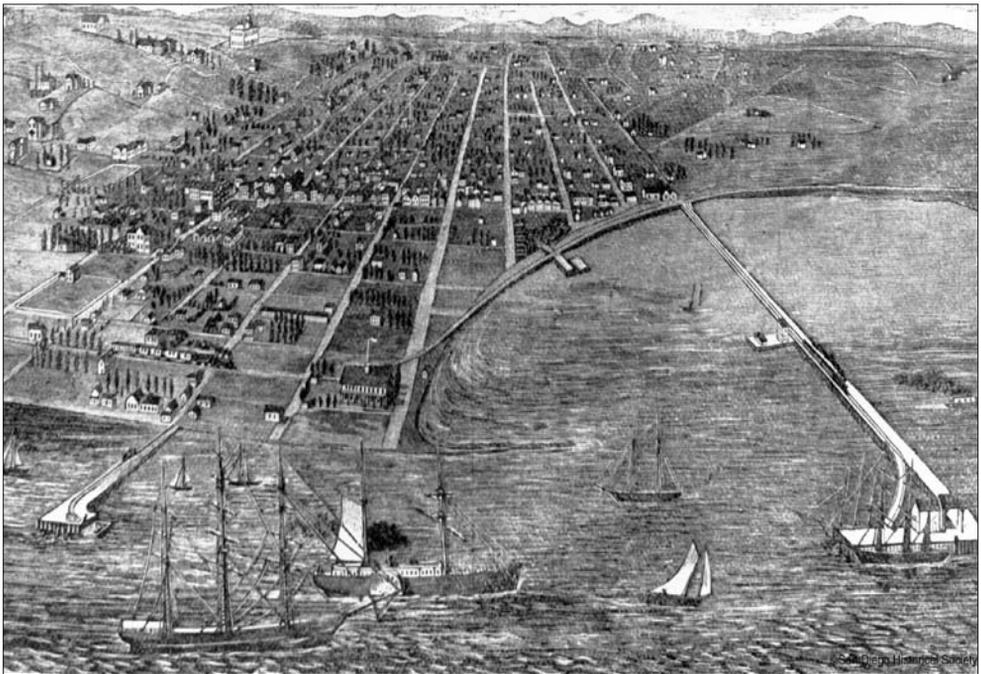
The following photographs all come from the Research Library and Photographic Collections of the San Diego Historical Society. They depict the bay as it has evolved over ten decades, from the late 1880s to the early 1980s.



Major physical changes to the bay are apparent when comparing this map to the 1983 map, opposite. The 1873 Hensley map shows the San Diego River flowing into the bay between Roseville and Old Town. Coronado's Spanish Bight dividing the island is readily apparent, as is the much smaller Whaler's Bight at its northwestern edge. The narrow opening of the bay near the tip of Point Loma is also clearly visible. ©SDHS #88:16984.

*“Sitting on the Dock of the Bay”*

*This 1983 aerial photograph shows the area between Roseville and Old Town filled in for use as San Diego International Airport, also known as Lindbergh Field. Coronado’s appearance is very different, with its size swelled by the addition of dredge spoils to create an expanded northwestern shore. A new peninsula below the curve of the San Diego-Coronado Bay Bridge is a Navy installation. Notice the wide shipping channel to support commerce and the Navy. ©SDHS, Map Collection.*



*This etching, ca. 1890, shows ships carrying passengers and goods heading toward wharves to discharge their cargoes. ©SDHS #80:3988.*



*An early military use of the bay front is recorded in this photograph of two cannons on Market Street at the foot of Kettner Boulevard. The first military barracks were built on land donated by William Heath Davis, founder of New Town, in 1850. ©SDHS #1026.*



*In 1887, mudflats along the water's edge were home to people working on the wharves or in small businesses supporting the shipping trade. Tracks laid along the bay linked San Diego by train to markets and potential immigrants on the East Coast. ©SDHS #3082.*

*“Sitting on the Dock of the Bay”*



*By 1905, lumberyards were a common sight along the bay as the demand for building materials increased for new housing. Beyond Western Lumber Company, seen here, the open land was a tidal flat where boats settled on their keels, awaiting the incoming tide. ©SDHS #484.*



*Lumberyards around San Diego Bay included Russ, Benson, Frost and Western Lumber Company. In this 1910 image, Western Lumber Company had increased its storage capacity by building out over the bay. In the distance, the long wharf is where the Pacific Coast Steam Ship Company brought passengers to San Diego beginning in the 1850s. ©SDHS #12578.*



*The dredging of San Diego harbor in order to create Harbor Drive is shown in this photo, ca. December 1913  
©SDHS UT #5149, Union-Tribune Collection.*



*New Navy technology came to San Diego with the first aircraft carrier, the USS Langley, in 1924. This 1927  
photograph, taken when she was moored at North Island Naval Station (lower left), shows her awkward  
appearance due to the wooden deck added to the top of a former coal carrying ship. ©SDHS #80:7714.*

*“Sitting on the Dock of the Bay”*



*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.*



*Transportation across the bay to Coronado and Point Loma was solved by a system of ferries. Here, in 1910, a small ferry has left the West Santa Fe Wharf at the foot of Market Street. Also visible at the left are the coal bunkers of the Spreckels Company. ©SDHS #81:9628.*



Ferry transportation became more important by 1925 and evolved from passenger-only service to a series of car ferries. After the East Santa Fe Wharf was removed in the mid-1920s, a new ferry dock was built. Car parks for the ferries were adjacent to the ferry terminal.<sup>7</sup> ©SDHS #90:18138-544.



View of the piers and wharves of the San Diego waterfront, looking northwest towards Point Loma. ©SDHS #90:17839.

*“Sitting on the Dock of the Bay”*



*Members of the ZLAC rowing club standing on a pier, ca. 1929. The club, founded in 1892 by Zulette Lamb and three sisters, Lena, Agnes, and Caroline Polhamus, remains vital in 2006. ©SDHS UT #8284-106, Union-Tribune Collection.*



*Coal bunkers operated by the Spreckels Company were a landmark on the bay from the time of their construction in 1888 until the late 1920s when they were torn down. Seen at top center of this 1911 image, the S-shaped wooden wharf with its tall black bunkers held 15,000 tons of coal.<sup>8</sup> ©SDHS #82:13208.*



*Japanese sailors load coal into the coal bunkers of a cruiser, ca. 1908. ©SDHS #7348.*



*People in bathing suits on a swimming platform in San Diego Bay, 1922. ©SDHS #94:19136-179.*

*“Sitting on the Dock of the Bay”*



Several freighters tied to two piers in San Diego harbor, ca. 1935. San Diego Water Taxi is between the rows of ships. The ship Oakland is on the right. ©SDHS Sensor #24-48, Sensor Collection.



A 1936 dredging operation created the site for a new police station that would be constructed on Harbor Drive. In the 1980s, the remaining land became Seaport Village. In this 1936 photograph, lumber company wharves are almost gone. Fish brokers and markets occupy a small pier to the left of the ferry terminal. ©SDHS #79:741-145.



*The police station had been completed in this 1940 view looking north. The declining number of piers and docks suggests that the commercial center of San Diego, by this time, had moved north, toward the foot of Broadway. Much of the Embarcadero had been completed, but fishing boats were still moored north of the City-County Administration Building. ©SDHS #79:741-573.*



*San Diego's rich supply of fish created an industry in which immigrants from many countries worked as laborers on the boats and in the canneries. In 1936, boats unloaded at the Van Camp Seafood dock. Perched over the mudflat to the right is the pier known as "fish camp," basic housing that Van Camp provided to Japanese fishing families. ©SDHS Sensor #5-22, Sensor Collection.*

*“Sitting on the Dock of the Bay”*



*Boatbuilding, both wooden and steel, was another important industry along the bay. Not to be forgotten was San Diego's venture into building reinforced concrete-hulled ships in the 1920s. After World War II ended, requests for newer and bigger fishing boats replaced military orders. In this 1947 photograph, the Mary Barbara is launched at National Iron Works.<sup>9</sup> ©SDHS #1998/032-10.*



*The entire San Diego Bay is shown in this 1936 photograph taken over Otay Mesa. The curve of the Strand portion of the Coronado peninsula on the left ends at the large flat area of North Island Naval Air Station. White areas are sand and rock that have been dredged from the bay to enlarge the base. Dark areas that appear to be fenced in the bottom part of this image are evaporation ponds for producing salt from sea water. ©SDHS OP #16315-10.*



*Stockpiles of salt and evaporation ponds of the Western Salt Works operation at the extreme southern end of San Diego Bay in 1934. The gleaming white mountains of salt were a familiar Chula Vista landmark. ©SDHS #90:18138-423.*



*The San Diego Gas Works operation on the bay, with its storage tanks and plume of smoke, was another landmark in 1914. This view shows train tracks running on top of a berm near Tenth Avenue. Harbor improvements eventually eliminated the mudflats in the foreground. ©SDHS #5550.*

*“Sitting on the Dock of the Bay”*



*In June 1941, the Star of India, an iron-hulled sailing ship built in 1863, was a derelict moored near the site of today's Marriott Hotel. The ship had been brought to San Diego by the Zoological Society of San Diego as a possible site for a floating aquarium in 1927 but not refurbished until years later. In 1976, she was put to sea for the first time in fifty years to honor the U. S. Bicentennial.<sup>10</sup> ©SDHS #P-1261.*



*Even before World War II, a shortage of dock space in San Diego Bay caused vessels to be moored in the main channel. In the foreground, automobile parking also appears to be a problem in 1936 as evidenced by cars parked around Lane Field where a baseball game is underway. Bill Lane brought his Pacific Coast League Padres to San Diego in 1936, and they played at this field with its wooden bleachers adjacent to the Bay until 1958 when the team moved to the newly built Westgate Park in Mission Valley.<sup>11</sup> ©SDHS, UT 8285, Union-Tribune Collection.*



*This 1943 high aerial view is rare. Wartime photography restrictions permitted few such photographs to be taken. It shows the new runways built at North Island and the new site for the SEAL base to the right of Coronado. Dredging to fill in the Spanish Bight at Coronado had begun. ©SDHS #15098.*



*This 1985 view of the downtown area of San Diego completes this one-hundred-year photographic survey of changes around San Diego Bay. In this single image, many of the present land uses around the Bay are represented: (from left) Navy Region Southwest buildings; fishing boats moored at the docks; Seaport Village representing tourism and retail uses; and Embarcadero Park and a pleasure boat marina for recreation. For all its changes, San Diego Bay remains the premier natural resource of our region. ©SDHS #1998/042-01408.*

## NOTES

1. For more information, see a special issue of *Mains'l Haul*, published by the Maritime Museum of San Diego, with articles by Ray Ashley, Bruce Linder, John Fry, August Felando, James Mills, Karen Scanlon, Robert Wright and Abraham Shragge: “Developing San Diego Bay in the 20th Century,” *Mains'l Haul: A Journal of Pacific Maritime History* 38, no. 4, 39, no. 1 (2002-03).
2. Abraham J. Shragge, “Boosters and Bluejackets: the Civic Culture of Militarism in San Diego, California, 1900-1945,” PhD diss., University of California, San Diego 1998, 63-64.
3. Bruce Linder, *San Diego's Navy* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2001), 134.
4. See William E. Smythe, *History of San Diego 1542-1908* (San Diego: The History Company, 1908).
5. San Diego Bay: The Big Bay Fast Facts <http://www.thebigbay.com/mediacenter/fastfacts.asp> (accessed July 8, 2006); Port Master Plan, August 2004, Table Four: Land and Water Use Allocation Summary. This plan was provided to the author by Tim Deuel, archivist for San Diego Unified Port District, on July 12, 2006. It is also available on the Unified Port of San Diego's website, <http://www.portofsandiego.org/> (accessed July 14, 2006).
6. The *USS Langley* was eventually joined by the *Lexington* and the *Saratoga* as part of the Pacific Fleet. In 1931, when *Saratoga* entered the freshly dredged harbor, she was the largest vessel ever to enter San Diego Bay. Linder, 81-89.
7. Jerry MacMullen, who chronicled much of San Diego's maritime history, devoted an entire chapter to the discussion of the various ferries that crossed San Diego Bay until completion of the San Diego-Coronado Bay Bridge in 1969 rendered them obsolete. Jerry MacMullen, *They Came By Sea* (San Diego: Ward Ritchie Press, 1969).
8. MacMullen, 23.
9. Robert Eberhardt, “Concrete Shipbuilding in San Diego 1918-1920,” *The Journal of San Diego History* (JSDH) 41, no. 2 (1995): 110-135.
10. Trudie Casper, ed., “Jerry MacMullen, an Uncommon Man Part II,” *JSDH* 28, no. 1 (1982): 11-34. See also the special issue, “New Tales of *Euterpe: Star of India* as a British Emigrant Ship,” *Mains'l Haul* 39, nos. 3 & 4 (2003).
11. William G. Swank and James D. Smith III, “This was Paradise: Voices of the Pacific Coast League Padres 1936-1958,” *JSDH* 41, no. 1 (1995): 3-37.

## San Diego's Normal Heights: The Growth of a Suburban Neighborhood, 1886–1926

Suzanne Ledebor

On December 1, 2001, the City of San Diego's Commission for Arts and Culture held a "Living Traditions" retreat at the House of Hospitality in Balboa Park. The purpose of the retreat was to launch neighborhood cultural councils in the Gaslamp Quarter, Sherman Heights, and Normal Heights. These three neighborhoods were asked to create cultural councils that focused on traditions that would promote cultural heritage tourism in their neighborhoods.<sup>1</sup>

An early part of the morning was devoted to group brainstorming sessions on how Normal Heights perceived itself and, additionally, how it was perceived by the other two neighborhoods. Demographics showed that Normal Heights had the highest racial diversity of the three: 53 percent white, 25 percent Hispanic, 13 percent Afro-American, and 9 percent Asian. It had a median age of 31 and a



*Banner reads "Normal Heights, 1906-2006: Celebrating 100 Years," July 2006. On May 9, 2006, designated "Normal Heights Day" in San Diego, the neighborhood celebrated with a dinner where guests spoke of their affection for the area and recalled the battles fought and won that prevented their community from becoming another distressed, urban neighborhood. Author's Collection.*

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Suzanne Ledebor received her M.A. in history from California State University, Los Angeles in 1988 and taught history at Woodbury University in Burbank, California. She then taught in Japan for four years and moved to Normal Heights in 1996, where she continues to research the history of her neighborhood. The author thanks Dr. Molly McClain for her editorial assistance.

median income of \$33,000. Participants voiced negative comments that ranged from “there is nothing for kids or teenagers,” to “easy access to cheap drugs,” to “tacky, cheap Mom and Pop stores.” On the other hand, positive remarks emphasized the good weather, central location, absence of strip malls and chain stores, and the presence of antique, book, and record stores owned by experts. Others noted that, while largely underground, a thin vein of peaceful anarchy ran through some of its residents. Normal Heights was summed up best that day as “non-conformist.”<sup>2</sup>

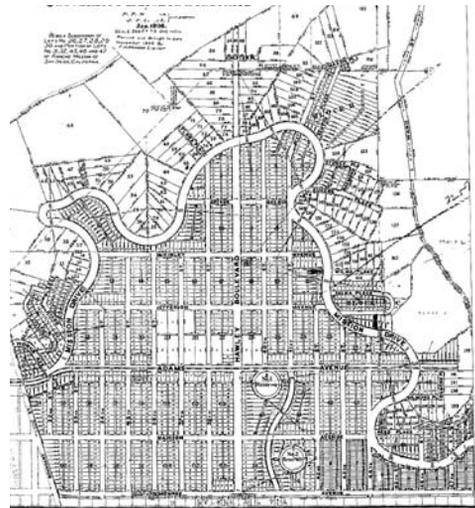
Normal Heights, founded one hundred years ago, in 1906, began as a grid of dirt roads and streets more than a mile from the end of the No. 11 trolley line in University Heights. Today, Normal Heights is bounded by El Cajon Boulevard to the south, Mission Valley to the north, Interstate 805 to the west, and Interstate 15 (affectionately known to locals as “the Moat”) to the east.<sup>3</sup> The name “Normal Heights” was adopted from the State Normal School built in University Heights in 1899. By the end of the 1920s, Normal Heights was a largely working-class community with two churches, modest bungalows, and a variety of small businesses. The history of its development forms part of the larger story of San Diego.

### Early Development

In 1887, at the height of San Diego’s land boom, numerous investment companies incorporated and proceeded to buy and sell lots and to deliver water to property on the mesa above Mission Valley. A year later, the real estate market collapsed. Paper profits on the speculative buying of lots and flipping them for a quick profit turned to ashes overnight. However, at least four companies weathered the collapse: the College Hill



Map prepared for the Normal Heights Community Enhancement Project, February 1997. These are the official planning boundaries for Normal Heights and were reaffirmed in the Mid-City Community Plan of 1998.



Map showing Normal Heights, ca. 1907, produced by the Southwestern Investment Company. Originally, Normal Heights was bounded by Monroe Avenue on the south, Ward Road on the east, the canyon on the north, and Boundary Street on the west. Over time, Normal Heights and the Teralta subdivisions south of Monroe Avenue merged into one neighborhood. Author’s collection.

Land Association, the Teralta Land and Water Company, the Combination Land Company, and the South-Western Investment Company.<sup>4</sup> The mesa they developed, according to a 1909 map, was slightly more than four miles from Horton's New Town. Populated mostly by jackrabbits running through brush-covered territory, it was outside the coastal fog belt, but close enough to the bay to enjoy the westerly breeze.

The shareholders of the College Hill Land Association owned or controlled 1,600 acres on the northern boundary of what was then known as City Park. Rather than selling lots piecemeal, they combined their real estate assets and formed the College Hill Land Association. Their stated purpose was "to buy, sell, improve, mortgage, lease and otherwise generally deal in real estate in the County of San Diego, State of California."<sup>5</sup> They also hoped to build a branch of the University of Southern California on a portion of their acreage, but the land bust of 1888-89 quashed that dream.<sup>6</sup> The stockholders of the College Hill Land Association included Richard A. Thomas, Douglas Gunn, C. C. Seaman, James McCoy, Daniel Choate, J. R. Thomas, and G. C. Arnold. They invested a total of \$865,500 in the Association, although their initial goal was for a capitalization of \$1,500,000.<sup>7</sup> Today, their venture is the neighborhood of University Heights.

The Teralta Land and Water Company purchased 462 acres of land and recorded Subdivision Map No. 265 with the County on July 14, 1887. Its stockholders included Richard A. Thomas, G. Frank Judson, William E. Robinson, Theodore J. Wrampelmier, and Lucius F. Doolittle.<sup>8</sup> The company could promise water rights to investors as the main water line of Doolittle's San Diego Flume Company ran down El Cajon Avenue.<sup>9</sup> The sale of one acre or two and one-half acre lots began on July 18, 1887, "with a throng of purchasers in waiting." An advertisement in the magazine, *Golden Era*, extolled the virtues of Teralta and described the water rights for each lot as "one-fifteenth of one inch, or about 300,000 gallons per acre per annum for the nominal price of \$3 per year."<sup>10</sup> The math was slightly incorrect, a forgivable bit of hype, because the actual deeds stated the water rights in hundredths of a miner's inch, and the cost per annum was in multiples of \$3.00, depending upon the size of the lot.<sup>11</sup> The ad also stated that "The electric motor road. . . will run through the center avenue of Teralta. The rails are now being laid." However, the advertised and anticipated trolley line heading east along El Cajon Boulevard never materialized. Instead, El Cajon Boulevard developed as a major thoroughfare for motorized vehicles while University Avenue gained the trolley. Nevertheless, over a short period of time, the Teralta Land and Water Company sold off many of its 462 acres for the subdivisions that became Teralta Heights, Teralta Heights No. 2, West Teralta, Davis' Subdivision, Sterlingworth, and W. P. Herbert's Subdivision.<sup>12</sup>

The Combination Land Company, incorporated March 7, 1887, was fully capitalized from the beginning. The majority of its 10,000 shares were held by two men, H. A. Howard and Thomas Fitch.<sup>13</sup> The three other investors, Eugene E. Ellis, R. W. McGaine, and T. J. McCord, each held ten shares valued at \$100. In the Normal Heights area, Combination Land purchased from Teralta Land and Water Company, for \$8,000, on December 21, 1887, lots ten through nineteen in Block M of Teralta.<sup>14</sup> Today, Block M is bounded by Monroe, Meade, 33rd, and 35th Streets.

South-Western Investment Company incorporated in San Diego on November 25, 1899 and began to acquire holdings of other companies. By March 1907, South-

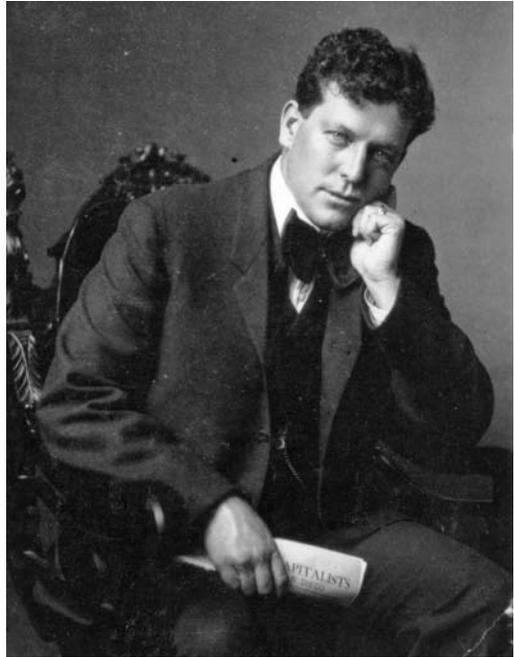
Western controlled close to 100 percent of the stock of the College Hill Land Association, and Colonel D. C. Collier, Jr. (Vice President) and George M. Hawley (Secretary) controlled 14,924 of College Hill's 15,000 shares. In October, D. C. Collier's Ralston Realty purchased Hawley's interests, which were combined with those of South-Western Investment. The firm profited handsomely the following year when the College Hill Land Association and the University Heights Syndicate were absorbed by the Western Investment Company of San Diego.<sup>15</sup>

George M. Hawley and David Charles Collier, Jr., in particular, recognized the potential for development in Normal Heights. They were deeply involved in real estate developments through the College Hill Land Association, Ralston Realty, Easton-Collier Company, the University Heights Syndicate, South-Western Investment Company, and the Western Investment Company of San Diego. They were credited with developing all, or parts, of University Heights, Point Loma, Teralta Heights, East San Diego, Encanto, Ramona, Ocean Beach, Point Loma Heights, and Normal Heights.

"D. C." Collier was born in 1871 in Central City, Colorado, to David Charles and Martha Maria (Johnson) Collier. He came to San Diego in 1883 where he completed his schooling, passed the California Bar, and became a member of the elder Collier's law firm in 1891. But, he was drawn more and more to real estate and, in rapid succession, opened Ralston Realty (1904), the Easton-Collier Company (1905), and was an organizing member of the Western Investment Company of San Diego (1907).<sup>16</sup> His legacy to Normal Heights was the development of Bonnie Brae (Subdivision Map No. 1244), which he purchased in 1910. Collier's impact on the construction of San Diego's suburbs was on a par with that of Oscar Cotton's Pacific Building Company, and his service as Director General for the 1915 Panama-California Exposition was its "driving force," according to George Marston and other San Diegans.<sup>17</sup> It was Collier who insisted that Bertram Goodhue, renowned architect, design the Exposition's buildings and that landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead be chosen to design and supervise the planting of the Exposition's grounds.<sup>18</sup>

Collier's title of Colonel was honorary, given to him while he was on the staff of California Governor James N. Gillett. His friends, however, called him "Charlie," which seemed to suit his character. Photographs show Collier dressed almost casually, with tousled hair and wearing a floppy bow tie.

George Mann Hawley was born in San Francisco in 1862. His father,



*David Charles Collier, ca. 1890. Collier and his partner George M. Hawley are credited with developing all, or parts of, University Heights, Point Loma, Teralta Heights, East San Diego, Encanto, Ramona, Ocean Beach, Point Loma Heights, and Normal Heights. ©SDHS #81:10843.*

## THE JOURNAL OF SAN DIEGO HISTORY

George T. Hawley, owned hardware stores in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Diego, but in 1888, the senior Hawley's San Diego Hardware Company was struggling to survive. George was given the task of making it a paying enterprise, which he did. He then proceeded to open Pierce-Fields Hardware Co.; Todd & Hawley—another hardware store—in partnership with a former San Diego Hardware Company employee; the San Diego Vehicle and Implement Co.; and Hawley, King & Co. of Los Angeles.<sup>19</sup> Soon he was deeply involved in real estate development where he concentrated his interests until his death in 1935.

The Hawley family, George, Edith, and their two daughters, Wilma and Madeline, lived in a handsome Hebbard and Gill home at 4744 Panorama Drive which still has a commanding view of Mission Valley, albeit vastly changed since 1907.<sup>20</sup> Except for Hawley Boulevard, the only reminder of the Hawleys in Normal Heights is the Wilma Place historical stamp that was cut out and put back in new sidewalks at the southeast corner of Copley Avenue and East Mountain View Drive in March of 2002 as part of a City of San Diego construction project.

The University Heights Syndicate incorporated August 22, 1905, with \$500.00 cash raised from its five shareholders: C. O. Reinbold, Arthur Small, George D. Easton, G. F. Hoff, and I. L. Pierce. George M. Hawley was President and Carl O. Reinbold Secretary-Treasurer.<sup>21</sup> With the surveying and mapping completed by P. P. Wheaton and J. F. Covert, Civil Engineers, in January 1906, the Syndicate filed their Subdivision Map No. 985 of Normal Heights with the San Diego County Recorder on May 9, 1906. That same day the map was accepted by the San Diego County Board of Supervisors, and Normal Heights was born, if not in fact, at least as a development idea in the minds of Hawley, Collier, Reinbold, and the other shareholders.

Lot sales at the new development along Adams Avenue were slow, despite weekly advertisements in the *San Diego Union* that implored prospective buyers:



This Wilma Place (Copley) name stamp was re-installed on the southeast corner of East Mountain View Dr. and Copley Street in 2002. Wilma Hawley was the elder daughter of George and Edith Hawley. Author's collection.

The Time Is At Hand when a definite date can be promised for the completion and operation of the new electric road out Adams Avenue, and the time for investment at original opening prices on Normal Heights is strictly limited. The new auto speedway around Mission Drive, overlooking the valley, has been completed and miles of new streets have been opened and graded.

The time for profit-seekers on Normal Heights is right now, when improvements have only fairly started. Wait if you must, but pay more money if you do. Today 50-foot lots, level and smooth, can be had for \$200, \$20 down and \$20 per month.<sup>22</sup>

The incorporation of the Western Investment Company of San Diego on November 30, 1907 was one important turning point in the development of Normal Heights. On February 2, 1908, the *San Diego Union* reported that two companies—the College Hill Land Association and the University Heights Syndicate—had been absorbed by Western Investment.<sup>23</sup> This consolidation gave Western Investment all remaining unsold parcels in College Hill and Normal Heights. But much more was needed to bring new residents out to Normal Heights to buy, build, and live permanently.

## **Infrastructure and Population Growth**

Developers promoted San Diego's first suburbs based on access to local roads, streets with public transportation, and, of course, water. The growth of University Heights was fueled by the No. 1 trolley line running along Park Boulevard to



*People gathered at a tent to commemorate the opening of the Adams Avenue line of streetcars, Ralston Realty, August 1907. ©SDHS #7774.*

Adams Avenue with access along the way to the State Normal School and, at its terminus, the Ostrich Farm and Mission Cliffs Garden. Oscar Cotton's Pacific Building Company built and sold blocks of houses near the No. 2 trolley running east from Park Boulevard along University Avenue to Fairmount. Cotton, the ultimate "Booster," purchased in 1911 the remaining 4,000 to 5,000 lots of the Columbia Real Estate Company and became the major developer of the area that became the City of East San Diego and today's Mid-City community of City Heights.<sup>24</sup> Finally, Kensington Park blossomed when a bridge was built across Ward Road and Ward Canyon in 1913, making that area more accessible to public and private transportation. This mantra of "follow the roads and public transportation" was crucial to the development of Normal Heights and its neighboring communities, especially Kensington and the City of East San Diego. Transportation also was crucial to building a sense of community and a connection to the city itself.

Normal Heights, surveyed and mapped by the University Heights Syndicate by January 1906, was one of the first "ring," or "streetcar," suburbs. A shuttle trolley from Park Boulevard and Adams Avenue served Normal Heights in 1907, becoming a full-service line from downtown San Diego to Kensington at the end of the decade. Ralston Realty used the promise of transportation to promote lot sales in Normal Heights. "Work Has Commenced on Construction of the Adams Ave. Car Line," read the heading of Ralston Realty's ad in the *San Diego Union* on May 30, 1907. The ad continued with the news that "a good big crew of men is employed and the line will be rushed to completion."<sup>25</sup>

At this time, Normal Heights had scattered farms but few good roads and even fewer services. The 1910 U. S. Census counted 810 residents in the "Normal Heights Village" in Mission Township. Professionals included one teacher, six nurses, and one physician who was an osteopath. Other residents reflected the blue-collar character of the area: carpenters, teamsters, concrete workers, bakers, and those who did odd jobs. As is typical for Southern California, nearly everyone was from somewhere else in the United States. There were 117 enumerated who were children born in California, a large number of naturalized citizens originally from Germany and Sweden, and a miniscule number of Japanese and Chinese.<sup>26</sup> By 1920, the population of Normal Heights, including the Teralta subdivisions, had grown to 1,267.<sup>27</sup>

In order to improve the quality of life in the area, a group of residents organized the Normal Heights Improvement Association in 1911. The first seven directors were Max Distel, who was employed as a finisher in a piano factory; John Carlson, formerly a machinist with the General Electric Company, but now the proprietor of a hardware store<sup>28</sup>; Albert Gipperich, a tinner at the San Diego Hardware Company; Coreal R. King, a real estate broker; J. P. Chiado, a building contractor; Otto W. Porter, a foreman with the Cuyamaca Water Company; and Axel Stone, a carpenter. All, except Gipperich, lived in Normal Heights and each purchased two shares in the Association at \$5.00 per share.<sup>29</sup> The Association's offices were located at 3937 Adams Avenue (3465 Adams Avenue today) on the southwest corner of Adams Avenue and 40th Street (Mansfield Street).<sup>30</sup>

The Association worked to establish a free branch library in Normal Heights, and in 1914, County Librarian Jennie Herrman presented a petition from Normal Heights to the County Board of Supervisors at their Adjourned Meeting of May



*Normal Heights Central School, 1912, located at Adams Avenue and 40th Street (Mansfield).*

6, 1914.<sup>31</sup> This was the first step in establishing and maintaining county, and later, city, branch libraries in Normal Heights. On August 31, 1914, Normal Heights opened its first branch library in the Normal Heights Central School at 4011 Adams Avenue on the southeast corner of Adams Avenue and 40th Street (Mansfield).<sup>32</sup> Mrs. Georgia Welty, a teacher and the wife of principal Howard O. Welty of Garfield Elementary School, served as custodian.<sup>33</sup> A reading room opened to the public on December 2, 1915. A note in *News Notes of California Libraries*, a publication of the California Library Association, stated, "Club women care for the reading room alternate months."<sup>34</sup> The county library changed locations several times before being replaced by a temporary city branch at 4691 41st Street (35th Street) in 1925.<sup>35</sup>

Streets were surfaced once Normal Heights became a part of County Road Improvement District No. 2 in 1913. George H. Oswald, concrete contractor, was hired to surface the streets and to install concrete gutters, curbs, and sidewalks throughout Normal Heights from Mission Drive (Mountain View) to Monroe Avenue and from Boundary Street to Ward Road. When the work was finished, a property owner filed a complaint that Oswald's work was not done with "due diligence."<sup>36</sup> The Supervisors decided they needed opinions from a committee of experts and appointed five men--Thomas Neal, Oscar Marshall, R. J. Goodbody, Lew B. Harris, and Henry G. Fenton--to inspect the work and report their findings to the Board.<sup>37</sup> Within a week, the committee reported to the Board of Supervisors that a few "corrections, alterations or additions were needed."<sup>38</sup> Finally, the work was completed, accepted, and bonds issued in the amount of \$315,260.95, to be

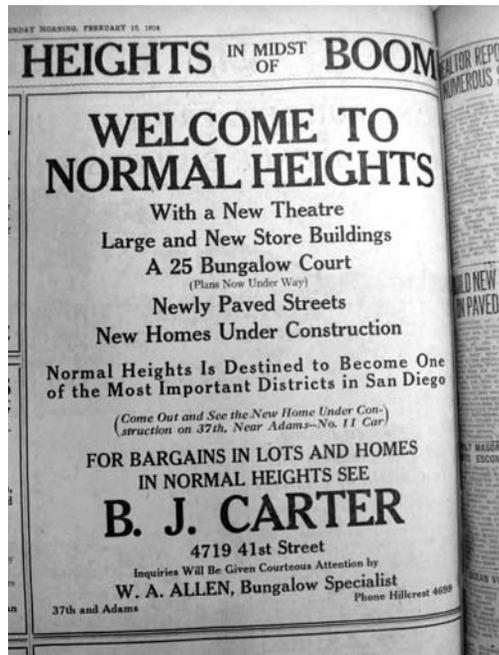
delivered to George H. Oswald by the County Treasurer.<sup>39</sup> In some areas of Normal Heights, Oswald's 92-year-old sidewalks remain in remarkably good condition; in other areas they have deteriorated to classic "trip and fall" hazards.

The bridge over Ward Road to Kensington Park was another important piece of infrastructure for Normal Heights. In August 1913, County Supervisors instructed the clerk to write William Clayton of the San Diego Electric Railway "requesting that they make an appropriation for the bridge over Ward Street [sic] connecting Normal Heights and Kensington Park." In addition, they ordered County Surveyor George Butler to prepare the necessary plans and specifications for "the construction of a twelve span timber trestle bridge on Adams Avenue, near Kensington Park, San Diego." A contract was let to Silver Gate Construction Company on November 19, 1913, and four months later on March 3, 1914, the Supervisors accepted, on the recommendation of the County Surveyor, the Kensington Park Bridge on Adams Avenue.<sup>40</sup>

The "center," or business district, of Normal Heights was built around the intersection of 37th Street (Felton) and Adams Avenue as a result of the efforts of Bertram Carteri, a carpenter, developer, businessman, and visionary who recognized the potential in Normal Heights. Carteri moved to the neighborhood in 1916 bringing his wife and four children. In 1920, he purchased lots along 37th (Felton) and 38th (34th) Streets. He then built solid homes in the \$5,000 to \$8,000 price range on 50-foot wide lots that cost \$400 to \$1,000 per lot. At least five of these remain and are occupied, including the Louis J. Gill-designed home at 4728 Felton.<sup>41</sup> What set Carteri apart from most of the other developers was that he lived and worked in Normal Heights; he was not a speculator or an absentee landlord.

Carteri's commercial strip remains mostly intact, although modified, at the intersection of Adams Avenue and Felton. His 1924 advertisement in the *San Diego Union*, the largest on the page, pointed out that "Normal Heights Is Destined to Become One of the Most Important Districts in San Diego, with a new theatre, large and new store buildings, a 25-bungalow court, and newly paved streets."<sup>42</sup> El Sueno Court, the Adams Avenue Pharmacy building, and part of the former home of the Bank of Italy are on the north side of Adams, with the old Carteri Theater building, minus its original marquee and box office, on the south side of the Avenue. They stand as monuments to the man who saw the potential in Normal Heights, created its central business district, and spent his fortune making his vision a reality.

Normal Heights boomed in the 1920s. An article in the *Saturday Real*



A 1924 advertisement in the *San Diego Union* welcomes potential buyers to Normal Heights. Courtesy, Special Collections, San Diego Public Library.



*Three Normal Heights homes at 4838, 4840 and 4842 35th Street. Author's collection.*

Estate and Development Section of the San Diego Union, published February 10, 1924, gave above-the-fold prominence to the neighborhood with the headline "Many Building Projects Under Way in Normal Heights." Six photographs and a lengthy commentary on the benefits of living in this "wide-awake, steadily growing, enterprising community" were included.<sup>43</sup> Page 2 of the section featured ads for the businesses already developed along Adams Avenue: the Normal Heights Electric Company, the Adams Avenue Garage, the Avenue Pharmacy, W. A. Allen, Bungalow Specialist, and B. J. Carter [sic]. This "enterprising community with its progressive spirit," according to the article, was more than homes and businesses; it also became home to the first radio station licensed to broadcast in San Diego.

San Diego's first radio station, KFBC or "The Normal Heights Station," began broadcasting on Friday, July 14, 1922. The station was operated by the Reverend Wilson K. Azbill, a ham radio operator who lived in Normal Heights at 5038 Cliff Place. Azbill built his station out of "old telephone parts" and needed only a "limited commercial" license. Since there was no federal regulation, he shared airtime with all the other stations in the city. By 1924, KFBC was a Class A station broadcasting two days each week, Thursdays and Sundays, from 8:00 a.m. until 9:00 p.m. As one might expect, the broadcast on Sunday included a sermon. The little station above Mission Valley continued to operate until 1926. In 1927, KFBC's call letters were changed to KGB, along with a change in ownership and a move downtown to the Balboa Theatre Building.<sup>44</sup>

The trolley line to Normal Heights was particularly important to residents. When work crews began tearing up the trolley tracks on Adams Avenue at midnight on Saturday, August 26, 1922, a "riot" erupted. According to the *San Diego Sun*, Walter Church took his gun, test-fired it, and then drove his automobile onto the tracks in order to stop the destruction. Work halted as the workmen took cover. Soon Mayor John L. Bacon appeared with a squad of police and arrested Hugo A. Kuehmsted, chief engineer of the San Diego Electric Railway Company. Mayor Bacon called an emergency meeting of the Common Council, and Judge C.

N. Andrews issued a writ of mandate compelling the company to restore tracks and service on Adams Avenue by Wednesday morning. Thus ended the "Battle of Adams Avenue" with trolley service restored that week, but the tone was set for an attitude that could be described today as "dauntless."<sup>45</sup>

## Annexation

In order to continue to grow, Normal Heights needed infrastructure that only annexation to the City could provide. Sewers were nonexistent and a reliable water supply uncertain, at best.<sup>46</sup> In 1924, the Normal Heights Assembly, a group of civic-minded residents and businessmen, led the movement for a special annexation election. Their original members were Major William Anshelm, retired; George E. Blackburn, electrician; Simon H. Metcalf, a motion picture operator at the Pantages Theatre and owner of a radio supply store on Adams Avenue near 37th Street (Felton); William W. B. Seymour, a public stenographer and president of the Normal Heights Assembly; and the Reverend Ray Willing Smith, pastor of the Normal Heights Methodist Episcopal Church from July 1924 through June 1927.<sup>47</sup> Petitions opposing and favoring annexation were circulated in Normal Heights and Teralta between December 15, 1923 and March 15, 1924, with the pro-annexationists outnumbering the anti-annexationists by 537 to 287.<sup>48</sup> Anti-annexationists believed that union with the City of San Diego would be an "unnecessary expense."<sup>49</sup> However, the Assembly had gathered more names than necessary to meet the 25 percent requirement of 261 voters needed to call a special election.<sup>50</sup>

The special election took place on July 22, 1924. Only one of the five precincts was open for voting, the McKinley Precinct in the garage at 4210 Jefferson (Collier Avenue today), and there was only Proposition I, the question of whether or not the area known as Normal Heights should annex itself to the City of San Diego. Given the number of registered voters, 1,047, the turnout of slightly more than 47 percent was disappointing. When the ballots were counted, the measure was defeated by a vote of 370 to 126. The result was reported to the Common Council, and made official by Council Resolution 31934.<sup>51</sup>

The Normal Heights Assembly, in January 1925, approached the Board of Supervisors regarding the formation of a Sanitary District. They were particularly concerned to make arrangements with the City of San Diego to dispose of Normal Heights's sewage "in cesspools to be built in Mission Valley." However, City Clerk Allen H. Wright advised the Supervisors "that the Common Council is opposed to allowing said district to connect its sewer system to the City's sewer system until said district votes favorably to annex to the City of San Diego, California."<sup>52</sup> At a Common Council meeting on January 12, 1925, and reported in the *San Diego Union* the next day, the Council was blunt: "If Normal Heights desires to partake of the advantages of the City of San Diego, for which San Diego taxpayers have paid or are still paying, annexation to the city is the one and only way to obtain all these benefits."<sup>53</sup> The Councilmen stated that Normal Heights was enjoying the benefits of the municipal harbor, city parks, fire protection and paved highways, for which the city was heavily bonded, without helping to pay for these improvements. The use of San Diego's sewer outlets, for which the taxpayers of the city had paid, was a different proposition.

Between December 19, 1924 and January 12, 1925, the Normal Heights Assembly again gathered signatures in favor of annexation with the City.<sup>54</sup> This time, they explained the situation to Normal Heights' residents more clearly. Anshelm spoke before the Common Council and outlined the benefits to be gained from annexation:

Annexation will give Normal Heights and Teralta many advantages now lacking in these sections. It will give us fire protection, police protection, improved sanitary conditions and cheaper water. It will enable us to give our children better schools and will increase the value of property. Many people with money come out and look over the property, but when they find that we are not in the city, that we have no sewer system, antiquated schools, no fire or police protection they buy elsewhere.

There is a plan on foot now to organize a sanitary district to install a sewer system. In common with many others, I believe this work could be handled much more economically if we were in the city. This district, if organized, will put almost unlimited power in the hands of the sanitary commission. They might even order every street and alley paved "for sanitary purposes" and without any petitions from property owners.

Fire insurance in Normal Heights is \$12 a \$1,000. In the city it is \$7. Water costs more in Normal Heights than it does in the city. These savings would make up for much of the tax-rate Normal Heights would pay as part of the city of San Diego.

We need better school facilities here and as the situation stands, we cannot get another school unless there is a bond issue. Annexation would remedy this.

Normal Heights must stand or fall with the city. For this reason and for the economic benefits we would obtain, I believe a majority of the thinking people of my district will favor annexation.<sup>55</sup>

Anshelm was correct. At the special election held March 31, 1925, the voters of Normal Heights and Teralta decided, 738 Yes to 300 No, to annex to the city and assume a portion of its bonded indebtedness of \$16,421,399.83. At this election, all five precincts were open: McKinley, Garfield, Harding, Teralta, and Normal Heights. The turnout of 1,038 voters (nearly 64 percent of those eligible) indicated a first-class education and get-out-the-vote campaign by the Normal Heights Assembly.<sup>56</sup>

The local newspaper, *Community Facts*, displayed a bold headline in its May 1, 1925 issue: "Normal Heights to Celebrate Annexation with 'Jollification,' Saturday, June 6." The paper praised the Assembly for what their members had accomplished:

They succeeded in getting Adams Ave. paved, paid for your fire protection, improved street car service, put over annexation and are now working for the sewers. You will find a petition for the sewers in both drug stores in Normal Heights and one in the barbershop in Carteri Centre, which you should sign.<sup>57</sup>



*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, had 369 registered voters: 222 republican, 94 Democrat, 5 Socialist, 1 Prohibition Party, and 47 who chose Non-partisan.*

Streets were renamed and renumbered as a result of annexation with the City of San Diego. The first forty-six changes took place with a Common Council Ordinance issued October 26, 1925. Lost to local history was Perfect Street, which became 34th Street from El Cajon Boulevard to Monroe Avenue. In addition, two east-west streets had their names changed: Jefferson became Collier and Copley replaced McKinley. Mission Drive, a wide, meandering street north and south of Adams, became Mountain View. Ward Road was realigned and met Mountain View Drive, causing the disappearance of two original streets, Elvira Place and Reed Place.<sup>58</sup> Other changes occurred in 1930, 1932, and 1939. The five Normal Heights precincts lost their proper noun names (Normal Heights, McKinley, Garfield, Harding, and Teralta), and were reconfigured as eight numbered precincts, 27 through 34. By the end of 1926, there were 2,360 registered voters in Normal Heights, an increase of 731 in two years.<sup>59</sup>

The city also began the long-awaited



*Home of Margaret Gibson Collins, the city librarian at the first Normal Heights Branch Library when it was located at 4691 35th Street in 1925–1926. Born in Kansas in 1889 to a patent attorney and his wife, she was a 53-year resident of San Diego and lived in this South Park Craftsman home at 1545 Grove Street until her death in 1968. Author's collection.*

process of installing sewer lines and hooking up the neighborhood to the city's outfall sewers in Mission Valley. This did not include Collier's Bonnie Brae, however, which was still pleading with the City Council for this amenity as late as 1935.<sup>60</sup> In addition, a temporary city branch library was opened at 4691 35th Street, with Margaret Gibson Collins in charge.<sup>61</sup>

Long-time residents remember few major changes after annexation. Life was low key, although the automobile was beginning to change how people lived, where they worked, and how they spent their leisure time. The residents of Carteri's El Sueño court had their own parking garage. So did nearly all other homeowners, even if they did not have an automobile. Walking remained a fact of everyday life; it was not just healthy exercise, it was a necessity. Young people walked or biked to school, to the local Piggly Wiggly Market, to Saturday afternoon movies at Carteri Center, and to church on Sunday. Children roamed, especially down into Mission Valley. The area north of Adams was referred to as the "boonies" because it was open land with few houses. Lot sizes were generous, many 50 feet wide by 100 feet deep (street-to-alley lots) that accommodated gardens, chickens, and the occasional cow living in the family garage.<sup>62</sup>

By the end of the 1920s, Normal Heights was a blue-collar community of homeowners and small businesses, but Adams Avenue was not the main shopping street for the neighborhood. That was University Avenue where shoppers found a J. C. Penney and a Lerner's, an automotive supply store, plus shoe, dry goods, and hardware stores; Adams Avenue was considered a secondary shopping street. The neighborhood had two handsome new churches, the Normal Heights Methodist



*Henry Ford Grocery at 3644 Adams Avenue on the day after Christmas. A boy buys gumballs from a machine outside the shop while two boys with bicycles look on. ©SDHS OP #15746-863.*



*Southern Trust and Savings Bank, 1926, located at the northeast corner of Felton St. and Adams Avenue. F. L. Byrum Normal Heights Electric was located on the east side of the building (now destroyed). ©SDHS #8351.*

Episcopal Church (1926) and St. Didicus Roman Catholic Church (1927). The Carmelite Monastery near the end of Hawley Boulevard was built in 1932.

The old Normal Heights Central School, built in 1908-09, was replaced with the first John Adams Elementary School at Adams and Mansfield.<sup>63</sup> Around the corner from the school, at 3491 School Street, was a branch of the San Diego Public Library, with Dorothy Boettiger as librarian. This small, bungalow-style building was originally the University Heights Branch Library located on the grounds of the Garfield School on El Cajon Boulevard between Louisiana and Mississippi. That branch, built in 1914, became surplus property after University Heights opened its handsome new library at Park Boulevard and Howard.<sup>64</sup> The City then purchased a lot in Normal Heights and moved the small 20 feet x 30 feet building to School Street in 1926, where it served the children and residents of Normal Heights until its closure in 1954.<sup>65</sup>

## The End of an Era

The No. 11 Trolley still clanged up and down Adams Avenue when the neighborhood entered the Great Depression. In 1930, Normal Heights had a population of 8,243 people; San Diego had 147,995.<sup>66</sup> True to its blue-collar roots, there were more bricklayers, maids, truck drivers, and electricians than lawyers, teachers, doctors, or geologists. The majority lived south of Adams Avenue in a crowded, congenial neighborhood where families represented a cross-section of languages and cultures. The area just north of Adams was thinly populated, but it hosted the neighborhood's only known speakeasy on Hawley Boulevard near Mountain View Drive, accessed through a trap door leading down to the basement of an ordinary home.

It is difficult to assess the effects of the Depression on San Diego communities. Nevertheless, it appears that Normal Heights may not have been too badly

affected. One long-time resident recalled that there was work with the local utility companies, in the shipyards, or in factories and businesses that supported the Navy. During the 1930s, many of the Navy personnel, or “gobs,” and their families settled in the neighborhood. However, San Diego County had “16,000 people unemployed and 4,000 families on direct relief.” Property taxes were delinquent and there were bread lines and food banks. The County Board of Supervisors routinely approved aid to children from the Orphans State Aid Fund, aid for the needy aged, and the blind, while the County Welfare Commission asked the Supervisors on a monthly basis to approve charity rate transportation costs for families leaving San Diego.<sup>67</sup> Property was deeded to the county in “consideration of aid,” and page after page of Record Books for the County Board of Supervisors list the names and addresses of San Diegans who signed over their property to the County in order to go on general relief in the 1930s. Many owed as little as \$5.00 in property taxes and could not pay even that. The impact on families and children must have been devastating.<sup>68</sup>

The Normal Heights Methodist Episcopal Church, dedicated on April 28, 1929, struggled as an institution during the Depression. A poignant note in church records for October 1929 reads simply, “Church on the Verge of Bankruptcy.” In August 1930, the church began locking up the collection plates during church services. In August 1932, Reverend Sutherland requested his annual salary be reduced from \$3,000 to \$2,400 until financial difficulties improved; in January 1934, his salary was \$2,000. Unable to pay its mortgage, the church was asked to vacate the property in October 1934.<sup>69</sup>

By 1933 the country was into its fourth year of the Depression, and over the next few years, San Diegans were as susceptible as many Californians to utopian schemes that promised a return to the prosperity and good times of the 1920s.



*Pepe's Market located on the northeast corner of Felton Street and Adams Avenue in what remains of the Southern Trust and Savings Bank building. Original murals on the ceiling remain intact. Author's collection.*

Technocracy was one such movement, as was the Utopian Society and a popular, but impractical, 1938 idea known as “Ham ‘n Eggs for California” or “Thirty Dollars Every Thursday.” Its promoters, brothers Willis and Lawrence Allen, were owners of a Los Angeles advertising agency. They wanted to give thirty dollars per week to every unemployed Californian over the age of fifty. Their plan, Initiative Proposition Number 25, would have been funded through an income tax on individuals and businesses and the sale of state bonds. San Diego voters supported this scheme by 3,000 votes in the 1938 general election; the following year they rejected it. Statewide, nearly 1.5 million voters approved the measure but they failed to win passage of the legislation.<sup>70</sup> Two individuals, however, did have an impact throughout California and the nation: Dr. Francis Townsend’s Townsend Plan proposed giving every American over 60 an income of \$200 per month. The “catch” was that the money had to be spent within the month in order to keep money circulating. Upton Sinclair, author, Socialist, curmudgeon, and general thorn in the side of the Republican establishment, ran for Governor of California in 1934 on a platform of End Poverty in California (EPIC). Briefly, Sinclair advocated that the State purchase all farms and factories, form them into cooperatives, and issue scrip to replace money. Even the Communists denounced Sinclair and EPIC.<sup>71</sup>

The war in Europe improved San Diego’s economy by providing opportunities for businesses to supply Britain, France, and the Soviet Union with war materials, in particular, airplanes. By 1940, Consolidated Aircraft employed 9,000 people, including school teachers on summer breaks from classrooms. In that pivotal year, Normal Heights welcomed the new San Diego County Library’s Administrative Headquarters on Meade Avenue, built in 1940 with funds provided by the Works Project Administration (WPA) and the State Emergency Relief Agency (SERA).<sup>72</sup>



*Restored 1920s bungalow at 4964 Hawley Boulevard, Normal Heights. Author’s collection.*

## Normal Heights Today

In recent years, there has been block-by-block renewal in Normal Heights by urban pioneers. They are professionals, working class people, and retirees; one-member households, single parents, married couples, and couples with gay and lesbian partners. They have purchased small homes with large mortgages, which they maintain and repair. They also have created activist coalitions within the larger neighborhood. The 37th Street Neighborhood Association, one block long, has painted, repaired, landscaped, and replaced 92-year old sidewalks. A small coalition of neighbors on two streets expanded to include several streets and worked with state, county, and city law enforcement officers for three years to close down a neighborhood bar that was a drug and gang nest. Perhaps without realizing it, these residents have created the "street neighborhoods" Jane Jacobs wrote of in her 1961 book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*.<sup>73</sup>

Although Normal Heights has many historical homes, new property owners are not as interested in restoration as they are in maintenance and upgrades. The upgrades include new windows, roofs, new paint, and landscaping. Developers are converting apartments to condominiums, building in-fill housing, and erecting Proposition 13 remodels. These remodels grow on parcels where small houses originally stood. The foundation and one wall are left in place, and a two-story, neo-Craftsman, vinyl clad residence is built. There is an ongoing dialogue over whether or not this type of replacement housing truly improves the character of Normal Heights, because the traditional one-story, single-family residences are slowly disappearing.

What has not disappeared is the thin vein of peaceful anarchy. When residents of three apartment complexes became frustrated with their lack of on-street parking spaces, their solution to the problem combined precise planning, coordination, and stealth, along with white paint, brushes, and a total lack of fear. Persons unknown painted nine diagonal parking spaces in front of the apartments (increasing the number of spaces from six to nine) and eight parallel parking spaces on the opposite side of the street. When this do-it-yourself parking engineering was discovered by the City, all white lines were eliminated and the parking returned to its original configuration.<sup>74</sup>

In 2004, the Normal Heights Cultural Council created and published a "Neighborhood Tour Brochure" containing a pictorial map for use as a self-guided walking tour of Normal Heights. The Council's aim was to introduce the



*Normal Heights home at 4504 36th Street (ca. 1935). It was built from a kit ordered through Sears, Roebuck "Modern Homes" catalog and occupied by the Leeper family. In 1930, the elder Mrs. Leeper founded "Mrs. Leeper's Egg Noodle Company" in San Diego. Author's collection.*

neighborhood to residents, visitors, and an active population of runners, walkers, and bike riders. Several historical homes are pictured in the brochure. North of Adams Avenue is a stunning 1922 Craftsman that rivals bungalows in South Park or Mission Hills; a 1913 Craftsman with Tudor and Gothic Revival features; and a 1912 all-cobblestone Craftsman at the entrance to Collier's Bonnie Brae. South of Adams Avenue are two one-of-a-kind residences: an 1889 Colonial farmhouse that is probably the oldest home in Normal Heights and a home on 36th Street that was built in the 1930s from a kit ordered through a Sears, Roebuck "Modern Homes" mail order catalog.

As San Diego prepares in 2006 an update to its General Plan, there is a sense of returning to the early years of the twentieth century. The plan envisions a City of Villages connected by rapid transit that would provide access to employment centers, shopping, recreation, libraries, and educational facilities. Anyone living south of Interstate 8 understands that this means higher density in the Mid-City. And, just as the lack of sewers, a strained water supply, and inadequate police and fire protection spurred the 1925 annexation of Normal Heights to the City, residents remain concerned about their deteriorated infrastructure and the means to pay for it.<sup>75</sup>

## NOTES

1. "Living Traditions" Retreat Agenda, Commission for Arts and Culture, City of San Diego, December 1, 2001. Gaslamp Quarter, Sherman Heights and Normal Heights were chosen from a longer list of 102 neighborhoods.
2. Author's notes from "Living Traditions" Retreat, December 1, 2001. An earlier survey reached similar conclusions. 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. Survey respondents liked the "small town" neighborhood feeling, but lamented the lack of infrastructure. They also wanted to keep the older architectural style of homes, decrease density, and increase police patrols. Normal Heights Community Enhancement Project, February 5, 1997, p. 4.
3. The final Mid-Cities Community Plan, issued August 4, 1998, presented in detail a proposed future for Normal Heights and made official its boundaries. The author thanks Melissa Devine of the City of San Diego's Planning Department, for her help obtaining a map.
4. College Hill Land Association was incorporated on July 17, 1886; the Teralta Land and Water Company was incorporated on July 14, 1887; the Combination Land Company was incorporated on March 7, 1887, while the South-Western Investment Company was incorporated on November 25, 1899.
5. College Hill Land Association of the City of San Diego, Articles of Incorporation, 1886, California Department of State (CDS), Corporation Number 15623 (California State Archives: Sacramento, 2005), 3. The author is indebted to Genevieve Troka, at the California State Archives, for her diligence in locating and photocopying documents of the many, sometimes obscure, development corporations that conducted business in Normal Heights between 1886 and 1920.
6. The failure to build a branch of the University of Southern California, however, did not mean there would be no college. The State Normal School, a teachers college, was constructed at Normal Street and Park Boulevard in 1899 in the community of University Heights and moved in 1931 to its current location, where it eventually became San Diego State College and, more recently, San Diego State University. Alexander D. Bevil, *The Adams Avenue Line 11 Historic Trolley Tour* (San Diego: Save Our Heritage Organisation, 1992), 15-17.

7. C. C. Seaman invested \$272,000; Daniel Choate, \$177,000; James McCoy, \$144,000; R. A. Thomas an even \$100,000; J. R. Thomas, \$65,000; G. C. Arnold, \$71,500; and Douglas Gunn, \$36,000. College Hill Land Association of the City of San Diego, Articles of Incorporation, 1886, CDS, Corporation Number 15623 (California State Archives: Sacramento, 2005), 3.
8. Teralta incorporated with five stockholders and with a projected capitalization of \$140,100. In reality, their subscribed stock amounted to \$12,500, with each stockholder purchasing fifty shares at a par value of \$50.00 each. Teralta Land and Water Company, Articles of Incorporation, 1887, CDS, Corporation Number 15340 (California State Archives: Sacramento, 2005), 2.
9. Lucius Doolittle's San Diego Flume Company collapsed in a feud with John D. Spreckels. The company lost their major customer, the City of San Diego, and was no longer in business after 1906. Water continued to flow to the new developments, however. George Marston and Colonel Ed Fletcher, who bought the equipment and distribution lines of the Flume Company in 1910, renamed it the Cuyamaca Water Company, and upgraded the entire system. Water remained available to El Cajon, Lemon Grove, East San Diego, Kensington Heights, and Normal Heights. Eventually, for \$141,000, the City purchased the distribution lines in East San Diego, Normal Heights, and Kensington Park. Colonel Ed Fletcher, "History of Water Development in San Diego County," *History of San Diego County, Part II, Narrative*, ed. Carl H. Heilbron (San Diego: San Diego Press Club, 1936), 387-390.
10. *The Golden Era, An Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, 36, no. 8 (1887); *Teralta, A Brilliant Success* (San Diego: The Golden Era Company, 1887), San Diego Historical Society Research Archives (SDHS). The ad stated pointedly that there were no "Jim Crow" lots. San Diego County, Deed Record, Book 133, 80-92, SDHS.
11. A "water-inch (or miner's-inch) is, in hydraulics, a measure of water equal to the quantity discharged in 24 hours through a circular opening of one inch diameter leading from a reservoir, under the least pressure, that is, when the water is only so high as to merely cover the orifice. This quantity is 500 cubic feet very nearly." That quantity works out to 325,000 cubic feet. *Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1945). The author thanks Bob Forsythe and the County of San Diego's groundwater hydrologist for their help, along with Bill Ledebor for the precise calculations.
12. Many of the original lots surveyed and sold by the Teralta Land and Water Company were south of El Cajon Avenue and were incorporated into the City of East San Diego in 1911. The College Hill and Teralta companies remained buyers and sellers of land until 1908 and 1905, respectively, before suspending business. Union Title Insurance, "Names of Subdivisions, Catalog of Recorded Plats in San Diego County, California," (San Diego: Union Title Insurance and Trust Company, 1948), 8, 13, 16, 28, 47, 66, 68, 74; Box File, Real Estate, SDHS; San Diego County, Cartography Department, Davis' Subdivision, Map No. 506; Combination Land Company's Subdivision of Teralta, Map No. 580; Teralta Heights, Map No. 1009; Teralta Heights Subdivision No. 2, Map No. 1017; West Teralta, Map No. 1019; W. P. Herbert's Subdivision, Map No. 1108; Sterlingworth, Map No. 1526; and Bonnie Brae, Map No. 1244. The author thanks Bob Forsythe, former Senior Planner with the County of San Diego, for his assistance in navigating the map retrieval process.
13. Each owned 4,985 shares at a par value of \$10.00 per share, for an individual total of \$49,850.
14. By 1905, Combination Land was no longer doing business in Normal Heights. Combination Land Company, Articles of Incorporation, 1887, CDS, Corporation Number 16064 (California State Archives: Sacramento, 2005), 2; San Diego County, Deed Record, Book 110, p. 208; SDHS; Subdivision Map No. 580, County of San Diego, Operations Center, Cartography Department.
15. The original investors were George T. Hawley of San Francisco, and D. C. Collier, Jr., George M. Hawley, L. A. Wright, W. R. Andrews, G. W. Jorres, and G. B. Grow, all of San Diego. They invested a total of \$700 in a company that had plans "to acquire water...to conduct fisheries...to deal in live stock...to borrow money...and to loan money." South-Western Investment Company, Articles of Incorporation, 1899, CDS, Corporation Number 29629 (California State Archives: Sacramento, 2005), 3; *San Diego Union*, January 1, 1909, 6; Western Investment Company of San Diego, Articles of Incorporation, 1907, CDS, Corporation Number 52480 (California State Archives: Sacramento, 2005) 1-2; Emil C. Reinbold Scrapbook, 1908-1952, Elizabeth C. MacPhail, comp. SB7, SDHS; *San Diego Union*, "Two Large Firms Consolidate," February 2, 1908, Section Two, 13.
16. Heilbron, ed., "D. C. Collier," *History of San Diego County, Biographical Section*, 171.
17. *San Diego Union*, May 12, 1910, 6; Heilbron, ed., "Oscar Cotton," *History of San Diego County*,

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*Biographical Section*, 209; Oscar Cotton Scrapbooks, Vols. I–II, SB72, SDHS.

18. Heilbron, ed., “D. C. Collier,” 171; See also the Richard Amero Collection, Notebooks 28 and 29, Vols. 1–2, SDHS.

19. Hawley Hardware Co. (San Diego Hardware Co.), *San Diego City and County Directory* (San Diego: San Diego Directory Company, 1901), 118; “George Hawley, S. D. Real Estate Broker, Expires,” *San Diego Union*, November 18, 1935, 1; “Private Rites Scheduled for George Hawley,” *San Diego Evening Tribune*, November 18, 1935, 2.

20. Bruce Kamerling, “Hebbard & Gill, Architects,” *The Journal of San Diego History* 36, nos. 2 and 3 (1990), 116. The present occupants of the Hawley residence have lived there since 1965. Interviewed by the author, January 12, 2006.

21. University Heights Syndicate, Articles of Incorporation, 1905, CDS, Corporation Number 43759 (California State Archives: Sacramento, 2004), 2.

22. Collier and Hawley’s advertisements for Ralston Realty, *San Diego Union*, January 1, 1909, 3; May 8, 1906, 2, and June 12, 1906, 2.

23. *San Diego Union*, May 30, 1907, 3; “Collier Acquires Hawley Holdings,” *San Diego Union*, October 12, 1907, II, 9:2.

24. Cotton Scrapbook, SB72, Vol. II, SDHS.

25. *San Diego Union*, May 30, 1907, 3.

26. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1910 U. S. Census, California, San Diego, Mission Township, 50 images, Series: T624, Roll: 95, Page: 178. Forty-seven of fifty images were accessed through HeritageQuest on the Carlsbad City Library’s website <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com> (accessed 12/18/05, 12/20/05). Images 11, 14, and 47 were accessed through Ancestry.com at the Carlsbad City Library (in-house use only), Carlsbad City Library, Cole Branch, Carlsbad, CA, <http://Ancestry.com> (accessed 12/27/05). The author thanks Laura Ledebor at the Cole Branch of the Carlsbad City Library for her skill accessing these census databases.

27. The minor portions of Kensington, east of Ward Road, added another 120, bringing the total to 1,387. Department of Commerce, U. S. Census Bureau, 1920 Census, Normal Heights, San Diego Township, Series: T625, Roll: 130, Page: 271. Fourteen images accessed through the Carlsbad City Library, Cole Branch, Carlsbad, CA, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com> (accessed 11/29/05 and 12/20/05); 1920 U. S. Census, Peralta [sic Teralta], San Diego Township, Series: T625, Roll: 130, Page: 265. Twelve images accessed through the Carlsbad City Library, Cole Branch, Carlsbad, CA, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com> (accessed 12/21/05, 12/27/05); 1920 U. S. Census, Kensington, San Diego Township, Series: T625, Roll: 130, Page: 278. Twelve images accessed through the Carlsbad City Library, Cole Branch, Carlsbad, CA, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com> (accessed 12/20/05).

28. Carlson’s residence, in the 1913 *San Diego City and County Directory*, is written as “w s Mission Dr. r of 3 n of Jefferson.” The author interpreted this as “The west side of Mission Dr., rear of 3 (third house) north of Jefferson.” There is an intact house at 4846-1/2 East Mountain View Drive that fits this description.

29. The Normal Heights Improvement Association was incorporated on March 2, 1911. It aimed “To further all matters relating to the improvement of that section of the County of San Diego known as Normal Heights and its vicinity; to consider, act upon and further all matters of civic interest to the citizens of the County of San Diego; to present to the officials of the County of San Diego, and City of San Diego, for their consideration, proposed reforms in the political and civic life of the City and County of San Diego.” Normal Heights Improvement Association, Articles of Incorporation, 1911, CDS, Corporation Number 64523 (California State Archives: Sacramento, 2004), 1; *San Diego City and County Directory* (1913), 221, 137, 313, 408, 561, 780, 935.

30. In 1917, the Association sold its building, by then dubbed the “Normal Heights Civic Center,” to the Normal Heights Methodist Episcopal Church for \$75.00, with the conditions that the Association could use the building for one year to hold meetings, and they retained “exclusive use of the roll-top desk.” Howard O. Welty, principal of the Garfield School, was listed as President and John Carlson as Secretary-Treasurer. San Diego County Deed Book 739, p. 324; Map 1312, Re-Subdivision of Block 40, Normal Heights, 1911, Cartography Department, County of San Diego; *San Diego City and County Directory* (1915), 857.

31. Jennie Herrman was hired by San Diego County in 1913 to be the first County Librarian, in charge of all the County's Free Libraries. She was thirty-six years old; her salary was \$2,000 per year, while her assistant was paid \$50.00 per month. Her most trying year was undoubtedly 1916 when the worst floods in the history of San Diego inundated Mission Valley, damaging books throughout the library system and destroying the entire library in Bonita. San Diego County, Board of Supervisors (BOS), Record 33, December 2, 1912–October 10, 1913, 61, 68, 157. Miss Herrman had held the same position with Tulare County for the previous three years. BOS, Record 34, October 11, 1913–September 2, 1914, p. 258.
32. This early attempt at "joint use" was inconvenient for adults, so the library's books were divided. Books for juveniles remained at the school; other books were in one room of a hardware store owned by John A. Carlson, Secretary-Treasurer of the Normal Heights Improvement Association. This division became permanent after an outbreak of smallpox closed the school and its library for several weeks in 1915. Carlson's store was at 4687 41st Street (35th Street), two buildings south of Adams Avenue. Eventually, the library was located at 4109–11 Adams Avenue. The approximate location today is the parking lot of the Corner Wash Laundromat. During the next ten years, the library moved to 4115 Adams Avenue and returned to 4687 41st Street.
33. Only those individuals, usually women, trained and certified by the California Library Association were allowed to use the title "Librarian."
34. California State Library, *News Notes of California Libraries* 9, no. 4 (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1914), 832, 835. The author thanks Cindy Mediavilla at UCLA for direction to this valuable resource and Susan Negreen of the California Library Association for her assistance.
35. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of California, San Diego Public Library, Newspaper Room, Reel 53, Vol. II, 1920 (Sanborn Map Company: New York), 299C. This map shows the library at 4691 41st Street next to a building that was probably Carlson's hardware store. *San Diego City and County Directory* (1913), 221; *News Notes* 10, no. 2 (1915): 351; *News Notes* 10, no. 3 (1915): 643; *News Notes* 10, no. 4 (1915): 910; *News Notes* 11, no. 1 (1916): 158; *News Notes* 16, no. 2 (1921): 156; and *News Notes* 17, no. 4 (1922): 674; San Diego County, BOS, Record 33, December 2, 1912–October 10, 1913, 60, 148; *San Diego City and County Directory* (1909), 383. First listing for the Normal Heights Central School, Evelyn Cone, principal.
36. The following day, the Board of Supervisors appointed a superintendent of cement work and gave Oswald and the Normal Heights Improvement Association ninety days to finish the work. By September, the County Surveyor and the District Attorney were asked to determine if the road improvements at Normal Heights were acceptable. Inspections were postponed for two weeks in order to publish notices in the *San Diego Sun* and to hear objections to accepting Oswald's work. BOS, Record 33: 198, 293, 352.
37. BOS, Record 34: 369–370, 380B, 385–386, 388, 392.
38. The committee noted that the following improvements were needed: (1) Rocks removed from alleys and alleys leveled; (2) irregular surface on the sidewalks on the east side of 40th between School Street and Adams should be smoothed; (3) the north end of Cliff Place should be brought to grade; (4) Cobblestones to be removed from 41st Street north of Adams; (5) Madison Avenue from Boundary east should be smoothed; (6) "parkings" (parkways, perhaps), should be raked and leveled to conform to the sidewalks. BOS, Record 35: 2, 40.
39. The bonds were payable at no more than 1/20 of the aggregate per year on January 1 and July 1, each year, at 6 percent interest to be paid in gold coin.
40. BOS, Record 35: 47–50; Record 33: 285; Record 34: 187; San Diego County Works Project, Road Bridge, Adams Avenue, Kensington Park in Normal Heights, specifications, elevations and plot plans, 3 blueprints, County Surveyor's "Specifications for a Timber Trestle, Adams Avenue Kensington Park, San Diego," October 1913, SDHS Architectural Files; *San Diego City and County Directory* (1913), 891. Listing for Silver Gate Construction Company. The bridge was replaced in 1959. Frank Graham, "City to Raze Its 'Orphan Bridge,'" *San Diego Tribune*, November 13, 1959, B1; "Old Adams Avenue Bridge To Make Way for Progress," *San Diego Independent*, November 15, 1959, 15.
41. Bevil, *The Adams Avenue Line* 11, 52–55.
42. *San Diego Union*, February 10, 1924, 2.
43. *San Diego Union*, February 10, 1924, Real Estate and Development Section, 1.
44. Marie Brenn Crane, "The Development of Commercial Radio in San Diego to 1950," (master's

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thesis, San Diego State University, 1977), 48–52. The author thanks Pat Meyer of the Love Library at San Diego State University for retrieving this thesis. Bob Forsythe, “KGB Rocks San Diego,” *Adams Avenue Herald*, April 2006, 7.

45. Walter Church lived at 2686 Adams Avenue. “City Wins First Legal Fight To Compel Car Co. To Obey The Law,” *San Diego Sun*, August 28, 1922, p. 1; Richard F. Pourade, *The Rising Tide. Southern California in the Twenties and Thirties* (San Diego: Union-Tribune Publishing Co., 1967), 6:21–22; Bevil, *The Adams Avenue Line 11, 42, 45*. Pourade refers to the City Council when discussing the 1922 Adams Avenue streetcar riot. San Diego changed to the City Council/City Manager form of government in 1932; a Common Council and Mayor governed in the 1920s.

46. BOS, Record 33, p. 68.

47. Major William Anshelm lived at 4210 Jefferson (probably 3552 Collier today); George E. Blackburn lived at 4732 Hawley Boulevard where the Four Winds Apartments now stand; Simon H. Metcalf lived at 4725 38th Street (34th Street), a property currently developed with condominiums; and William W. B. Seymour and his wife Betty were public stenographers who had offices in the Spreckels Building downtown on Broadway but lived at 4226 Adams Avenue. *San Diego City and County Directory* (1924), 210, 250, 663, 825. There was no listing for the Rev. Ray Willing Smith, former pastor of the Normal Heights Methodist Episcopal Church.

48. It will come as no surprise to some current residents of the neighborhood that the parents of contractor Ray L. Huffman were in favor of annexation. City of San Diego, City Clerk’s Archives, Box 0007057, Folder 1, “Annexation - Normal Heights Inhabited-Failed 7-24-1924”; Document Numbers 159482 and 159498, Protest of Normal Heights Residents Against Annexation, March 12, 1924; Document Number 159781-1/2 Petition of Residents for Annexation, March 12, 1924. The author is grateful to Jerry Havin and Sandy Proa in the City Clerk’s office for their patient help and guidance.

49. The anti-annexationists headed their petitions with a two-paragraph statement: “The undersigned residents and voters of Normal Heights and vicinity, feel that the City of San Diego is being put to unnecessary expense for calling of a city election for the annexation of this territory, as a large majority in our opinion, are not in favor of annexation. After many weeks’ strenuous efforts on the part of the annexationists, less than twenty percent of the residents signed a petition for annexation. The undersigned feel that the time is not opportune for annexation at this time and respectfully petition you to refrain from taking any action calling a special election for the annexation of this territory. It is a waste of money at the present time and only engenders discord among us.” Index to the Great Register of San Diego County 1924, County of San Diego, Registrar of Voters, Teralta Precinct, 8. The author thanks Bob Pennisi and his staff at the Registrar’s office for locating the registers for the precincts in Normal Heights, making them available for photocopying, and sharing the author’s enthusiasm for this project. A special thanks to the long-time employee “in the back of the room,” who knew the Registers existed and where they were located. City Clerk’s Archives, Box 0007057, Folder 1, Protest of Residents, Documents number 159482 and 159498.

50. In a letter dated March 27, 1924, to City Clerk Allen H. Wright, the County Clerk, J. B. McLees, certified a total of 1,047 registered voters between January and March 1924, and the City Clerk then certified to the Common Council that there were sufficient names to meet the 25 percent requirement of 261 voters needed to call a special election. City Clerk’s Archives, Box 0007057, Folder 1 (no document number), Communication from City Clerk to Common Council Certifying Sufficiency of Petition for Annexation, March 12, 1924. There was also on file a petition containing forty-one names from the residents of Kensington Park who were opposed to annexation, in spite of the fact that the proposed annexation did not include their neighborhood. Additionally, there were 132 names on the anti-annexation petitions that a precinct-by-precinct and page-by-page check of the County’s 1924 Index to the Great Register showed were not registered to vote by the end of 1924. A similar examination found 200 names on the pro-annexation petitions of residents who were not registered to vote at the end of 1924. The discrepancies between the 1924 Register and the first quarter of 1924 may be simply that there was an exodus of disgruntled residents who wanted no part of being annexed to the City, although that does not explain why 200 pro-annexationists dropped from the rolls by the end of 1924. City Clerk’s Archives, Folder 1, Documents Number 159482 and 159498; Great Register of San Diego 1924. The Register listed 958 Republicans, 366 Democrats, 25 Socialists, 20 Prohibitionists, and 260 registering as No Party.

51. *Community Facts* 1924 2:7, Box 1, Folder 3, SDHS; City Clerk’s Archives, Folder 1, Document Number 162748, July 28, 1924, Resolution Number 31934 Declaring Result of Normal Heights Annexation Election - Failed.

52. City Clerk's Archives, Box 0007057, Folder 2, "Annexation – 'Normal Heights – Inhabited' – effective May 10, 1925," Document Number 168060, Letter of January 8, 1925 from the Board of Supervisors to the Common Council, regarding the formation of a Sanitary District in Normal Heights; City Clerk's letter of January 13, 1925 (no document number), responding to the Board of Supervisors' letter of January 8, 1925.
53. "Normal Heights, Teralta Seek Annexation to City," *San Diego Union*, January 9, 1925, 1; "Must Vote Annexation To Get City Advantages," *San Diego Union*, January 13, 1925, 22.
54. The Assembly filed new petitions with the City Clerk on January 8, 1925. There were 520 names on the petition. The County Clerk did not allow sixty-six names because they were not registered voters. The remaining 454 were sufficient to satisfy the requirement that 25 percent of the registered voters in Normal Heights were calling for a second annexation election. City Clerk's Archives, Box 007057, Folder 2, Document Number 168263, Petition of Residents for Annexation of Normal Heights, January 15, 1925. There were no anti-annexation petitions in the file. "Normal Heights Petitions Show Enough Signers," *San Diego Union*, January 16, 1925, 1.
55. "Normal Heights Assembly Urges Annexation To San Diego City," *San Diego Union*, January 20, 1925, 1; City Clerk's Archives, Box 007057, Folder 2, Document Number 168614, Communication from Fred A. Scheidle, President of the Young Men's Business Club regarding Annexation of Normal Heights and Teralta.
56. The precincts were in the following locations: McKinley, garage, 4210 Jefferson Avenue (3552 Collier), Garfield, garage, 4503 42nd Street (Wilson and Monroe), Harding, Oneira Club, corner of Hawley Boulevard and School Street (4649 Hawley, the Normal Heights Community Center), Teralta, Allen's Real Estate Office, 3688 Adams Avenue (near 33rd Street), and Normal Heights, garage, 4805 Hawley Boulevard (Hawley and Collier). A certified copy of Ordinance No. 9876 was sent on May 6, 1925, to Secretary of State Frank Jordan, City Clerk's Archives, Box 0007057, Folder 2, Document Number 168603 of Ordinance Number 9790, Calling Special Election; Document Number 171514 of Resolution Number 33754, Declaring Result of Election, May 6, 1925; Document Number 171526 of Ordinance Number 9876, Annexing Territory Known as Normal Heights, May 6, 1925; and May 8, 1925, date of filing Ordinance Number 9876 with the Secretary of State, effective May 10, 1925. The author thanks Mary Allely at the National City Public Library's Local History Room for taking time away from moving to National City's new library and allowing the author access to microfilm copies of the *National City News*, 1924–1925.
57. *Community Facts* (1925), 13:1. A framed front page of this issue is at the Adams Avenue Business Association's office, 4649 Hawley Boulevard in Normal Heights. Apparently, there are only two extant copies of this community newspaper: the framed copy at the AABA and the extremely fragile copy at the San Diego Historical Society. The author thanks Judy Moore and the late Marco Anguiano of AABA for loaning their copy.
58. It was the author's privilege to meet Mr. Phillip Ward, the grandson of Martin Luther Ward for whom Ward Road was named. The Normal Heights Community Planning Group and the Normal Heights Recreation Council are heading up the movement to change the name of the 39th Street Park to Ward Canyon Park in honor of Martin Luther Ward, well-known San Diego attorney, County District Attorney, 1893–1895, Director of the Board of Public Works, 1899–1902, and State Senator, 1903–1905.
59. Some streets names were not changed: Cliff Place was not changed to 32nd Street, and Benton Place remains Benton, instead of the suggested Maury's Place. City Clerk's Archives, Ordinance Number 10193, An Ordinance Changing the Names of Certain Streets and Naming of Certain Unnamed Streets, in the City of San Diego, California, October 26, 1925; Ordinance Number 12833, An Ordinance Changing the Names of Certain Streets in the City of San Diego, California, May 12, 1930; Ordinance Number 76, New Series, An Ordinance Changing the Name of Mechanic Street, in the City of San Diego, California, to 33rd Place, Book 43, Page 377, October 29, 1932; and Ordinance Number 1702, New Series, An Ordinance Changing the Names of Certain Streets, or Portions Thereof, in the City of San Diego, California, November 27, 1939, Book 47, Page 302. The author thanks Jerry Havin in the City Clerk's office for locating and photocopying these ordinances; Registrar of Voters Office, The Great Register of San Diego County, 1926.
60. *News Notes of California Libraries* 21, no. 1 (1926): 27. The author thanks the reference librarians at the San Francisco Public Library and George Glonka of San Francisco, Shirley Hallblade of Occidental College, and Pat Lambert and Paul Chan at the Pomona Public Library for access to complete sets of

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*News Notes*. "San Diego Obituaries," Margaret Collins, *San Diego Union*, December 9, 1968, C9, 1; "City Hall Notes," *Evening Tribune*, January 21, 1935, 2.

61. Collins remained with the City as a librarian and lived in her family's Craftsman-style home at 1545 Grove Street in South Park until her death in 1968.

62. On a walk over every street in Normal Heights for a community infrastructure survey, the author found only two short blocks with such narrow lots, 25-feet wide, that no curb cuts for driveways were possible. They appear to be the only lots where the family automobile, if there was one, had to be parked on the street. Zelda Deatrick, "Memories -A Little House on Wilson Avenue," *Adams Avenue Herald*, October 2005, 15; Suzanne Ledebouer, "Memories of Normal Heights," *Adams Avenue Herald*, September 2005, 11.

63. Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Reel 53, Volume III, 1921-1955, 299B. Note that School Street no longer cut through to 35th Street.

64. San Diego Public Library Papers, Board of Library Trustees, Minutes, Regular Meeting of the Board of Library Trustees, Box 2, Folders 2-5, September 10, 1913, 102; October 7, 1913, 103; April 13, 1914, 112, San Diego Public Library, California Room. The author thanks Susan Painter and Richard Crawford at the California Room and also wishes to thank Barbara Quinn of the SERRA Research Center for providing direction to information on the branch libraries in Normal Heights. *News Notes* 9, no. 3 (1914): 568; *News Notes* 20, no. 3 (1925): 201-202; *News Notes* 21, no. 2 (1926): 150; and *News Notes* 21, no. 3 (1926): 252; *San Diego City and County Directory* (1926), 358.

65. *San Diego Union*, October 16, 1934, 9; "Branch Library To Be Reopened," *San Diego Union*, January 22, 1935, 2:8; "Plan to Move Library Hit," *Evening Tribune*, B9, November 25, 1953. Closing the Normal Heights branch and consolidating it with the branch in Kensington was not a popular move in the neighborhood. Protests from the Executive Board of the John Adams Elementary School PTA, the San Diego Uptown Lions Club, and the Adams Avenue Business and Civic Club were sent to City Manager O. W. Campbell, Councilman Chester Schneider, and the Board of Library Trustees. One sixteen-page petition signed by residents was forwarded to the City Council, along with several other petitions. The City Librarian, Clara Breed, and the Board were sympathetic, but the move was formalized on December 8, 1953 by the City Council with their approval of Ordinance No. 5878, which appropriated \$3,300 for the purchase of the Kensington Branch Library from the County of San Diego. "Manager Asks Repairs To Branch Libraries," City Clerk's Archives, Ordinance No. 5878, Document No. 481482, December 8, 1953.

66. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1930 U.S. Census, California, San Diego, San Diego Township, Images 548-718, Series: T626, Roll: 191, Page 217. HeritageQuest images were accessed through the Carlsbad City Library's website, <http://persi.heritagequestonline.com> (accessed 3/7-3/16/06).

67. Pourade, *The Rising Tide. Southern California in the Twenties and Thirties*, 149-154; BOS Record 69, November 16, 1932-March 1, 1933, p. 4, 36-43, 189-198, 333-342; BOS Record 70, March 2, 1933-June 30, 1933, p. 60-69, 198-208, 281, 336-345. The "charity rate" included a small stipend for food, usually \$2 to \$5 dollars, depending on the number of people in the family and the length of their journey.

68. BOS, Record 79, April 13, 1935-July 19, 1935, 387-393; BOS Record 80, July 22, 1935-October 31, 1935, 89-92.

69. Normal Heights Methodist Episcopal Church records, 1929. The author wishes to thank Mrs. Marian Martin, Church Secretary, for the loan of these records from 1910-1935.

70. Pourade, *The Rising Tide. Southern California in the Twenties and Thirties*, 234, 236, 246, 248; Andrew Rolle, *California: A History*, 3rd edition (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1978), 353-54; Walton Bean, *California. An Interpretive History*, 3rd edition, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1978), 347.

71. Pourade, *The Rising Tide. Southern California in the Twenties and Thirties*, 219-221; Walton Bean, *California. An Interpretive History*, 3rd edition, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1978), 347. Many historians consider the Townsend Plan the impetus for the Social Security Act of 1935. Greg Mitchell, *The Campaign of the Century. Upton Sinclair's Race for Governor of California and the Birth of Media Politics* (New York: Random House, 1992); BOS, Record 78, December 14, 1934-April 11, 1935, 282-283. The supervisors voted, 5-0, on February 25, 1935, to support H. R. Bill 3977, the "Townsend Old-Age Revolving Pension Act." Pourade, *The Rising Tide. Southern California in the Twenties and Thirties*, 249.

72. Pourade, *The Rising Tide. Southern California in the Twenties and Thirties* <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/books/pourade/chrono.htm> (accessed 5/25/06); Constance Bowman and Allen, Clara Marie, *Slacks and Callouses*, (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1944); "Hundreds Attend Groundbreaking For Library Unit," *San Diego Union*, February 25, 1940, A8; "Library Headquarters Moves To New Building," *San Diego County Employees' Association Newsletter*, May 1968, Subject Files, Libraries – San Diego (County), SDPL, California Room. The author thanks Marianne Greene who first noticed the library as a mere speck on an old (1967) USGS map and also Ellen Zyroff, Public Information Officer for San Diego County's library system, who shared her primary source documents with the author. The headquarters, built of reinforced concrete in an H-shape on a lot that was 100 feet wide by 400 feet deep, had an outdoor reading area and ample parking. The headquarters remained at 3532 Meade Avenue until 1968, when the property was sold, the building razed, and the Villa Andorra apartments built on the site.

73. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961), 118, 119, 133.

74. Normal Heights Community Planning Committee, Agenda and Minutes, October 7, 2003, Action Item No. 6, Parking Spaces Along West Mountain View, North of Adams Avenue. Committee will be considering whether to remove the spaces or have the City redo them to standard specifications. After a few humorous comments from the Board and the audience, the representative for Normal Heights from Council District 3, who was not at all amused, stated that the spaces were not to standard and would be removed. The Committee asked for additional parking in Normal Heights, including angle parking on some streets and requested, by a 9–0 vote, a study of West Mountain View Drive to maximize parking, possibly to include diagonal parking, within the regulations of the Street Design Manual. The spaces were removed. Presumably, the stealth painters were located, admonished, and, possibly, fined.

75. Supervisor Ron Roberts, whose Fourth District includes Normal Heights, issued a proclamation on May 9, 2006 that congratulated the residents of Normal Heights on the 100th birthday of their neighborhood and declared May 9, 2006 "Normal Heights Day" in San Diego County. Similar congratulations came from 3rd District Councilmember Toni Atkins, who represents the Mid-City area, and who also declared May 9, 2006 "Normal Heights Day" in the City.

# Governor Robert W. Waterman, Waldo Waterman, and the Stonewall Mine, 1886-1891

Winner of the 2003 Joseph L. Howard Award

Leland Fetzer

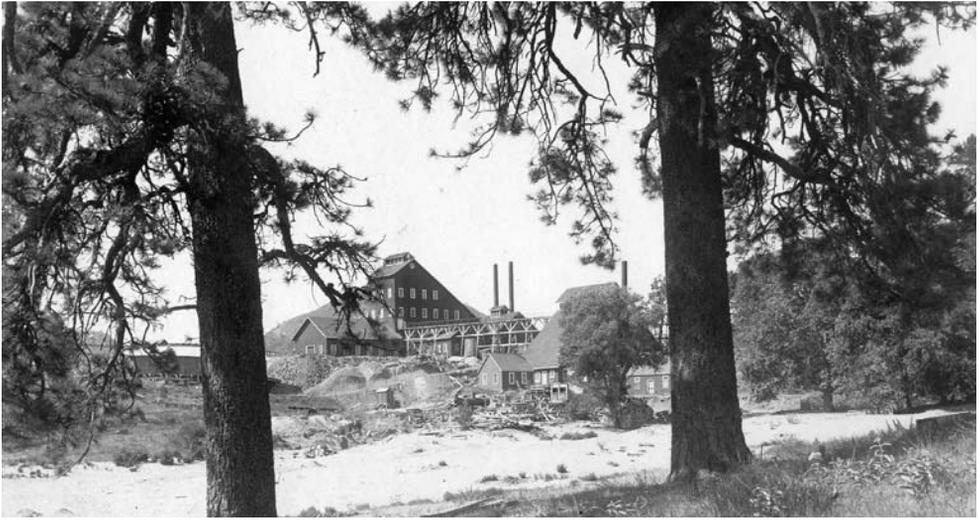
On September 29, 1886, the *San Diego Union* carried a brief announcement: "R. W. Waterman purchased the Stonewall Mine on Rancho Cuyamaca Tuesday, the consideration being \$150,000, gold coin." The new owner, Robert W. Waterman (1826-1891), was a well-known rancher, a wealthy developer of silver mines, and, at the time, Republican candidate for lieutenant governor of California. In the years from 1886 until his death in April 1891, Waterman, with the help of his mining-engineer son, Waldo, extracted a small fortune from the Stonewall Mine, making it the richest gold mine ever worked in today's San Diego County.

While residing at the mine and acting as mine superintendent, Waldo Waterman wrote nearly four hundred letters to his father. The letters, now at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, date from 1886 to 1891.<sup>1</sup> They describe not only the methods used to locate and extract the Stonewall gold, but also the financial state of the mine and the reasons for its rise and fall. Waldo, with a new degree in mining engineering, introduced the latest technological improvements to raise the mine's productivity: pneumatic drills, Frue concentrators, diamond drills, new pumps, an improved water system, new hoist works, a new and larger mill, accessory buildings, and a telephone line to San Diego. To house miners needed at the mine and provide services at the company town of Cuyamaca, he built bunkhouses and other buildings, and arranged for a physician in Julian to provide medical services. He also served as the community's unelected mayor. The letters trace his experiences and emotions from the bonanza of 1890 to the collapse of 1891. They also serve as an outstanding source of information about early mining history.

According to an article in the *San Diego Union*, Charles Hensley discovered the mine on March 22, 1870. He noted a golden sheen in a quartzite outcrop on a knoll overlooking the Laguna que es Seca, Dry Lake, a line of ephemeral ponds that was to become Cuyamaca Reservoir. Someone, but probably not Hensley, named the mine the Stonewall Jackson to honor the Confederate general, but anti-Southern feelings encouraged the abbreviation of the name to the Stonewall Mine.<sup>2</sup> The newspaper stated that eleven other men shared the claim with Hensley. Within a brief period, however, two individuals, Almon Frary, Sr. and his partner Joseph Farley, became owners of the mine. Initially finding rich ore in soft country rock,

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The son of a civil engineer and small-time mine promoter, Leland Fetzer was Professor of Russian at San Diego State University for twenty-seven years. After retiring, he turned to local history and wrote *A Year in the Cuyamacas* (1998), *A Good Cap: Gold Mines of Julian and the Cuyamacas* (2002), and *San Diego County Place Names, A to Z* (2005).



*The Stonewall Mine, Rancho Cuyamaca, became the richest gold mine in today's San Diego County. ©SDHS OP #14472-38.*

the owners built a 10-stamp mill and hoist works. The mine closed down in 1874. Because Frary and Farley had incurred unpaid debts, the Sheriff, in January 1876, auctioned off the mine to a San Diego lawyer, Wallace Leach, who sold it in 1884 to other parties. From about 1874 to 1884, the mine lay idle.

At the end of 1884, new owners, Alfred James and Dr. J. E. Fulton, revived the mine. By May 1885 the *San Diego Union* reported that the Stonewall was running "full blast," and by the end of the year it was announcing the regular arrival of \$3,000 gold bars from the mine, a stream of wealth that continued well into 1886. Perhaps these favorable articles in the *Union* caught the attention of Robert W. Waterman, leading to his purchase of the mine.

Born in 1826 in Fairfield, New York, Robert Whitney Waterman moved as a child with his family to Newbury, Illinois. He worked as a store clerk and postmaster in Geneva until 1850 when he decided to trek overland to California. He mined for gold before opening a store near the Feather and Yuba Rivers. The following year, he returned to Illinois, becoming a prosperous storekeeper and newspaper owner whose enthusiasm for politics led him to join the young Republican Party of Illinois. He and his family returned to California in 1873, established a ranch near San Bernardino, and undertook various business enterprises. The most successful by far was the acquisition and development of seventeen silver mining claims near today's Barstow, formerly known as Waterman Junction. Ownership of the mines rewarded



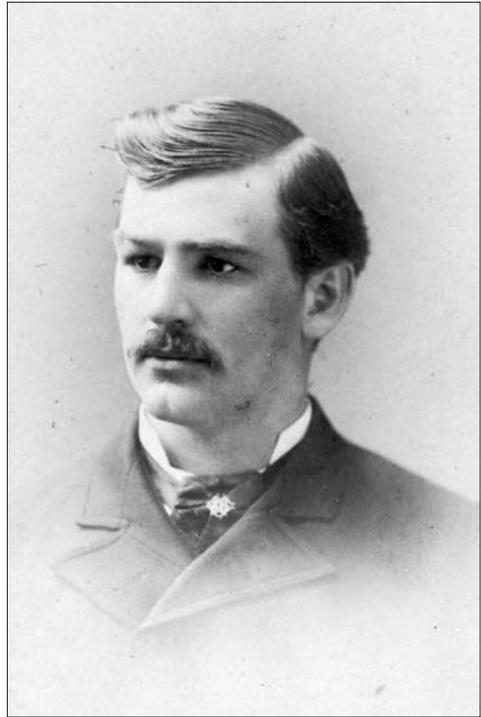
*Robert W. Waterman, ca. 1886. Waterman became the seventeenth Governor of California and owner of the Stonewall Mine. ©SDHS OP #14472-62.*

him with a profit of around one million dollars. This money played an essential part in the exploitation of the Stonewall Jackson Mine. Not a miner himself, he had notable business acumen, possessed considerable capital, and knew how to find expert advice about mines and mining.<sup>3</sup>

In California, Waterman remained active in the Republican Party. His involvement led to his nomination as lieutenant governor only a few months before he purchased the Stonewall Mine. Elected, he succeeded to the governor's office in September 1887 when Governor Washington Bartlett died. After his inauguration, he stated, "I intend to run the office of Governor as I would my private business. There are two things I will never tolerate, dishonesty and drunkenness."<sup>4</sup> He retired from politics before his death in April 1891.

Waterman had seven children with his wife Jane Gardner whom he married in 1847. Among them was Waldo Sprague Waterman (1860-1903), an 1886 graduate in mining engineering at the University of California, Berkeley. Waldo married Myra Benfry the year of his graduation, but she lived only a few months after the wedding. In 1889, he married a second time to Hazel Wood with whom he had three children. She adjusted to life in the remote mining camp, drawing sketches and painting pictures of the Cuyamaca-Julian area. But she confided to her mother-in-law that the winters were very hard, writing of "wind, snow and bitter cold."<sup>5</sup> She struggled to keep her daughter healthy despite the adverse conditions. Waldo Waterman died in 1903, at the age of forty-three, while Hazel Wood Waterman, who attained considerable fame as a San Diego architect, lived until 1948.

Very shortly after acquiring the Stonewall Mine, Waterman appointed his son Waldo as superintendent of the mine, a post the latter held until 1893. As a result of his responsibilities as lieutenant governor, then governor of California, and as a San Bernardino rancher, Waterman spent most of his time in Sacramento and elsewhere. He visited the Stonewall infrequently during the years he owned it, instead relying on correspondence with his son Waldo to provide instructions on operating the mine and to obtain information about the mine's operation. An unusual set of circumstances—the governor's forced absence from the mine for long periods of time and the son's training as a mining engineer—created the extensive and unique set of letters that record the mine's day to day operation during the Waterman years.



*Waldo Waterman, aged 24 in 1884. Two years later, he would graduate from the University of California, Berkeley, with a degree in mining engineering.*  
©SDHS OP #14472-73.

## **Developing the Stonewall Mine, 1886-1887**

When Waldo arrived at the mine late in 1886, he drew on knowledge about the ore body that miners had acquired in the sixteen years of the mine's operation. The Stonewall ore body was tabular in shape, somewhat resembling an 800-foot table balanced precariously on one corner, its uppermost edge breaking the surface of the earth where Charles Hensley found it in 1870. Like all Cuyamaca lodes, the ore body was aligned northwest-southeast. It plunged steeply to the southeast. The veins formed a dense network varying in width from a few inches to as much as 20 feet. The gold was very fine, free-milling, and usually invisible.<sup>6</sup> In 1870, the original discoverers had sunk a shaft approximately 350 feet deep near the ore body, not far from where Hensley made his discovery. Today only a sink hole marks the site. This shaft provided access to the shallow northwestern upper half of the ore body, but it was poorly located to exploit its deeper half, the southeast-extending veins that dipped almost vertically into the earth.

To provide access to this gold, the Watermans made the decision to sink a second shaft south of the old shaft from which miners could excavate the remainder of the ore body. The endeavor was expensive, and doubtless, Robert W. Waterman had to utilize some of the profits from his silver mines to pay for the sinking of the shaft. The decision also was risky since no one knew if the ore body, in fact, extended further and deeper to the southeast. The new seventeen-by-six-foot shaft was divided into three compartments, two for hoisting and one for a man way. By sinking it to an ultimate depth of 600 feet, the Watermans opened a treasure chest.<sup>7</sup>

Waldo first mentioned the new shaft, intended to be 250 feet deep, in a letter to his father dated July 1, 1887. "The shaft is 70 feet this morning," he wrote.



*Stereoview of the Stonewall Mine, ca. 1872, before Robert W. Waterman bought it. ©SDHS #21446.*

Through July and August he continued to report its progress, noting that the rock varied in hardness so that sometimes the miners made as little as 10 feet a week and sometimes as much as 15 feet. By December 7, he could say, "The shaft is finished."<sup>8</sup>

To sink the shaft Waldo let contracts to teams of miners who received pay for each foot of shaft they excavated. According to one source, the Watermans paid \$30 to the team of miners for every foot of shaft they sank (tunnels cost only \$12 per foot), while in 1890 Waldo wrote that they paid \$40 per foot.<sup>9</sup> The Watermans probably paid both amounts at different times as the shaft became deeper. This meant that the Watermans spent between \$18,000 and \$24,000 to sink the new 600-foot Stonewall shaft.

During this early period in the Waterman ownership of the mine, Waldo was prepared to invest money for new equipment to increase the mine's productivity. On August 31, 1887 he wrote that they had just received two Burleigh drills at the mine (made by the Ingersoll Company). These large steel-mounted drills were far more efficient than hand drills, but more cumbersome to use. They proved impossible in cramped quarters. A few days after their arrival, Waldo wrote to his father, "The drills have come and are at work. As yet they have not increased the sinking, for the boys have not gotten the hang of them."<sup>10</sup> At first, steam powered the drills. Not until April 1888 did workmen install the first air compressor at the mine.<sup>11</sup>

The Watermans also knew that if their scheme for expanding the Stonewall were successful, they would have to hire more workers and provide housing for them at the isolated Stonewall Mine. Such were the origins of the company town of Cuyamaca that eventually included two bunkhouses, a boarding house, about 20 miners' cottages, a school, barns, and a home for Waldo and his family. Waldo first mentioned the possibility of the project in December 1887: "Hosking [W. R. Hosking, the mine foreman] & I were up on the hill back of Stonewall looking at the surrounding country today. It is hard to pick out a townsite [sic]. I think the present sight [just north of the mine] with some of the adjacent land is really the best."<sup>12</sup>



*This photo from ca. 1903 shows the Cuyamaca Hotel, formerly a boarding house built at the mine site. Theron Griffith, a Marston Company employee, camped with his family in Cuyamaca and took several photographs of the town and mine. Courtesy of Marjorie Reeves.*

At the same time that Waldo was overseeing the sinking of the shaft, acquiring modern equipment, and choosing a site for the town, he had to help pay expenses by extracting gold from the old mine and running it through the Stonewall's 10-stamp mill. His letters suggest that gold in the old Stonewall Mine was virtually exhausted. On May 23, 1887, he wrote to his father, "I rode up to Stonewall last night from Comb's [Descanso] and found everything running smoothly. Hosking & I went through the mine in the evening. He thinks things look pretty blue [bad] and so they do." On July 4 he wrote, "Things run on here as when I last wrote. Yes, we are hunting for ore all the time but without success. We have run nearly 100 feet of crosscuts [tunnels through barren rock in search of ore] in the last 2 months & I am beginning to get discouraged in that line." On August 24 he wrote, "The rock is very poor & I don't expect to be able to get out enough bullion to square up the payroll." Finally, Waldo optimistically gave instructions to close down the old mine and temporarily shut down the mill in expectation of shifting production entirely to the new shaft: "We have swept everything clean in the mine & will finish crushing it in about 3 or 4 days. I will give everything in the mill a thorough renovating & have everything in tip top order for making a \$20,000 run in December [from the new shaft]."<sup>13</sup> In 1886 and 1887 the mine produced only \$125,000 in gold, or an average of \$8,300 a month. Utilizing the new shaft, in the bonanza years that followed, miners would double, then triple, monthly revenue from the mine.<sup>14</sup>

### **Bonanza, 1888-1890**

After the shaft was completed on December 7, 1887, workers began to search for the ore body. Waldo wrote, "the work of cross cutting starts slow. We have 12 men working on it but a fair start has not yet been made." Three days later he wrote, "the beginning of the cross cut work goes slow, and I see no way of hurrying it. The ground is terribly hard and dulls an immense number of drills and we are just at starting, too cramped to use the Burleigh.... You need not look for any developments before about Christmas."<sup>15</sup> By December 21 he wrote that the men had progressed seventeen feet from the shaft and he hoped that they would cut another twenty feet the next week.

Waldo was so eager to advance the crosscut that he refused to allow Christmas off for the workers involved. In the same letter he writes, "I have refused the request of some of the miners to allow Christmas for a holliday [sic]," but his conscience hurt him. "I don't know that I have done right," he wrote.

On December 26, 1887 miners struck gold. They discovered that the Stonewall ore body extended deeper and to the southeast, justifying the Watermans' plans for the mine. Waldo wrote, "Well we struck the ledge today. I think at any rate we struck 8 feet of quartz that prospects well and now have about 10 tons in the ore bunker." To celebrate the event he sent his father a memento of the occasion: "It is not overly rich but I send you by mail today the first piece containing free gold that was found....I have placed a bit of rock with the gold up and with a lead pencil mark around it. Wet the quartz and the gold will show better. I send this piece because it is the first." He also reported that he had rescinded his order denying the crew Christmas off: "We laid off Christmas & everyone was able to go to work [the day after Christmas]."<sup>16</sup> Because he could assume that henceforth mining



*By 1908, the Cuyamaca Hotel had been enlarged to accommodate visiting San Diegans. ©SDHS #10128.*

would proceed mostly in the new shaft he wrote to his father, "I had Hosking send tonight for 4 new miners. The extra ones we will keep at work prospecting in the old mine till they are needed in the new."<sup>17</sup>

In the next three years, the bonanza years, Stonewall miners removed all the gold ore they could find down to the 600-foot level. The method they used, drift mining, the standard technique for exploiting a nineteenth-century mine, is hinted at in the events of December 1887.<sup>18</sup> From the shaft, miners made horizontal cross cut tunnels until they reached the tabular ore body. This was not far from the Stonewall shaft, which at times actually yielded gold ore itself.<sup>19</sup> When the crosscut reached the ore body, miners began drifting along it, using overhand stoping [working above shoulder level] to remove the ore. While it may seem inefficient, overhand stoping took advantage of the power of gravity. Working high brought ore and waste down to the floor of the drift where trammers could load it in cars to roll to the shaft. Overhand stoping necessitated building working platforms as well as ore chutes and timbering to support the roof of the opening as the stope grew higher and larger until miners broke through into the level above. Miners nearly always worked upward as the mine sank ever deeper under their feet.

Work would continue until Hosking and Waldo decided that the level was exhausted and the time had come to deepen the shaft to create a newer, lower level. In time, miners established six levels, with a total length of about 3,600 feet, making the Stonewall by far the most extensive Cuyamaca mine. In the years ahead, the Watermans would extend the shaft four times. It had reached the 300-foot level when Waldo wrote on September 21, 1888; the 400-foot level by about January 16, 1889; the 500-foot level by August 4, 1890; and the 600-foot level by November 3, 1890. During the bonanza, the owners sank the shaft 200 feet in less than three months.<sup>20</sup>

Encouraged by the strike, Waldo wrote to his father, "Have no fear for the financial future. I will guarantee to make more than expenses this month, and I will show you how soon we can cancel a \$92,000 debt [this was debt incurred from

other commitments, not only the Stonewall]...I expect soon to be piling up the bullion in good shape. It will only take a few days more to get everything going again."<sup>21</sup> But depression soon replaced Waldo's euphoria as the ore inevitably faltered. Only two weeks later, on January 30, 1888, he wrote that "The mill is running steadily but the rock is poor. I would not be surprised if we have less than \$2500 in our clean up [when they shut down the mill to recover the gold]. At that rate we will only just about pay running expenses. I have the blues a little and I am very much disgusted with this mine."<sup>22</sup> He then described how the three veins they had discovered all seemed to "pinch out." The next week he wrote, "We have one stope of ore that is nearly 15 feet wide but is only about 20 feet long and the rock is very low grade though there must be a good streak some place in it." He was aware of the oscillations in his mood, concluding, "I am alternately expectant and blue, but seldom joyous."<sup>23</sup>

He learned a good deal about the quality of the mine over the course of the first few months. "The last two days, the rock has been extra good," he wrote on February 10, "More quicksilver has been fed into the battery [the pan in which the stamps crushed the ore] than at any time since I have been here. We have had no occasion to open the battery to look into it for 5 or 6 days so I do not know how much amalgam is hanging in there but I expect a good deal."<sup>24</sup> He explained that he could not gauge the mine's production because the gold was so fine that no one could identify its presence without an assay. "I ought to have an assayer here now. No mill & mine should be run without one...If I had an assayer I could tell just what percentage of the gold we are saving and losing, as it is I know nothing about it." On February 13—only three days later—he wrote, "In this last strike the rock is not rich. I will put every effort forward to get the richest rock first. I am so far very much disappointed in the Stonewall Mine." However, at the end of March 1888, he wrote, "We are again in about 6 feet of fine quartz. Yesterday we took over \$500.00 off of the plates alone, more than that much is supposed to have staid in the battery. Possibly twice that much. At present the Stonewall is a daisy."<sup>25</sup>

Stonewall went into bonanza in 1887-1890 as the ore increased in both volume and richness. Early on, the price per ounce was about \$16.00 but it soon rose to above \$17. The gold production for the month of February 1888 was \$19,753.67, compared to only \$8,300 before the strike at the new shaft.<sup>26</sup> This was good news to Waterman who was about \$230,000 in debt. His son calculated, "that since you bought the Stonewall that you have made about \$15,000 out of it [i.e., above the mine's purchase price, the cost of sinking the shaft, materials, labor costs, etc.]. Considering all you have risked that is not much to make but I hope that next year and a half will make the profits about ten times that much, that is \$150,000. However time will tell."<sup>27</sup>

The success of the mine encouraged the Watermans to make improvements to the surrounding area. They paid for the construction of more residences for the growing number of miners needed at the mine. They made arrangements for a new telephone line to be laid from Poway to Stonewall which went into operation in July 1889.<sup>28</sup> Waldo also organized a local school; it opened in January 1889.<sup>29</sup> The Watermans did not hire a physician to live at the mine but, instead, arranged for Dr. M. E. Munger "to reside in Julian and look after the health of the residents of Stonewall. I think he is a very good man."<sup>30</sup>

On January 14, 1889, Waldo closed the books on the preceding year. During



*A party of visitors play croquet under the trees. In the rear of the photograph is the "Governor's House" where Waldo Waterman lived. ©SDHS #11263.*

1888, he reported, the mine yielded \$196,000, or \$16,300 per month, double the production in 1886-1887. Of this sum, profit was \$108,000, while expenses were \$88,000. He had spent \$8,000 in improvements during the year, while the governor received a salary of \$6,000 a year. Never in his letters did Waldo name the salary he received, but it was probably much less than his father's. In February 1889, he wrote a heartfelt letter to his father, asking for an increase in salary since he was about to marry for the second time. He noted that he knew of a Grass Valley mine superintendent who received between \$400 and \$500 a month and "a very nice comfortable house." To induce his father to increase his pay, he summed up the mine's progress under his supervision, saying that "a little over a year ago the success of the Stonewall was doubtful." It had, however, produced \$196,000 in bullion in the preceding year, 1888, and "we now have in sight rock enough of the same quality as last year's rich enough to run the mill for 4 years and enough rock of a low grade to run for from 4 to 6 years. There is from one to two million dollars now in sight." If the governor did not believe him, mine foreman Hosking would tell him the same thing. Waldo concluded with the statement, "I know that you have your plans regarding my marriage. However, I wish to know what they are," adding, "I don't like uncertainties."<sup>31</sup>

On March 8, 1889, Waldo painted the most grandiose picture of the Stonewall in all his letters. Intoxicated by the ore exposed in the mine, spurred by the completion of 100 feet of new shaft that brought the mine down to the 400-foot level, he wrote that the mine would prosper for at least eight more years. In that event a 40-stamp mill would be needed, as well as a new hoist works and a Cornish pump, required to lift water from a deep mine. Miners would have to sink the shaft to between 1,000 and 1,500 feet, while all the improvements would cost \$75,000. None of Waldo's ambitious plans as he described them became a reality. He completed several of these projects, but on a smaller scale than he estimated.

In June 1889, no doubt having received permission from his father to expend the necessary funds, Waldo began planning a new hoisting works and mill, not one with forty stamps, but with twenty. The original 10-stamp mill must have been a bottleneck in the mine's production. Although ore was flowing at a greater rate from the mine, it had to pass through the small and old mill which dated from 1872.<sup>32</sup> He accepted bids on a new gallow's frame, a 20-stamp mill (whose batteries were manufactured by the Union Iron Works of San Francisco), a tramway connecting hoist and mill, and other buildings.<sup>33</sup> Ultimately, he settled on a contractor who was to receive \$400 a month for expenses.

Waldo remained concerned about the possibility of spying or theft at the Stonewall. He had strong views about the relative honesty of the ethnic groups who worked at the mill, where workers had a tempting opportunity to steal amalgam. In October 1890, Waldo, writing about the six mill workers at the mine, an Irish American, a Scotsman, and four Americans, said: "I may be mistaken of course but I think all the boys are honest." But he added, "I never saw a Cornishman [an immigrant miner from Cornwall] yet that I would have around a mill & there are few Irish that can be trusted."<sup>34</sup> Whether Waldo, in the pursuit of security, applied his prejudices when hiring is unknown.

Early in 1888, Robert Waterman wrote that he believed there was a spy in the district employed by Juan Luco, one of the four men who purchased Cuyamaca Rancho in 1869, and with whom the Watermans were in litigation. Waldo disagreed, "No I don't think Luco has a spy here. Most of the boys are old and reliable hands." But he did note that the *San Diego Union* had recently published an article about new discoveries at the Stonewall. He had no idea how the newspaper had obtained its information.<sup>35</sup> In a later letter, however, he came around to his father's view about a possible Luco spy: "I don't like the idea of going over to Harpers [a family of settlers in Rattlesnake Valley]. If Luco has a spy in this section of the country it is in the Harper family. I know that they have written to Luco."<sup>36</sup> He thought that the spy might be an employee of the nearby San Diego Flume Company or a disgruntled former Stonewall miner.<sup>37</sup>

Waldo was uneasy about sending bullion on the stage down to San Diego. In February 1888, he told his father, "I have not yet sent the bar of \$1500.00 to the bank. I don't like to send it by the present driver." A year later, little had changed. He wrote, "I think I will keep the bullion from the last clean up till after the first and then go down with a guard. There have been a couple of suspicious characters around lately but I am unable to locate them just now."<sup>38</sup> He preferred to send bullion to the city in the possession of a trusted employee rather than in the hands of a stage driver.

Waldo even considered the security of his communications with his father: "We must get two cipher books so that we can telegraph without everyone knowing what we are talking about." It seems unlikely that the two ever actually used ciphers when sending telegrams for the governor had only three months to live when Waldo wrote his letter.<sup>39</sup>

Waldo and his father occasionally disagreed about technical innovations to increase production. On January 9, 1889, he wrote a long letter arguing against his father's proposal to shut down the amalgamation operation and introduce Frue concentrators, sometimes called vanners, to treat the gold ore mechanically.<sup>40</sup> Governor Waterman then wanted to ship the concentrate to Selby in Northern

California for processing. Waldo successfully argued that it would be costly to bag and ship the concentrate, while the existing amalgamation process was cheap and quite efficient. Only reluctantly did Waldo order a concentrator, but in time he came to accept its use to treat "sulphurets," compounds of gold with sulfur or other metals that would not amalgamate with mercury.<sup>41</sup> Fortunately, nearly all Stonewall gold was free-milling, "sulphurets" making up only one-tenth of one percent of the gold recovered.<sup>42</sup>

The Stonewall continued its high production through 1889. Notable were the August production of between \$20,000 and \$21,000 and the October production of about \$22,800.<sup>43</sup> In December, miners discovered a vein of ore on the 400-foot level that was 40 feet long and four feet wide. Waldo was sanguine about the future, writing, "I hope to do a large amount of development in the next year and if the quartz is there I will show you a very fair mine." Production for the year 1889 was \$214,000, for a record high of \$17,800 a month.<sup>44</sup>

Miners remained in short supply, particularly during periods of peak production. While the Stonewall employed pneumatic drills, it also utilized hand drilling on a large scale. "We are having the greatest time we have ever had getting & keeping good men," Waldo wrote. "We are short handed in nearly every particular. I expected 8 miners in last night from Amador Co. but they failed to materialize."<sup>45</sup> On June 6, 1890, Waldo advertised in the *Julian Sentinel*, "Wanted. Miners at the Stonewall Mine. Ten first-class, A 1 Miners for double hand work [two-man drilling teams] in hard rock. None but experienced men need apply. W. S. Waterman, Supt." A month later, he repeated the advertisement but increased the number of miners wanted to twenty-five.

Several accidents occurred as miners rushed to get out as much ore as possible. In March 1890, Waldo wrote, "We are having considerable trouble in the mine in one way & another. We had a cave[-in] which nearly entombed two men. Though it hurt no one and did no permanent injury yet it took some time to repair. Now one of our stopes is caving and threatens to cause us a good deal of trouble."<sup>46</sup> On another occasion, there was "a slight accident a few days ago while timbering the station in the new shaft. Some loose ground fell on one or two of the men and [one] man had his head, arm, and foot bruised some. I am acting doctor and expect to have him all O.K. in a week."<sup>47</sup> Once, an empty man cage fell the length of the shaft. Waldo promptly fired the hoist engineer because he knew the miners could no longer trust the engineer's judgment.<sup>48</sup> A miner named William Allen was hurt when the cage came down on him. Eventually, Waldo settled "out of court" with Allen, agreeing to give him 40 acres of land, two horses, two cows, a house, and \$100 "to start on" if Allen would not sue.<sup>49</sup> No one was ever killed in the Stonewall Mine under the Watermans, although in 1889 a rolling log crushed a sawmill worker to death.<sup>50</sup>

In 1890, a number of cave-ins frightened Waldo but did not injure anyone. On April 2, Waldo wrote, "The mine is looking as well as when I left, excepting that there has been quite an extensive cave on the 4th level. 12 x 12 timbers broke in two like straws. It is about all fixed up now and no permanent damage is done and no one hurt."<sup>51</sup> At the end of the year, another and much more extensive cave-in occurred: "I had quite a scare today. Bill [Hosking] came up & told me that the mine was caving clear to the 4th level. We went down & examined everything just as far as safety would permit. We cannot tell how extensive the cave is at present

but I do not think it is dangerous. There is a good deal of loose rock falling around that makes a terrible racket." Happily, he reported, only the upper levels seemed to have been affected: "The caves are on the 2nd and 3rd levels but do not interfere with the 4th & lower levels at all. The shaft is not effected [sic] at all nor is it in any danger." After inspecting the mine, Waldo concluded that the work of extracting ore at the lower levels could proceed.<sup>52</sup>

Waldo continued to make major improvements at the mine. In a letter dated March 16, 1890, he mentioned for the first time that he wanted to lease a diamond drill for exploratory work in the Stonewall. However, it was not until November that he was able to obtain one and set it to work. He wrote, "The diamond drill is making slow progress while getting started but I think it will prove a success.... I timed it tonight & it drilled 1 foot in 15 minutes. The rock is our hardest. We should be able to drill 20 to 25 feet a shift."<sup>53</sup> For the next six months, until his father's death, Waldo often referred to the diamond drill's work in the mine. It was much cheaper to employ it when searching for ore than to have miners dig exploratory tunnels.

In 1890, Waldo solved a perennial problem: how to obtain an ample supply of good water for the mine. Before this date, unsatisfactory mine water was in general use. "The mine water is terribly hard on boilers," he wrote, "and as it carries more or less grease it throws unnecessary difficulties in the way of amalgamation [gold would not amalgamate if grease was present]."<sup>54</sup> He made the decision to lay a pipeline from what he called Cold Spring, high on Cuyamaca Peak (today known as Azalea Spring), to provide mine water. As early as March 16, he said he was completing the reservoir on the hill that was part of the system, but it took a month before he could write, "I have been using cold spring [Cold Spring] water almost entirely in the new mill and entirely in the old mill and you have no idea what a difference it makes in the tailings. I can save from one to two dollars a ton more with the cold spring water than with the mine water."<sup>55</sup> Unlike water from the mine, Cold Spring water could be used for culinary purposes. He also invested in a new pump to keep the mine water under control. On October 19, he wrote, "The big pump is started and it is a great success. We can handle 10 times the amount of water now on hand with this pump."

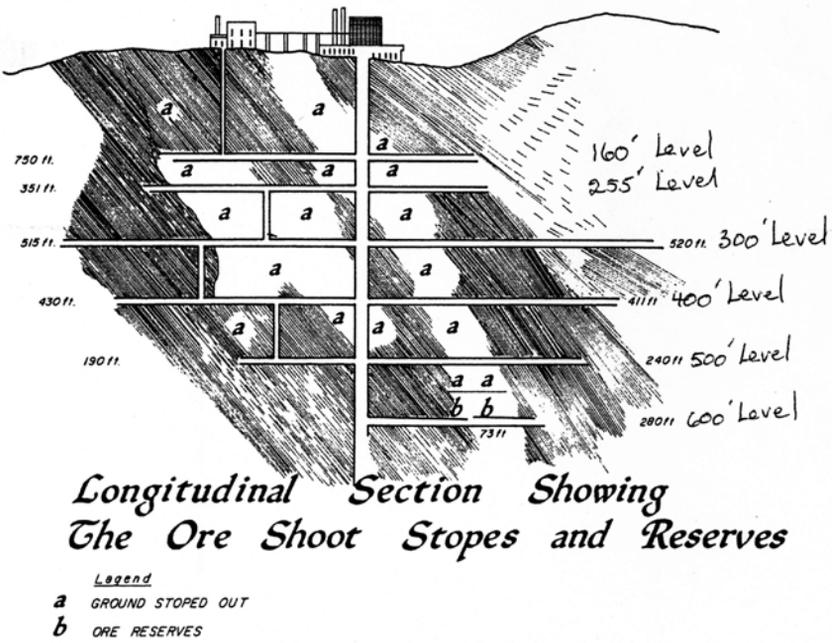
The Watermans spent an estimated \$75,000 on improvements to the Stonewall Mine, including diamond drills, an improved water system, and a new pump. In fact, they had built everything except the old mill, which was valued at less than \$10,000.<sup>56</sup>

They also made a great deal of money, particularly in 1890. This year gave the greatest gold yield in the Stonewall's history under the Watermans, particularly the months of August through November. Waldo estimated production at between \$25,000 and \$26,000 in August.<sup>57</sup> On October 19, Waldo wrote that they had had the best two-week run since the thirty stamps had been at work. October output was about \$36,000, the highest monthly production ever. November production Waldo estimated at about \$29,000. Carried away—for the last time—by the wealth flowing from the Stonewall, Waldo wrote to his father on August 6: "I have advertised for bids for running 1000 feet of tunnel but I hardly expect to have any that are satisfactory for the contract is too big for anyone in this country to take hold of."<sup>58</sup>

**In Borrasca, 1891**

The financial collapse of the Stonewall late in 1890 was unexpected, swift, and for Waldo, painful. He had taken credit for making the mine a success so he felt responsible for its failure. On January 18, 1891, Waldo wrote to his father: "Unless we can strike something new there is no more running to be had from Stonewall. I want you to come up soon & see for yourself just how things are and deside [sic] what to do."

A possible reason for the mine's collapse appears in a remark Waldo made in a letter dated August 4, 1890. He wrote, "I hope before August is over to get into good rock on the 5th level..." But more than two months later he wrote, "We have not as yet struck any ore on the 500 foot level," this at a time when the mine was still producing handsomely, but from shallower levels.<sup>59</sup> Little ore was to come from the 500-foot level and even less from the 600-foot level which miners sank at the end of the year. Obviously, the Stonewall ore body extended only to the 400-



**Figure 5: Longitudinal cross section showing ore shoot, stopes and reserves**

**Source: Wm. P. Miller, M.E. "Descriptive Report on the Stonewall Mine"**

*Longitudinal cross section of the Stonewall Mine showing the ore shoot, stopes and reserves. Source: William P. Miller, M. E. Descriptive Report on the Stonewall Mine, ca. 1891.*

foot level. Beyond that, to use an expression Waldo favored, it pinched out.

The map of the mine that William P. Miller drew for his *Descriptive Report on the Stonewall Mine* confirms this theory.<sup>60</sup> It shows that on the 300-foot level miners cuts drifts extending along the ore body for 1,035 feet (the longest of all drifts), and they drifted 841 feet on the fourth level, but only 430 feet on the fifth and 280 feet on the sixth level. Miners found the Stonewall's most plentiful gold on the 300-foot and 400-foot level, but little below that.

As early as November 1890, Waldo suspected that something was amiss. "The bullion will be down tomorrow," he wrote. "There will be only \$12,500. I want to get back & get Bill [Hosking] to rustle in some better rock if there is any to rustle. I did not expect it to fall so low as that."<sup>61</sup> In December he began cutting back on the work force: "Our force of men is about as small as we can get along with. The payroll for Nov. is \$2000 less than for Oct. and I expect that for Dec. it will be \$1000 less than for Nov. I can make no further reductions."<sup>62</sup> At the end of the month, he wrote: "Things look about the same here as for some time past. There is no improvement. Our good rock is all gone & I fear much for the results of next month. I think we can pay our expenses but it is about all we can do after Jan. 1, 1891 until we strike more & better ore. I hate to talk blue but it is true."<sup>63</sup>

Miners never found the "more & better ore" that Waldo hoped for. In fact, the quality of the ore declined in 1891, leaving Waldo despondent. On January 16, he wrote, "We cleaned up yesterday & today & will retort & melt tomorrow. We will have about \$6000 with possibly a few hundred but less than \$500. I hardly know what to do. At this rate we can do but little. We cannot pay expenses even, let alone [make] a profit." Two days later, Waldo wrote in the same spirit, indicating how deeply the failure of the Stonewall had affected him: "Our cleanup was a great disappointment to me. I didn't expect much but I did not expect so very little as we got, \$4700. I have not shipped it yet & will not unless you say for me to. I am too ashamed of it."<sup>64</sup>



*Stonewall Mine, abandoned, ca. 1903. Courtesy of Marjorie Reeves.*

In late January 1891, Waldo decided to shut down the old mill with its ten stamps, and let more miners go. He also raised the question of closing down the Stonewall: "Our rock here is not turning out much of anything. I hope to get permission [from his father] to close down soon."<sup>65</sup> A few days later, on February 8, he wrote: "Our next shipment will be very small of course. The ore that is going through the mill [only one mill now] will not begin to pay our expenses. It will lack several thousand dollars of so doing. We are practically running for glory now." In mid-February, he wrote pessimistically about the 600-foot level, concluding, "I hardly know which way to turn.... I don't know what to do.... Am nearly crazy myself.... I think that the best thing to do financially is to shut down on or about the first of March."<sup>66</sup>

During the next six weeks Waldo wrote more discouraging letters to his father but he received no reply to his last, dated April 7. On April 12, 1891, Robert W. Waterman died of pneumonia in San Diego. For some time the Watermans continued to operate the Stonewall, but at a low level. According to historian H. Robert McAleer, in 1891 the mine yielded only \$124,848 (\$10,404 per month) and in the first three months of 1892, it produced only \$21,582 (\$7,194 per month) in gold.<sup>67</sup> The mine closed early in 1893.

## Conclusion

The Watermans had purchased the Stonewall Mine assuming that its ore body extended farther southeast and deeper than it did. For three years miners harvested a steadily increasing stream of gold from the mine. When it collapsed late in 1890, Waldo was forced to accept the fact that the mine would not yield any more wealth, despite his best efforts. His father, Robert W. Waterman, did not live long enough to calculate the returns on his investment. But Waldo must have taken some satisfaction in learning that the mine had produced over one million dollars worth of gold in just three years.<sup>68</sup>

In 1893, Waldo and Hazel Wood Waterman moved from Cuyamaca to San Diego. Waldo dealt with a series of financial crises caused by his father's death and the closure of the mine. The economic crisis of the 1890s nearly forced the Waterman estate into bankruptcy. Gradually, however, Waldo regained sufficient capital to build a house on the northwest corner of Hawthorn and Albatross, hiring the young Irving Gill to serve as architect. Hazel Wood Waterman's experience working with Gill led her to seek employment in his studio



*Hazel Wood Waterman, October 1921. ©SDHS #88:16649-5.*

after her husband's unexpected death at the age of forty-three. She soon became an accomplished architect in her own right, designing the new building for the Wednesday Club (1910-11), restoring the Estudillo House (1909), and executing a number of other commissions.<sup>69</sup> It is tempting to suggest that the Watermans' misfortunes at the Stonewall Mine made a lasting impact on the architectural heritage of San Diego.<sup>70</sup>

## NOTES

1. The 385 letters from Waldo to his father are in Boxes 14 and 15 of the Waterman Family Papers at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. In order to preserve the flavor of the originals I will quote the letters as Waldo wrote them, without corrections. Regrettably the correspondence is almost entirely one-sided because very few of Robert Waterman's letters to his son have survived.
2. *San Diego Union*, March 29, 1870. The best general source for the history of the mine is H. Robert McAleer, *Stonewall Mine and Cuyamaca City* (Sacramento: California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1986). For more information about the history of the Stonewall Mine see Chapter Six, "The Stonewall and Ranchita Mines," in Leland Fetzer, *A Good Cap: Mines of Julian and the Cuyamacas* (San Diego: Sunbelt Publications, Inc., 2002).
3. Alexandra Helen Luberski. *Robert W. Waterman, 1887-1891: California's Forgotten Progressive* (master's thesis, San Diego State University, 1984).
4. Quoted in Sally Bullard Thornton, *Daring to Dream: The Life of Hazel Wood Waterman* (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1987), 22. Thornton's work, also based upon Bancroft Library records, gives an excellent overview of Hazel Wood Waterman's activities in San Diego.
5. Quoted in Thornton, *Daring to Dream: The Life of Hazel Wood Waterman*, 47.
6. F. Harold Weber, *Geology and Mineral Resources of San Diego County* (San Francisco: California Division of Mines, 1963), 133, 135.
7. California State Mining Bureau, *Report, X*, (1891), 541.
8. Waldo S. Waterman to Robert W. Waterman, July 1 and December 7, 1887, Waterman Family Papers, Boxes 14 and 15, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter Waterman Papers).
9. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1890. Officially, the price of gold was \$20.67 a troy ounce, but thanks to the fact that it contained impurities, the actual price that Cuyamaca miners received for their gold was between \$15.00 and \$18.00. Today the price of gold is about 30 times higher, but the cost of goods and wages has also greatly increased since the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
10. Waldo to R. W. Waterman, August 31 and September 2, 1887, Waterman Papers.
11. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1888.
12. *Ibid.*, December 23, 1887.
13. *Ibid.*, May 23, July 4, August 24 and September 3, 1887.
14. *Ibid.*, November 20, 1889; California State Mining Bureau, *Report, VIII* (1888), 516.
15. Waldo to R. W. Waterman, December 9 and 12, 1887, Waterman Papers.
16. *Ibid.*, December 26, 1887.
17. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1887.
18. Otis E. Young, Jr., *Western Mining*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 157-160.
19. Waldo to R. W. Waterman, August 12, 1888, and January 28, 1889, Waterman Papers.
20. There was a variant to this scheme. After the miners exhausted a level they sometimes cut a vertical shaft, called a winze, downward from the drift to follow the ore body. As they stopped upward from a lower level they met the winze sunk from the level above. So, for example, Waldo wrote on February 3, 1888, "I have been down in the winze twice since the water was drained out of it. We will

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connect with it soon." On February 13, he wrote that miners had made "the winze connection." Waldo to R. W. Waterman, February 3 and 13, 1888, Waterman Papers.

21. Ibid., January 13, 1888.

22. Ibid., January 30, 1888.

23. Ibid., February 6, 1888.

24. Ibid., February 10, 1888.

25. Ibid., March 28, 1888.

26. Ibid., March 12, 1888, January 21, 1889 and November 3, 1890. The price remained above \$17 per ounce with the exception of a single shipment in October 1890 when the mine received the highest price ever, \$18.30 per ounce. When reporting to his father about returns from the mine, Waldo used several different measures. One of these was his estimate for the amount of gold recovered from a single mill clean-up. Unfortunately, he ordered clean-ups at irregular intervals, apparently about every 10 days or two weeks. As a result the dollar figures for clean-ups vary significantly. Another dollar amount he cited for his father was returns from the San Francisco Mint. These included the total value of the gold as well as the return per ounce. Silver, much less valuable, combined with gold affected its value. For example, on March 12, 1888, Waldo wrote that the latest shipment had returned \$13,177.46 while the price was \$16.60 per ounce. But because Waldo sent shipments from the mine irregularly, the figures from the mint are also not very helpful in tracing the mine's production. The most useful figure Waldo cited in his letters was the total for monthly production. Under close inspection these provide a reliable indicator of fluctuations in the mine's production.

27. Waldo to R. W. Waterman, May 18, 1888, Waterman Papers.

28. In the summer of 1885, workers had laid a telephone line from Poway to the Stonewall. The *San Diego Union* reported that a "perfect connection" existed between the mine and San Diego. But the line remained undependable, so Waldo made arrangements for a new line at \$25.00 per mile, the telephone line going into operation about July 1, 1889. *San Diego Union*, September 17, 1885; Waldo to R. W. Waterman, September 17, 1888, June 19, 1889, Waterman Papers.

29. Ibid., January 16, 1889.

30. Ibid., October 3, 1888.

31. Ibid., February 25, 1889.

32. In 1872, the *San Diego Union* reported that the Stonewall's new 10-stamp mill would soon go into operation. *San Diego Union*, May 27, 1872, 3.

33. Waldo to R. W. Waterman, June 26, 1889. During the last three months of the year, Waldo's letters contain many references to the project, but for some reason completion of the work was delayed. On January 20, 1890, however, he reported that the new hoist had been started up; on January 30 he reported that "We get quartz into the mill today and start the crusher. Tomorrow we drop the stamps." After this date the Stonewall ran 30 stamps, but evidence suggests that the two mills ran at full capacity for less than one year.

34. Ibid., October 28, 1890.

35. Ibid., January 2, 1888.

36. Ibid., February 24, 1888.

37. Ibid., March 12, 1888.

38. Ibid., February 8, February 22, 1888.

39. Ibid., December 30, 1890.

40. For information about concentrators see Young, *Western Mining*, 136-140.

41. Waldo to R. W. Waterman, February 9 and March 13, 1889, Waterman Papers.

42. California State Mining Bureau, *Report*, X, (1891), 541.

43. Waldo to R. W. Waterman, September 1 and November 12, 1889, Waterman Papers.

44. Ibid., September 19 and December 6, 1889, January 27, 1890.

45. *Ibid.*, August 19, 1890. On July 9, 1890 Waldo wrote to his father: "The mine is looking quite well but we are sadly in need of men for mining."
  46. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1890.
  47. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1887.
  48. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1888.
  49. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1890, February 15, 1891.
  50. *Ibid.*, September 22, 1889.
  51. *Ibid.*, April 2, 1890.
  52. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1890.
  53. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1890.
  54. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1889.
  55. *Ibid.*, March 16, April 16 and October 19, 1890.
  56. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1890. This figure may not have included the monies spent on sinking a new shaft. In March, an insurance agent appraised its improvements at \$87,500, including the mill. Waldo agreed that this was appropriate.
  57. *Ibid.*, August 4, 1890. Regrettably, Waldo in his letters never indicated total gold production for the bonanza year of 1890. Writing on May 16, 1890, however, he said that "We have shipped \$97,000 since the new mill started [on February 1]," or \$27,700 per month. Extrapolated for the year, this would give a total of \$332,400. McAleer, without providing a source (the U. S. Mint?), writes that production for 1890 was \$344,231, or \$28,686 per month. Production had risen by more than 50% compared with 1889, which had been the most productive year so far. McAleer, *Stonewall Mine*, 46.
  58. Waldo to R. W. Waterman, November 3 and December 4, 1890, Waterman Papers.
  59. *Ibid.*, October 19, 1890.
  60. Reproduced in McAleer, *Stonewall Mine*, 41.
  61. Waldo to R. W. Waterman, November 17, 1890, Waterman Papers.
  62. *Ibid.*, December 7, 1890.
  63. *Ibid.*, December 21, 1890.
  64. *Ibid.*, January 16, 18, 1891.
  65. *Ibid.*, January 25, 1891, February 4, 1891.
  66. *Ibid.*, February 15, 1891.
  67. McAleer, *Stonewall Mine*, 46.
  68. According to McAleer, under their ownership, the mine produced \$906,063. McAleer, however, believed that no accounts were available for the years 1886-1887, unaware of Waldo's letter dated November 20, 1889 where he wrote that in these years the mine yielded \$125,000 in gold. Adding this to McAleer's total gives \$1,031,063 for total production under the Watermans. Waldo's letters provide slightly different figures. Waldo wrote that from 1886 to the end of 1889, the mine yielded \$535,000, but he supplies no figures for 1890-1892. If we borrow McAleer's numbers for these later years, then the total is \$1,025,661, which differs little from McAleer's total. McAleer, *Stonewall Mine*, 46.
  69. Thornton, *Daring to Dream: The Life of Hazel Wood Waterman*, 55, 63, 105.
  70. Waldo and Hazel Watermans' son Waldo, a pioneer aviator and inventor, made the first glider flight in San Diego at age 15 in 1909 at Albatross and Maple Streets.
- My special thanks go to Richard H. Lawson and James Newland, each of whom in his own way contributed to this essay. This essay is dedicated to the memory of Tom Crandall.

**“Your Affectionate Son, Robinson”**  
**American Expansionism and the Life of Captain**  
**Abraham Robinson Johnston, 1815-1846**

**Winner of the 2005 Milton Fintzelberg Memorial Award**

**Steven L. Wright**

*“I trust I may yet have many opportunities of meeting you again, but should I be denied that satisfaction, I trust I shall bear in mind the good you have done for me, and ever strive to imitate your example, and, pray that in leaving this world I may leave behind me so good a name.”*

Abraham Robinson Johnston to father, John Johnston, July 30, 1845<sup>1</sup>

Captain Abraham Robinson Johnston of the First U. S. Dragoons was the first casualty in the Battle of San Pasqual, fought between the U. S. and *Californio* forces on December 6, 1846. Serving in the Army of the West under the command of General Stephen Watts Kearny, he and his fellow soldiers traveled 2,000 miles from Fort Leavenworth to obtain western territories from Mexico. Johnston remarked in a letter to his father that he hoped to see the Pacific Ocean, mentioning that he found San Diego, in particular the area around Warner’s Ranch, to be “a most enchanting sight.” His death, at the age of thirty-one, cut short his reflections. A series of letters and a gravestone remain the only physical evidence that he lived and died.<sup>2</sup>

Johnston’s correspondence, dating from 1830 to 1846, lifts the shroud that for one-hundred and sixty years has concealed this idealistic and heretofore “unknown” soldier. The letters offer compelling views of frontier military life as well as elucidating opinions of an articulate soldier caught in the whirlwind of history—from Indian removal and expansionism to slavery and national politics. Additionally, they afford a glimpse into an intimate and enduring father-son relationship that transcended death. By elevating Captain Johnston from the ranks of “expendable obscurity,” the letters may help Americans and San Diegans, in particular, appreciate the personal costs associated with nineteenth-century American expansionism. At a minimum, Robinson’s life serves as a symbol for his and subsequent generations who served in the army but lacked the voice and education to articulate their thoughts and experiences to an indifferent and complacent society.<sup>3</sup>

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*The San Pasqual Valley, southeast of Escondido, was the site of one of the bloodiest battles in the U.S. effort to win California from Mexico on December 6, 1846. ©SDHS FEP #872.*

## **Captain Abraham Robinson Johnston's Life**

Little is known of Robinson's early life. He was born on May 23, 1815, in Upper Piqua, Ohio, one of fifteen children born to John and Rachel Johnston. His father was a respected sage and ardent adventurer who helped settle the Old Northwest Territory. An immigrant from Ballyshannon, County Donegal, Ireland, who was raised in Pennsylvania, the elder Johnston worked initially in 1793 as a civilian contractor who supplied the troops of General "Mad" Anthony Wayne. After the Battle of Fallen Timbers, Johnston returned to Pennsylvania, finding employment as a copyist for the state Supreme Court clerk. In 1802, he eloped with sixteen-year-old Rachel Robinson, a pious and devoted Quaker. Together they sought a new life in the burgeoning frontier of the Old Northwest Territory where Johnston worked from 1802 to 1853 as an Indian Agent for the U.S. Government, a position that placed him in the forefront of the day's leading issue: the dispossession of Indians. It also afforded him the opportunity to interact with key military and political leaders, including Daniel Boone and General William Henry Harrison.<sup>4</sup>

The young Robinson arrived at West Point in July 1830, having turned fifteen years old two months earlier. His initial foray into military training was less than stellar. Robinson's age, coupled with his primitive education, left him unprepared for the rigorous educational and disciplinary standards introduced by Superintendent Brevet Major Sylvanus Thayer.<sup>5</sup> Robinson ranked seventy-fourth out of eighty-seven class members in mathematics and eighty-second in French, and committed forty offenses resulting in ninety-eight demerits. The elder Johnston admonished his son, declaring it imperative that he "rectify" the

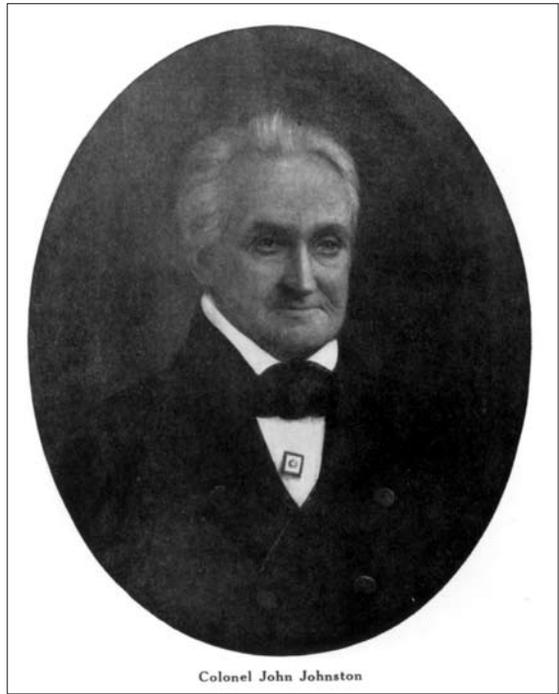
situation. They were not wealthy and he had hoped one of his sons would be educated so they could lead a more fruitful life. "Make your calculations for going through a regular course at West Point . . ." the elder Johnston wrote. "May you my son prove to be everything that I wish you and in your mature years be ranked among the publick [sic] men, the patriots and sages of your country."<sup>6</sup> Johnston emphasized that very few individuals were permitted as many advantages in life; it was solely up to Robinson whether or not he became "a man of some distinction in the world."<sup>7</sup>

Despite his father's admonishments, Robinson had to repeat his freshman year, becoming a member of the class of 1835.<sup>8</sup> As Robinson began to understand the importance the family placed on him earning a military commission, his academic performance improved.

<sup>9</sup> This awareness undoubtedly played a significant role in his successive accomplishments as well as suppressing news that would derail expectations. In late 1834, and anticipating the rapidly approaching June graduation, the elder Johnston congratulated Robinson on his fine work, emphasizing that "soon you will be done there and enter upon a new scene of operations."<sup>10</sup> At his graduation, he ranked twenty-eighth in a class of fifty-four.

Robinson earned a commission as a Brevet Second Lieutenant in the newly formed First U.S. Dragoons.<sup>11</sup> The largest branch of the antebellum army was the infantry, with a majority of units stationed at the leading edge of America's frontier. The Plains Indians referred to the soldiers derogatorily as "walk-a-heaps," due to their inability to maneuver and fight effectively. The adeptness of Indians on horses constantly hampered the seemingly moribund infantry troops. After finally overcoming persistent bureaucratic reluctance, on March 2, 1833, Congress authorized the creation of a quick action striking force. This mounted regiment called "dragoons" was the first cavalry to be part of the Regular Army since 1815.<sup>12</sup>

The dragoons' main mission was to patrol the expansive region and secure American hegemony.<sup>13</sup> During Robinson's era, this meant protecting settlers traveling toward the Oregon Territory, upholding Indian treaty obligations and, until 1845, monitoring the heated border between the United States, the independent Republic of Texas and a revengeful Mexico.<sup>14</sup>



Colonel John Johnston  
*John Johnston, ca. 1850s. Johnston mourned the death of his son, Captain Abraham Robinson Johnston, at the Battle of San Pasqual. He worked to persuade the Army to return his son's remains to Piqua, Ohio. Courtesy of the Cincinnati Museum Center at Union Terminal, Cincinnati Historical Society Library.*

A rectangular box containing a handwritten signature in cursive. The text reads "Your affectionate son" on the first line and "Robinson" on the second line. The ink is dark and the handwriting is fluid and personal.

Captain Abraham Robinson Johnston wrote numerous letters to his father, describing the conditions of soldiers on the western frontier. He signed his letters, "your affectionate son, Robinson." Colonel John Johnston Papers, Letter #234, November 12, 1844. Courtesy of the Cincinnati Museum Center at Union Terminal, Cincinnati Historical Society Library.

When Robinson reported for duty at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, the first full-scale defensive strategy for the frontier was underway in earnest. The military's overall plan consisted of positioning garrisons along a "military road" that buffered white settlements from Indian Territory. Throughout the 1820s and 1840s, differing opinions within the War Department over location of the posts and relative troop strength delayed the strategy's full implementation until the eve of the U. S.-Mexican War. By then, the chain of exterior posts included Fort Wilkins (Upper Peninsula of Michigan), followed by Fort Snelling (Minnesota), Fort Leavenworth (Kansas), Fort Scott (Kansas), Fort Smith (Arkansas), and finally, Fort Jessup (Louisiana), in the South. The main cache of men and supplies was located in St. Louis at Jefferson Barracks, a central point from where frontier posts were replenished. The exterior posts were not only launching pads for dragoons and infantry troops, but served as a safe harbor for settlers under attack, and as a means of protecting Indians uprooted and forced to migrate from the East.<sup>15</sup>

White encroachment onto "new" Indian lands on the frontier concerned military leaders. To uphold the U.S. Government's treaty obligations, the military's senior leadership insisted on another disposable but adequate restraining force in areas located deep in the interior. The far-forward posts were not elaborately constructed or considered permanent. Usually, they amounted to little more than sod, log or adobe huts, and lacked any semblance of "modern" conveniences.<sup>16</sup> Several outposts were constructed, eventually including Fort Towson (Oklahoma) and Fort Washita (Oklahoma) on the Red River, Fort Gibson (Oklahoma) on the Arkansas River, as well as one near the Kansas River, and along the Missouri River at Table Creek. The military viewed these outposts as the most important defenses in the West, a bulwark against aggressive whites and newly arrived Indians from the East.<sup>17</sup>

Robinson's frontier life was considerably different from fellow officers headquartered in the vastly more refined East. Loneliness, exacerbated by weeks if not months of inactivity, weighed heavily on the minds of many frontier officers. With the exception of the occasional raid, a patrol into the hinterlands, or hunting expedition, most of the soldiers' time was relegated to the mundane routine of garrison duty. Expeditions away from the posts consisted of rigorous riding and monotonous marching over desolate lands in capricious weather.<sup>18</sup>

After completing temporary recruiting duty in Boston, Robinson rejoined his company newly assigned to Fort Gibson in Arkansas Territory. His earlier wish "not to see Fort Gibson again" had fallen on deaf ears.<sup>19</sup> As he wrote his father, the men "exhibited quiet signs of joy when I arrived, as they have been a good deal knocked about since I left." The whole unit was "badly off," he wrote, "living in the worst quarters imaginable and my company horses are actually in so bad a stable that I fear some morning to find them all crushed in [illegible]." To make

matters worse, only thirty-nine of sixty-eight men in his company owned horses "fit for service."<sup>20</sup>

Robinson's primitive surroundings and tedious inactivity did not go unnoticed. In late November 1840, Robinson was assigned to temporary duty in Baltimore, allowing sister Rebecca to chidingly poke fun at his situation. "I think it is much easier to become accustomed to the luxuries of appetite and ease of the eastern states, than it is the deprivations of the West. What think you, Brother Bob which would you prefer Fort Gibson, or Baltimore City with its oysters and its pretty women . . . ?" Rebecca offered her brother poignant reminiscences about growing up together in the country, and reflecting on the bounty of the fall season. "Would you not like to be at our old house at this season, the most delightful in the whole year, and then it is the season of plenty, of cider and apple butter," she wrote, "and all other comforts connected with a life in the country."<sup>21</sup> Recalling the numerous "seasons of plenty" must have crossed young Robinson's mind frequently.

One historian described "the antebellum West as a sportsman's paradise," because officers spent as much time "hunting, fishing, gambling, and racing horses as they did on military duties."<sup>22</sup> Robinson supplemented monotonous garrison life with frequent hunting expeditions, especially for indigenous animals. "Your glowing description of prairie life and the sport you have has quite put me in the notion of visiting the far west . . .," wrote brother William Johnston. "It must be glorious sport to one of your disposition to run down the old buffaloes and then the pleasure of catching those prairie dogs is beyond the conception of such a quiet sort of a being as myself."<sup>23</sup> To his father, Robinson described hunting prairie hens or "grouse," as he referred to them, as a very exciting sport.<sup>24</sup>

A benefit to junior officers like Robinson stationed on the frontier was the ability to exercise direct command and the flexibility to make decisions without constant field-grade supervision and bureaucratic review. The authority to train and employ a company-sized unit provided Robinson with personal and professional satisfaction.

In one instance in late 1844, Robinson commanded an expedition into the Wichita Mountains—the southwestern limit of the United States—to retrieve two white boys supposedly kidnapped a year earlier in Texas by Wichita Indians. A highpoint



Captain Robinson Johnston drew a sketch of the Pawnees that he encountered along a branch of the Red River in a letter to his father. Colonel John Johnston Papers, Letter #234, November 12, 1844. Courtesy of the Cincinnati Museum Center at Union Terminal, Cincinnati Historical Society Library.

of the unsuccessful rescue mission was viewing Pawnee Peaks, which Robinson described as being 700 feet above ground level and having “a picturesque appearance rising directly out of the prairie without any gradual slope.” While the expedition participated in a hunt that netted fifteen buffalo, Robinson wrote disappointingly that he chased one, “but he jumped off a bank 8 or ten feet into the rocky bed of a creek and my horse would not follow him so I lost him.” In addition to the profusion of buffalo, Robinson stated that “deer and turkies [sic] were at every turn—in the cross timber plenty of bear.”<sup>25</sup>

One day on the same expedition, while encamped alongside a branch of the Red River, thirteen Indians whom Robinson identified later as Pawnees, rode into camp. He wrote his father the following description accompanied by a detailed etching:

They rode into our camp (13 of them) dressed in their best, each with a fine buffalo robe wrapped around their loins leaving the upper parts of their bodies either naked or covered with some kind of shirt. Their hair was most worn long parted in front and platted in ques [sic] below the neck. These ques were ornaments with silver broaches. The kind most one made long by splicing it with buffalo hair so that it reached the ground. The appearance of one was so much like a woman that I won a bottle of cider off the agent on a wager on the point—he contending that it certainly was a woman. They wore a profusion of white beads and white wampum and on each arm the better dressed had rings of brass wire of the thickness of a goose quill then afforded their standard of value and ‘regulated their currency’—seven of them were worth a mule.<sup>26</sup>

To ensure the Pawnees were not concealing the boys, Robinson and his men ventured into their village a few days later. “While they are famous for thieving as all wild Indians are . . . these fellows,” Robinson exclaimed, “exceed the wolf for sneaking.” Despite his initial, unflattering opinion, Robinson was impressed with their living accommodations.

The village covered about two acres or more. The lodges were built of poles and thatched all over with long prairie grass, which at the distance of a half mile presented the appearance of hay stacks. A hole or two was left for a door and an opening at the top for smoke to escape. Their sleeping arrangements were very neat, they had made screens of long weeds dried when green and with these each bed was rendered private. . . .<sup>27</sup>

During this era, advancement in rank was based on seniority. Junior officers were forced to wait until those with more service time had died, resigned, or were promoted. Elevation to the grade of captain depended on whether vacancies existed within each officer’s respective regiment. Transferring to another unit was discouraged. Unfortunately, for a newly commissioned lieutenant assigned to a regiment with high morale and low turnover, he often remained the most junior officer for an extended period.<sup>28</sup>

In 1845, Robinson celebrated ten years of military service. While he had gained valuable skills in commanding men and had learned the nuances of dealing with Indians and white settlers, he was disappointed that he remained a lieutenant. "Some of my class mates are out of sight above me," Robinson lamented. "It is true others are far below but they belong to the Artillery where promotion has always been slow." Robinson informed his father that if the selection process were left to the military he would be successful, but because politicians had become involved—including, in some instances, the direct intervention of President Polk—the whole dynamic had changed.<sup>29</sup>

The promotion issue became moot once war with Mexico became a certainty. In May 1846, Colonel Kearny ordered Robinson—still a lieutenant—to leave Fort Gibson and report to Fort Leavenworth. After what Robinson described as a "hard march of 220 miles in six days over the prairies . . . in some of which water was scaries [sic] and flies like swarms of bees" he assumed the duties of regimental adjutant.<sup>30</sup> His long wait for promotion was over. The assignment not only assured Robinson of a promotion, it confirmed his professional competency and future military success. Colonel Kearny had assumed command of the Army of the West, consisting of 300 dragoons and 1,000 Missouri volunteers, and been ordered to march to Santa Fe and, after securing the area for the United States from Mexico, proceed to California via the Gila Trail. In preparing the regiment for its arduous and now legendary march through the Southwest, Robinson wrote that he was "as busy as a bee." While he expressed excitement and felt confident in the expedition's success, he wrote his father, "I am far from thinking it a holliday [sic] adventure."<sup>31</sup>

For bachelor officers other issues occupied their minds besides the slow rate of promotion. The lack of both the comforts of civilization and the chance of marrying a "suitable" woman who could adapt to the rigors of military life were conundrums that undoubtedly preoccupied spare moments. Robinson had decided years earlier that his "limit of celibacy" would be his thirtieth birthday. A few months before his self-imposed deadline, Robinson's frustration with military life reached its climax. In early 1845, he tried to obtain leave to travel east "to get a wife," but upon further reflection, coupled with a bit of self-doubt, he wrote his father stating that Fort Washita "would not be so attractive as other places . . ." and doubted whether a woman would want to live in such a remote and desolate place.<sup>32</sup>

Word from home that brother John had married not only caused personal angst but forced Robinson to question his chosen career. "I almost envy him," Robinson wrote his father, "the prophet of a happy life settled in one spot, when I contrast it with the various fortunes of a soldier. . . . Thus always shut out from civilization. The idea of getting married and surrounding oneself with the ties that bind one to places is almost chimerical." Robinson became so despondent, he admitted having "serious thoughts of seeking some other calling" in which he could be exempt "from so uncertain and controlling [sic] influence. . . ." Upon further reflection, however, Robinson reasoned that despite "all the fluctuation of fortune," the certainty of employment outweighed all personal considerations.<sup>33</sup>

Robinson's personal travail of finding "the proper wife" was not wasted on him alone. Sister Rachel also voiced concern, especially toward his vagabond lifestyle. If the army could not offer him something constructive, she implored him to return home. "I am afraid you will run wild out there in that land of refugees and

wild Indians . . . [especially considering] the fact that you have but few, if any ladies among you. . . ." Rachel continued her worrisome letter by instructing Robinson that, if by remote chance he found a wife "out there," she hoped before he took that "irretrievable step," he would compare her honestly against other women he had known. She knew at least two or three women who were in "love with the fife and drum," and felt so confident in Robinson's ability to swoon them, she asked they "suspend their choice" until they had met her brother. After all, Rachel exclaimed, "you are a marrying man."<sup>34</sup>

While at Fort Washita, Robinson received a welcome parcel from home that may have been one of the few material luxuries he enjoyed on the frontier. Incessantly worried about his health, the elder Johnston sent Robinson several sentimental silver heirlooms as "a small memorial of your excellent mother and myself." In addition to a tumbler marked with his initials, "J.J.," (John Johnston) he also forwarded a soup ladle, two tablespoons and one teaspoon all engraved with his wife's initials, "R.R.," (Rachel Robinson)—made from buttons and buckles worn by Robinson's grandfather and namesake, Abraham Robinson.<sup>35</sup> While it took months for the package to arrive in Robinson's care, he responded immediately, expressing hope that he would be "able to preserve them during my roving life, as a memento of home and my revered parents."<sup>36</sup>

Despite Robinson's remote assignments, he developed strong opinions on contemporary issues. On subjects such as Indian removal, Texas annexation or expansionism, his personal involvement enabled an empirical perspective. On issues in which he was involved indirectly, such as slavery or general politics, Robinson felt little trepidation sharing his opinions. For example, he shared his father's empathy for Indians. He did not approve of the Indian Removal Act, one of nineteenth-century America's most draconian domestic policies, enacted by President Andrew Jackson. In late 1845, Robinson bewailed to his father that the "disturbed condition" of the Cherokees was caused entirely by the government's "lack of policy."<sup>37</sup> To his mind, the long-term effect of the 1835 New Echota Treaty "was still working evil among these unhappy people."<sup>38</sup> The bloody feud that arose between the old and new settlers (the differing factions within the Cherokee Nation) never would have existed, Robinson concluded, had it not been for General Jackson and the Schermerhorn Treaty.<sup>39</sup> Robinson's verbal lashing of Reverend John Schermerhorn's actions was a powerful indictment, especially from an officer sworn to uphold government policies.

Robinson corroborated his father's disdain for individuals appointed to monitor Indian affairs. Prior to departing for Fort Leavenworth to assume duties as regimental adjutant, Robinson voiced concern at the government's irrational appointments and its misguided policies surrounding what he termed, "the Cherokee matter."

The malcontents are mostly half breeds and white, they could easily be bought-off. The rest could then be pacified if the Govt would send a man of weight of character among them to manage their affairs for a few years. Their present agent Col. Mc[illegible] is a good man, but old and afraid to [illegible]. Their last agent Butler was a scoundrel, and the previous one, Stokes, was a [illegible] in the old ship Jersey and worn out with whiskey & gambling before Gen.

Jackson appointed him. Schermerhorn who made the Treaty of 35 was a preacher!! without getting credit for honesty! Such are the men to whom the Government has confided this most important trust.<sup>40</sup>

Respecting his father's experience coupled with his own, Robinson questioned policies developed by individuals he considered to be nothing but political hacks.

Robinson's understanding of the "Texas matter" was not limited to annexation.<sup>41</sup> Like many Americans of the antebellum era, "Texas" included the festering problem of slavery and its expansion, two vexing issues that Robinson grappled with for some time. While patrolling the U.S.-Texas border, Robinson endeavored to understand what ramifications a "state" of Texas would have on the Union. In early 1845, nine months before annexation, Robinson analyzed the situation for his father. Economically, he did not think the North had any cause for worry. "No patriot may feel the least apprehension on the score of its giving much preponderance to the South," Robinson wrote. "North of the 32<sup>nd</sup> parallel there is no country worth living on scarcely and owing to its climate and other influences, want of harbors, want of water & [illegible]—it will never support a dense population." As far as the population influencing the balance of power in the U.S. Congress, Robinson remained unconcerned.

The whole inhabitable portion of the country will be about 250 miles square, not by 2000 square miles, as large as the state of Missouri. About 8,000 square miles less than Virginia (which later will in consequence of the admission of Texas soon become a free state). In fact this will soon be the case in Missouri—taking Louisiana as the rate of population for Texas . . . we will never have more than 470,000 people there, the half of which would be slave, so that five or six representatives and two senators in all that is to counterbalance Nebraska and Iowa, and the influence of Missouri, Virginia, Nebraska and Kentucky, which must at some early period be swayed with the North.<sup>42</sup>

If maintaining the political balance of power was not convincing, Robinson thought the Indians might reap benefits if Texas were brought into the Union. "It is better that the United States should get Texas if they can decently than to allow it to remain as it is. It is highly important for the sake of the Indians in the west that some honorable government should exist there."<sup>43</sup> The need for "an honorable government" became extremely important to Robinson after he learned how Texas officials had attacked Indian representatives while attending a treaty council.<sup>44</sup> Slavery, however, remained a serious problem. "The only check that can be put to the tide of slavery [expanding] south now," Robinson argued, "is to foster the colony which the English & Mexicans have commenced south of the Rio Grande. It will do more to kill slavery than any abolition movement in the north."<sup>45</sup>

The physical remoteness of frontier posts fostered Robinson's innate curiosity for the future. The solitary hours enabled him to ruminate about what lay ahead for the wide open spaces he knew so well and to ponder the democratizing effects new technologies could have on America. In one letter to his father, Robinson even anticipated man learning to fly.

No extension of our country, if it should embrace the whole of North America, will ever make it so extended as to the time taken for communication, as were the old 13 states; for with a rail road [sic] from Washington city to Oregon and a Morse's Electrical Telegraph thereon, news could come instantly, and in five days the whole distance would be traveled; and from Quebec to the Nueces (pronounced Neway-ces), on the south west of Texas, a rail road would take a man in 3 days, or to the city of Mexico in five days, this, leaving out of count the atmospheric rail way which is destined to make man travel faster than the whirlwind.—The wonderful civilizer is to be steam!<sup>46</sup>

Although Robinson frequently described portions of the frontier in less than glowing terms, complaining regularly about the extreme temperatures and the shallowness of the dry soil, he believed the region held great promise agriculturally if the prairie could be left unharmed and nature permitted to take its course.

It would, in course of time, place such a vast quantity of vegetable mould [sic] upon the surface as to render it impossible for soil to be burnt up, and in course of time also, forests would spring up and the Earth's surface being kept moist, would furnish greater supplies of water to the streams and render them navigable all the year, instead of being three fourths of it almost dry, and the very abundance of water would increase the quantity of rain on the country. A country of 400,000 square miles would perhaps become habitable home for man, ten times the size of Ohio, and capable of holding at least 20 millions of inhabitants.<sup>47</sup>

For a man prescient enough to anticipate man's ability to fly, it was ironic that Robinson could not envision man irrigating the desert.

It is unknown whether Robinson intended to remain in the army; however, in July 1842, the elder Johnston made a proposal, well aware of his son's semi-disillusionment with army life. At his farm in Upper Piqua, the elder Johnston had converted an old mill into a cabin, informing Robinson that he intended to convey him the property and another 130 acres if he would pay for the cabin. "My proposal," wrote the elder Johnston, "originates altogether from a desire to provide for you as well as I can, [and] to put your mind at rest for the future."<sup>48</sup>

Obviously excited about the proposition, Robinson responded immediately. "In reply to your kind offer of the 'log cabin' I have only to say 'yes' to all your propositions and right glad I am to say so, with many thanks for the gift."<sup>49</sup> Robinson doubted he could pay the balance by December, but he would make every effort. If not, he certainly could within the coming year. Thanks to his father's generosity, Robinson no longer was forced to endure the vicissitudes of army life. He had alternatives; he had a place to go. "World" events soon took precedence, causing imponderable repercussions.

## Robinson's Death

In the late morning of November 25, 1846, the Army of the West, under the command of Lieutenant General Kearny, forded the Colorado River and set foot on California soil. Their six-month, 2,000-mile journey from Fort Leavenworth completed the conquest of western territories belonging to Mexico. Santa Fe had been taken in August without resistance. The challenging march along the Gila Trail had been successful despite harsh weather, low rations and rugged terrain. Many men were shoeless and the horses and mules were failing. Despite the hardship, the army continued along the southern edge of what is now the Imperial Valley, turning northward toward El Centro.<sup>50</sup>

On November 28, the men reached Carrizo Spring and availed themselves of the mineral-rich waters. Poor foraging conditions hastened the unit's movement to the oasis of Vallecito. Despite a brief respite, the men were in pitiful condition. "Our men were inspected today," wrote Captain Johnston, adjutant to General Kearny. "Poor fellows! They are well nigh naked—some of them barefoot—a sorry looking set. A dandy would think that, in those swarthy sun-burnt faces, a lover of his country will see no signs of quailing. They will be ready for their hour when it comes."<sup>51</sup>

Robinson Johnston, desirous of viewing the Pacific Ocean since departing Fort Leavenworth in June, ascended a mountain near camp. "When about 3,000 feet above camp," Robinson wrote in his diary, "[I] found myself surrounded by peaks. I would have gone further, but was alone and exhausted; a fog overhung the west range, so that my view was cut off; else, in one direction, I think I might have seen the Pacific ocean. . . ."<sup>52</sup> His quest would remain elusive.

The following morning the army departed Vallecito, marched eighteen miles along a perilous path through narrow passes to the San Felipe Valley, and camped at an abandoned Indian village.<sup>53</sup> The next day they arrived at Warner's Ranch located sixty miles from San Diego. While it lacked the luxury of the Missouri prairie, Captain Johnston wrote, the area remained "a most enchanting sight. . . ."<sup>54</sup> The men enjoyed their first hearty meal in days. A limited reconnaissance of the countryside coupled with Kearny's questioning of the locals, indicated that several Mexican horsemen were in close proximity.

In the late morning of December 4, the mounted forces left Warner's en-route to San Pasqual via Santa Ysabel. After a grueling, fifteen mile march in driving rain and blustering wind, the army reached an abandoned chapel once administered by Mission San Diego. While the shelter was a welcomed sight, the army learned that a party of eighty Californios were thought to be encamped at a nearby Indian village. Knowledge of the exact distance made attempting "a dash on them in a dark, stormy night . . ." too risky, Captain Johnston wrote, "So we slept till morning."<sup>55</sup>

The next evening the entourage camped at Santa Maria. A night reconnaissance supported what they had learned earlier: a contingent of eighty Californio lancers known as *Los Galgos* (The Greyhounds) under the command of Major Andrés Pico, brother of California Governor Pío Pico, were bivouacked in the Indian village of San Pasqual, about thirty miles from San Diego. The maneuver, however, had been executed poorly. While it corroborated previous information, it also provided the Californios with proof their enemy was close at hand: the scouting party had

dropped both a dragoon jacket and a blanket stamped "U.S." Pico alerted his men, reaped for battle, and waited for the invaders to approach.<sup>56</sup>

Since the beginning of the U. S.- Mexican War in May 1846, the arrival of American forces in California had caused dissension among the population. Based on their experience under Mexican rule, some Californios thought it best to side with the Americans. Still others detested foreign occupation, were determined to resist and, if necessary, stand and fight. By late 1846, the Californios had reoccupied Los Angeles, and their relentless harassment of military forces in San Diego and Monterey had thwarted the Americans' attempts to obtain supplies. The surprise at finding Kearny's tattered army traveling west toward San Diego imbued the Californios with grit and a determination to fight.<sup>57</sup>

Once the night patrol returned, General Kearny decided to move immediately. The army easily could have bypassed their opponents, but having completed the longest march in U.S. Army history, the troops were eager to fight. In the pre-dawn hours of December 6, 1846, the cold, wet, ragged force of 160 men commenced the seven-mile march toward San Pasqual. As the Americans reached the crest of a hill and with a mile to go, General Kearny issued a final order. He implored the unit to do its duty. The country expected nothing less. "One point of the saber," Kearny reminded his men, "was worth any number of thrusts."<sup>58</sup> When the army reached the valley floor, Kearny issued the order to trot. Although three-quarters of a mile from the enemy's encampment, Captain Johnston, who had been selected to lead the mounted column's forward edge, misheard the command. In his eagerness to attack, he extended his saber, yelled "Charge!" and took off at a gallop, promptly becoming the unit's first casualty.<sup>59</sup>

When the San Pasqual skirmish ended in the early morning of December 6, 1846, Lieutenant William H. Emory scoured the battlefield for his comrades. The first body he found was Captain Johnston's, who had sustained a bullet directly between the eyes. Lieutenant Emory ordered five soldiers to transport Johnston's body back to camp. General Kearny had wanted the bodies transferred to San Diego; however, after having strapped their remains across the mules' backs, the soldiers realized there were not enough healthy animals to transport the wounded and the dead. Therefore Kearny, himself wounded critically, decided to bury the dead in a mass grave underneath a willow tree. "With no other accompaniment," wrote Lieutenant Emory, "than the howling of the myriads of wolves attracted by the smell," the sorrowful task was carried out.

Thus were put to rest together, and forever, a band of brave and heroic men. The long march of 2,000 miles had brought out little command, both officers and men, to know each other well. Community of hardships, dangers, and privations, had produced relations of mutual regard which caused their loss to sink deeply in our memories.<sup>60</sup>

After enduring additional hardships, not the least of which was a possible counterattack by the Californios, a relief party from San Diego comprised of one hundred sailors and eighty marines arrived in the morning of December 10; the result of a successful but perilous mission begun by Kit Carson, Lieutenant Edward F. Beale, and an Indian scout two days earlier to infiltrate enemy lines

and seek relief from Commodore Robert F. Stockton in San Diego.<sup>61</sup> Undoubtedly grateful at seeing such a large force, Lieutenant Emory's follow-up report mentioned how the "gallant fellows busied themselves till day distributing their provisions and clothes to our naked and hungry people."<sup>62</sup> As the sun rose on the morning of December 11, the Californios, cognizant their enemy had been re-supplied, scurried into the hills. The siege was over. Shortly afterward, the "most tattered and ill-fed detachment of men that ever the United States mustered under her colors," wrote Lieutenant Emory, marched westward toward San Diego. Soon the entourage approached the crest of a steep hill that commanded excellent views of the Pacific Ocean. "The sight," Emory reflected years later, produced "strange but agreeable emotions."<sup>63</sup>

Thirty-eight months later, the adjutant general of the U. S. Army received an emotional plea from John Johnston, the dead officer's father. The elder Johnston had hoped the military would have honored several earlier requests to return his son's remains to Piqua, Ohio; however, they had failed to comply. "I now earnestly invoke the interposition of your Department to aid me in a duty nearer to my heart than all others," Johnston wrote.<sup>64</sup> Through earlier communications, Johnston learned army officers had identified his son, but if doubts remained, Johnston assured the adjutant general that he could be "easily identified from the fact that he was shot in the head. The other officers being killed by lances."<sup>65</sup>

In April 1848, sixteen months after the battle, the bodies of Robinson and his compatriots were removed from their makeshift grave and re-interred in a field southwest of the pueblo of San Diego.<sup>66</sup> The War Department informed John Johnston that there should be little problem distinguishing Robinson's grave because officers had been buried separately from enlisted men. Johnston also had been informed that a special-duty officer planned to leave New York City for California in December for the express purpose of securing Robinson's remains. In all probability these remains would be shipped from Monterey or San Francisco, transported directly to New York, and forwarded to Piqua. The casualty assistance officer expected the assignment to last six months.<sup>67</sup>



*The obelisk in the foreground marks the gravesite of Captain Abraham Robinson Johnston in the Johnston Cemetery, Piqua, Ohio. Courtesy of Marla F. Fair, Interpreter, Piqua Historical Area, Piqua Ohio, an Ohio Historical Society site.*

By February 1850, Johnston, disenchanted with the lack of progress over the previous two years, pleaded with the adjutant general for assistance. He summarized past events and the numerous broken promises. The most recent word he had received from the government was from late 1848, notifying him that the duty officer had died of cholera while en-route to California.<sup>68</sup> Nothing had transpired since. All Johnston knew was that his son remained interred in a makeshift military cemetery somewhere outside of San Diego. Obviously embarrassed by its mismanagement, the army finally returned Robinson's remains to Piqua, where he was buried in the family plot on April 15, 1852. Nevertheless, a potential mystery exists.<sup>69</sup> Was Robinson's body returned, or did the army make yet *another* mistake?

In late December 1852, the *San Francisco Daily Herald* reported a stove company proprietor was startled to find a male skeleton in a box purported to contain a cast iron stove. Thinking a murder had occurred, he notified the coroner; however, by the next day the "mystery" had been solved. The remains were deemed those of Abraham Robinson Johnston, the local newspaper reported, "A gallant officer killed years ago at the Battle of San Pasqual." It seemed that in 1850, Robinson's remains were forwarded to the army quartermaster in San Diego awaiting shipment to the East. A fire broke out in the storage area, forcing a hasty evacuation. In the rush to salvage as much as possible, the box that contained Robinson's remains became mixed with three boxes of stoves. Afterward, in sorting through material to be shipped east, an army clerk mistakenly sent a stove box. The other two stove boxes, as well as the one that held Robinson's remains, were sold to a San Francisco business. To conceal its ineptitude, the army may have buried Robinson in an unmarked grave at the Presidio in San Francisco. If true, no record exists that John Johnston and bereaved family members in Piqua were told differently; a cast iron stove may well lie beneath the obelisk of Captain Abraham Robinson Johnston.<sup>70</sup>

A further twist makes Robinson's fate only more ironic. In mid-1845, Robinson wrote his father that if he remained in the army and America's expansionist impulse continued, he felt certain he would "yet see the shores of the Pacific."<sup>71</sup> If the military had failed in its mission and buried Johnston in the Presidio to conceal the evidence, the ultimate irony is that, while Captain Johnston never saw the ocean while alive, in death he has had a commanding view of the Pacific for over 150 years.



*A badly weathered inscription on Robinson's gravestone identifies him as "Captain Abraham Robinson Johnston of the First U. S. Dragoons, Son of John and Rachel Johnston." Courtesy of Marla F. Fair, Interpreter, Piqua Historical Area, Piqua, Ohio, an Ohio Historical Society site.*

NOTES

I wish to dedicate the article to the memory of my parents, Amos and June Wright, who stressed the unyielding importance of studying history and to Professor Gene D. and Dottie L. Lewis who, by instruction and personal example, taught me the nuances of thorough research and concise writing.

1. Abraham Robinson Johnston (hereafter A. R. Johnston) to John Johnston, July 30, 1845, Colonel John Johnston Papers MSSqJ72RM (hereafter Johnston Papers), Letter #236, Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati, Ohio (hereafter CHSL).
2. In 1848, the U.S. House of Representatives published the diary of Lieutenant Colonel Emory that described his experiences traveling across the plains and mountains to the Southwest and westward toward San Diego. This publication included the journal Abraham Robinson Johnston maintained beginning on June 30, 1846, when the unit left Fort Leavenworth, and ending on December 4, two days prior to the Battle of San Pasqual. Johnston's entries included detailed descriptions of terrain, vegetation, and the different Native Americans encountered en-route. Occasionally, he expounded about individual soldiers and fellow officers. He described the military aspects of the mission in clear, concise, and dutiful language. His penchant for drawing—clay pots and other utensils used by native peoples, Spanish or Indian ruins, as well as key geographical and strategic landmarks—was quite evident. Lieutenant Colonel W. H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California Including Part of the Arkansas, Del Norte and Gila Rivers* (Washington, D.C.: Thirtieth Congress—First Session, Ex. Document. No. 41, 1848). See also: Arthur Woodward, "Lances at San Pasqual," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (1946). This definitive work on the battle of San Pasqual appeared in 1946, the 100th anniversary of the engagement.
3. The Johnston manuscript collection (John Johnston and Abraham Robinson Johnston) housed at the Cincinnati Historical Society Library does not contain letters that Captain Johnston may have written his father during the expedition. The last letter on file that Johnston wrote was dated June 22, 1846, after having arrived at Fort Leavenworth and just prior to departing on the expedition. "When I get out on the march with my head clearer I will write more particularly about my personal affairs." A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, June 22, 1846, Johnston Papers, Letter #240, CHSL. This is interesting because Emory's journal entry for October 13, 1846, leads one to believe that he may have written home. "We had already moved our camp across the river, to a camp with grama grass; we then stayed all day, and completed our work, wrote to friends, and closed the door to future communication with the States, as we will now pass into the Apache country, where it is probable no one will dare follow us." Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*, 575.
4. Kenneth W. Duckett, "John Johnston," *Museum Echoes*, (Columbus, OH: Ohio Historical Society, January 1960), 3-6; John Johnston, *Recollections of Sixty Years* (Dayton, OH: John Henry Patterson, 1915), 5-9. John Johnston maintained a deep and abiding friendship with General William Henry Harrison that lasted through his brief tenure as the nation's ninth president.
5. For a short time, Robinson was tutored privately by Dr. Bishop at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. Thayer was instrumental in developing the Corps of Cadets into professionally trained officers. He made expansive changes in the curriculum, created the office of the commandant of cadets, organized cadets into tactical units and introduced new methods of instruction. One of his most enduring reforms was the introduction of the order of merit concept. His sixteen-year tenure as superintendent earned him the moniker, "Father of the Military Academy." Center of Military History, United States Army, *Army Historical Series, American Military History* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988), 155-156.
6. John Johnston to A. R. Johnston, February 3, 1831, Johnston Papers, Letter #20, CHSL.
7. Ibid.
8. One of Robinson's classmates who subsequently achieved fame during the Civil War was George G. Meade, commander of Union forces at the battle of Gettysburg. Other cadets who attended during Robinson's time included Braxton Bragg, John C. Pemberton, and Joseph Hooker—all members of the class of 1837; P.G.T. Beauregard and Irvin McDowell—members of the class of 1838. *Register of the Officers and Cadets of the U.S. Military Academy, 1831*, Special Collections, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York.
9. When he repeated his freshman year (fourth class year), he ranked 32nd in a class of 65. During his sophomore year (third class year), he ranked 32nd in a class of 61. He improved his standing

during his junior year (second class year) to 23rd out of 60. His senior year (first class year), Robinson ranked 28th out of 54. Classmate George G. Meade ranked 19th. *Register of the Officers and Cadets of the U.S. Military Academy, 1832, 1833, 1834 and 1835* respectively.

10. John Johnston to A. R. Johnston, December 20, 1834, Johnston Papers, Letter #205, CHSL. Sometime in the winter of 1834-1835, Robinson fell while ice-skating on the Hudson River, severely breaking his leg. By May the bone had not healed. Medical specialists from New York City examined Robinson's leg and recommended he be transferred to the city to undergo an operation. John Johnston to A. R. Johnston, May 8, 1835, Johnston Papers, Letter #208, CHSL.

11. Response from Ms. Suzanne Christoff, United States Military Academy (USMA), Special Collections Librarian, concerning events surrounding Cadet Johnston's performance on the exam that delayed his commissioning, March 5, 2004. Diploma from the United States Military Academy, September 1, 1835, A. R. Johnston Papers, MSS 565, Item 64, CHSL.

12. Morrison, *The Best School in the World*, 11. Agitation came not only from the War Department and high-ranking military officers, but also from Indian agents, settlers, and western emigrants. The chief concern among politicians revolved around the old bugaboo, leftover from the American Revolution, of a "standing army." The idea of an "aristocratic mounted army seemed a special threat to American democratic life." Francis Paul Prucha, *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783-1846* (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1969), 240.

13. Prucha, *The Sword of the Republic*, 248.

14. Center of Military History, United States Army, *Army Historical Series, American Military History*, 162.

15. Prucha, *The Sword of the Republic*, 339-364.

16. *Ibid.*, 352-353.

17. *Ibid.*, 339-364.

18. Morrison, *The Best School in the World*, 21. When Robinson left Fort Leavenworth in January 1840, to report presumably to Fort Gibson, he described traveling south on horse in temperatures of 9 degrees below zero. Even though he had his back to the wind, "It was cold enough . . . to try every nerve in one's body." Four years later, an opportunity arose raising the possibility that Robinson would have to travel north to Fort Leavenworth in the dead of winter. And he was not looking forward to the trip: "It is far worse turning one's face to the wind." A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, August 6, 1844, Johnston Papers, Letter #233, CHSL.

19. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, July 24, 1842, Johnston Papers, Letter #225, CHSL. While on recruiting duty in Boston, Robinson availed himself of some of the "finer" aspects of his immediate surroundings. He ventured into the White Mountains of Vermont as well as staying at Mohawk, a "resort" situated along the Massachusetts coastline, "within a stone's throw of the ocean." Wrote Robinson: "The Hotel here is a great resort for Bostonians and strangers during this season. And many a wealthy nabob of the city have cottages here for their summer residences, quite a village has grown up and land is very valuable now, and once the whole promoritory [sic] I am told, was sold for a suit of clothes."

20. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, November 26, 1842, Johnston Papers, Letter #226, CHSL.

21. Rebecca Reynolds to A. R. Johnston, November 15, 1840, Johnston Papers, Letter #33, CHSL.

22. Morrison, *The Best School in the World*, 22.

23. William B. Johnston to A. R. Johnston, November 1, 1843, MSS 565, Letter #49, CHSL.

24. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, August 6, 1844, Johnston Papers, Letter #233, CHSL.

25. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, November 12, 1844, Johnston Papers, Letter #234, CHSL.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. Morrison, *The Best School in the World*, 20.

29. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, October 13, 1845, Frank Jones Collection, Letter #35, CHSL.

30. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, June 22, 1846, Johnston Papers, Letter #240, CHSL.

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31. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, May 24, 1846 and June 16, 1846, Johnston Papers, Letters #239 and #240, CHSL; Robinson was appointed regimental adjutant on June 16, 1846, and while he was promoted officially two weeks later, he did not receive his commission as captain until August 15. On August 17, the day before the Army of the West marched into Santa Fe, Kearny appointed him aide-de-camp. Ralph P. Bieber, editor, *Marching With the Army of the West, 1846-1848* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936), 21.
32. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, March 4, 1845, Johnston Papers, Letter #235, CHSL.
33. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, July 30, 1845, Johnston Papers, Letter #236, CHSL.
34. Rachel Reynolds to A. R. Johnston, July 6, 1845, A. R. Johnston Papers, MSS 565, Letter #56, CHSL.
35. John Johnston to A. R. Johnston, March 24, 1844, Johnston Papers, Letter #231a, CHSL.
36. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, August 6, 1844, Johnston Papers, Letter #233, CHSL. In his last letter written prior to departing on the Santa Fe-California expedition on June 22, 1846, he informed his father that he left most of his property at Fort Gibson but, "if any thing happened [to] me," what little personal property he owned would be forwarded to Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis. It is not known what may have happened to the silver mementos. Robinson's estate settlement in 1849 did not list any personal possessions, only cash assets. "Capt. A.R. Johnston's estate monies rec'd and how disposed of, a return has been made to the Miami County Court," July 28, 1849, A. R. Johnston Papers, MSS 565, #63, CHSL.
37. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, November 21, 1845, Johnston Papers, Letter #237, CHSL.
38. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, January 14, 1846, Johnston Papers, Letter #238, CHSL.
39. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, January 14, 1846, Johnston Papers, Letter #238, CHSL. What Robinson referred to as the "Schermerhorn Treaty" was, in fact, the New Echota Treaty. Reverend John F. Schermerhorn, a close confidant of the president, was appointed to negotiate on behalf of the United States with the Cherokee Nation and obtain a "speedy" removal treaty. Historian Robert Remini referred to Schermerhorn as an "ambitious cleric who had been helpful in obtaining a removal treaty with the Seminoles." Robert Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Democracy, 1833-1845* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 295-296.
40. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, May 24, 1846, Johnston Papers, Letter #239, CHSL.
41. Robinson encountered Texans occasionally: "Most of those who are very anxious for annexation are those to whom the Texas government are [sic] indebted—it is all humbug about their making an alliance with Gt. Britain." A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, August 6, 1844, Johnston Papers, Letter #233, CHSL.
42. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, March 4, 1845, Johnston Papers, Letter #235, CHSL.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.; Hurt, *The Indian Frontier*, 217-218. While Robinson's letter did not provide exact details, he may have been referring to what became known as the "Council House Fight." In January 1840, a group of Comanches arrived in San Antonio to negotiate terms for peace and to hand over their white prisoners. When the "meeting" was over, thirty-five Comanches including chiefs, women and children had been killed and another twenty-seven, consisting of women and children, were held captive.
45. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, July 30, 1845, Johnston Papers, Letter #236, CHSL.
46. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, March 4, 1845, Johnston Papers, Letter #235, CHSL. Robinson's "atmospheric rail way" must certainly be the airplane.
47. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, July 30, 1845, Johnston Papers, Letter #236, CHSL.
48. John Johnston to A. R. Johnston, July 11, 1842, Johnston Papers, Letter #224, CHSL. He even recommended that if Robinson were granted leave later in the year, perhaps he could come by and "designate a plan for an orchard and other improvements to be made hereafter."
49. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, July 24, 1842, Johnston Papers, Letter #225, CHSL.
50. Woodward, "Lances at San Pasqual, Part II" *California Historical Society Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (1946), 297.
51. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*, 612.

52. Ibid., 612-613.
53. Woodward, "Lances at San Pasqual, Part II," 302.
54. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*, 613.
55. Ibid., 614.
56. Earlier in the march, the Army of the West pressed into service the talents of master scout Kit Carson who was traveling east to Washington, D.C. with important messages from John C. Fremont. Apparently Kearny lacked confidence in Carson's loyalty, and instead of sending him to reconnoiter the enemy's position, he sent, as Ralph Moody wrote, "the bungling [Lieutenant] Hammond, who knew nothing of the country, the people or the language. If Carson had been sent he would have doubtlessly brought back an accurate report that it was composed of Californios lancers, not Mexican cavalymen." Ralph Moody, *The Old Trails West: The Stories of the Trails that Made a Nation* (New York: Promontory Press, 1963), 55-56; Sally Cavell Johns, "Viva Los Californios! The Battle of San Pasqual," *The Journal of San Diego History (JSDH)* 19, no. 4 (1973): 1-13; Woodward, "Lances at San Pasqual, Part II"; Richard Griswold del Castillo, "The U.S.-Mexican War in San Diego, 1846-1847: Loyalty and Resistance," *JSDH* 49, no. 1 (2003): 21-41.
57. Griswold del Castillo, "The U.S.-Mexican War in San Diego," 21-41 passim.
58. Woodward, "Lances at San Pasqual, Part II," 35.
59. Ibid.
60. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*, 109.
61. Ibid., 111-112.
62. Ibid., 112.
63. Ibid., 109, 112.
64. John Johnston to General R. Jones, February 4, 1850, Johnston Papers, Letter #248, CHSL.
65. Ibid.
66. George Hruby, San Pasqual Battlefield Site Location Project—Is An American Cavalryman Still Buried on Mule Hill? <http://www.sanpasqual.org/cox199801.html> (accessed May 17, 2006).
67. Major Swords to John Johnston, October 20, 1848, Johnston Papers, Letter #248, CHSL.
68. John Johnston to General R. Jones, February 4, 1850, Johnston Papers, Letter #248, CHSL.
69. Bieber, ed., *Marching With the Army of the West*, 28.
70. Herbert Lockwood, *Fallout From the Skeleton's Closet* (San Diego: The San Diego Independent, 1967), p. 29.
71. A. R. Johnston to John Johnston, July 30, 1845, Johnston Papers, Letter #236, CHSL.

MUSEUM REVIEW

**The Museum of San Diego History, San Diego Historical Society, Place of Promise: Stories of San Diego, permanent exhibition.**

The Museum of San Diego History opened the first phase of its core exhibition, *Place of Promise: Stories of San Diego*, on July 21, 2006. It occupies two large exhibit galleries on the first floor of the San Diego Historical Society (SDHS).

The centerpiece of the exhibit is a twenty-seven-foot map of San Diego County located on the floor of the central gallery. Visitors can walk across North County, through downtown San Diego, and to the border of Mexico simply by taking a few steps. The museum offers large cards, designed to be placed on the map, that ask



Detail from “San Diego Harbor” by Charles Reiffel. San Diego Historical Society (lent by the U.S. General Services Administration).

questions such as, “Where should the new airport be located?” A personal history board asks visitors why they cross the U.S.-Mexico border. Finally, an innovative audio cell-phone guide program, *Guide by Cell*, provides visitors with information about many of the objects on display.

Two striking features of the central gallery are large-scale panels by landscape artist Charles Reiffel (1862-1942). His *San Diego Harbor* and *San Diego*

*Backcountry* were produced for San Diego High School in 1936 and funded through the federal Works Progress Administration (WPA). Reiffel painted with energetic brushstrokes, using abstract forms and bold lines. His paintings display a vitality rarely seen in landscapes, even those produced by other post-expressionist painters.

Other objects on display include a bathing tent from the Hotel del Coronado and a barge rowed by members of ZLAC Rowing Club founded in 1892, the oldest women’s rowing club in the world. Also on display is the thick guest register from the 1915 Panama-California Exposition in Balboa Park.

Currently on display is Streetcar 54, an electric-powered passenger streetcar that operated in San Diego in 1910. At the turn of the century, streetcars opened up real estate development in



Guest Register for the 1915 Panama-California Exposition. Accession No. 2000.125 San Diego Historical Society.



*A. J. Roberts painted this fantasy in 1913 to promote the upcoming Panama-California Exposition in Balboa Park. He imagined a lake with gondolas beneath the Cabrillo Bridge. Accession No. 86.6.1. San Diego Historical Society (gift of Mr. and Mrs. John Cuchna).*

University Heights, Normal Heights, Mission Beach, Ocean Beach, Pacific Beach, National City, East San Diego, and La Jolla. A typical Sunday streetcar ride took passengers up Park Boulevard to Mission Cliffs Gardens where they could picnic, take balloon rides, watch Shakespeare's *As You Like It* performed in the open-air theatre, or view magic lantern shows.

The core exhibit will develop thematic displays linked to a chronological overview of the region's history. Core themes include immigration; the shared history of San Diego and Baja California; the contributions of diverse ethnic communities to the development of the city; water resource management; outdoor recreation and tourism; and the rise of the military-industrial complex.

Historic photographs from the Society's collection illustrate the exhibit, providing visitors with a sense of change over time. In addition, oral histories collected by SDHS researchers provide first-hand accounts of how people experienced life in San Diego from the 1880s through World War II.

*Place of Promise: Stories of San Diego* is made possible through the generous support of members of the San Diego community, including the Heller Foundation of San Diego, the J. W. Sefton Foundation, and other local donors. For information on how to contribute to the mission of the San Diego Historical Society, please contact Executive Director David S. Watson at (619) 232-6203.

BOOK REVIEWS

*The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity.* By Linda Curcio-Nagy. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. Bibliography, illustrations, appendix, index, and notes. 222 pp. \$45.00 cloth. \$21.95 paper.

Reviewed by Patricia Martinez, Assistant Professor of History, Valparaiso University.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the arrival of a new viceroy in colonial Mexico City was an event that prompted week-long celebrations that were primarily funded by the city; at least this was the case before Bourbon monarchs changed the role and scope of these celebrations in the eighteenth century. Linda Curcio-Nagy estimates that average citizens witnessed hundreds of these festivals in their lifetime. Colonial authorities during the Hapsburg era hoped that people would be awed and perhaps inspired by such spectacle, but the author also argues that city councilmen used them in a conscious way as a form of social control. It is this process of cultural hegemony that is the focus of this study. The author analyzes five of the largest festivals: the oath ceremony to a new monarch, the celebration of Corpus Christi, the feast of the Virgin of Remedies, and the Royal Banner festival. This work provides a comprehensive analysis of such celebrations but also thoughtfully explains how the relationship between the colonial government and society changed over time.

This is very readable cultural history, despite the fact that it deals with theoretically weighty topics. It could be used in the classroom to help students understand a variety of issues, such as the Spanish American colonization process, the relationship between the colonial government and society, and the difference between Hapsburg and Bourbon statecraft. The author succinctly presents her analysis in seven chapters. She clearly lays out her argument in the introduction and discusses "The Ideal Prince" in the second chapter. Here she notes that festivals in the period between 1585 and 1700 were grand and expensive affairs. The festivities that accompanied viceregal entries were an occasion to exalt the viceroy as the ideal Christian prince, yet city councilmen also used them as a forum to present an idealized version of the colonial government. Authorities spent much more time and energy celebrating viceregal entries than honoring the Spanish monarch in festivities. When colonial subjects became dissatisfied with government policies, they criticized the viceroy's moral character and not the distant semidivine Spanish monarch. As such, celebrations placed great value on the viceroy's personal virtues.

The following chapter addresses Native American and Afro-Mexican participation in the festivals. Although authorities incorporated different ethnic groups into the celebrations, it was done as a way to establish these groups' subordinate status. In the fourth chapter, the author shows that Bourbon rulers had a much more utilitarian view of such festivals and were unwilling to fund these events. In fact, they expected citizens to subsidize them. Consequently, the primary supporters of and participants in future celebrations were wealthy Spaniards, most notably members of the silversmith guild. In addition, city

councilmen played a lesser role in developing such festivities, thus curtailing local influence.

Chapter six discusses satirical parades, poetry, sermons, and songs. Increasingly dissatisfied colonial subjects used such works to criticize their leaders. Authorities countered by banning satirical parades but could not quiet critics who expressed their opinions through anonymous poetry or song. The author thus concludes that the Bourbon plan “failed, and in the end, festivals could no longer deflect or contain the societal tensions, long present, that finally burst onto the political stage” in the nineteenth century (p. 154).

We can only imagine the extravagant nature of these festivities. Using primary sources such as city council minutes, illustrations, and first-hand descriptions, the author does an excellent job of reconstructing the parades and oath ceremonies. The explanations never become tedious. Unfortunately, she does not provide very extensive sample quotations of the satirical works that are discussed in chapter six. Both specialists and non-specialists would be interested in knowing exactly what these anonymous critics of the colonial government said. The author usually paraphrases these verses, and although her argument is not compromised by the exclusion of such works, we are still left to wonder about the content of these sermons, verses, and songs, especially because, as she points out, anonymous satire has often been “overlooked by historians”(p. 124).

Colonial scholars have noted for some time that Spain could not have maintained its colonies if they had simply relied on brute force. The continent was simply too vast and had too varied a population. The author effectively argues that celebrations and large-scale spectacle were another way in which Spanish American authorities could promote their agenda and thus, to an extent, also “control” their subjects. Bourbon authorities may not have understood the importance of such events, but after reading this book most will agree that festivals did play a significant role in shaping colonial society.

*Choice, Persuasion, and Coercion: Social Control on Spain's North American Frontier.* Edited by Jesús F. de la Teja and Ross Frank. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. Bibliography, index, and notes. 338 pp. \$24.95 paper.

Reviewed by Jean A. Stuntz, Assistant Professor of History, Department of History and Geography, West Texas A&M University.

As Spain spread its empire northward from central Mexico, its administrators, missionaries, and military encountered diverse groups of Native Americans who reacted in various ways to Spanish attempts to assimilate them. As the essays in *Choice, Persuasion, and Coercion: Social Control on Spain's North American Frontier* skillfully demonstrate, different methods of attempted social control resulted in different outcomes in different sections of the northern frontier. The geographical scope is broad, including Florida, Louisiana, Sonora, and Saltillo. The subject matter is broad as well, looking at social controls exerted on all classes, from the king to the Indians.

The authors of these essays range from the eminent to the up-and-coming, but all are highly respected for their work. They gathered together under the auspices

of the Clements Center for Southwest Studies at Southern Methodist University and collaborated in unusual ways to produce this volume, which, as a result, is much more cohesive than is normal for a collection of essays. Each author in some way revises and redefines the accepted view of Spain's role in North America. Every essay adds to the complexity of understanding of just what was happening in different areas of the Spanish Borderlands during a range of eras.

In the first essay, Alfredo Jiménez shows that even the king had to obey the law. Next, Jane Landers demonstrates how Spanish authorities attempted to control multi-ethnic and highly complex Florida for three centuries. Louisiana was also a mixture of diverse peoples, and this, as Gilbert C. Din shows, made it almost impossible for Spanish officials to achieve their goals. New Mexico has been the subject of much study, and Ross Frank adds to that literature with an examination of instructions left by Governor Concha to his successor concerning the resistance that his Hispanicized people might exhibit.

The next group of essays demonstrates a more "bottom-up" approach. Susan Deeds shows how some women used gender expectations and magic to achieve personal power within the system, thus subverting the social order. Cecilia Sheridan looks at how the Indians of northeastern New Spain adapted to the Spanish presence by changing tribal allegiances and personal identifications. Juliana Barr's essay, "Beyond Their Control" illustrates just how much trouble the Spanish had dealing with the Native Americans in Texas.

The next three essays show that the Spanish in Northern Mexico faced the same problems they confronted in the Interior Provinces, although the outcomes were different. Cynthia Radding demonstrates, in her case study of colonial Sonora, that the very institutions that were supposed to control the population instead led to resistance to that control, especially by women. José Cuello adds to the scholarship concerning the system of *castas* with his essay on Saltillo. Patricia Osante looks at Nuevo Santander, and how a small group of highly motivated individuals shaped its fierce and often violent history. In the last essay, James Sandos looks at the mission-presidio system in California through the lenses of sexual scandal and Indian uprisings, both serious challenges to social control.

This volume not only contains high-level scholarship, but it is well written and accessible to educated readers. A basic understanding of Borderlands history is assumed, but there is a glossary of terms to help those unfamiliar with Spanish. Each author addresses race, class, or gender, sometimes all at once. This book is a must read for anyone studying the Spanish empire, or resistance to it, in North America.

*Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850.* By Steven W. Hackel. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. Illustrations, figures, tables, maps, appendices, glossary, chronology, notes, and index. 476 pp. \$59.95 cloth. \$24.95 paper.

Reviewed by Brian Isaac Daniels, Departments of Anthropology and History, University of Pennsylvania.

In a new social history of the California mission experience, Oregon State University historian Steven W. Hackel examines how California Indians weathered the transformation of their homelands after European colonization began in 1769. Through a detailed study of Mission San Carlos Borromeo, he asks how natives understood and lived through the “dual revolutions” of ecological change and demographic collapse. Hackel maintains that even while Indian populations declined and suffered abuses at the hands of the Franciscan missionaries and military authorities, a vibrant, affirming culture emerged among the neophytes at the missions.

The book is divided into three sections, each corresponding to a major theme in Hackel’s analysis. First, he begins with a conventional anthropological account of a timeless Native American past interrupted by the economically-driven Spanish voyages of discovery. Alta California was a virtual backwater of New Spain settled by Franciscan missionaries who held little knowledge of the colonial enterprise. The plants, animals, and pathogens that they brought, however, radically changed the California landscape. Disease ripped native communities apart. Environmental degradation caused by the unchecked proliferation of domesticated animals led to a chronic food shortage. By intertwining the twin problems of community disintegration and starvation, Hackel provides a plausible explanation as to why Indians would voluntarily come to the oppressive missions. The “awful genius” of Spanish colonization coupled a subsistence crisis with a solution in the form of mission-distributed food (p. 72). It was those people most susceptible to change -- the very young, the old, and unmarried women -- who initially came to the missions and remade their communities.

Once Hackel defines the scope of California missionization in terms of sustenance and community support, he turns to his second theme of Franciscan reform. Missionaries intended to alter radically Indian understandings of their world through a “civilizing process” of religious indoctrination, sexual reform, select political appointment, and corporal punishment. In each domain, Indians countered their oppressors through overt and covert resistance but ultimately found themselves enmeshed within an all-encompassing colonial experience. Finally, in a single chapter too brief for the complexity and depth of his research, Hackel turns to the 1826 emancipation of California Indians after which they moved from the yoke of missionary drudgery to *vaquero* ranch labor under a Mexican regime.

Hackel’s major conclusion is that while Native American populations in coastal California declined drastically, they nevertheless integrated into the hierarchical missionary system. Indian communities reshaped themselves around the daily

practices of mission life. Especially transformative were the roles of the *alcalde*, *fiscal*, and *regidor*, who were all Indian officials in the missions, elected in principle by the Indians themselves, but usually appointed by the priests. By incorporating existing Indian class hierarchies into this overseer system, the missionaries ensured the cooperation of entire villages. The positions also, ironically, reinforced community solidarity and provided a measure of experience for those who held them in dealing with the political realities of a successively Spanish, Mexican, and, after 1850, American cultural milieu.

This detailed social history emerges out of Hackel's extraordinary command of colonial primary source materials. The pages of the book brim with individual accounts of personal tragedy and careful negotiation within the hierarchies of Mission San Carlos. When local contextual information from Monterey is lacking, Hackel augments his history with equally compelling examples from other California missions. Further supporting Hackel's claims is a detailed demographic analysis of the California mission system. Drawing upon the work of anthropologist Randall Milliken, Hackel employs missionary baptismal, marriage, and death records as ethnographic sources for population reconstruction. While Hackel asserts that the techniques that undergird the reconstitution of families from missionary records are standard statistics carried out by the Centre Roland Mousnier, Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, we are not given a glimpse of the methodology by which the categories of information are determined. This oversight is unfortunate indeed because the coupling of rich textual detail and demographic analysis makes this book a landmark study from which all future work about California missionization must begin.

*Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis* is a challenging book on many fronts and raises a number of important questions about California missionization. Foremost is the issue of how tribal affiliation emerged out of the mission experience. Before their encounter with the Franciscans, did the "children of coyote" -- a phrase appropriated from a Rumsen origin myth -- in fact share a group identity the way Hackel's title (and frequent reuse of the descriptor throughout the book) imply? Did organized resistance in the missions -- a topic only touched upon throughout the book -- reinforce a sense of belonging? In what ways did the experience of forced Catholicism bind or fragment Indian communities after secularization? Like all good histories, this book opens new possibilities for future scholarship. Hackel's lasting achievement and service is to provide a thoroughgoing reference point for students of California missionization and the colonial history of the Americas.

*The Journal of a Sea Captain's Wife, 1841-1845*. By Lydia Rider Nye. Edited with a prologue and epilogue by Doyce B. Nunis. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2004. Bibliography, appendices, illustrations, index, and notes. 249 pp. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Timothy G. Lynch, Assistant Professor of Maritime History, Department of Global and Maritime Studies, California Maritime Academy, California State University.

*The Journal of a Sea Captain's Wife, 1841-1845* offers an intriguing look at the world of merchant shipping in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. As the only known journal kept by the wife of a ship captain during a voyage along the Pacific Coast prior to 1848, this slim volume is unique; while wives of sea captains occasionally accompanied their husbands on Pacific voyages, few recorded their experiences. Indeed, this may be the only known journal kept by an American hide and tallow sea captain's wife while voyaging along the Pacific Coast in the first half of the nineteenth century. As such, this account offers a fascinating perspective on this period. The journals also capture the period with a subtlety rare in such accounts.

The book records the experiences of Lydia Nye, wife of captain Gorham Nye, as she rounded Cape Horn in 1842. Nye departs from New England aboard a passenger ship with the hope of meeting her seafaring husband in Honolulu. To amuse herself and inform her family, Nye kept a journal of her Pacific odyssey, a portion of which was in the form of a family letter. The first part of the book, then, recounts Nye's experiences at sea, replete with humorous anecdotes and near tragic events. After completing the perilous four-month journey, Nye takes up residence in Hawaii, where her journal records daily life among American missionaries living in Honolulu and their interactions with native Hawaiians. Nye's journal affords a close look at power struggles between the natives and European newcomers (recounting an attempted annexation by British interests) and between Christian missionaries and their flock. Nye's work therefore serves as an eyewitness account of intercultural contact and conflict in the Pacific Basin during a period of profound social and political ferment.

Reunited in Honolulu, Lydia and Gorham Nye decide to continue their Pacific peregrinations together. The *Journal* recounts the Nyes' experiences as they traverse the Eastern Pacific, trading with natives in the Pacific Northwest "some of whom appear as though they were capable of acquiring knowledge" (p. 129), Spaniards in San Francisco (depicted as woefully intolerant of non-Catholics), and others along the California Coast. The middle part of Nye's *Journal* reflects the importance of the California hide trade, reveals growing American-Mexican animosity, and offers a glimpse into the lives of wealthy rancheros. Eventually the couple returns to Hawaii, where Lydia gives birth to a daughter. From there, it is back to the East Coast. The latter part of Nye's volume reveals an increasingly fractured family, struggling to survive in the wake of a changing economy.

Nye's journal -- ably edited and placed in its proper context by Doyce Nunis, who provides insightful commentary via extensive, if distracting, footnotes and an excellent prologue -- is important on several levels. *Journal of a Sea Captain's Wife* is an able complement to Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*. It provides a needed corollary to the standard interpretation of antebellum American

seafaring in the Pacific. It lends historical support to the heretofore anecdotal experiences of early American women seafarers. In so doing, it adds a new level of complexity to the concept of Victorian womanhood. Nye certainly fits the mold of obedient maiden to her husband. Writing to her mother to announce her reunion with Gorham, she says "Congratulate me, for I am in the presence of that dear one for whom I have crossed the stormy ocean" (p. 117), but she also flouts convention: she reveals a tough resolve, political acumen, and lack of cultural sensitivity that more closely reflected traditional male worldviews of that time. *Journal of a Sea Captain's Wife* is a fascinating, first-person look at a topic that is only recently being seriously studied. The journal should find a wide readership and scholars will want to expand further upon the subjects raised.

*Twenty Thousand Roads: Women, Movement, and the Way West*. By Virginia Scharff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. Bibliography, notes, index. 239 pp. \$49.95 cloth. \$19.95 paper.

Reviewed by Renee Laegreid, Assistant Professor of History, Hastings College.

*Twenty Thousand Roads: Women, Movement, and the Way West* tackles the assumption that the ability to move freely across the West historically belonged to men. Virginia Scharff argues, "Women's movements preceded, configured, and survived the West," yet their movements have been kept out of sight by "historical maps...[that] have generally been drawn by, for, and about men" (p. 4). Scharff puts women back into the historical map through a series of representative biographies, reminding readers that women have always been a part of the West, and that the roads they traveled affected both genders, regionally and nationally.

The book is organized into three chronological parts. The first focuses on two women who traveled "terrain not yet part of the American West" (p. 4). This section is superb. The familiar tale of Sacagawea shows how Lewis and Clark did not "see" women. By looking around the edges of their written evidence, however, a story emerges of Native American women respected for their ability to move easily across the landscape. Susan Magoffin's diary, stripped of its earlier interpretations, becomes a vehicle for understanding the cultural challenges faced by a young, white, officer's wife traveling across the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico.

Part two focuses on the post-Civil War era of territorial expansion when the importance of the West, in terms of empire building, affected profoundly the national consciousness. A solid essay on the political history of Wyoming's fight for women's suffrage sets the stage for Grace Raymond Hebard's biography. For Scharff, she represents the emergence of college-educated women who chose careers rather than domesticity and "enjoyed a freedom to move independently not available to most wives and mothers" (p. 95). This self-proclaimed feminist's remarkable academic and political accomplishments not only helped shape Wyoming's regional identity, but provided opportunities for other women to move beyond the domestic sphere. The essay on Fabiola Cabeza de Baca tells the story of a well-educated, elite woman's efforts during the early twentieth century to shape New Mexico's future by preserving its Hispanic cultural past.

The concluding part expands beyond the West as place, showing how the

Western idea of unrestricted mobility influenced a number of women during the second half of the twentieth century. She looks at civil rights activist Jo Ann Robinson, a black teacher in the South, who took part in the 1955 Atlanta bus strikes. Also included is rock groupie and author Pamela Des Barres who traverses an uncharted terrain of sex, drugs, and rock and roll. Finally, Scharff draws on her own experiences as a housewife in the Highlands Ranch suburb. Here the pioneer's dream of privacy, independence, and a view of unspoiled wilderness from one's own ranch house continues, albeit with some modifications. Now the house is squeezed in amidst thousands of others just like it, and the western dream requires "perpetual movement" from women as they travel the highways to shopping malls, schools, stores, and soccer fields (p. 186).

This book does not try to tell the story of all women who lived in or were influenced by the idea of the West. The dark side of Western mobility, where women reluctantly followed a spouse across the frontier or where economic necessity forced repeated relocations, receives only cursory mention. Rather, this is a book about middle-class or privileged women, active in major historical events, who embraced the possibilities of movement -- geographically, culturally, politically, or professionally -- that the idea of the West inspired. Writing in an engaging, often witty, and accessible manner, Scharff reminds readers that women have always been on the historical map, playing a key role in creating what we know as the West, as they continue to do today.

*Louis Rose: San Diego's First Jewish Settler and Entrepreneur.* By Donald H. Harrison. San Diego, CA: Sunbelt Publications, 2005. Bibliography, illustrations, index and notes. 284 pp. \$19.95 paper.

Reviewed by William Toll, Adjunct Professor, History Department, University of Oregon.

In this book, Donald H. Harrison, a prominent San Diego journalist, describes the life and times of Louis Rose and the early San Diego that his business ventures helped nurture. As such, the book provides a San Diego equivalent of Harris Newmark's *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913* (published in 1916) that provided extensive detail on the merchants -- non-Jews as well as Jews -- who built nineteenth-century Los Angeles. Louis Rose was born in 1807 in a small Hanover town. He may have been trained by his father (who died in 1837) to make jewelry, but very little is known about him until his decision in 1840, at age 33, to come to America. Instead of landing in New York like most Germans and most Jews, he went to New Orleans, where he may have joined cousins. The author provides some data derived largely from public records on Rose's life in New Orleans, including his brief marriage in 1847 to Caroline Marks and his mounting debts. In 1848 he left New Orleans alone for San Antonio, and in 1849 the Gold Rush lured him west. Again unlike most Jewish adventurers, he came overland rather than by ship, and he settled in remote San Diego, not in San Francisco or the gold fields. Thomas B. Eastland's letters and diary provide a vivid picture of the wagon train from San Antonio to El Paso, though Rose is only mentioned once. In El Paso, Rose made an important friend, James Robinson, who was also heading west with his wife and son. Robinson, nine years older than Rose and experienced in resolving

disputes over Spanish land claims, became Rose's mentor. The two undertook similar land speculation in San Diego until Robinson's death in 1857. Despite his debts in New Orleans, Rose arrived in San Diego with funds to invest, though Harrison cannot identify the source. Rose ran a boarding house, bought a butcher shop, started a tannery, invested in coalmines, and joined the Masonic lodge. With his earnings he speculated in town lots, including a large plot on San Diego Bay, which he called Roseville, as well as rural acreage. After having no communication with his wife for four years, he wrote to a relative in New Orleans to invite her to join him. She refused, and he legally divorced her in 1853 on grounds of adultery. He did not remarry until 1869, when at age 62 he married Mathilde Newman, the 33 year-old widow of a fellow Jewish merchant. They had two children, one of whom survived the diseases of childhood.

As Rose's net worth increased, he was elected to the various permutations of the town's city council, and he became a prominent civic booster. He became integrally involved in "developing" San Diego as a port and especially as the possible terminus of a trans-continental railroad. He also made a lot of money buying and selling real estate. But the boom and bust cycle of late nineteenth-century America caught up with him. During the 1870s, his failed railroad investments left him with diminished net worth, while the frequent outbreak of diseases left him again a widower. He died in 1888 and was survived by one daughter, whose oral history provides some of the information for reconstructing Rose's meager family life.

Too often, however, Harrison uses Rose as an opportunity to list interminable real estate transactions and election results, whose significance, if any, is left for the reader to infer. And the ostensible subject of the book, Louis Rose, disappears in a welter of undigested data. Harrison identifies moments when Rose's life intersected with the small Jewish community: giving land for a cemetery and providing space for a religious service. But Rose generally kept his distance. Harrison, unfortunately, never sketches in a coherent picture the size or evolving organization of the Jewish community, or its relationship to the larger Jewish communities in San Francisco or Los Angeles. Even more discouraging, Harrison does not try to set Rose into the army of Jewish merchants throughout the American West who were also building communities.

Having come to the West at least twenty years older than most Jewish adventurers, with no family life until he reached his sixties, and remaining in a city that was not on the main trade route, Rose remained marginal to the experience of his Jewish male contemporaries. Throughout the West, Jewish merchants such as Rose had intimate business dealings with non-Jews, but were generally anchored in a network of Hebrew Benevolent Societies and *chevra* for religious activities. Rose seems not to have been. A comparison of Rose's career with those of Jewish merchants elsewhere--Bernard Goldsmith in Portland, Mike Goldwater in Arizona Territory, Bailey Gatzert in Seattle, the Weinstocks and Lubins in Sacramento, for example--might have better set his life into the Western Jewish experience and provided the reader with a broader interpretive context.

*The Governor: The Life and Legacy of Leland Stanford.* By Norman E. Tutorow. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2004. 2 Volumes. Illustrations, index, and notes. 1146 pp. \$125 cloth.

Reviewed by James T. Carroll, Associate Professor of History, Iona College.

Norman E. Tutorow's comprehensive and lengthy biography of Leland Stanford provides both scholars and interested parties with an account that touches upon virtually every event that shaped the life and legacy of this influential man. *The Governor* is an old-fashioned and traditional biography that tells the life of Stanford starting from birth, pausing at major developments and points of transition, and closing with a lengthy review of his legacy. It is quite clear that Tutorow places Leland Stanford on a historic pedestal and believes that he is the major force behind the social, political, and economic developments of the State of California. While not quite warranting charges of hagiography, Tutorow, at times, fails to address Stanford's shortcomings, particularly the graft and chicanery associated with the construction and completion of the transcontinental railroad. Despite this criticism, it is important to note the important contributions of this narrative.

Tutorow's exhaustive and far-reaching use of primary sources, ranging from those located at the Stanford University Archives to the paper remnants of long-forgotten railroads, provides a broad spectrum of sources for scholars interested in California, business history, politics in the American West, and the transcontinental railroad. Moreover, the narrative adds to our understanding of many of those associated with the early history of California and the emergence of transcontinental transportation. Tutorow's lively and engaging portrayal of these men highlights the gender-specific character of California in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is important, however, to understand that these thoughtful asides are only intended to embody the hero of this narrative: Leland Stanford. Tutorow dubs Stanford a "California Colossus" -- a designation well earned by this remarkable man. Stanford's intimate association with the growth of California started with the gold rush and ended with his death in 1893, as the nation faced a major economic crisis.

In slightly over forty years Stanford pursued various business enterprises that contributed to the economic vibrancy of the state, entered the political arena at the state and national level, represented the interests of Californians, and established a number of institutions--notably Stanford University--that contributed to the intellectual prestige of the state. Regardless of his role (prospector, businessman, unsuccessful political contender, state governor, railroad entrepreneur, U.S. senator, or founder of a university), Leland Stanford was pivotal in the development of California, and Norman Tutorow is to be commended for uncovering and reporting the varied contributions of this complex individual.

*The Governor* is not for those seeking a critical analysis of Leland Stanford. Nevertheless, Tutorow provides an important encyclopedic source for those interested in the life and legacy of Stanford and political and economic developments in nineteenth-century California. As such, *The Governor* makes a solid contribution to the history of the nineteenth-century American West.

*The Battle Over Hetch Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism.* By Robert W. Righter. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. Illustrations, index, and notes. 303 pp. \$30.00 cloth.

Reviewed by J. Brooks Flippen, Professor of History, Southeastern Oklahoma State University.

If you think there is nothing to learn about the famous Hetch Hetchy debate, this book is for you. Prominent in every environmental history reader, the early twentieth-century debate over the construction of a dam in the beautiful Yosemite National Park is usually depicted as the seminal battle between Progressive Era preservationists and wise-use conservationists. The Sierra Club's John Muir usually plays prominently in the tale, invariably the noble champion of the natural world, a man before his time thwarted by San Francisco's insatiable demand for fresh water. It is a familiar story to every student of environmental history, but one that Robert Righter now tells us is not fully understood. Righter, a professor at Southern Methodist University, delves deeper and broader into the struggle and its long aftermath. The result is this excellent text - and a new, more nuanced version of an old story.

The story of Hetch Hetchy is much more complex, Righter argues. The fight over the dam was never really about wilderness but public power, in particular the larger debate over private utility versus municipal ownership. Many California progressives argued in favor of San Francisco, afraid that the alternative was higher rates from the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. Lumped together with what many viewed as a greedy corporate colossus, Muir never had a chance. Despite his best efforts, Congress passed the Raker Act in 1913 awarding the city the dam. It was, most assumed, a victory for the public interest.

Unlike some authors, Righter recognizes that the Raker Act was only the beginning of the story. Progressive faith in expertise allowed the engineers to build a system that provided more water than the city needed, but at a cost that the city could not afford. In the end, the municipality continued to struggle with private interests. The resulting construction, Righter reminds us, was impressive but unfortunate. Alternative routes would have sufficed at less cost in terms of both money and land use. Unlike so many other books, here nothing appears simple. The city advocates were correct that the city needed water; the city had, after all, recently burned following its famous 1906 earthquake. Muir was correct in the need for preservation; the valley was truly unique. It was a story of missed opportunities as much as good versus evil.

The interplay of personalities makes Righter's work enjoyable. Gifford Pinchot, for one, is usually depicted as a victor, his advocacy for San Francisco successful. Righter explains, however, that the Forest Service chief desperately wanted the national parks under his purview. But his "stubbornness" (p. 195) in advocating for the city inadvertently made him powerful enemies that blocked his ambition. John Muir emerges, as usual, in a positive light, although many readers may find it surprising that he never anticipated that the valley would remain pristine. Righter concludes in the final chapters that the story of Hetch Hetchy is more complex than usually acknowledged, that the legacy of the fight is long, and the story is far from over. Proposals to restore the valley are growing, promising yet new chapters in

the ongoing tale. Restoration, Righter leaves the reader hoping in the end, promises redemption.

Righter treats his cast of characters fairly, and he even includes, in essence, a playbill at the outset for quick reference. His research and citations are excellent, but he never lets the scholarly nature of his work overly burden the narrative. The book is an easy read. The importance of the Hetch Hetchy debate will undoubtedly spawn new books, although after Righter's work I see no reason why.

*Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past.* By William Deverell. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004. 330 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$40.00 cloth; \$17.95 paper.

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

In 1907, Joseph P. Widney, booster, physician, and former University of Southern California president, wrote that in Los Angeles "the Captains of Industry are the truest captains of the race war" (pg. 7). In so doing, he placed the fledgling west coast city as the world epicenter of Aryan supremacy. For civic promoters, Los Angeles stood as a redeemer metropolis, especially in contrast to other U.S. cities apparently overrun with African Americans, southeastern Europeans, and Asian immigrants. These boosters created a national, eugenic brand for Los Angeles: a city bathed in sunlight and steeped in the cult of vitality, a city that offered restoration of the white body politic under threat of "racial amalgamation" and race suicide. Los Angeles eventually emerged in the minds of many Americans as a healthy alternative to modern, urban chaos and ethnic diversity of cities in the Northeast, Midwest, and South. But in order to achieve this feat, L.A. leaders from the infamous, vigilante-style Chamber of Commerce found it necessary to remove and isolate its large ethnic Mexican population, even as industrial L.A. required the labor of ethnic Mexicans to build the Aryan future. At the same time, the city recast the locale's Spanish history and heritage to establish European roots for the city.

In his thought-provoking examination of the intertwined history of racial discrimination and heritage promotion in Los Angeles, William Deverell charts the rise of the city, from dusty Mexican settlement to isolated Anglo town and then on to major industrial metropolis. Deverell believes the transformation of Los Angeles rested on two major racial conceits: first L.A. rose to prominence "by covering up places, people, and histories that those in power found unsettling," and second, the city "became a self-conscious 'City of the Future' by whitewashing an adobe past, even an adobe present and adobe future" (pp. 7-8). In his view, "Los Angeles came of age amidst (and in part because of) specific responses to Mexican ethnicity and Mexican spaces," making it imperative to understand "the complex and disturbing relationship between whites, especially those able to command various forms of power, and Mexican people, a Mexican past, and a Mexican landscape" (p. 6).

In six chapters, Deverell excavates major episodes in the social and political construction of the "Mexican problem" and "Spanish fantasy heritage." In doing so, the author offers a rich, archival-based tapestry that shows the depth of institutionalized racial discrimination against ethnic Mexicans, even as L.A.

boosters larded their promotional appeals with Spanish romance. He captures the racial violence of late nineteenth-century Los Angeles, when the city rose as a tourist destination and market for real estate speculation. He shows the quandary faced by the Chamber of Commerce during and after the Spanish American War, as it promoted Spanish fantasy heritage through the Fiesta de Los Angeles. He reveals that Progressive Era and New Deal public policy meant to control the L.A. River assured the city's sunny image through increased spatial segregation of the city's ethnic Mexicans. Deverell tells the saga of the Simons Brick Company in Montebello. It emerged as the largest brickyard in the world, and its bricks built much of Los Angeles, but it did so by creating a Mexicanized version of Pullman, Illinois, complete with paternalistic labor control and substandard living conditions. The final two chapters especially sparkle and resonate. The author links structural racial discrimination and cultural myth making by juxtaposing the bubonic plague epidemic of 1924 that swept through L.A.'s Mexican district and John Steven McGroarty's *The Mission Play* (one of the most popular pageants of the 1920s). As word of the plague reached outside Southern California, the L.A. City Council and Chamber of Commerce worried about commercial losses to the city and ordered an "ethnic quarantine." In so doing, they equated ethnicity with a diseased and blighted urban landscape. Three years later, in an effort to prop up the ailing pre-Depression fortunes of the city, the Chamber of Commerce took control of *The Mission Play*, which dramatized a romantic Spanish tradition for Los Angeles with no connection to actual history.

In the tradition of Southern California's two greatest critics, Carey McWilliams and Mike Davis, Deverell hopes *Whitewashed Adobe* will help Los Angelenos come to terms with racist historical patterns so that we might deviate from them in the future and forge "a city true to a different Southern California future" (p. 6). Although this is a worthy endeavor, it also presents problems. The radical, social democratic possibilities of marrying social justice movements to expressions of public heritage do not preoccupy Deverell, as they did McWilliams in *North From Mexico* (1949) and Davis in *City of Quartz* (1990). Interracial social movements emerged from cooperation between ethnic-based labor activist and socialist intellectual circles during the period 1880-1940, coalescing with the Los Angeles Popular Front of the 1940s, led by figures like Robert Kenney, McWilliams, Josephina Fierro de Bright, and Luisa Moreno.

William Deverell's *Whitewashed Adobe* is bold in scope and engaging in its conclusions. As a work of cultural history, it will live as a classic work in the wider field of American history, surpassing works on cities that consider only white and African American ethnicity and race relations. The book is well illustrated and contains three useful maps. Well-written, *Whitewashed Adobe* will appeal to both scholars and lay readers interested in the racial politics of the Southern California past.

*Prison Work: A Tale of Thirty Years in the California Department of Corrections.* By William Richard Wilkinson, edited by John C. Burnham and Joseph F. Spillane. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005. Illustrations, index, and notes. 199 pp. \$25.00.

Reviewed by Volker Janssen, Assistant Professor of History, California State University, Fullerton.

Prisons are what people make of them. This “power of people to make institutions” (p. xiv), John C. Burnham and Joseph F. Spillane contend, is the central message of *Prison Work*. Most scholarship thus far has tended to focus on the prisons that reformers made, or the worlds that resilient prisoners built. Guards have rarely occupied center stage for historians. The editors thus deserve credit for introducing us to this memoir of William Richard Wilkinson, who spent 30 years as a correctional officer in California’s prisons. As concerns about the human and fiscal costs of mass incarceration grow daily, the “wisdom concerning how to handle convicts” that Spillane and Burnham promise on the back cover should be in high demand indeed.

An advocate of rehabilitation, Wilkinson started out at Chino prison under famous penologist Kenyon Scudder, who insisted on a prison without walls as the only path to successful rehabilitation. Frowning at the mere warehousing at conventional prisons, Wilkinson fondly recalls the productive atmosphere in Chino’s vocational shops and the farm. His memories of undermining the bravado of an uncooperative 245 pound prisoner by assigning him a guard half his size, and of the time the Muslim Brotherhood issued him a letter for safe passage raise the hope that therapeutic rehabilitation in postwar California indeed relied on wit, not violence (p. 67).

Other anecdotes, however, quickly quell the reader’s optimism. Lightheartedly, Wilkinson tells the story of subduing a prisoner by “hold[ing] him down and tear[ing] the clothes off him,” to “march him up the main hall of the institution naked” (p. 11). In the wake of Abu Ghraib, most readers will probably fail to see the “wisdom” in this technique. And while no friend of senseless violence, Wilkinson nonetheless appreciated the power of terror and intimidation. “If you ever raise your fist to one of my correctional officers again,” he recalls threatening a prisoner, “I will go back to the old way of doing things and probably break your legs” (p. 144). This “worked like a charm,” he concludes.

Wilkinson’s happy days were the 1950s, when guards still enjoyed authority “next to Superman” (p. 23). But when liberal prison administrators opened the prison to outside influences, the guards’ world fell apart. “It ganged up on us: all the television sets, all the civilian clothes, all the telephones, all the banquets, all the radios, all the non-censoring of mail” (p. 100). Prisoners’ civil and human rights undermined the guards’ authority. “[T]his emancipation thing,” Wilkinson complains, even denied him the right to “control inmates by making their lives miserable” (pp. 102, 75). The court-ordered renovation of Soledad’s old isolation unit, for example, prevented guards from denying prisoners water and basic hygiene. “[W]e had to tear the cells up and put plumbing in all of them. It ruined perfectly good lock up cells” (p. 150). Prisoners simply had “too much freedom,” such as conjugal visits, which were meant to keep prisoners’ families together, but

which Wilkinson decried as “outlandish” and “absolutely asinine” (pp. 109-111). There is little “wisdom” in *Prison Work*, but much anger and resentment.

Surprisingly, Wilkinson was one of the more moderate guards. He strictly rejected the militancy of the emerging prison guards’ union, the California Correctional Peace Officers Association. Although openly sexist, he was more accommodating to women in the workplace than others. He resented the department’s affirmative action policies towards minorities as much as those towards women. But he also acknowledged the open discrimination his nonwhite colleagues suffered in small town prison communities.

Wilkinson’s recollections permit a wide range of observations about the nature of the rehabilitative regime in the postwar welfare state. The problem with *Prison Work* is that Burnham and Spillane do not actually offer any such interpretations. Instead, the editors insist on the integrity of their subject’s memoir and offer this account only to “stimulate further research and investigation.” They provide fifteen introductory pages with some background on the California Department of Corrections and a brief historiography. Their footnotes offer little more than clarifications of fact. However genuinely modest this restraint may be, it also makes *Prison Work* less a work of history than the raw material for future scholarship. Sources simply do not speak for themselves, and the editors’ silence on the many historical questions raised by Wilkinson limits the import of this work. Still, historians ought to be grateful for such candid and unrestrained shoptalk. Unwittingly, this memoir suggestively points to the ways in which white working class resentment emerged out of the very structures of the postwar liberal state of which California’s Department of Corrections was an integral part.



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## BOOK NOTES

Kenneth E. Pauley and Carol M. Pauley. *San Fernando, Rey de España: An Illustrated History*. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark Co., 2005. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, and index. 360 pp. \$75.00 cloth. The history of California, the missions, architectural restoration, and photography are combined in this new book. The authors provide more than 450 images from many media, reproduced in full color, duotone, and black and white.

Japanese American National Museum, *Los Angeles's Boyle Heights*. Images of America. Charleston: Arcadia, 2005. Illustrations. 128 pp. \$19.99 paper. Historic and contemporary photographs illustrate this exhibit catalog documenting the history of Boyle Heights, an east Los Angeles neighborhood.

Michael J. Makley. *The Infamous King of the Comstock: William Sharon and the Gilded Age in the West*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2006. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, and index. 291 pp. \$34.95 cloth. William Sharon was a visionary capitalist—and a scoundrel—who controlled more than a dozen of the greatest mines on Nevada's Comstock Lode. His life and times are documented in this first-ever biography.

Curtis C. Roseman, Ruth Wallach, Dace Taube, Linda McCann, and Geoffrey DeVerteuil. *The Historic Core Of Los Angeles*. Images of America. Charleston: Arcadia, 2004. Illustrations and bibliography. 126 pp. \$19.99 paper. A team of distinguished authors document downtown Los Angeles using archival photographs of the many pre-1930 Beaux Arts, Art Deco, and Spanish Baroque buildings.

Terry Beers, ed. *Gunfight at Mussel Slough: Evolution of a Western Myth*. Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2004. Illustrations, notes, and bibliography. 309 pp. \$19.95 paper. One of the deadliest gunfights in the history of the West, the Mussel Slough tragedy was the basis for Frank Norris's *The Octopus: A Story of California* about the struggle between hardworking farmers and the Southern Pacific Railroad.

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