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Before Qualcomm:
Linkabit and the Origins of San Diego’s Telecom Industry

Joel West

Most San Diegans know that our largest high-tech enterprise of the past decade is Qualcomm, a Fortune 500 company. Qualcomm—founded by Irwin M. Jacobs, Andrew J. Viterbi and five others—is recognized locally for the wealth that it created for founders, employees, and investors. It also enjoys a reputation for helping to fund many local philanthropic and charitable efforts.

Outside the local telecommunications industry, however, few people realize that Qualcomm was the second company founded by Jacobs and Viterbi, not the first. The earlier startup, Linkabit, moved from Los Angeles to San Diego in 1970 and, over the next twenty-five years, helped to generate more than two hundred separate telecommunications companies. A series of fortunate coincidences—rather than a carefully thought out economic strategy—is the main reason why San Diego has a significant telecommunications industry.

This article traces the paths of Jacobs and Viterbi from their New England childhoods to their Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) engineering degrees to the founding of Linkabit. It shows that Linkabit—its early application of cutting-edge communications technologies, its eventual sale, and the eventual dispersal of the company’s key engineering talent—was the catalyst that led to other new companies, including Qualcomm.

From New England to San Diego

Both Irwin M. Jacobs and Andrew J. Viterbi spent their formative years in eastern Massachusetts. Jacobs’ path was simple. From his birth in 1933 to his graduation from the local high school in 1950, Jacobs lived in New Bedford, a fishing town near Cape Cod. He left to attend the School of Hotel Administration at Cornell University, but later switched to the School of Electrical Engineering. He met and married Joan Klein at Cornell, where he remained until his 1956 graduation. He then moved to the Boston area to enroll as an MIT graduate student.

Viterbi took a more circuitous route. In 1935, Andrea Giacomo Viterbi was born in Bergamo, Italy, the only child of a prominent doctor and his wife. In 1939 they fled Jewish persecution to New York City. The family moved to Boston in 1941. Anglicizing his name to Andrew James Viterbi, he graduated from Boston Latin high school in 1952. He then crossed the Charles River to MIT where he earned a dual SB/SM degree in 1957, paying for college using MIT’s cooperative work-study program.

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Although they do not recall crossing paths, both men were graduate students from 1956 to 1957 in MIT’s top-ranked electrical engineering department. During the 1950s and 1960s, MIT researchers led the world’s research in information theory, which would later enable the digital transformation of the communications industry. Claude Shannon, the father of information theory, was a professor in the department from 1956 to 1978, although he was semi-retired after 1966.7

Of the two young men, Viterbi was the first to come to California, interviewing for a series of aerospace-related jobs in the Los Angeles area. He chose a position in the communications group of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL) in Pasadena, the California Institute of Technology (Caltech) lab that was sponsored by the US Army until it was transferred to the newly created National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in October 1958. In June 1957, Viterbi moved with his parents out to Los Angeles. He met Erna Finci later that year, and they were married in 1958. Soon, his JPL salary was supporting his extended family that included his parents, his wife, and their first two children.

At JPL, Viterbi worked on communications with unmanned satellites, including Explorer I, the first American satellite, and then on probes to the moon, Venus, and Mars. Working full-time at JPL, he enrolled in a PhD program in engineering at the University of Southern California (USC) and eventually earned his doctorate in 1962. The following year, he joined the faculty at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) as an untenured engineering professor. He continued to consult with JPL and, later, other NASA operations. While at UCLA, he made the scientific breakthrough on digital communications decoding—the Viterbi algorithm—which later brought him top awards in electrical engineering, communications, and information theory.8

Jacobs, after completing his Sc.D. dissertation in 1959, remained at the MIT electrical engineering department as an assistant, then associate, professor. He began working with Prof. John Wozencraft on a textbook on digital communications, Principles of Communication Engineering, which eventually became the standard textbook for MIT’s senior communications engineering class; a classic worldwide, it is still available on Amazon.com today.9 In 1963, he met Viterbi at a conference and realized that they had a common interest. Jacobs, obtaining a leave from MIT, spent one year at JPL from 1964 to 1965, driving to and from California in a used van with his wife Joan and their three sons.
In the fall of 1965, after returning to MIT, Jacobs was invited to a job interview by one of his Cornell professors, Henry Booker, who had since moved to the University of California, San Diego (UCSD) to found its Department of Applied Electrophysics. Jacobs flew out to San Diego for the job interview and then returned to Boston. As he told a 1999 interviewer:

[Joan and I] talked it over, and as much as we liked California, and the idea of moving to a new university, and an opportunity to really start something from scratch, we had all our family back on the east coast, friends, and career. So we called up and turned the job down….For two days, we were miserable with the decision. The second day turned out to be a really rainy day, and I left MIT and took the subway up to Harvard Square. I got out and there were these huge crowds waiting for the buses to Arlington, and people were pushing their way through. I finally managed to get on the fourth bus, and I was standing in the rear of the bus, I had wet clothing, everybody’s clothing was wet, and about halfway to Arlington, the clothing began to dry and this terrible odor filled the bus. I got home and I said, “You know, we really do want to go to California.” So we called up and said, “Well, we’re ready to come.” And the position was still open, so out we came.

Jacobs and his family moved to La Jolla where he joined the UCSD faculty in time for the 1966 fall quarter.

**Founding of Linkabit**

In 1967 or 1968, Jacobs, Viterbi, and one of Viterbi’s UCLA colleagues, fellow MIT alumnus Leonard Kleinrock, attended a conference on NASA communications held at the NASA Ames Research Center in Mountain View, California. Flying back from the conference, Jacobs recalls saying that he had more consulting requests than he could accept; the three men agreed to create a company to consolidate their government and industry consulting efforts. The new firm, Linkabit, was incorporated in October 1968. At first, the corporation’s offices were located at Kleinrock’s Brentwood home. Later, they moved to Westwood, within walking distance of the UCLA engineering building where Viterbi and Kleinrock both worked.

In 1969, Kleinrock and the others had a falling out and the former left Linkabit, retaining a minority equity stake. That year, Kleinrock installed in his UCLA lab the computer that was the first endpoint of what would become the ARPANET, forerunner of the Internet.

The first engineer hired by Linkabit was Jerrold Heller, an MIT graduate student who had followed his advisor Jacobs to San Diego to finish his doctorate.
Heller then worked on digital communications problems at JPL before joining Linkabit in September 1969. Over the next fifteen months, the company hired three other electrical engineers: Andrew R. Cohen (MIT ‘57), Klein Gilhousen (UCLA ‘69), and James Dunn (UCSD ‘70).

In 1970, Linkabit moved from Los Angeles to Sorrento Valley. Their offices at 10453 Roselle Street became the first of more than twenty Linkabit buildings along Roselle Street and Sorrento Valley Road. To run the office, Linkabit hired Adelia “Dee” Turpie, who had just graduated from Madison High School. The existing employees moved south from Los Angeles to San Diego, except Viterbi, who moved south three years later. In 1971-72, Jacobs took a leave of absence from USCD to better organize Linkabit.

Linkabit’s Launch Customer: NASA

Linkabit made the vast majority of its money from designing and implementing digital telecommunications. In its early days, Linkabit did not build anything. It began life with study contracts, research projects funded by clients to solve specific technical problems. As the company built its reputation and capabilities, it designed specific products and built components such as circuit boards, semiconductors, chips, and, finally, complete devices.

Today, high-technology analysts talk about a new tech startup company needing a “launch” customer. For Linkabit, that launch customer was NASA, supporting communications for its deep space missions. Linkabit did work for NASA research laboratories, both the Ames Research Center in Mountain View, California, and the JPL contract laboratory run by Caltech. NASA was not the company’s first or only early customer — which also included NEL (later NELC and then NOSC) in Point Loma and the Virginia-based Defense Advanced
Before Qualcomm

Research Projects Agency (DARPA) — but NASA was the customer that first allowed them to apply Shannon’s theory.17

Theoretically, the coding theory developed over the two decades after Shannon’s 1948 information theory manifesto allowed digital communications to gain nearly 10 decibels of signal strength (10 times stronger) at the same reliability.18 When Linkabit was formed, however, that potential remained largely unrealized.

Over the next two decades, Jacobs and Viterbi would take the field of coding theory from journal papers and textbooks to practical applications. Their backgrounds made this possible. Jacobs, although not among the leading information theorists, was at MIT during the peak of the electrical engineering department’s influence on information theory, working alongside those who had developed the major breakthroughs in the field. Jacobs applied these ideas to problems in practical communications, including them in his textbook on communications theory and paper on space communications based on his year at JPL.

Viterbi, while self-taught, understood information theory well enough to teach it at UCLA. More significantly, he had developed the decoding algorithm, known as the Viterbi algorithm, which for more than two decades was considered the world’s best error-correction scheme for noisy digital communications. In 1991, he earned the top academic prize in information theory, the Shannon Award given by the IEEE Information Theory Society.19

Even more significantly, Viterbi and Jacobs had experience in space communications, one of the few markets in the 1960s where the benefits of coding theory, including Viterbi’s algorithm, were worth the cost. Viterbi worked with JPL’s communications group from 1957 onward, first as a full-time employee and then as a consultant. Jacobs also got to know this group during his 1964-65 visiting appointment.

Today, we take for granted that digital communications are possible in a consumer electronics device, whether a CD player, a DVD player or a high-definition television. Since the mid-1990s, the United States has enjoyed digital cell phones—using Qualcomm’s technology—that can apply information theory in real time to voice communications using a postage-sized microchip that runs off a pocket-sized battery and costs under $20.

But in 1967—when Viterbi was inventing his algorithm and researchers were applying the Shannon-derived theory to deep space communications—computers were much slower, bigger, and more expensive. NASA researchers favored a Sigma 5 minicomputer while Viterbi used UCLA’s larger Sigma 7 minicomputer in his early contract research for NASA Ames Research Center.20 Each computer was from Santa Monica-based Scientific Data Systems (later bought by Xerox), requiring several refrigerator-sized cabinets. Each sold for $300,000 to $700,000 ($2 million to $4.6 million in 2009 dollars).

Digital coding, and especially decoding, required dedicated use of expensive and scarce computing power, making it impractical for ordinary uses. Since it was not being used commercially, it also required someone to pay the up-front development costs of the new technology. Despite these problems, the technology was ideally suited for receiving photographs and other telemetry from NASA’s planned unmanned deep space probes to the outer planets, first Mars, then Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune. Because radio signals dissipated via an inverse
power law, moving a spacecraft from the Moon to Mars would reduce the radio signal power by a million-fold, while a visit to Saturn would reduce power by another ten-fold.

By 1968, NASA had made a decade’s worth of improvements in its communications systems and was running out of alternatives. Boosting transmitter power would require more power than was available on the space probe; increasing the transmit antenna would require an antenna bigger than the standard US space boosters. Meanwhile, NASA’s existing ground-based satellite dishes were 210 feet in diameter. It was impractical to make them any larger as they were difficult to maintain and cost hundreds of millions of dollars. Digital encoding and decoding cost far less than any alternative strategies to improve the communications efficiency of a handful of space probes and ground stations.21

NASA Ames, developing the Pioneer unmanned probes, was slightly ahead in the interdivisional space race. NASA had hired Dave Forney of the Codex Corporation (Newton, Massachusetts) and Prof. Jim Massey of Notre Dame to work on their communications problems. The two men, both with doctorates from MIT, came up with the solution used in Pioneer 10 (the first space probe to Jupiter) and Pioneer 11 (to Jupiter and Saturn), launched in 1972 and 1973.

NASA Ames also engaged Viterbi while he was at UCLA, sponsoring the dissertation research of three of his PhD students. One student, Joseph Odenwalder, proposed a solution that combined Viterbi’s decoding algorithm with a coding approach from Forney’s dissertation to produce better results than had been obtained on the Pioneer probes. After graduating, Odenwalder joined Linkabit as employee #26.22 NASA then hired Linkabit for a follow-up study,
completed by Odenwalder, Viterbi, Jacobs, and Heller in early 1973. The proposed solution was used by the JPL-designed Voyager space probes to the outer planets. Launched in 1977, Voyager 1 visited Jupiter and Saturn while Voyager 2 also visited Uranus and Neptune.

The NASA projects gave Linkabit the credibility and ability not only to display its knowledge of digital communications, but also to apply that knowledge to solve real problems. Linkabit also caught a lucky break when Codex faced a management crisis and decided to focus on an unrelated communications breakthrough, pioneering the then state-of-the-art 9600 baud modems. The company abandoned space communications and referred such business to Linkabit for several years.23

**Military Applications**

Digital communications used in deep space also had military applications. In military communications, the interference might be man-made signal jammers rather than natural background radiation but the signal reliability benefits were the same. Digital coding also aided in goals unique to military (or intelligence) communications: avoiding interception, falsification or triangulation. A major difference was that military communications were higher volume than space probes, requiring the production of hundreds or even thousands of units, unlike the two-dozen units used by NASA projects. During the 1970s, military projects were able to exploit the faster and cheaper semiconductor components, as predicted by “Moore’s Law,” based on a 1965 article by Fairchild Semiconductor (and later Intel) cofounder Gordon Moore.24

As the NASA projects wound down during the 1970s and early 1980s, Linkabit developed a series of modulators and demodulators (modems) for digitally encoding and decoding military signals over UHF radio waves (0.3-3.0 GHz), allowing military commanders to use satellites to relay signals to aircraft and other units located anywhere in the world. Working as a subcontractor to major defense electronics companies, Linkabit gradually produced higher volumes of communications components and then entire devices for the US Air Force and later the US Army in the 1970s.

Linkabit began by providing hardware and software to the Air Force that assured secure and reliable communications for targeting strategic (i.e. nuclear)
weapons. As part of its efforts to reduce the cost and size of the military communication devices, Gilhousen led the company’s successful efforts to develop one of the first digital signal processors on a chip, the Linkabit Microprocessor (LMP). In 1973, only two years after Intel released the world’s first microprocessor, the Intel 4004, Gilhousen began writing the microcode describing the operations of the LMP. With Sheffield “Sheffie” Worboys and Franklin Antonio, he completed a “breadboard” prototype of the new chip in May 1974. The microprocessor operated at 3 million cycles per second, or about 1/1000 as fast as today’s desktop computers. Later that year, Linkabit used the LMP to implement the Viterbi algorithm for decoding digital signals from outer space.25

Linkabit’s Dual Modem, made possible by the development of the LMP, allowed communication by military units with two different US Air Force satellite communications systems, hence its name. The modem, developed by Klein Gilhousen, Franklin Antonio, and led by Jacobs, had both data and limited voice capabilities. The first significant manufacturing program for Linkabit, it was shipped beginning in late 1977 or early 1978.26

One of Linkabit’s most sophisticated early products was the Command Post Modem/Processor (CPM/P) to send and receive SHF/EHF (3 GHz-300 GHz) satellite communications on US Air Force airborne command posts. The CPM/P was sold both for the Air Force EC-135 (adapted from a Boeing 707) and the E-4 (Boeing 747) and was intended to provide communications to US strategic bombers and missiles in the event of a nuclear war.

The Dual Modem was succeeded by the Tri-Modem, a communications modem that added an additional mode to support US Army communications.27 Variations of these modems for the three major services (Army, Navy, Air Force) continued in production into the 1990s. Martha Dennis, one of Linkabit’s few female executives, led the Tri-Modem development project, one of the largest and most strategically important Linkabit ventures of the 1970s. A PhD student at Harvard University in the Applied Mathematics department, she moved to San Diego in 1970 when her husband accepted a position as an assistant professor in the UCSD Chemistry Department. She met Irwin Jacobs at the La Jolla Democratic Club and worked with him at UCSD while completing her 1971 doctoral thesis on computer graphics. In 1976, she joined Linkabit as a leader of its software development efforts.28

Civilian Business

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Linkabit continued to expand. By 1978, its annual revenues reached $10 million. In hiring new engineers, it sought intelligent
but inexperienced college graduates from top schools like MIT, Illinois, Stanford, and the University of California schools. Linkabit’s early recruiting efforts focused on MIT. Later, as UCSD’s engineering program developed in size and stature, the company pulled talent from its local school. Linkabit offered engineers interesting work and a culture that emphasized technical prowess ahead of other goals. Viterbi and Jacobs, meanwhile, had the respect of colleagues at leading universities throughout the country.

To grow its business beyond government contracts, Linkabit applied its satellite communications expertise to commercial problems. In the late 1970s, Linkabit was among several government contractors doing research on the use of satellites to route transatlantic ARPANET communications. Linkabit engineers found how the ARPANET could work with the longer delay from bouncing signals off of satellites orbiting 22,000 miles above earth. 29

For commercial uses, Linkabit worked to deploy a new technology—Very Small Aperture Terminal (VSATs)—that allowed satellite communications with ground dishes of 4 to 8 feet in diameter. It began building equipment for Satellite Business Systems (SBS), initiating its largest effort to date to provide commercial applications for satellite communications. SBS began in 1975 as a joint venture between IBM, Aetna Life and Casualty, and COMSAT, the US-based communications satellite company. SBS originally focused on high-speed data communications for US businesses and, later, shifted to long-distance telephone calls. In 1984, it was sold to MCI.

After winning a contract with oil services contractor Schlumberger, Linkabit worked to sell VSAT systems to other firms that needed business communications. Mike Lubin, a manager, targeted the Fortune 500 companies that needed to connect hundreds of locations across the country. Linkabit’s next major contract was with Wal-Mart, allowing the company’s Arkansas headquarters to receive data and send video to more than 700 stores around the country. Linkabit later landed similar deals to service 7-11 convenience stores and Holiday Inn hotels.

Linkabit’s largest volume commercial project, however, came with VideoCipher, an encryption system for satellite TV broadcasts. Home Box Office (HBO) was one of many pay television services frustrated by consumers who watched their cable TV channels for free via large backyard satellite dishes. After seeking proposals from various electronics companies, HBO chose to award the contract to Linkabit whose engineers had submitted the only digital solution to the problem of encrypting TV channels. The VideoCipher team included three men with MIT doctorates: Jerry Heller, Woo Paik, and Paul Moroney. After HBO selected the technology and installed transmitters and receivers for cable TV systems, Linkabit worked to build a mass-market decoder to be sold to consumers. It started its first high-volume commercial factory, built in Puerto Rico due to tax incentives. In 1986, the VideoCipher team won a technical Emmy award from the Academy of Television Arts & Sciences.

Finally, Linkabit designed and built an early model of a TDMA (time division multiple access) digital mobile phone for Pennsylvania-based International Mobile Machines Corporation (IMM). In 1992, IMM acquired a rival firm and renamed itself InterDigital. Today, it competes with Qualcomm to license technology and sell integrated circuits to cellular telephone makers.
Acquisition and Dismemberment

Linkabit’s expansion into commercial businesses—particularly its need to build a consumer-scale manufacturing plant for the HBO decoders—required more capital than it had. In November 1979, Linkabit agreed to be bought by the NYSE-listed M/A-COM. The acquisition was completed in August 1980 for $25 million. As Jacobs recalled two decades later:

We were approached by M/A-COM, located back in Boston, about the possibility of joining them. They were acquiring us really, by a stock-merger. We had been thinking about whether to go public in time. They had a lot of components. It sounded like a very good idea, in the sense that we would be a very vertically integrated company. They were already on the New York Stock Exchange, so that would take care of the issue of providing liquidity to the stock that various people owned. It sounded very positive. Further, the CEO and Chairman of the company [was] Larry Gould, a person who had graduated at age 21 or 22, with the PhD from MIT so we could get along very well together. So we decided to merge.30

M/A-COM Linkabit retained a distinct identity but the company’s operations were combined with related M/A-COM divisions, in particular, the former Digital Communications Corp. of Germantown, Maryland, acquired by M/A-COM in 1978. For several years after the acquisition, M/A-COM Linkabit expanded dramatically. As it grew—and as Jacobs and Viterbi assumed more senior responsibilities within M/A-COM—the culture of the company changed. As
engineer Steve Hart recalled: “Linkabit was a real fun place to work, but it started changing after the M/A-COM acquisition.”

Jacobs and Viterbi separately left M/A-COM Linkabit in April 1985. They both cited the 1982 decision of M/A-COM’s board to remove the Chairman and CEO Lawrence Gould whom they trusted, having worked with him to negotiate the deal.

M/A-COM, facing financial troubles, sold off the various pieces of Linkabit after Jacobs and Viterbi left. In 1986, General Instruments purchased VideoCipher and other television-related technologies before selling itself to Motorola in 2000. M/A-COM’s telecommunications division, which included both Linkabit and DCC, became Hughes Network Systems after its 1987 purchase by Hughes Electronics, the division of General Motors that later created the DirecTV satellite television system. In 1990, the Titan Corporation, a San Diego-based defense electronics company founded in 1981, purchased the remainder of Linkabit, the government contracting division.

**Qualcomm and Other Linkabit Spinoffs**

M/A-COM Linkabit employees responded to the change in corporate culture, the dismemberment of Linkabit, and the resignation of the two founders by leaving the company. Between 1984 and 1990, they founded ten new telecommunication companies in San Diego. The brain drain cost M/A-COM Linkabit not only its key executives and top engineers, but also much of its ability to develop and deliver new technologies.

In July 1985, a group of seven Linkabit alumni met at Jacobs’ La Jolla home: the two Linkabit founders (Viterbi and Jacobs), three of the earliest engineers (Andrew Cohen, Klein Gilhousen, and Franklin Antonio), and two senior financial managers...
(Adelia Coffman and Harvey White). They decided to build a company that delivered “QUALity COMMunications” and called their new company, Qualcomm.

At first, Qualcomm continued along the Linkabit trajectory with government contracts to provide digital communications services. After starting with smaller projects, it developed high-speed data communications for the three major armed services to transmit data at military test ranges. It also completed projects for large defense contractors, including Ford Aerospace in Newport Beach, California, and Hughes Electronics based in Germantown, Maryland.

Qualcomm’s first major source of ongoing revenues came from OmniTRACS, a satellite-based mobile communications system that allowed companies to locate their trucks anywhere and contact them anytime. On the strength of OmniTRACS, Qualcomm completed its initial public offering in December 1991, the first of the Linkabit spinoffs to do so. Qualcomm’s greatest fortunes, however, came with a digital cell phone technology it called Code Division Multiple Access (CDMA). The technology was adopted by three of the seven of the “Baby Bell” spinoffs of AT&T—Bell Atlantic, NYNEX and US West—as well as AirTouch Communications, GTE, and Sprint PCS.

In 1999, Qualcomm’s stock had its best year ever with a 2,600 per cent increase, leading all stocks on major US markets. This was based on the strength of CDMA sales in the United States, Korea, and Japan. The rapid rise turned ordinary
employees and investors into millionaires; three such “Quillionaires” were featured on the cover of *Money* magazine.

Qualcomm, although the best known and most financially successful of the companies founded by former Linkabit employees, was one of many startups that sought to recreate the Linkabit culture of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Interactive Concepts was founded two years earlier, in 1983; Sciteq and ComStream followed in 1984.

Of the three new companies formed by Linkabit alumni in 1986, the most financially successful was ViaSat of Carlsbad, started by the manager of Linkabit’s satellite modem business, Mark Dankberg, who recruited as cofounders Linkabit engineers Steve Hart and Mark Miller. Like Qualcomm, ViaSat maintained its independence through an initial public offering in December 1996. Today, ViaSat still attempts to maintain the culture created by Jacobs and Viterbi. As cofounder Steve Hart recalled: “It was definitely intentional. We liked working there, all of us....We really liked the culture. We wanted that culture and were very influenced by it.”

In 1987, five former Linkabit executives founded Pacific Communications Sciences, Inc. (PCSI): Martha Dennis, Mike Lubin, David Lyon, Philip Wilson, and Warren Weiner. They focused on both speech compression and Cellular Digital Packet Data (CDPD) created to transmit wireless digital data over analog cell phone networks. PCSI’s greatest success came from making radio frequency integrated circuits for the Personal Handyphone System, a low-cost digital mobile phone network that began service in Japan in 1995. PCSI was purchased in 1993 by Cirrus Logic, which later sold the bulk of the company to Rockwell International in 1997. Both Dennis and Lyon went on to form new San Diego telecom companies.
The 1980s startups leveraged Linkabit’s strong knowledge of satellite-enabled digital communications and built on Viterbi and Jacobs’ earlier work on military and NASA projects. Many received key early revenues from satellite communications, whether satellite-based truck tracking (Qualcomm), government satellite communications (ViaSat), improving the efficiency of live remote TV broadcasts transmitted via satellite (Tiernan Communications), or decoding satellite signals for airline radio listeners or home TV viewers (ComStream).

In fact, the Linkabit alumni kept coming back to satellites, whether or not they wanted to. ViaSat CEO Mark Dankberg originally targeted the fast growing dialup modem business at a time when modem speed was then improving from 2400 to 9600 bits per second (en route to 56,000 bps a decade later). However, as another ViaSat founder later recalled, venture capitalists would not fund the idea: “[The venture capitalists] said: ‘Well, that’s all real interesting, but you don’t know anything about that commercial wireline modem business. But if you want to do what you know, we’re glad to fund you.’ (Laughing) And so our business plan was pretty much doing what we were doing at Linkabit.”

Conversely, the founders of PCSI, who left the following year, avoided satellite communications for fear of retaliation from the M/A-COM Linkabit management that replaced Jacobs and Viterbi: “There was a tremendous fear that if we showed up in satellite communications that possibly they would try to sue us for violating confidentiality agreements. So I think we decided to be squeaky clean and potentially not go into the satellite business.” Despite this decision, PCSI later worked on its own satellite-related topics, including a project for INMARSAT, the global satellite-to-ship telephone system.

Not all of the Linkabit spinoffs involved wireless communications. Primary
Access built telephone multiplexors for CompuServe and other large operators of dialup information services. The company was founded in 1987 by a team of six Linkabit alumni, two of whom were working for the Linkabit division acquired by General Instrument. Jim Dunn, their first president, had been Linkabit’s longest-serving employee after the Qualcomm spinoff and the General Instrument acquisition. Joe Markee, another founder, joined Linkabit in 1979 and went on to become CEO of two other San Diego telecommunications firms.

Primary Access may be best known for its last CEO, William Stensrud, who remained at the helm until the company’s 1995 acquisition by 3Com of Santa Clara. Stensrud became managing director of San Diego’s largest venture capital fund, Enterprise Partners Venture Capital, which had more than $1 billion of technology investments when Stensrud resigned in 2006. He is also the only telecom veteran (other than current or former Qualcomm officers) to make a recent list of the twenty-five richest San Diegans.

Conclusions

The San Diego telecommunications industry developed from a single startup company—Linkabit—into major locus of entrepreneurial activity during the 1980s. In the eight year period, 1983 to 1990:

- M/A-COM Linkabit, formerly Linkabit, was sold off in three major parts totaling $359 million;
- Ex-Linkabit employees formed ten startup companies in San Diego and another three formed elsewhere; and,
- Employees of these thirteen companies and the three former Linkabit divisions founded another six startup companies, including Tiernan Communications (1989) and Boatracs (1990).

Among all the telecommunications startups, the greatest wealth creation came from Qualcomm. Its retired executives are associated with multimillion dollar donations to the San Diego Symphony, La Jolla Playhouse, Old Globe, the Museum of Contemporary Art, the Jewish Community Center, Scripps Research Institute, the San Diego Natural History Museum, and the San Diego Food Bank, as well as to UCSD and San Diego State University.

Linkabit, however, fueled significant economic growth in the San Diego region by seeding a large cluster of telecommunications firms. Martha Dennis, onetime president of the San Diego Telecommunications Council, compiled a list of more than seventy-five direct

Jacobs speaks in 1995 about Qualcomm’s success during the previous ten years. Courtesy of Irwin M. Jacobs.
spinoffs (founded by Linkabit alumni) and indirect spinoffs (founded by alumni of other spinoff companies) from 1983 to the present, most of them in San Diego. This infrastructure has brought more than two hundred telecommunications startups to the San Diego region since 1980, including seven NASDAQ listed companies: Qualcomm, Leap Wireless, ViaSat, Novatel Wireless, Maxwell Technologies, Dot Hill Systems, and Entropic.45

Two factors were key to the creation of the local telecommunications industry. The first was Jacobs’ role in moving Linkabit to San Diego. If, instead of Jacobs, Viterbi (or Kleinrock) had become the administrative head of the company, then Linkabit would have remained in Los Angeles. Of course, if Jacobs had stayed at the world’s pre-eminent communications research program in Massachusetts—rather than taking the risk of moving to a new and unproven university in southern California—then he would not have been in San Diego in the first place.

The second key factor was the dispersal of Linkabit’s technical talent to form the first generation of unofficial spinoffs from 1984 to 1989. Such a rapid exodus of Linkabit’s best engineers during its first two decades had no precedent at more stable, high-tech companies like HP, Intel, or Genenech.46 Whether their departures were the result of M/A-COM’s botched acquisition of Linkabit or a loss of confidence after Jacobs and Viterbi left, these talented men and women formed dozens of direct and indirect Linkabit spinoffs in San Diego. These spinoffs, in turn, formed the nucleus of about two hundred wireless communications startups formed in San Diego from 1980 to 2003.47

Together, these two factors brought about the current concentration of telecommunications talent in San Diego, as well as the close cooperation

In 1997, the Qualcomm Corporation paid $18 million to rename Jack Murphy Stadium in Mission Valley, home of the San Diego Chargers and former home of the San Diego Padres. The sports arena is now known as Qualcomm Stadium. In this picture, Jacobs speaks on behalf of his company, post-1997. Courtesy of Irwin M. Jacobs.
between industry and local universities, particularly UCSD. When combined with the parallel growth of local biomedical industries, the result has been the transformation of San Diego from a sleepy Navy town to one of the nation’s leading high-technology regions.

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<td>1984</td>
<td>ComStream</td>
<td>Acquired by Spar Aerospace in 1992</td>
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<td>1984</td>
<td>Sciteq</td>
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<td>Qualcomm</td>
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<td>1986</td>
<td>ViaSat</td>
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<td>MultiSpectra Engineering</td>
<td>Acquired by Tachyon Networks in 1997</td>
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<td>1987</td>
<td>Pacific Communications Sciences, Inc. (PCSI)</td>
<td>Acquired by Cirrus Logic in 1993</td>
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<td>1987</td>
<td>Indra Technology</td>
<td>Acquired by CenterStone Technologies in 2006</td>
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<td>1988</td>
<td>Primary Access</td>
<td>Acquired by 3COM in 1995</td>
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<td>1989</td>
<td>Milpower</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>Torrey Science</td>
<td>Liquidated in 1998</td>
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Table 1: First generation startup firms formed in San Diego by Linkabit employees and alumni, 1984-1990. Sources: See note 34.

NOTES

1. Qualcomm has been on the Fortune 500 list since 1999, ranking #297 in 2008. It was followed by another San Diego company, SAIC (#289), first listed in 2006, whose primary business is providing technical and professional services to the US government. The only other San Diego company on the list during this entire period was Sempra Energy (#232), parent of SDG&E.

2. Caroline Simard, “From Weapons to Cell-Phones: Knowledge Networks in the Creation of San Diego’s Wireless Valley” (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 2004). The author is grateful for permission to use both this work and Simard’s database, “San Diego Wireless Valley” (July 2005), that identifies 346 wireless-related companies or branch offices formed in San Diego through 2004. Simard and West have acquired individual and joint data collections on the San Diego telecom industry, including archival data and more than sixty interviews conducted with local founders and employees since 2003. See also: Joel West and Caroline Simard, “Balancing Intrapreneurial Innovation vs. Entrepreneurial Spinoffs During Periods of Technological Ferment,” Sloan Industry Studies Working Papers WP-2007-32 (2007).


5. Viterbi explained, “I didn’t need citizenship papers until I got a passport. I needed a passport to go to Italy in ’48. So, we put down Andrew Jack and it came out Andrew Jackson. I said, ‘Well, I respect the President but I don’t want to be Andrew Jackson,’ so we decided to make it James.” Andrew Viterbi, interviewed by author, December 5, 2006.
10. For information on the UCSD’s Department of Applied Electrophysics, now the Department of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science, see Nancy Scott Anderson, *An Improbable Venture: A History of the University of California, San Diego* (La Jolla: UCSD Press, 1993).
12. As NASA records do not establish the date of the conference, conflicting reports of the initial meeting have been published. In interviews with the three founders, one placed the conference and plane flight in 1967, one in 1968, and one did not recall the date 40 years later. However, a copy of the company’s first income statement confirms the date of Linkabit’s initial operations.
13. Leonard Kleinrock, interviewed by author, October 22, 2008. See also the Jacobs and Viterbi interviews and oral histories.
16. Known as Dee Coffman after her marriage, she earned a BS in business at SDSU in 1976. Coffman was one of the seven Qualcomm founders, serving as its CFO from July 1985 to February 1989, and as a board director from January 1992 to March 2007.
18. Ibid.
19. Beginning with Claude Shannon in 1972, the IEEE Information Theory Society has given the award to thirty individuals, with the list of earliest recipients dominated by MIT and Bell Labs alumni.
25. The LMP and its technical design are described in Klein S. Gilhousen, “A Multi-Stack Microprocessor for Satellite Modems,” delivered at the National Telecommunications Conference, San Diego, CA, December 2-4, 1974. The development of the prototype is described in a note signed by Gilhousen, part of a scrapbook presented by Linkabit employees to Jacobs in May 1985. Access to the scrapbook was graciously provided by Dr. Jacobs during an August 2006 interview.


27. The Tri-Modem was mentioned in interviews with several Linkabit alumni, in the Linkabit newsletter, A Bit of News, as well as the previously mentioned 1999 oral histories with Jacobs and Viterbi published by the IEEE History Center.


32. Jeffrey L. Rodengen and Richard F. Hubbard, The Legend of the Titan Corporation (Fort Lauderdale: Write Stuff Syndicate, 2002). In 2004, Titan was acquired by L-3 Communications, a 1997 spinoff of Lockheed Corporation.

33. Some writers confuse the term “spinoff” to new firms created with the sanction of the parent company, but entrepreneurship researchers tend to use the term to refer to any firm created by former employees. Henry Chesbrough draws a distinction between a “voluntary spin-off” (decided by the parent) and non-voluntary. The latter term describes the spinoffs in this article. Chesbrough, “The Governance and Performance of Xerox’s Technology Spin-Off Companies” Research Policy 32, no. 3 (March 2003): 403-21


35. CDMA stands for Code Division Multiple Access, but it is normally referred to by its acronym.

36. Verizon Wireless continues to use Qualcomm’s CDMA technologies, combing the previous cellular license of five of the eight major local phone companies that remained after the AT&T breakup: four Baby Bells (Pacific Telesis, US West, Bell Atlantic, NYNEX) and GTE. AirTouch Communications was created in 1994 as a spinoff of the high-growth cellular and paging franchises of Pacific Telesis, acquired the US West cellular operation in 1998, and was in turn acquired in 1999 by London-based Vodafone PLC. Bell Atlantic acquired Nyxex in 1997 and merged with GTE in 2000 to form Verizon Communications. Together, Verizon Communications and Vodafone combined their US operations to launch the Verizon Wireless joint venture in 2000, which continues today.

37. Qualcomm’s 2,621 percent appreciation was listed as being the largest of all the “small and madcap stocks,” i.e. those that, “Started year with market value of at least $100 million but no more than $5 billion.” This put it well ahead of the fastest-growing large-cap stock that grew 616 percent. “Year-End Review of Markets & Finance,” The Wall Street Journal, January 2000, R4.


40. Ibid.


46. Such a brain drain is common at high-tech companies that face management turmoil or business difficulties, whether Shockley Semiconductor in the 1950s, National Semiconductor in the 1960s, or Apple Computer in the 1990s. In addition, many large tech companies lost promising young engineers to venture capital-funded Internet startups in the late 1990s.

47. Simard’s database reports 244 startup organizations created in San Diego with at least some wireless-related business, with about 30 prior to 1980. Simard, “San Diego Wireless Valley.”
The Beatles Live! At Balboa Stadium 1965

Chuck Gunderson

America met the Beatles on Sunday, February 9, 1964, as a record television audience in 73 million homes tuned into the Ed Sullivan Show to see four longhaired British pop singers make their United States debut. The band’s performance would remain etched in the memories of young people along with visions of man first walking on the moon and the gyrations of Elvis Presley. This is evident by the Beatles’ continued popularity four decades after their much-publicized split in 1970. The group has sold one and one-half billion records since 1964 and they continue to have an immense presence in popular culture today. Larry Kane, a journalist who personally traveled with the group during two of their American tours, commented:

Given the significance of some of the other stories I’ve covered, the Beatles and their tours might seem to pale in comparison. To some, the combat in the Middle East, a superpower summit…and even everyday stories of human conflict and achievement may appear more important than touring with a group of megastar musicians. But the events that began in America in 1964 were also major historical turning points, and the Beatles played a role in how our nation coped with its trials. The Beatles arrived in America just months after the assassination of President Kennedy and in the same year that the civil rights movement was blossoming. The band’s music was liberating, along with the band members’ dress and style, and all of these dimensions helped bring young people toward the activism that define the ensuing years.2

Chuck Gunderson, an independent historian, received his BA from San Diego State University in 1993 and his MA in history at the University of San Diego in May 2007. He was vice-president and co-owner of Outdoor Media Group, an outdoor advertising company, until it was sold in 2003. He currently manages Music Artifact Exhibitors, LLC, and is responsible for developing an upcoming traveling museum exhibition on the Beatles from “Birth to Breakup.” Mr. Gunderson resides in Utah.
San Diego Beatles’ fans had the opportunity to see their idols in person at Balboa Stadium on the night of August 28, 1965. Strangely, the concert was not sold out. More than 10,000 seats remained unoccupied at a time when “Beatlemania” was sweeping the nation. By way of contrast, shows at the Hollywood Bowl on August 29 and 30 were complete sellouts with 36,000 fans in attendance. This article suggests that promoters had limited time to sell tickets since San Diego was added to the tour schedule on June 7, not earlier. Rivalry between two local radio stations—KGB and KCBQ—also may have caused this unusual situation.

The Beatles—John Lennon, Paul McCartney, George Harrison and Ringo Starr—came together in the rough, post World War II, working class neighborhood of Liverpool, England. After initial success and a loyal local fan following, their manager, Brian Epstein, cleaned up their stage manners, which included smoking, swearing and vulgar gestures. He later took them out of the small dance halls that dotted the English countryside and dressed them in stage suits to conquer the world. After three hugely successful appearances on Ed Sullivan’s weekly variety show, which aired a week apart, and sold-out concerts in Washington D.C. and New York’s famed Carnegie Hall, the Beatles won over the American audience, particularly its teenagers. Plans were underway for the Beatles return to
the United States for a highly anticipated summer tour and fans in San Diego were eager and hoping to have the group select the city as a destination.

In March 1964, San Diego Beatles fan club president, Kathie Sexton, and others staged a peaceful demonstration in then Mayor Frank Curran's office with placards reading “Bring us the Beatles!” and “Let the Beatles try San Diego first!” She also presented Mayor Curran with a formal written request to invite the Fab Four to perform in the sunny seaside city. The only other big act to come to San Diego prior to the Beatles was an appearance by Elvis Presley on board the aircraft carrier Hancock on April 3, 1956, which was filmed for the Milton Berle show and performed in front of mostly sailors. Up-and-coming performers such as Bob Dylan and the Rolling Stones preceded the Beatles with concerts in 1964 but major acts generally bypassed the city for the larger Los Angeles market. Larger cities such as San Francisco and Los Angeles were deemed more significant in population and fan base. According to census figures at the time, San Diego’s population in 1964 was approximately a million people compared to L.A.’s 7.5 million residents. Sexton and other San Diego Beatles’ fans saw their hopes dashed when San Diego was not chosen to be on the itinerary for the summer 1964 United States tour. San Diego teenagers would have to wait another summer for a chance to see the group perform in their hometown.

Early in spring 1965, Beatles management announced the second tour of America and, again, San Diego was not chosen. Instead, the group opted to play in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Tour organizers surmised that San Diegans could drive the 150 miles north and attend one of the two shows the group was booked to play at the historic Hollywood Bowl. Even though San Diego was one of the country’s larger cities, it remained in the shadow of Los Angeles. The announced summer tour schedule frustrated San Diego fans as the group was booked to play in less populous towns such as Portland and Minneapolis.

It took the efforts of two Los Angeles area promoters, Louis Robin and Allen Tinkley, to finally bring the Beatles to San Diego. The two had become friends while attending Claremont Men’s College where they had booked one concert per year at the school’s Bridges Auditorium. The first show they produced together was Duke Ellington and his Orchestra in 1952. After experiencing success locally, they began to stage concerts at other educational facilities such as El Camino College, Loyola, Arizona State University, and Stanford. Upon graduation, Robin and Tinkley went to work for Hughes Aircraft and Traveler’s Insurance, respectively, but continued

Signed performance contract for the Beatles to play in San Diego on August 28, 1965. Author’s collection.
Tony Barrow, the group’s press agent, added a handwritten entry for August 28, showing the performance date in San Diego. Author’s collection.

A Supreme Court ruling that broke up monopolies of movie-studio-owned theater chains paved the way for Robin and Tinkley to become intimately involved with the Beatles. As a result of the court’s ruling, a group of financiers, including Gene Klein, who later owned the San Diego Chargers, formed National General Corporation that purchased 20th Century Fox’s chain of movie theaters. National General also purchased Concerts, Inc. Robin and Tinkley became employees responsible for building the company’s business of promoting live concerts. They promoted Peter, Paul and Mary, and booked Sammy Davis, Jr. at the Hollywood Bowl along with the relatively unknown Barbara Streisand who made her first West Coast appearance for the modest sum of $2,500.

Robin and Tinkley’s association with Closed-Circuit Television (CCTV), a new technology, delayed their efforts to bring the Beatles to San Diego. National General Corporation received the rights from Beatles management to film the group’s first concert on American soil. It was held at the Washington D.C.
Coliseum on February 11, 1964. The plan was to package the live Beatles show with a previously held Beach Boys and Lesley Gore concert and show it with CCTV technology to theaters that National General owned nationwide. While the concert at the D.C. Coliseum was a tremendous success, the CCTV presentation in National General’s theaters was financially disastrous. Tinkley later commented, “Fans had already seen the Beatles on three televised appearances on the Ed Sullivan Show; what they wanted was to see them live.” The experience so soured Robin and Tinkley that they subsequently turned down an offer by the Beatles’ American agents, General Artists Corporation (GAC), to promote them in Southern California at the Hollywood Bowl in 1964. In a recent interview, Lou Robin recalled, “we thought that they were just another British group passing through and we were afraid we would have an empty house and would be left holding the bag. The Beatles at that time were still considered a little unproven.”

After the Beatles’ enormously successful 1964 tour, Robin and Tinkley wanted the chance to promote the group on their upcoming 1965 West Coast swing. Bob Eubanks, of later game show fame, was again promoting them at the Hollywood Bowl, as he had in 1964, while Paul Catalana did the same at San Francisco’s Cow Palace. Robin tried to convince Beatles management to revise their rigid “set in stone” touring schedule to include San Diego as an “add-on” date, but that had been accomplished only once before and at great expense. The flamboyant owner of the Kansas City Athletics, Charles O. Finley, convinced Brian Epstein to add his city to the first American tour in 1964. After going back and forth with offers, Finley wrote out a check for an unprecedented sum to have the Beatles perform in Kansas City. When the deal was complete “entertainment history was made. The $150,000 Finley committed to the Beatles was...the largest fee ever paid for a single performance...at this rate, the Beatles would earn $4,838 a minute for a 31-minute concert.”

Robin and Tinkley left National General to form Artist’s Consultants, but they still held out hope of “buying” a date for the Beatles tour. Finally, after much negotiation and nudging, GAC offered Robin either Salt Lake City or San Diego as an “add-on” concert. Robin chose the latter. On June 7, Robin and Tinkley agreed on a performance contract to bring the Beatles to San Diego for a guaranteed appearance fee of $50,000. This left them only eighty-one days to promote the event. Promoters in other cities generally had several months. On June 9, Tony
Barrow, the Beatles’ press agent, sent out a revised letter to all promoters of the 1965 tour that included a handwritten entry by Barrow to add San Diego as an official date, August 28, 1965.

Days after the San Diego concert was announced, optimism was running high. Robin and Tinkley felt they could sell out Balboa Stadium in a matter of weeks and cash in on the wave of Beatlemania that enveloped the U.S. The stadium, built in 1914, had a seating capacity of 34,500 and was the only logical place in San Diego to hold a large outdoor concert.6 Robin made arrangements with the City of San Diego to obtain the necessary permits to stage the concert at Balboa Stadium. Because of Balboa Stadium’s lease provisions, the wooden stage on which the Beatles were to perform could only be constructed at one end of the Stadium. Another provision nullified field seating. As a result, the promoters were limited to offering only 27,041 tickets to fans. Prices for the seats were $3.50, $4.50 and $5.50.

Another concern was security. The promoters were required to pay the city $5,000 in advance of the concert for extra police. The San Diego Evening Tribune reported, “A campaign that has been likened to ‘McArthur taking the Philippines’ has been mapped out for the 140 San Diego police officers and the 110 private patrol police who will protect the Beatles from the
people and the people from themselves.”

To further complicate matters, Allen Tinkley sent an additional letter to Tony Barrow, suggesting that the Fab Four hold their customary press conference on board a boat as it circled San Diego Bay. Tinkley wrote: “The San Diego Bay is quite pretty and might prove interesting to the group,” adding, “[I]t has also been mentioned that there will be additional boats if any of the Beatles would like more time by themselves around the bay.” The press conference would also coincide with the San Diego Teenage Fair. It was naïve to think that the Beatles could sail by themselves around San Diego Bay during the height of Beatlemania, particularly given the fact the group could barely leave their hotel rooms without being mobbed. The idea was quickly scrapped.

Two rival radio stations, KGB and KCBQ, competed for airtime to promote the upcoming concert. Written proposals, or “pitches,” were due in by June 10 to Robin and Tinkley who began calling themselves Sight and Sound Productions. In KCBQ’s pitch, general manager Lee Bartell touted a DJ named “Lord Tim of Liverpool” whose real name was Tim Hudson. In Bartell’s words, Lord Tim, “our newest disc jockey—direct from Liverpool, knows the Beatles personally, and will be in charge of promotion.” What Bartell did not know at the time was that Hudson’s purported personal relationship with the Beatles was non-existent. KCBQ also pulled out all stops by offering the promoters a seven-week blitz of newspaper ads, mail-order coupons, news conferences and sponsor contests where the winners could claim such items as Beatle beach bags, Beatle records and albums, and 500 Beatle magazines. Bill Drake of KGB was even more direct in his proposal, promising, “Our on the air promotion will consist of every possible angle being covered. In effect you would own KGB...a complete saturation.”

Robin and Tinkley wanted to take advantage of the listenership of both stations and offered a joint sponsorship. Drake of KGB in his letter to Lou Robin dated June 9, 1965, expressed the extreme competition between the two rival stations by responding, “There was talk of going
with two stations, Lou, but I would think that if KCBQ didn’t have it to themselves, they still wouldn’t be happy.”

Dick Meads of Knoth and Meads, a local San Diego public relations firm hired by the promoters, wrote on June 10, “I have had three meetings with KCBQ and this is the deal. What it says is that they will do anything necessary to get the deal.” Meads added in his note, “Between us—I can get anything else you may think is needed.” Meads added the emphasis, thinking he could ask KCBQ to sweeten their offer to secure the deal. He concluded, “We can sell this damn thing (referring to the concert) in 2 weeks.” Meads did not come close to his prediction.

KCBQ wanted no part of a joint agreement and later sponsored a Herman’s Hermits concert on August 7. Promoters saw this as direct competition to the Beatles concert as the Herman’s Hermits were also rising British music stars. Since KCBQ also had lower ratings than its rival, Robin signed an exclusive contract on June 15 with KGB to promote and sponsor the Beatles concert in San Diego. KCBQ, however, with their asset of Lord Tim, would not back down or go away quietly.

Lord Tim Hudson came to San Diego in July 1965 to assume his new duties at KCBQ. Lee Bartell had hired Hudson and immediately ran a promotional campaign touting Hudson as the first British DJ in the region and an ambassador of the British rock ‘n’ roll invasion. KCBQ housed him at the El Cortez Hotel. Hudson, good looking and in his mid-twenties, changed the look of the station. He sported a Beatles-style haircut, wore bell-bottomed pants, and looked as though he came in from the swinging mod streets of 1960s London. He used his suave British accent to promote himself and became particularly popular among women. His problems surfaced, despite his claims to the contrary, when he could not do the simplest of tasks such as working the controls, playing records, or punching in ads. Having never before been on the radio, all he could do was sit in the studio and talk on the microphone. His brief stint at KCBQ, in terms of radio work, was one of the station’s worst staffing disasters.

Within weeks of the long-awaited San Diego concert, Lord Tim somehow managed to secure permission from the Beatles management to travel with the group and to file reports from the road that would be aired exclusively on KCBQ.
To further compound the problem, KCBQ took out a full-page ad in *The San Diego Union* on June 24. The ad touted: “Lord Tim of Liverpool joins with KCBQ in welcoming his personal friends, the Beatles, to San Diego.” It also proclaimed August 28 as “KCBQ Beatle Day” and told listeners to “Get your Beatle Day Pin Free.” To add to the confusion, the ad listed KCBQ’s phone number to obtain tickets to the show, something Robin and Tinkley never authorized. KGB would later retaliate with legal action preventing Lord Tim or anyone else from KCBQ to be involved with the Beatles while in San Diego.

Ticket sales stagnated due to the misleading information about how to purchase tickets and which station was actually promoting the show. Lou Robin fired off a letter to the Beatles’ press officer Tony Barrow: “KCBQ immediately proceeded to put out a great deal of misleading and confusing ticket sales information that was unauthorized…I find it hard to justify Tim Hudson (Lord Tim) or anyone else from KCBQ traveling with the show in place of a KGB representative…the sale is coming along at a fairly slow pace right now and we really need this added push with some unique approach.” Robin even suggested in a Western Union Telegram dated August 6, that KGB call the Beatles manager Brian Epstein in London to discuss the chaotic situation involving KGB and KCBQ.

America was a different place when the Beatles plane landed in New York City on Friday August 13, 1965, to begin another summer tour. The Watts riots had erupted in Los Angeles, reflecting the rise of urban discontent in cities across America. The Vietnam War had escalated. Jefferson Airplane, a rock ‘n’ roll group fronted by Grace Slick, had made their debut at the Matrix club in San Francisco, ushering in the psychedelic era. The Beatles were different as well. They were no longer thought of as a “flash in the pan” but regarded as genuine superstars and commentators for the younger generation. They were ahead of the times in their views on politics and culture. Even
their performance contract stipulated that they would only perform before a non-segregated audience.

Larry Kane recalled that during the 1964 tour, concert promoters in Jacksonville, Florida, planned to seat the audience in a segregated fashion. Paul McCartney, interviewed before the show at the Las Vegas Convention Center in August 1964, told Kane, “We don’t like it if there’s any segregation or anything, because we’re not used to it, you know…it just seems a bit daft.”

Jacksonville promoters responded by quickly abandoning their attempt to segregate the audience. The Beatles also gave credit to black artists such as Little Richard, Chuck Berry and Fats Domino who inspired their work. By 1965, Kane noted, “No longer were critics forecasting an early demise or suggesting that their music belonged in the waste bin of history. Critics who had insisted that ‘this too shall pass’ were suddenly silent, or converted.”

The 1965 summer American tour kicked off in New York as the Beatles played Shea Stadium on August 15 to a record crowd of 55,600 people, the largest crowd ever assembled to take part in a rock ‘n’ roll concert. The show grossed $304,000, the largest sum in entertainment history to date. The Beatles share of the gate was $160,000 for a thirty-minute performance. Sid Bernstein, the show’s promoter, recalled “If I wanted to charge higher prices, we could have done a million
dollar gate.” They toured North America, stopping in Toronto, Atlanta, Houston, Chicago, Minneapolis and Portland, before taking a well-deserved five day break in a rented mansion in the Hollywood Hills.

Two days before the Beatles were due to arrive in Los Angeles, KGB attorneys sent a letter to KFWB, the Los Angeles area market sponsor, to seek support in possible legal action against KCBQ. The letter suggested in very strong language that KGB “had been irreparably harmed by KCBQ’s misrepresentations to the general public.” The letter further stated that the “plan of introducing a person known as ‘Lord Tim’...would add fuel to the prior misrepresentations of KCBQ, thus causing our client considerable damage.” The attorney concluded, “Accordingly, request is made of you that you [KCBQ] confirm in writing, by 4:00 P.M., August 26, 1965, that none of your personnel will introduce, or cause Lord Tim to be introduced at the concert.”

Promoters then turned their attention to managing the Beatles’ arrival. Beatlemania had overwhelmed cities across North America. The Edgewater Hotel in Seattle, where the group stayed during its visit to that city in 1964, resorted to installing barbed wire around the property’s perimeter to keep fans out. In many cities, extra police were called to maintain order.

On August 28, 1965, the Beatles left their Los Angeles Benedict Canyon hideaway and boarded a charted bus to San Diego. Ordinarily, they would have taken a flight but an airline strike was in full swing. The promoters initially offered a very elaborate tour bus but the Beatles’ management decided on their own arrangements. This would prove to have almost disastrous consequences. The group and their entourage arrived in San Diego aboard their rented bus in the late afternoon and the circus of staging another Beatles concert in America began.

Susan Clark, who works today as a nurse in a San Diego area hospital, got the opportunity to present the Beatles with the key to the city. She was one of many obsessed fans who spent hours in a bedroom surrounded by posters and newspaper clippings of the group, listening to Beatles 45s. Clark was “hooked” after she watched the group perform on the Ed Sullivan show. She described them as, “gorgeous, their music ‘fab’ and the hysteria surrounding them as infectious.” She first saw the Beatles in person at the Hollywood Bowl after winning a contest sponsored by KCBQ. Her aunt and uncle drove the thirteen-year-old girl to Los Angeles and dropped her off at the concert. She described it as a dream come true.

In the summer of 1965, Clark heard on the radio that the Beatles were to play in San Diego. Determined to meet her idols, she wrote a letter to Mayor Frank Curran with the idea of presenting a “key to the city” to the group. Her girlfriends scoffed at her idea but, a week later, Clark received a letter from city hall. When she
arrived, there were three other teenage girls in the mayor’s office. They received passes to attend the Beatles press conference. Mayor Curran then asked Clark which Beatle she would like to present a key to. She remembered, “How could I ever pick my favorite, each [Beatle], at one time or another had been my favorite. At that point, I didn’t care; I just wanted to be in the same room as the Beatles!”22

Clark arrived at Balboa Stadium on the day of the concert, numb with excitement. She was ushered into the press conference where, for the first time, she was in close proximity to John, Paul, George and Ringo. Clark straddled a barrier and snapped photos of the group. She described them as “lovely, handsome and witty.” When the press conference concluded, Clark was told to enter another room and to leave her camera, pen, and paper behind. She was shaking her in shoes. She entered the locker room at the Stadium and was startled to see Ringo sitting on a stool eating Kentucky Fried Chicken, George lying on a cot watching a fuzzy television set, and Paul talking to the other girls. Clark was surprised when John Lennon approached her, asking for help with his tie. To this day, Clark cannot remember if she was successful in helping Lennon with his wardrobe. She recalled that Ringo offered her a piece of chicken and Paul told her she had beautiful eyes. Before posing for the obligatory photograph of the girls presenting the keys, George Harrison asked Clark if she wanted to watch television with him. She remembers that there was “nothing but snow” on the TV. In her haste to sit by George, she caught her nylons on the edge of the cot and ran them. Clark still owns that pair of hose. The Beatles lined up behind the girls and Clark presented her key to George Harrison as the photographer snapped the proof.23

The Beatles toured North America in the summers of 1964, 1965 and 1966 and held press conferences like the one Susan Clark attended before each concert. They were usually subjected to a variety of questions, some with little meaning, some
serious. During their first American tour, the Beatles replied to reporters using sarcastic British humor that poked fun at themselves, the fans, and even their own existence as pop stars. Questions such as “What did you eat for breakfast?” and “Is your hair real?” followed them for the rest of their touring days. Press conferences, however, soon gave way to more serious questions such as, “Do you believe that you represent a different type of morality?” and “How much interest do you take in the war that is going on in Vietnam now?” John Lennon replied to the latter in 1964, “Well, we think about it everyday, and we don’t agree with it and we think it’s wrong. That’s how much interest we take.”24 The Beatles never left their humor behind, however. In Indianapolis a reporter asked, “Where do you gentlemen stand as far as the draft is concerned in England?” John replied, “About five eleven,” and Ringo quipped, “It comes from that door over there.”25

In San Diego, the Beatles faced, among others in the Balboa Stadium locker room, more than one-hundred reporters. Also in attendance were local talk show host Regis Philbin, radio and TV personality Wink Martindale, and folk-singer Joan Baez. The band was asked such questions as:

Q: What advice do you have for teenagers?
A: Don’t get pimples.

Q: What do you think of surfing?
A: Oh, I don’t want to try it. I can’t swim.

Q: It has been stated that politically you have a certain apathy. Since you’ve been now entitled ‘Members of the British Empire,’ has it changed your attitudes towards politics in general?
A: We’re not disinterested in politics, it’s just politicians are disinteresting.26

The show began at approximately 8 p.m. after 17,013 fans had filed into Balboa Stadium on a warm summer night. Four warm-up acts preceded each Beatles concert during their 1965 summer tour. The rhythm and blues sax extraordinaire, King Curtis, opened the show followed by Sounds Incorporated along with the Discotheque Dancers. Next was Brenda Holloway, a Motown singer, who had hits with “Every Little Bit Hurts” and “You’ve Made Me So Very Happy,” later recorded by Blood, Sweat and Tears. Cannibal and the Headhunters, who were becoming famous in their own right as pioneering Chicano rockers from East L.A., closed out with their hit “Land of 1000 Dances.”

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Promoters’ balance sheet for the Beatles performance in San Diego. Author’s collection.
Shortly after 9 p.m., Les Turpin, the program director at KGB (not Lord Tim of KCBQ) introduced the Beatles. Thirty-one minutes later it was over. The Beatles often joked among themselves how fast they could get through a twelve-song set, once finishing in twenty-five minutes. John Lennon later commented, “I reckon we could send out four waxwork dummies of ourselves and that would satisfy the crowds. Beatles concerts are nothing to do with music any more. They’re just bloody tribal rites.”

The Beatles soon realized that they could not recreate newer sounds on stage due to primitive sound systems in large stadiums. One year and a day after the San Diego concert, they gave their last live performance at San Francisco’s Candlestick Park on August 29, 1966.

In San Diego, the Beatles raced through twelve songs: “Twist and Shout,” “She’s a Woman,” “I Feel Fine,” “Dizzy Miss Lizzie,” “Ticket to Ride,” “Everybody’s Trying to Be My Baby,” “Can’t Buy Me Love,” “Baby’s in Black,” “I Wanna Be Your Man,” “A Hard Day’s Night,” “Help,” and “I’m Down.”

The next day, *San Diego Union’s* Carol Olton headlined her review of the show, “Beatles Give Real Rousing Performance,” but she focused more on fan hysterics than on the music played that evening.

Morag McDonald remembers the show vividly. She and her family had just moved to San Diego from Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in May 1965 when Morag was nineteen. She recalled how expensive the tickets were. At $5.50 each, she barely could afford them for herself and her two brothers. She went to the show in a new dress bought for the occasion and her two brothers sported new jackets and boots like the Beatles wore. McDonald recalls the chain link fence that was lined with police officers surrounding the track at Balboa Stadium. Several girls ran onto the field, attempting to scale it. A few were successful before they were caught by security. McDonald remembers staring at the Beatles as they performed, trying to believe she was actually seeing them live. Another San Diegan, Marc Lopez, was fifteen when he heard that the Beatles were to be in San Diego. Lopez, his little brother, and his babysitter sneaked into the concert by climbing a chain link fence and managed to find seats twenty rows back. He recalls the concert as “loud and hard to hear through all the screaming of the girls in the audience” but exhilarating.

At the end of the raucous concert, an eerie silence filled Balboa Stadium. Then, in Tinkley’s words, “all hell broke loose.” John and Paul ran off the field toward their bus parked nearby. Fans, meanwhile, broke through police lines and headed right for the stage. Tinkley saw Ringo caught up at the spectacle of the whole moment and quite enjoying it. George, who was watching the fans with the promoter, had the presence of mind to grab Ringo’s arm and make a mad dash for the bus.

At first, the bus did not start. Then, as the fans started closing in, the engine finally turned over and the bus sped out of Balboa Stadium. According to Larry Kane, the problems did not end there. Mechanical difficulties forced the bus “into the parking lot of a San Diego mortuary [and] the Beatles were forced to switch to limousines for the ride back to Los Angeles.”

Tinkley relishes this tale as he earlier had offered to provide the Beatles with a higher quality bus. The concert at Balboa Stadium and the ensuing chaos was all in a day’s work for the Fab Four.

The San Diego concert was not a sell-out as 10,000 seats were left unoccupied. It was one of the few venues on the 1965 tour that had empty seats. This may have been due to the fact that the promoters had only eighty-one days to promote the “add-on” concert and sell 28,000 tickets. Other cities had over four months to promote their respective shows. There is also the possibility that San Diego fans
bought tickets for the Hollywood Bowl shows in the spring of 1965 when the tour was first announced, thinking that the Beatles were not coming to San Diego. Finally, fans may have been confused by all the misleading information regarding ticket sales that came as a result of radio stations KGB and KCBQ being locked in a competitive ratings battle.

In the approximately six hours the Beatles spent on San Diego soil, according to the promoter’s balance sheet, the group earned $50,135.17, only $135.17 over their guaranteed appearance fee. The promoters provided the Beatles with four sheets and four cots, five one-gallon bottles of water, ten dozen cups, two cases of soda, two dozen assorted sandwiches, and two tubs of Kentucky Fried Chicken, the Beatles favorite American food. The promoters spent only $33.96 on food. Dick Meads commented later, “We were going to save the chicken bones the Beatles had just dined on and bag them up and sell them as “Beatles bones.”31 Promoters in other cities sold swatches of used bed linens and cut up small squares of hotel carpet that the Beatles had walked on. In the end, Robin and Tinkley made a modest profit of $6,476.15.32

San Diego’s police and private security forces, although stretched thin, survived the grips of Beatlemania that August night. Because of the melee at the end of the concert, Sight and Sound Productions contemplated legal action against the San Diego Police Department for inadequate protection and sought a refund of $750.00. Richard Knoth, however, in a letter addressed to then Chief of Police Wesley Sharp, commended the man in charge, Lieutenant Ray Hoobler, who would later become the chief. He wrote, “It is our opinion, that because of the strength of his command and the readiness of his officers, a potentially bad situation was averted as the program came to a close.”33

While Robin and Tinkley never got the opportunity to work with the Beatles again, they went on to successfully promote rock ‘n’ roll concerts throughout the nation. The Beatles, who never again returned to the city as a group, were rewarded handsomely to the tune of over $50,000 for roughly six hours of work. Their concert became a footnote in the city’s history but is still remembered by those who attended. The Beatles continued to make history, but Balboa Stadium, which once shook to the strains of “A Hard Day’s Night,” finally succumbed to the wrecking ball, its memories lost but not forgotten.

NOTES
1. In various polls, the Beatles consistently rate as the most influential group in pop music history. When EMI (Electric & Musical Industries Ltd. of Great Britain) released a compilation album of The Beatles number-one hits in 2000, some thirty years after their breakup, it became not only a chart topper in 34 countries, but also EMI’s most popular album of that year, selling 21.6 million copies. Lenny Kravitz Greatest Hits was a distant second selling 6.7 million copies. The Beatles even influenced the world of academia. Colleges and universities have added classes to various departments to study the group’s music. The University of Southern California’s class entitled, “The Beatles Albums: A Critical Appraisal,” and Northwestern University’s course, “The Beatles-A multidisciplinary Mystery Tour,” are examples. The group is also part of the National Curriculum in the United Kingdom for children between the ages of nine and eleven. Hunter Davies, The Beatles (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002), 8-9; http://musitechnology.northwestern.edu/~gary/classes/Beatles/html/syllabus.htm (accessed December 5, 2008).
6. The San Diego Sports Arena opened in 1966 with a seating capacity of 12,000. Even if it had been built earlier, it could not have accommodated the Beatles as the group had become accustomed to performing in much larger venues.
10. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
16. Louis B. Robin to Tony Barrow, August 2, 1965, Gunderson Collection.
18. Ibid., 201.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
34. Richard Knoth to Wesley Sharp, August 30, 1965, Gunderson Collection.
San Diego Junior Theatre (SDJT) is no longer a youngster. In fact, it has passed through middle age and now is in its mature years. Yet the vibrancy of what is regarded as the oldest continually operating children’s theatre in the United States remains strong. It retains the zest of a kid, a SDJT kid! In its first sixty years of operation, Junior Theatre touched the lives of over a million young people. Myriad classes were conducted and sizeable audiences were reached. The San Diego Commission for Arts & Culture gave SDJT the coveted ranking of four, the highest ranking achievable. Its alumni include Tony Award-winners Brian Stokes Mitchell, Christian Hoff,¹ and Tony Award-nominee Casey Nicholaw.²

SDJT has been represented on Broadway by alumni Mylinda Hull, Jessica Sheridan, Jennifer Allen, Jamie Torcellini, Ric Oquita, Kirby Ward and Beverly Ward, to name only a few. Some of its young actors, such as Dennis Hopper, Victor Buono, and Raquel Tejada Welch became noted film actors, while Gore Verbinski directed three Pirates of the Caribbean films. Not all alums have gone into theatre or film, however. Former SDJT kids have assumed leadership roles in numerous areas of civic and business endeavors. Some have become educators who train students


Darlene Gould Davies performed in early SDJT productions. She served on the Commission for Arts and Culture and as Chair of the Balboa Park Committee. Lizbeth Persons Price is a 1981 alumna of SDJT and serves on the Board of Trustees. She owns a consulting business for mission-based organizations.
not only for theatrical life, but also for life itself. Ole Kittleson, Jack Montgomery, Bill Virchis and Teri Ang, who direct, teach and perform, come to mind. The results of sixty years of activity have been stunning.

The path SDJT has followed over six decades has been full of surprises, with leaps forward and some setbacks. One consistent thread, however, runs through its history—excellence. There has been a steady progression of artistic merit during its astonishingly rich sixty years. Now, into its sixty-first year, even greater SDJT achievement is likely.

The Youthful Years

It all began with Craig Noel. In 1947, artistic director Noel was persuaded by Old Globe board member Delza Martin to return to the Globe (then also known as the San Diego Community Theatre) from his position as a film test director in Hollywood. Noel immediately asked Irma Fraser Macpherson, who had studied drama seriously, to form a children’s theatre component at the Globe. After moving to San Diego, she married Dr. Fraser Macpherson, who was supportive of her involvement in theatre, even going so far as to build a small theatre in their home for local readings and performances. Noel attended and participated in those meetings. So it was a logical step for Irma to form a junior wing, called the Community Theatre’s Junior Theatre Workshop in 1948. It was renamed the San Diego Junior Theatre Wing of the Old Globe Theatre in 1951.

There was a need for this kind of theatre activity in San Diego. Between 1945 and 1948, a smattering of children’s plays had been produced and directed by Lois De Lannoy and Beth Masterson under the auspices of the San Diego Park and Recreation Department. But there was no unifying arrangement. It is interesting to note that in 1946 The Wizard of Oz, a play that was to be repeatedly performed over the coming years, was closed midway through production due to a polio epidemic.

The creation of a junior wing of the Old Globe in 1948 gave form and structure to children’s theatre in San Diego. Cinderella in Loveland (1949) was the inaugural production. In 1950, the theatre offered...
more adventurous shows: *Mary Poppins* and *Black Bart & Olio*. The latter, based on the life of a California robber-poet, was written by Melcena Burns Denny. By 1951, the season had expanded to four shows. Succeeding seasons were more ambitious, paving the way for phenomenal growth in the decades ahead.

Plays were performed in different venues in Balboa Park since SDJT had no home or identity of its own. It owed its existence to the generosity and vision of the Old Globe and the Park and Recreation Department. That remained true until the 1971-72 season when SDJT moved into Casa del Prado. SDJT has shared this venue with other groups. The arrangement worked well, attested to by the substantial growth in attendance and participation, a steady climb in yearly budget, and a clear trajectory upward in the area of artistic standards.

The infant years, particularly 1950-1952, were full of energetic endeavors. Some SDJT performers also trod the stage of Starlight Opera. Dennis Hopper performed in the San Diego National Shakespeare Festival at the Globe before commencing a brilliant film career. In the early 1950s, costumes, props, and scenery were definitely amateur, but the results were charming. SDJT kids performed in the Puppet Theatre, Recital Hall, and Roosevelt Junior High School auditorium. Rehearsals were held wherever space could be found—in the Federal Building, an outside patio, or on park lawn. Fortunate young performers were cast as jugglers, dancers, and singers on the lawn as part of the entertaining festivities on the green that preceded the annual Shakespeare Festival at the Globe in 1949, 1950, 1951, and 1952. The Shakespeare Festival was briefly suspended in 1953 and replaced that summer with the enormously popular *Mr. Roberts*.  

In 1952, the Globe incorporated many Junior Theatre Wing youngsters into the large cast of its first main stage Christmas musical, William Makepeace
Thackeray’s *The Rose and the Ring*. The alliance of the children’s theatre wing with the Old Globe itself had been part of the original vision of Craig Noel, who served as supervising director of the production. The actual director was Jackson Woolley, a member of the original 1935 Globe Theatre Players featured in the 1935 exposition in Balboa Park. How fitting! Double casting children’s roles allowed youngsters to rest and provided opportunities for additional children to perform. One young cast member in *The Rose & the Ring* was Dennis Hopper, who would subsequently act at the Globe in other productions. Soon, however, the association between the Old Globe and the children’s wing would end.

By late 1953, the Junior Theatre Wing had outgrown its birthplace and had left the nurturing space of the Globe to operate under the auspices of the San Diego Park and Recreation Department. It was given storage space and offices on the lower level of the Balboa Park Club. It also got a new name—San Diego Junior Theatre. Irma Macpherson, while serving on the Board of Directors of the Globe, followed her flock to its new base of operation where she loyally monitored all aspects of theatrical activity. She rehearsed lines with the children, applied their makeup, combed their hair, sewed costumes, and lovingly supplied large doses of encouragement to everyone involved. She also served as the first President of the Board of Trustees. The decade of the 1950s ended with the five productions of the 1959-60 season: *Rumpelstiltskin, The Importance of Being Earnest, Tom Sawyer, Arthur and the Magic Sword*, and *Circus Days*.10
Adolescence

The 1960s offered continued support by the city Department of Park and Recreation but finances were always tight. Park and Recreation found it an increasingly expensive item in its budget. From the beginning, classes and participation in productions had been free of charge to all young people. San Diego’s population was growing, however, and SDJT’s popularity continued to increase. The young performers were so adept in their singing, dancing, and acting skills that they also joined casts of Starlight Opera. Alumni began teaching theatre in the schools.

In 1968, bonds for restoration of the old Food and Beverage Building were supported. The “committee,” which became the Committee of One Hundred, raised additional funds, completing the project in 1971 and changing the name to Casa del Prado. Under special arrangements, the Casa del Prado was provided as a home to SDJT during the 1971-72 season. SDJT has remained there.

In 1984, due to budgetary challenges, the City of San Diego Park and Recreation Department severed its official ties to SDJT. Finances had always been worrisome, but, after separation from Park and Recreation, money became a major concern. There had been public discussion about the proposed change in affiliation but, in the end, the theatre group lost the debate. At least, it thought it had lost. Over time, the separation would prove fortuitous. Now, SDJT was all grown up and on its own.
Adulthood

SDJT was truly on its own. It became a non-profit business that had to address all kinds of issues that were outside the realm of artistic life. A completely new framework was constructed to ensure survival, including fees for classes, inclusion of families in the quest for donations, and development of skills necessary to pursue grants. SDJT was in the adult phase of its life and some doubted that it could meet the challenges. After all, there was no reservoir of funds. However, the doubters were proven wrong. With initiation of class fees, auxiliary activities, fundraisers, and cultivation of donors, SDJT began to stand on its own feet, though somewhat shakily at times. As the level of support increased, so did the level of the product. Stand-up responsibility was producing results.

For all the growth, SDJT has always been about children and art. Some shows were particularly popular during the long run between 1948 and 2008. These crowd pleasers were inevitably repeated with different directors and new casts. The timeless Wizard of Oz had multiple productions as did The Clown Who Ran Away. The Music Man was performed several times with different directors, all of whom built stellar reputations in musical theatre. New casts, different directors—but not always. John De Puglio directed two different productions of The Red Shoes, one in 1964 and another in 1968. DePuglio set something of a record, directing fifteen shows at SDJT between 1960 and 1965. Through the decades, Don Ward and Ole Kittleson directed at similarly frenetic pace.

The 1980s produced a steady stream of solid productions. Long-time favorite directors included such familiar names as Don Ward, Kelly Ward, Bill Virchis, Priscilla Allen, Bill Quiett, Ole Kittleson, Dee Ann Johnston, Kirby and Beverly Ward, and many others. Shows ran the gamut, from Charlie and the Chocolate Factory and The Boy Friend to Lilies of the Field and Oliver. The crowd-pleasing Wizard of Oz...
was back again in 1984 and 1987. *Fame* was produced in 1987. *Winnie the Pooh* ended the 1989 season. The 1990s led with productions of *Tales of a 4th Grade Nothing* and *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat*, a show that also closed the 1998 season. SDJT reached its half-century milestone in 1998 and a buoyant fifty-year celebration was held.

SDJT was becoming progressively more professional and ambitious in terms of taking on complex scripts, as evidenced by the 1993 summer production of *Into the Woods*, the intricate and multi-layered Stephen Sondheim musical that had originated at San Diego’s Old Globe Theatre. The SDJT production was a major achievement, proving that the theatre was up to the task of producing recent Broadway musicals for young people and their families, and showcasing the hits with well-trained voices and strong dancing skills. It produced the hugely popular *The Wiz* in 1996, again not shying away from strong artistic challenges. Directors during the 1990s included Diane Sinor, Patrick Nollet, Bonnie Johnston, Michael Erickson, Lois Wetzell, Priscilla Allen, Will Neblett, and Desha Crownover, all

The Bridge to Terabithia (2008) was part of the Sixtieth Anniversary Season of Shows, 2007-08. Photo credit: Ken Jacques
extraordinarily talented and experienced theatre professionals.
In 2001, a second performance venue in Chula Vista was added to the one in Balboa Park. The renovated storefront site has served many children since it opened. In fact, over 7,500 students enjoyed classes (no productions) at this South Bay location. Operation of the Chula Vista satellite marked the beginning of increased outreach efforts to the county population by SDJT. It also acknowledged the fact that parking congestion in Balboa Park discouraged some families from traveling to the Casa del Prado location. With this adventurous addition, further steps were taken to encourage creativity, cooperation, and appreciation of story telling among South Bay residents. In 2005, SDJT, with help from the YMCA, made a foray into La Jolla, converting the firehouse into a theatre.

While juggling many classes, productions, and sites, SDJT remained mindful of the need to raise funds for the upkeep of Casa del Prado. For that purpose, and as a gesture of appreciation to the City of San Diego, it undertook a seat-plaque-naming campaign in 2002. The response has been excellent.

A highlight of the 2007-2008 season was a well-attended benefit by alumni and Broadway celebrated performer Brian Stokes Mitchell. The celebratory evening was a great artistic and financial success. An alumni talent night was equally popular. During that evening, the Casa del Prado stage was “owned” by dancers, singers, musicians, and actors who had created magic for sixty years.

**Maturity and Stability**

With maturity comes the need for stability. Administrative staff consistency has been a strong element in stabilizing SDJT’s presence. Certainly, long time Executive Director Will Neblett has provided needed grounding of the organization, especially in times of unexpected change, whether cultural, fiscal, or political. Community Relations Director Theresa Wulf has been in her position for enough years to provide continuing open communication with all players related to the theatre. She and Neblett are the “glue” holding things together over the long haul. Now the talented Desha Crownover has been added to the mix as Artistic Director.\(^\text{13}\)

A modest endowment has been established at SDJT. It’s a beginning. An expanding base of alumni will help in appeals to enlarge that endowment, money that will be needed to ensure the future of the organization. Additionally, more than a decade ago the Christian Rowley Memorial Scholarship Fund was created to financially aid young people who could not otherwise afford to attend SDJT.

Throughout its history, SDJT youth groups have played active roles in ongoing activities. Known as the Junior Governing Board and the Youth Board of Governors until 1957, the Youth group was renamed the SDJT Club. That name lasted until 1972 when it, too, changed. For one year, 1972-73, the group was known...
as the Jr. Board of Governors. In 1973, the name Confetti was adopted and it stuck. Confetti continues to participate in performances, advanced training, and service to SDJT to the present day. Youth participation in theatre governance strongly anchors the organization.

The costumes created for SDJT productions over these many years have been imaginative, joyful, and, at times, seemingly miraculous. Costuming wizards have included Irma Macpherson, Dorothy Steckling, and the well-loved Leason Strong, who worked in costuming at SDJT from 1962 until 1983. Confetti donated a power sewing machine in Strong’s name at the time of her retirement. Marilyn Prine and Mibs Somerville, among others, carried on in her absence. Talented costumers and legions of volunteers have helped to create the theatrical illusions audiences have enjoyed over more than sixty years. Now, what to do with all of those wonderful costumes? Where to store them? The large collection of costumes, sets, and memorabilia is an asset, but lack of storage space is a challenge.

Storage space is a perennial problem for SDJT. A makeshift building near Pershing Drive has been generously provided by the City of San Diego for many years. Although very welcome, it is wholly

Innovative acting classes at the Junior Theatre. Photo credit: Tim Whitehouse.

Students attending class. Photo credit: Tim Whitehouse.
inadequate. This challenge will have to be dealt with in the days ahead. The matter of a permanent performance venue will also have to be confronted. It ranks at the top of a list of “to do” priorities.

Legacy

SDJT has been celebrated by alumni and families from here to Broadway. The San Diego City Council declared October 16, 2007, to be City of San Diego Junior Theatre Day. Alumni have garnered countless awards, and the accolades continue. What SDJT does best, of course, is provide a welcoming and safe haven of creativity for all children in its programs. When alumni speak of the “Junior Theatre family,” they refer to a sense of belonging, of acceptance.14 That’s because there is a role for everyone, whether as script prompter, property or stage manager, costumer, graphic designer, seamstress, writer, or performer. Every child matters in this company, and that may be the reason San Diego Junior Theatre has achieved longevity. Craig Noel’s vision for a children’s theatre was prescient.15

NOTES

7. Ibid.
10. “50 Years in the Spotlight.”
Rita Sanchez: An Oral Interview
Conducted by Rudy P. Guevarra, Jr.

Rita Sanchez can best be described as a teacher, activist, writer, mentor, mother, grandmother, wife, daughter, sister, compañera, and life long advocate of the Chicana/Chicano experience. Born May 20, 1937, in San Bernardino, California, seventh of eleven children, Rita was destined to be an educator. She graduated from San Bernardino High School in 1956 and was one of the first Mexican Americans to go to college where she majored in Journalism at San Jose State University. She earned her BA and MA in English at Stanford University in 1974, and then, as a Ford Foundation Fellow, went on to pursue her PhD in Literature at the University of California, San Diego. From 1974-1984, she taught in the Mexican American Studies Department at San Diego State University. She is currently semi-retired from San Diego Mesa College, where she has been teaching since 1990. The following interview with this amazing woman tells how she inspired generations of writers in education and the arts because of her involvement in the Chicano movement.

How did you get involved in the Chicano Movement in San Diego?

At first I just wanted to finish college. Then observing civil rights activism, I wanted to do something to change the world. I had been married for ten years and was now a single mother of two daughters, Lisa and Lauri. In 1970, I entered Stanford at the peak of the Civil Rights Movement. The Chicano movement was blossoming. I would not be the only “Mejicana” in a classroom anymore. No one
could be excluded, or told that they could not go to college because they were poor, as I was told by a counselor. We could also feel pride in discovering our true ancestry. My children were also involved at their schools. They went with me to special programs and cultural events. They took Spanish classes so we could recover our language, and went to rallies for justice in education. They participated in the Chicano Movement for civil rights with me.

At Stanford I was the first woman to become a Chicano Fellow after proposing a course in writing and another for Chicanas. From there, I edited student writings for a Chicana journal, *Imagenes de La Chicana*, that we published in 1973. I was then invited to participate in various conferences, one at UC Berkeley and another at San Jose State, a Latin American Women’s Writers Conference. That year I presented, "Chicana Writer: Breaking Out of Silence.” My contribution to the importance of writing for women was published by *Aztlan Journal* along with other women’s work.

In 1974 I was offered a position at San Diego State University and drove my two young daughters and myself there. When I arrived, the first person I met introduced me to Chicano Park in Logan Heights and the Centro Cultural de la Raza in Balboa Park. The Chicano Movement was in full swing and activities were ongoing at the Park, in the community, or in the streets. The United Farm Workers Movement was foremost in people’s minds and the students enacted its needs and concerns in teatro. Workers were suffering in the fields due to low wages and poor working conditions, especially Mexicans and Filipinos. Films were being shown on campus to heighten awareness. I had seen the film, “I Am Joaquin,” by Rodolfo Corky Gonzalez as a student and now I was showing it to my students at SDSU. I recall how affected I was by that film. I had never before seen a film with the Mexican people as the heroes. I was so personally affected by the Chicano Movement concerns that I wanted to do something. I thought by teaching, writing, I could contribute.

Another way that I became involved was with Chicana women. At Stanford I had taught a first course there. Now feeling alone at SDSU, I tried hard to keep up with my friends at Stanford. They sent me the latest flyers with events. One day I got a flyer telling me more about a young American college student from UC Santa Cruz named Olga Talamante who had been unjustly arrested, accused of being a radical because she was working in a free clinic. As a tourist from the U.S. she had traveled to Argentina. Olga’s volunteer services for the poor became illegal under a new dictator and she found herself caught up in the middle of a coup and was incarcerated with the Argentine students. That coup came to be known as the Dirty War in Argentina or *La Guerra Sucia*.

With the help of the U.S. Embassy and other community activists she was released. I invited Olga Talamante to come to San Diego to speak. She came and stayed with my children and me in our home. I had been working on the Third World Literature Conference at SDSU with professors Jacqueline Tunberg and Prescott (Nick) Nichols in the Comparative Literature Department and so Olga Talamante was our keynote speaker.

Soon after, I proposed a student journal of writings at SDSU. Maria Avila Felix interviewed Olga Talamante, one of the first interviews to be published. Olga was not a radical militant as Chicanos were often called. She was a humanitarian woman whose heart went out to others. I was fully invested in Chicano Movement concerns like this.
What were some of your most memorable experiences during the Chicano Movement in San Diego?

I began to learn more of the history of the Mexican American Movement for civil rights in San Diego. I saw the mural art around San Diego that revealed the people’s struggle for equal education and for a park in San Diego. I heard about the teachers who were here before me who had fought for Mexican American Studies at SDSU.

The Chicana class that I taught for ten years, however, was most important to me, along with advising “Las Chicanas” on campus. First of all, it connected me to students’ needs and to the women who came before me and to the work they had already accomplished. It also made the work that I did at Stanford and was doing at SDSU more meaningful, realizing that we were all working together for a larger cause.

The art at Chicano Park and the Centro Cultural de la Raza was as valuable as the work I was doing at SDSU. It represented the people and a place to call their own. I had found strength and courage in their actions. I had remained here to build wherever I found work to do. Despite being alone as the only Chicana in the department, I have worked to make sure that will never happen again and that it should be against the law to have only one woman in any department.

I decided that I wanted to continue the work they had been doing. I wondered what I could contribute. I wanted to be there for the students by giving them a needed mentor. At first I felt alone because all the women who had started Mexican American Studies were no longer there. It was a difficult transition but a hopeful time of change. I had two children to raise and now a PhD degree to complete, so I decided to do what I had done at Stanford. I proposed a student journal of writings. I gathered around some women who were already working there: Dianne Borrego, Elizabeth Alvarado, and Maria Felix to help complete the project. I edited the writings while student artists designed it. Vision de La Mujer de La Raza was published at SDSU in 1976. I included my first published essay “Chicana Writer: Breaking Out of Silence,” renaming it “Writing as a Revolutionary Act.”

Besides the journal of Chicana writings, I promoted the film “Salt of the Earth,” about women in a mining strike in New Mexico, producing fundraisers for various student causes by inviting Clint Jencks, one of the activists in the film, to speak. I did so not knowing that one of my ancestors was in that strike, Charles Coleman and Susana Montoya, my mother, Macedonia Acuña’s cousins. Another highlight of my involvement included the anti-nuclear movement. I gave a speech as part of an anti-nuclear program at SDSU on the steps of Aztec Center. I protested a U.S. proposal to put a nuclear waste dump in a New Mexico neighborhood where residents had shared communal lands for centuries. Now southern New Mexico was being treated as a nuclear waste dump. The theme was common, dumps in the Mexican American neighborhoods and now this was the worst—radioactive tailings were to be transported across the state and stored in the New Mexico earth. What made the cause so more important to me was that this was my ancestor’s homeland. I invited Rachael Ortiz of the Barrio Station to talk about the toxic wastes in Barrio Logan and how they were harmful to the people of San Diego, especially those families with children living there. Someone came up to me afterwards and said my speech and the topic I addressed set a dramatic stage. To me, I was just talking passionately about something I strongly believed.
What experiences led you to become a professor?

It was all accidental. First, I loved to read as a child, thanks to Mama. I first majored in Spanish although English was my first language. I was in love with learning to speak it and just maybe someday I might teach it. But as the subject became more and more difficult, I regretted not being a native speaker. My mother had taught us Spanish, but because the schools promoted English-only, I lost the language. My mother had learned to read in both languages from her mother and passed that on to us. Although we didn’t have a TV for a long time, we read. We went to the library on weekends, and perhaps that is what kept our family of twelve so quiet!

Realizing that I would never be able to teach as a non-native speaker, I changed my major to English. Everyone warned me not to major in English because, at the time, there were no teaching jobs. I decided not to listen and so began my journey of reading literature. That’s when I met the San Diego poet Alurista. My Comparative Literature professor at Stanford asked me to pick him up from the airport. Alurista had been invited to read his poetry along with the Nicaraguan Poet Laureate Ernesto Cardenal. On opening night of the presentation he told me that I should apply for a position at SDSU. And so began my teaching career.

As a professor, what sorts of projects were you involved in during the movement? What was your role and how did it affect your teaching?

My first priority was to help organize Chicana women on campus. I had heard about, and later met, Sonia Lopez, Enriqueta Chavez, Olivia Puente Reynolds, Carmen Adame, and other Chicana activists like Elizabeth Alvarado and Maria Avila Felix; I met community activists and artists like Gracia Molina de Pick, Senora Herminia Enrique, and her daughters. All were inspirational to me. My teaching job at SDSU and my graduate studies at UCSD were overwhelming and I could barely get through the day and so I needed the examples of these women to give me strength. As a UCSD grad student I used to meet with other students at Alurista’s house to talk about our work projects, the movement activities, and our lives. That is where I met Mario Acevedo. We began to do art projects together and got married in 1977. We had two children, Lucia and Pablo.

Some highlights involved meeting other artists. I met Judith Hernandez, Carlos Almaraz, Barbara Carrasco, Frank Romero, Willie Herron, Gronk, and many others whose studios I visited. I got to see how they were expressing the Chicano people’s struggles in their work. I met Yolanda Lopez of San Diego and heard her talk about her La Virgen de Guadalupe art series. She soon after became one of the most notable artists of the CARA Exhibit at UCLA, and widely respected among Chicana/o artists. It was a privilege to meet these activists in the arts in the 1980s. I was privileged to be co-owner of one of the first commercial art galleries in San Diego, Acevedo Gallery, first established by Guillermo Acevedo, my father-in-law, a noted international artist living in San Diego. I was able to learn about the gallery business from masters like him. I helped design and exhibit many shows from 1983 to 1990 that allowed San Diegans to see and purchase local art. These were turbulent times, activism, adventure and, after twelve years, divorce.

After ten years teaching La Chicana at SDSU, I taught the class on La Mujer at
San Diego Mesa College for another sixteen, 1990-2006. In 1995, I was chair of the Committee against Racism after the Rodney King incident. As chair of the Department of Chicano Studies at Mesa in 1998, I became the head writer for the academic review supporting and documenting Chicano Studies at the college. In 2004, as the first full time Chicana professor at Mesa College, I invited Dolores Huerta, United Farm Workers, Vice President, to speak at our campus; we had a march, a rally, and even a Mass. In 2006, I invited Gracia Molina de Pick, founder of Chicano Studies at Mesa College, to be our Hispanic Heritage Month keynote speaker. That same year I recommended a change in our department’s name from Chicano Studies to the department of Chicana and Chicano Studies. Most recently, I have been involved in a committee to develop a Chicana/o Studies Historical Archive at San Diego State University.

As a professor of literature and teacher of composition, my role has been, most of all, to train and inspire the emerging generation to believe in themselves and be willing to express their souls on paper. It is not an easy thing to do, but as a teacher you have to be vulnerable enough to get them to share themselves and their, sometimes painful, stories. Thus, I learned that students do need and deserve role models.

I hope I have been a role model for many Chicanas. I have, in fact, felt a great responsibility, even love for my students, enough to encourage them to write.

In 1999, a definitive work entitled 


**How do you see the future of Chicana and Chicano Studies and what can we learn from the past?**

The future of Chicano Studies is in good hands. We have the strength of our ancestors, the roots of our history. They have been inspirations to me and I know will continue to inspire the next generation. When a student asked, “How can we make it on our own from here?” The answer is they can stand on the shoulders of their ancestors. They suffered through hard times we can never imagine, and have taught us to be strong in the face of hardship. The leaders of Chicano Studies today are more confident than we were in their intellectual foundations. They have gone beyond us in some ways, for instance, in our agonizing over questions of terminology. They may not all call themselves Chicanos, but they have acquired that strength. They know how to form coalitions and have learned from our mistakes. They are privileged to have a huge and growing body of published literature and studies by and about Chicanas and Chicanos in the U.S.

We can learn that the struggle is ongoing, and that we still have to continue to speak out. We must learn that we can’t get comfortable. That is easy to do, especially when you are tired, or feel like you have put in enough time. When you do get soft, and look away even for a minute, the ugly head of racism or exclusion emerges to remind us to wake up raza! Just as it did in those days gone by. In 2004, Richard Griswold del Castillo and I both presented at a breakthrough

Recently the unthinkable happened, because we forget, and think people are politicized, or at least educated on issues of the diversity demanded by our Commissions on Civil Rights in America. Chicanos were excluded from an important film.

The Ken Burns film “The War” was made entirely without addressing the huge participation of Hispanics, Latinos, and Filipinos in World War II. My uncle died in the Philippines during WWII. Worst of all, the Burns film was ready for production despite the omission of Latino contributions with the approval of PBS. We have to learn from the past. Just when we thought exclusion could never happen again in the United States, especially by such a conscientious organization as PBS, we had to speak out, write letters, walk in picket lines, protesting the exclusion of people like my father and four uncles who contributed to the war effort. Latinos had been excluded from the monumental story. The hardest part was addressing the problem to get an affirmative response. A new committee had to be formed by Gus Chavez and Maggie Rivas Rodriguez called Defend the Honor to get anyone to listen. We have to learn from the past.

Today, the new generation has new energy. They also have resources that contain much more than we had. We still have major problems of poverty and mis-education and the new generations are becoming very aware of them and are continuing the struggle. That is good news. So the grito continues, ¡Que Viva La Raza!
Roundtable Discussion of
Under the Perfect Sun:
The San Diego that Tourists Never See

Six years ago, Mike Davis, Kelly Mayhew, and Jim Miller published Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego that Tourists Never See and explicitly shot across the bow of the San Diego historical establishment. Miller and Mayhew (both English professors at San Diego City College and founders of the San Diego City Works Press and the San Diego City College International Book Fair) and Davis (professor at the University of California, Riverside, a recipient of a MacArthur Genius Grant, and an author of many influential books in urban and environmental studies) blasted “booster” accounts of the city that skated on the surface, failed to ask hard questions, and supported existing relations of power. The authors explained that their book would peel back layers of illusion, spectacle, and myth and reveal the city’s truer and darker past. They intended, they said, to write a “people’s history of San Diego,” a history that would serve as a tool for activists and that would “stimulate further explorations of San Diego’s controversial past, especially the neglected histories of labor and communities of color”(4).

The editors of The Journal of San Diego History invited five noted historians of San Diego history to assess the significance of Under the Perfect Sun, to share thoughts on the state of San Diego historiography, and to point in new and promising directions for future historical research on the city and region.

Rudy P. Guevarra, Jr. is Assistant Professor in the Asian Pacific Studies Program at Arizona State University and is currently working on a manuscript entitled “Mexipino: Mexicans, Filipinos, and the Forging of Multiethnic Identities and Communities.” Kyle E. Ciani, an Assistant Professor of History at Illinois State University, has published a number of articles on San Diego history and is working on a book entitled “Calculated Assistance: Choosing to Care for Urban Children in America, 1880 to 1950.” Matt Bokovoy is an independent historian, an editor for University of Nebraska Press, and author of the book, The San Diego World’s Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940. Abe Shragge teaches history at the University of California, San Diego. He is the author of many articles on San Diego history and a much-cited dissertation, “Boosters and Bluejackets: The Civic Culture of Militarism in San Diego, California, 1900-1945.”

In addition to the five responses, we also republish here a 2003 book review of Under the Perfect Sun written by Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, Dwight Stanford Professor of History at San Diego State University. Following Cobbs Hoffman’s review and the five other essays, Jim Miller, speaking on behalf of the authors of Under the Perfect Sun, responds.

We hope that this roundtable will inspire lively discussion about our city’s past, present, and future. The editors welcome reader responses that can be included in the next issue of The Journal of San Diego History.

The Editors
The San Diego Union-Tribune published the following book review on September 28, 2003. We republish it here with the permission of its author, Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman.

“MUFFED MUCKRAKING: ‘Sun’s’ claims of wide-scale corruption and caustic criticisms of San Diego are perfectly unconvincing”

Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, Dwight Stanford Professor of History at San Diego State University.

Civic promoters toss and turn at night wondering when a town becomes a world-class city. When it hits a million people? When it acquires a national sports enterprise? When it builds a decent library? When a teen idol immortalizes it in song (“I left my heart in Chula Vista...”)?

By these criteria, San Diego is halfway there, batting around .500. But authors Mike Davis, Jim Miller and Kelly Mayhew have just pushed this former cow town into the major leagues: San Diego now has its own scathing historical portrait. What Upton Sinclair did for Chicago in The Jungle (1906) and Lincoln Steffens did for Boston, Philadelphia and New York in The Shame of the Cities (1904), Davis and his colleagues have done for San Diego. Roasted it well done.

Not everyone will agree the service was necessary. As the title suggests, many San Diegans take pride in the city under the perfect sun, considering it “America’s Finest.” But muckrakers have a role to play. They keep us from complacency.

Steffens, the granddaddy of urban crusaders, defended his own assault on civic smugness by saying, “Not alone the triumphs and the statesmen, the defeats and the grafters also represent us, and just as truly. Why not see it so and say it?” In other words, a city’s failures are as fair a measurement as its successes. The homeless person cadging dollars at the freeway offramp reflects our town just as surely as the bronze surfer riding the curl at Sunset Cliffs.

Mike Davis, a local boy made good as a historian, is the lead author of Under the Perfect Sun, lending his considerable prominence and finely sharpened pen to the project. The authors admit their work is partisan, calling it a “tool for activists.”

In part one, Davis surveys San Diego’s financial history from Alonzo Horton to John Moores. It’s a lively, well-told tale of real estate schemes, cross-border vice, military boondoggles and political double-dealing. Davis argues that “private governments” composed of wealthy families have long ruled San Diego, from the Marstons and Fletchers in the early years to recent businessmen such as Ernest Hahn, Dean Spanos and Corky McMillin. Occupying comfortable spots in their vest pockets, he says, are politicians such as Pete Wilson, Susan Golding and Ron Roberts. Davis particularly highlights political corruption, notably the convictions of financiers C. Arnholt Smith, J. David Dominelli and Dick Silberman, and the prosecution of mayors Frank Curran and Roger Hedgecock.

Davis’ charges are based mostly on information already in the public domain, including traditional histories of the city and articles from the San Diego Union (though he accuses the Copley family of suppressing bad publicity and maintaining “an almost Kafkaesque stranglehold on San Diego public opinion”). What turns Davis’ story from old news into new news is how he sums it up.

Davis, who won a MacArthur “genius award” a few years back, is likely to attract national attention with his bold claim that “San Diego is arguably the
nation’s capital of white collar crime” and a “seat of municipal corruption to rival that of Youngstown and Providence.” The recent indictment of three city council members underscores the point.

But Davis fails to make the allegation stick. All major cities suffer from sleaze and graft. Davis doesn’t provide factual comparisons with crime elsewhere that would allow the reader to agree, or disagree, that San Diego is exceptional. Still, the accusation will rattle, and should inspire San Diegans to take a harder, more self-critical look at the reputation they are earning. Davis may also help citizens get a grip on why bulldozers continue to gobble up our natural heritage despite long-standing, grass-roots opposition to “Los Angelization.” If so, his book will have made an important contribution.

Regrettably, though, the author’s cynical tone could easily alienate the local readers he seeks to rouse, while pleasing national audiences eager for snappy prose. Davis reduces glorious Balboa Park to a romantic folly “to seduce wealthy hicks.” With little supporting documentation, he accuses prominent citizens of “whoring” around, practicing their “skills at drunk driving” and swapping domestic partners to achieve political power. He alleges that the city has been “raped and pillaged” by its sports barons and that the cities of El Cajon and Escondido have been destroyed by developers.

In 1999, the local poverty rate stood at 19 percent, and according to Davis, San Diego is a pretty wretched place to live. But to the thousands who immigrate here each year, and the 1.2 million who call it home, this portrait will not be deeply convincing. The whole is more than the sum of these particular parts.

If Davis has few kind words for the civic elite, co-author Jim Miller has nothing but praise for those who have opposed the racist, “top-down class warfare” he believes undergirds San Diego’s plastic, “theme park” veneer. In a useful survey of 20th-century reform, Miller especially commends labor, from the Wobblies (Industrial Workers of the World) in the early 1910s to the United Farm Workers in the 1970s to unions for female strippers and UCSD graduate students in the 1990s.

At times, this praise goes over the top, considering what was achieved. Miller spills considerable ink on Ricardo Flores Magon, a Mexican revolutionary who (from the safety of Los Angeles) preached to his countrymen that “the dissolution of organized government would create real human freedom.” Miller’s sympathy is revealed by his rueful conclusion that the heroic Magon was “unfortunately” not up to realizing this apocalyptic vision.

Miller also misses a few legitimate bragging points for San Diego reformers. His impassioned treatment of the 1960s focuses, for example, on elite UCSD instead of the more middle- and working-class San Diego State, which established the first women’s studies programs in the nation in 1969.

Miller offers an essentially Marxist interpretation of local politics, seeing repression everywhere and predicting that the city’s “contradictions” will soon burst its civic bubble. Even controversies over public drunkenness and broken glass reflect its mean spirit, according to the author, who asserts that “recent petty battles over whether people without beachfront property can drink beer on the beach reflect the old struggle between those who think they own the city and those who believe in the democratic right for anyone to use public space.”

Yet it’s hard to accept, based on Miller’s evidence, that San Diego has a uniquely stark social history. He proves that the strong do indeed rule, and often badly,
but this begs the question of what alternative system he would propose. It calls to mind John Kenneth Galbraith’s wry observation that “Under capitalism, man exploits man. Under communism, it’s just the opposite.”

The final section of “Under the Perfect Sun” is filled with the voices of activists and average citizens interviewed by Kelly Mayhew. Notably, their conclusions are less pessimistic than those of the authors.

Harold Brown, the founder of the San Diego chapter of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), acknowledges that “a lot has really changed” since the early 1960s, when the professions, electoral politics and good housing were mostly closed to African-Americans. He also recalls that the bitter struggle for change was helped, and hindered, by people of all races and classes. “Geraldo,” an undocumented immigrant from Mexico, praises California’s funding of education for people like himself and says that the “quality of life is much better here” than where he came from, even though people in La Jolla have it better yet. Union worker Mary Grillo calls San Diego a “tough culture” to organize partly because everybody is simply too busy “enjoying life.” Even so, she notes with pride that her Justice for Janitors campaign met its goals in the year 2002.

Muckraking is not an easy occupation. It takes a wicked wit, a sharp eye and a gift for persuasion. Mike Davis comes closest to being a real pro; with previous books he has earned an unofficial reputation as a dean of American social critics. Few writers spin a story with the verve he gives to every twist and turn.

But while Davis, Miller and Mayhew have added San Diego to the roll of metropolises famously condemned, they have not boosted themselves to the ranks of Sinclair or Steffens, at least in this volume. For that, their portrait would have to bear a stronger resemblance to the livable city that, with all its faults, most San Diegans recognize.

“A Breath of Fresh Air”

Rudy P. Guevarra, Jr., Arizona State University.

California and western history have long ignored the social, economic, and political importance of San Diego, despite the fact that it is the nation’s eighth largest city. State historical studies have often left it in the margins regardless whether or not twentieth-century federal spending in the city rivaled or even surpassed its neighboring cities to the north. The few scholars who have taken on the arduous task of writing about San Diego history have also made some historical oversights of their own. As with many early historical studies of other cities, histories of San Diego have often minimized or relegated to a footnote the struggles and plight of the working masses and racial and ethnic groups. History here generally centers on tales of founding fathers who risked their fortunes to develop San Diego into the city that it is today. From the building of railroads that link San Diego with the rest of the country to its rising agricultural, fish canning, and defense related industries, those who have labored to build the city and struggled for social and economic justice have been ignored—lost in a sea of city boosterism and military presence.

As an historian and ethnic studies scholar, my introduction to Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See by Mike Davis, Kelly Mayhew and Jim Miller
was a breath of fresh air. Their study is a riveting account of the hidden history of San Diego, discussed by each author in separate but intersecting essays. Under the Perfect Sun is indeed a story that crashes head on with popular booster histories that told the story of “America's finest city” while forgetting racial and ethnic minorities, women, immigrants, and issues such as labor, free speech, and civil rights. As the authors note, San Diego's umbilical relationship with the military during the post-war period made the city dependent upon the military industrial complex. The tourist industry and the military have worked well in limiting alternative views of San Diego history, especially those that are in direct contrast to the sunny beaches and Old Town feel that fills the tourist gaze. The gaze has no room for the kinds of struggles that would tarnish San Diego's stellar reputation as a tourist destination. As a military and moreover a retirement town on the West Coast, San Diego's conservative elements ensure the status quo. As the authors note, “superpatriotism, in turn, has too often been used as a bludgeon against local movements for economic and racial justice” (3). Davis, Mayhew and Miller thus provide an alternate view of San Diego's history from those that have often been neglected. In the tradition of Howard Zinn, Davis, Mayhew and Miller provide us with a “people's history” of San Diego, a history that highlights the controversies, corruption, and overlooked struggles of its racial and ethnic minorities, women, and civil rights and labor movements.

The story begins with Davis's examination of San Diego's key political figures and business elites, such as Alonzo Horton, the Kimball Brothers, Congressman William Kettner, John D. Spreckels, Rueben Fleet, and a handful of others who were responsible for the city's development. As Davis notes, the city's ruling class included a few wealthy people and/or families, along with their political and media allies, who ultimately shaped how San Diego would be governed and perceived. With the success of individuals like Congressman William Kettner for example (who was known as the “million dollar Congressman” because of his knack for funneling in millions of dollars from the federal government to fashion San Diego as a military town), the city was ensured its rapid growth, especially during periods of wartime. Military spending and attendant growth began in the early 1910s and is evident today as San Diego continues to remain one of the largest military centers on the West Coast. Davis also examines the various political debacles, municipal scandals, fraudulent investments schemes, and other forms of white collar crime that Davis and his co-authors argue have made San Diego into “the most corrupt city on the West Coast” (3). Examples include former Mayor Roger Hedgecock's felony conviction charge regarding conspiracy for illegal campaign contributions (his record was later expunged) and the indictment of “Mr. San Diego” C. Arnholt Smith on corruption charges which included fraud, bribery, and connection to underworld figures, such as John Alessio.

Next, Jim Miller shows how San Diego sought to maintain its reputation as a “quiet little beach town” by marketing “an image of itself that pushes the ‘real’ city to the margins and buries its history under a mountain of booster mythology” (160). He demonstrates that San Diego was an anti-labor town, evident in the treatment of labor organizers and rank and file workers in the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), the Communist-led CAWIU (Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union), UCAPAWA (United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America), other groups that sought to organize the city’s
nonwhite workers (male and female), and allies who sought to secure social and economic justice and the right to unionize. Growers and vigilante groups (such as the Ku Klux Klan) sometimes met workers with extreme violence and terrorism, as witnessed in the Imperial Valley during the 1930s. When city newspapers did report the violence and terrorism inflicted on workers and their families, they often depicted the victims as agitators who deserved their treatment because they held ideological beliefs different from the ruling class and their minions. Miller also addresses African American and Chicana/o civil rights and cultural nationalist movements which addressed racial discrimination and neglect in education, housing, employment, and other arenas. Examples include the fight by African Americans, Chicana/os, and others (including Angela Davis) to establish the Lumumba-Zapata College (Third College) at UCSD; the struggle for Chicano Park; and the dismantling of the Black Panther Party in San Diego. Miller also highlights the transnational efforts of organized labor in San Diego and Tijuana, in particular the drywaller’s strike of 1992.

Kelly Mayhew’s chapter is rich in personal accounts, as it is based on a series of oral interviews. The diverse group of interviewees, who include Vietnamese, African American, Chicana/o, and white working class teachers, activists, students, undocumented immigrants, union members, and artists, attests to the diversity of neglected stories in San Diego. The subjects share with the reader their lives, their hopes, needs, dreams, disappointments, and aspirations for a more equitable city where all residents are valued and all voices heard. Some of the most captivating stories reflect the relationship between San Diego and Tijuana.

Although their book is a valuable contribution to a “people’s history” of San Diego, their work has limitations. The experiences and struggles of racial and ethnic minorities, such as the Chicana/o and African American communities, are given some attention, which is applauded because most historical accounts of San Diego often mention them briefly or not at all. We need, however, a more complex look at the city’s ethnic and racial minorities. The contributions and struggles of San Diego’s Asian and Pacific Islander communities are largely overlooked in Under the Perfect Sun. The Chinese and Japanese communities are covered briefly in three pages (164-167). Filipinos are mentioned only in passing, despite the fact San Diego is home to the second largest Filipino community in the nation and they constitute the largest Asian Pacific group in the city and county. Their labor and civil rights struggles, which were sometimes shared with Mexican and later Chicana/o counterparts, is given scant attention. Indeed, Filipinos have often been at the forefront of San Diego and neighboring Imperial Valley labor struggles. Similarly, the city’s Chamorro, Hawaiian, and Samoan communities were also intricately linked to San Diego’s military and economic development. With regard to the Southeast Asian and African immigrant/refugee communities, more historical context would have been useful when reading the personal narratives in Mayhew’s section. As for San Diego’s Chinese and Japanese communities, their experiences and struggles are well worth mentioning beyond what the authors provided. Both groups were vital to the city’s agricultural and fish canning industries, which were crucial to San Diego’s development during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Indeed, the Chinese and Japanese for example, were part of a larger multiracial cannery workforce, which included Mexican, Filipino, and some European ethnics. The cannery work force and their
unions (which incidentally were predominately female) labored intensively to make San Diego “the tuna canning capital of the world” by the 1950s. Moreover, indigenous communities are also missing in these narratives.

Historically, San Diego’s newspapers have often neglected to acknowledge the city’s racial and ethnic communities, labor or civil rights struggles, racial segregation, and violence. Stories that seemed to make regular headlines only focused on cultural activities or holidays, such as Mexican Independence Day, Cinco de Mayo, or Rizal Day. This is a city where Shamu, the San Diego Zoo, and Petco Park have reigned supreme in the public imagination, overshadowing racial, social, and economic inequalities. This book by Davis, Mayhew, and Miller is an important contribution to the neglected history of San Diego’s marginalized populations who are very much present and have struggled and fought to this day to make a home for themselves and to have their voices heard. Under the Perfect Sun is a book that will continue to influence scholars like myself, who are interested in re-examining and re-writing San Diego’s past so that it is more inclusive. It is indeed a notable work that has shattered previous notions about our idea of San Diego. It has prompted probing questions about our city’s history and critical thinking about how we might write more complex histories. Only by doing so can we come to terms with our past, reevaluate our present, and make an effort to tell an honest story in the future. Only then can we live up to the image that we are “America’s finest city.”

“In Search of a Real San Diego History”

Kyle E. Ciani, Illinois State University.

People in Central Illinois often look at me aghast when I say I voluntarily moved from San Diego to our mid-sized community in the middle of cornfields. The myth, romance, fantasy, and pure media hype of “America’s Finest City” is well ingrained in the heartland, so trading coastal paradise for the prairie seems crazy to them. They’ve never heard of “June Gloom” nor do they realize that minimum wage earnings (or mid-level professional pay) cannot buy you a home in San Diego. As a teen I bought into the myth, believing I needed the bay, the ocean, and the salt air to be whole. A scholarship to study at the University of San Diego sealed the deal for my flight from hell (Phoenix, Arizona) to paradise. Idealistic? Naïve? Adventurous? Sure, all of the above, and San Diego’s boosters have banked on these emotions since the mid-nineteenth century.

I first experienced San Diego as a child-tourist when my family escaped the Valley of the Sun’s 110-degree August misery for several days of camping at the now non-existent “Campland at the Bay.” We knew nothing about C. Arnholt Smith and John Alessio or Bob Peterson and Dick Silberman nor did we care who sat in the District Attorney’s chair. Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See offers a few reasons why these names and positions mattered. Authors Mike Davis, Kelly Mayhew, and Jim Miller believe most people are like my family in 1968: ignorant of the ways in which elites have monopolized the city’s economy and politics. They also suggest that most tourists—“the happy tourist in shorts and a Sea World T-shirt proffering his credit card to the gods of commerce”—is far removed from the “recent Latino immigrant, whose invisible labor sustains the
luxury lifestyles of Coronado, La Jolla, and Rancho Santa Fe.” In between these widely divergent positions sit military officials and enlisted personnel, “smiling” boosters, low-paid service workers, and the “scorned dissenter, trade unionist, or civil rights activist” (3). The trio are passionate about their goals to provide “a useful tool for activists and stimulate further explorations of San Diego’s controversial past, especially the neglected histories of labor and communities of color.” They hope to “annoy” those in positions of power, they admit to their partisanship, and they want their words to “sting” (4). Their blunt rhetoric is jarring at times but the truth is a messy and uncomfortable business.

Under the Perfect Sun offers an introductory compilation of stories directing future scholarship and they are ambitious in their historical timeframe. The sheer volume of activists, organizations, protests, scandals, and confessions they bring to light should give readers pause. Written in three parts, the authors outline the history of boosterism from the mid-nineteenth century through the 2000 mayoral election (Davis); detail the machinations of corporate San Diego to keep labor unorganized and poorly compensated (Miller); and end with narratives of people involved in the day-to-day struggles of living on the edge in a very expensive city (Mayhew). They no doubt riled “the rabid radio talk-show hosts, sports franchise publicists, downtown renewal cheerleaders, and Pentagon lobbyists who too often pass themselves off as “San Diego public opinion” (4); perhaps they also riled those groups left out of the analysis: philanthropists of large and small denominations, not-for-profit volunteers and employees, social and public health workers, private school administrators, and educators at the hundreds of poorly-funded elementary, middle, and high schools in the city. While Davis, Miller and Mayhew never pretend to be balanced in their analyses, they could have offered a richer history of the city’s “other” heroes if they paid closer attention to the efforts these groups of advocates have made throughout the twentieth century.

For every John Spreckels and John Moores endured by the city, an Ellen Scripps and Joan Kroc have mended some of the ill. For me, it’s not enough to lump the “others” in an ending narrative because advocates of diverse racial ethnic and class positions have engaged in social activism throughout San Diego’s history. Female benevolence in the nineteenth century sheltered abandoned children, cared for the diseased, and comforted “wayward” girls. They organized networks of social welfare in the twentieth century, building San Diego’s first settlement house and providing immunizations, literacy, and waged work to the disenfranchised. They operated within the circle of civic power as well as challenged its authority through diverse organizations, including the Woman’s Home Association, the Women’s Industrial Exchange, the Vice Suppression League, the College Woman’s Association, the Traveler’s Aid Society, the Federated Jewish Aid Society, Catholic Charities, the Chinese Mission School, and the Women’s Civic League. These vibrant groups worked with and listened to the underclass, and fought with them against the tight controls enforced by the white male powerbrokers. Yes, these men did and continue to hold power. But people with seemingly few sociopolitical resources have always challenged that power, making the tension between these groups of people critical to understanding San Diego’s development.

Perhaps at this point a few confessions of my own are in order. First, I have been researching the history of the city’s social welfare agendas from the 1850s to the 1950s, using childcare efforts as my lens to assess various programs. As
a historian of women and gender trained in the labor history tradition, I view childcare as a work issue and understand its tenuous position among American workers. Secondly, I come from a long line of working class laborers and continued the tradition by, among other jobs, waitressing. I've also done a lot of clerical work, most of it poorly paid. My degree in history introduced me to philanthropy, and I experienced much of my professional life in San Diego's not-for-profit sector where I helped raise funds for the Zoological Society, Sharp HealthCare, Child Abuse Prevention Foundation, and the San Diego Historical Society. In all of these areas, I interacted with both the “haves”—those with race and gender privilege, political and economic power, and supervisory authority—and the “have nots,”—those with limited privilege, power, and authority—and each group demonstrated generosity and compassion to diverse groups and institutions.

Third, I'm a product of Catholic School, baby-boom style: a curious blend of guilt-ridden anxiety and civic responsibility coupled with the mandate to wear badly styled, wool uniforms. So, I understand Mayor Maureen O'Connor's “Catholic conscience” differently than Mike Davis (123-124). I cringed with embarrassment for her during her escapade as a “homeless” person but believed she truly wanted to explore the plight of the homeless. In reading Davis’ take on the media debacle, I kept looking for attention to Father Joe Carroll and his extraordinary work with San Diego’s homeless and at least a mention of Joan Kroc's generosity. Her husband Ray has attracted plenty of attention in exposés such as Fast Food Nation so we know the origin of the Kroc money. However, Joan Kroc's benevolence and Catholic conscience helped build the multi-faceted St. Vincent de Paul Village that has sheltered families since its completion in 1987. Her philanthropy has funded the Institute for International Peace Studies at USD, which has attracted world leaders (political, religious, and cultural) in an intellectual enterprise of peacekeeping; Ronald McDonald House Charities; National Public Radio fellowships; and built the Salvation Army's 12-acre community center on University Avenue. Helen Copley persuaded many people through her ownership of the San Diego Union but she also contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to civic causes, not least among them her donation funding the YMCA in Mid-city. One may not like the source of the money but one cannot deny that Catholic guilt has provided critical services for many of the city's underserved groups despite corporate greed.

Fourth, I no longer live in San Diego, but I know it well since I lived in several neighborhoods and among several cultures: dorm life atop the Linda Vista hill, surf culture of Wind n' Sea, the service sectors in North Park and Pacific Beach, and adjunct teaching in Normal Heights. Some of these addresses may seem luxurious but those who have lived in these neighborhood’s rental properties know they are filled with undocumented, unemployed, and underemployed workers. These workers were my neighbors and friends, and we helped one another out by tending to each other's children, running to the grocery store, and exchanging clothes when an interview presented itself. As a renter, I learned that a “quaint cottage” advertised in the classified section could be nothing more than a rat- and roach-infested dump. My privileged position as a degreed white worker allowed me to move away from troubled housing, but many of my neighbors remain in their “cottages.”

Fifth, in the ’80s I religiously watched the guilty-pleasure drama series, _Knotts Landing_. Some of the figures in Davis’ “Next Little Dollar” seem to come right out of central casting, but they are real and that’s a bit scary. Davis is best when he tackles the agendas of the wealthy, and it makes for juicy reading. On two occasions I was commissioned to research and write about some of those booster types, discovering that often the wealthier the executive the more eccentric. So, perhaps readers should keep these confessions in mind as they read further, for these experiences have shaped my commentary.

The authors’ essays counter the city’s booster-driven historical narratives, which is not an easy project. As every historian understands, one’s work is only as good as one’s access to sources, and “bottom-up” history depends on the accessibility of sources beyond the published elite voice. Herbert Gutman taught us to honor the worker; Gerda Lerner guided us to include the majority (women, that is); Joan Scott encouraged us to consider how communities filter work and home through a gendered screen; David Roediger reminded us that racial construction is critical to the analysis; Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa showed us the effect of silencing people’s voices; and they all cautioned us to recognize and make clear our biases. Putting these theoretical insights to practice opens the reader to a whole new vision, and I believe the authors hoped for this kind of view.

They reach into the nineteenth century to show us the foundations for elite attitudes, but the sections that detail the politics of the New Right and its influence on 21st century poverty gives local historians fodder to expand the analysis. Randy “Duke” Cunningham’s fall from grace makes sense when read in the context of Chris Petti’s arrest by the FBI in 1989 (127). Likewise, the sea of protesters in May 2006 wearing white t-shirts and “Si, se puede” attitudes in support of immigrant amnesty should not have been surprising when situated within the context of the United Domestic Workers unionization struggles (254) or the stories of Sonia Rodríguez, Peter Zschiesche, or Mary Grillo (312-320, 332-346). Mayhew documents a series of interviews with San Diegans who do not get featured in the mainstream media. Here we see how San Diego actually operates: the daily routines of people who live paycheck to paycheck or the decision-making processes of advocates working to improve the lives of the under–and unemployed San Diegan. Her attention to diverse experiences and socioeconomic positions is this chapter’s strength, and I was reminded of Juan Gonzáles’ provocative _Roll Down Your Window_.

While the authors offer a different assessment than certainly San Diego’s

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3. Richard F. Pourade’s seven-volume series published in the 1960s by the San Diego Union-Tribune Publishing Company is a good representation of such endeavors.


Chamber of Commerce, their analysis suffers a bit from the lack of archival sources. Whereas Davis reproaches earlier authors for using coffee table accounts of the city’s inner-workings, he relies on such accounts (Roger Shwayder’s book comes to mind) for his own essay. Davis is a veteran at stinging, having shocked many readers with his award-winning critiques of western cities. *City of Quartz* was required reading in graduate school, noted for its methodology and attention to argument, so I was surprised to find much of his material comes from newspaper and magazine articles. We can make the same point with Miller’s essay on San Diego’s workers. His connections to the secondary literature are solid, but use of union meeting minutes, negotiated contracts, and employee correspondence would have nuanced the analysis. These sources exist throughout the city in various archival repositories: for instance, Scripps Institute for Oceanography (fishing and cannery industries); San Diego State University’s Special Collections (meat packing and canning industries); and San Diego Historical Society Research Archives (agriculture). The typos should have been corrected in its second printing. For example, Helen Marston Beardsley founded the Southern California chapter of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom in 1924 and not Women Strike for Peace (50), and I’m most sure there is an “r” in Stoorza Communications (143). I point these out not to be picky with the material but because so often the histories of women have been ignored or are inaccurate. We need to be as precise about the actions and names of women as the actions and names of men, no matter their race, class, ethnicity and age.

Despite these shortcomings, *Under the Perfect Sun* captivated this reader and reminded me how hard it is to live in that paradise. Social activism in San Diego occurs within a constellation of power and privilege through which it is extremely hard to maneuver. San Diego is a fabulous place if one has the resources to enjoy its offerings. Mike Davis, Kelly Mayhew, and Jim Miller want us to understand how life is for the majority of people in San Diego who do not have those resources. I wish more scholars would pay attention to how the boosters got it wrong. It can help us get it right.

“*A New Historical Narrative for San Diego*”

Matt Bokovoy, University of Nebraska Press

I appreciate the invitation to join the forum on Mike Davis, Kelly Mayhew, and Jim Miller’s book, *Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See*. I was quite excited when The New Press released the book in Fall 2003 because there was no scholarly interest, critical writing, or research being published about any aspect of San Diego history, except in the *Journal of San Diego History*, where I was book review editor and interim co-editor from 2002-2005. At the time, I was finishing the final revisions for my book on San Diego’s two world’s fairs, and was fortunate to meet all three of the authors at the San Diego Public Library one summer day. As you can imagine, the mutual interest in San Diego’s history led to professional relationships based on shared research interests. Those who write on the city’s history constitute a very small circle. I know the authors quite well, but I also feel that I can speak objectively about the significance of and problems with the book.

There are very few writers and scholars involved in writing book-length works about San Diego. Kevin Starr has written brief sections on San Diego in his volumes on California history, but most of the information comes from the Journal of San Diego History. Roger Lotchin included two chapters on San Diego in Fortress California (1992), but most of the material was also drawn from secondary works. An older generation of scholars, including Harry Crosby, Raymond Starr, Iris Engstrand, Ramón Ruíz, Paul Vanderwood, and Richard Griswold Del Castillo, has done important work on the city. Their collective work has focused on either San Diego proper or the relationship of Tijuana to San Diego. Some of these scholars, however, have retired or are close to retirement, even if most of their work is fresh.

The study of San Diego skipped a generation and no baby boomer scholars write about the city, except perhaps Larry Ford and Lawrence Herzog at San Diego State University and Mike Davis at the University of California, Riverside. Some journalists, editors, and lay historians like Gregg Hennessey, Rick Crawford, Richard Amero, and Roger Showley have written some very good works on San Diego history as well. Some younger scholars like Miller and Mayhew and myself have published book-length works on the city’s history (University of Oklahoma Press published Miller’s San Diego novel Drift in Spring 2007), and Kyle Ciani, Ted Strathman, and Judith Schultz have written dissertations on San Diego’s history that will reach publication soon at university presses. So far as I know, The San Diego World’s Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940 (2005) is the only scholarly book researched from archives to be published in a generation, except for the two chapters on San Diego in Phoebe Kropp’s new book California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place (2006).

So grandparents and grandchildren appear involved in writing the history of the city. There are almost no parents. For some strange reason the scholars at University of California, San Diego in the humanities have shown almost no interest in examining San Diego within the larger history of Southern California, California, the American West, or the United States. The exception at UCSD is Abraham Shragge, who wrote a very impressive dissertation about the role of the military-industrial complex in the Urbanization of San Diego. He has published a number of fine articles from the dissertation in Pacific Historical Review, The Journal of San Diego History, and the Southern California Quarterly. Yen Le Espiritu’s work in Asian American Studies explores San Diego’s diverse Asian communities, particularly Filipino-Americans, and a few scholars have considered the large Vietnamese American community in Linda Vista. San Diego history is strongest at both University of San Diego, under Engstrand’s guidance, and at San Diego State University. However, these programs only offer master’s degrees in history, although the M.A. theses from these programs are often indispensable reference works on local history. The finest, most artful and insightful work ever written on the city is a product of fiction. The novelist Lê Thi Diem Thúy’s wonderful novel, The Gangster We Are All Looking For (2003) is arguably the greatest work ever written about San Diego.

Despite some excellent contributions, scholarly work on San Diego pales in comparison to the literature on cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, New York City, Phoenix, or Philadelphia (where urban social history was codified through the Philadelphia Social History Project). In addition, San Diego history has rarely shown conceptual innovation and often lags far behind the main fields and sub-fields of American history.
I believe *Under the Perfect Sun* helps rectify this problem. The authors succeed in constructing a new narrative for San Diego history. This has not been done since Richard Pourade's multi-volume *History of San Diego* commissioned by the Copley's San Diego Union-Tribune Company during the 1960s. Regardless of whether one agrees with the arguments in *Under the Perfect Sun* about power and injustice in the city's history, it is an achievement in terms of scholarship and cultural criticism. When scholars and even ordinary people think of “Southern California,” the importance and image of Los Angeles invariably comes to mind. I often wonder whether *Under the Perfect Sun* will generate new scholarship on San Diego history, as Davis's famous book *City of Quartz* (1990) did for Los Angeles. Thanks in part to *City of Quartz*, the study of Los Angeles has become somewhat of a cottage industry within academe. With this book and future books on San Diego history, one hopes that San Diego's historical significance will be greater recognized and that this will alter our understanding of both Southern California and California history.

It is true that *Under the Perfect Sun* does not make comprehensive use of archival research. If they had drawn extensively from archives, they never would have finished this book. I spent close to ten years researching my book on San Diego's world's fairs, and I only peeled off a thin layer of San Diego history. The lack of a rich historical literature makes works of broad synthesis, such as this, extremely difficult. That said, the book does use enough primary sources to forge its arguments, and the book does uncover and synthesize the “public transcript” of magazines and newspaper sources, municipal government publications, and secondary sources.

The one section that draws on original primary-source research, Kelly Mayhew’s oral historical investigation, will remain of interest to both general readers and scholars for a long time. The sections by Davis and Miller are compelling interpretations of the city, but they compress far too much history (over one hundred years) into their respective essays. When the next young writer or scholar does necessary work in the archives, the story and interpretation laid out by their essays will be revised and find more nuance. Still, their essays are as fruitful as Carey McWilliams's bold, ambitious, and generous work from the 1940s.

The book is bold and ambitious, constituting an entire research agenda for future San Diego scholars. The essays offer a modern, sophisticated conceptual framework for local history. It replaces the empty rhetoric of years worth of Chamber of Commerce and local booster histories with serious and unsentimental portrayals of how private interests, greed, and power have shaped the city over time. When The New Press released *Under the Perfect Sun*, it pleased me to see largely positive reviews. It received very few scholarly reviews, which is appropriate for a commercial trade title and for cultural criticism. When scholars did review the book, I could not feel anything but disappointment at the reception. Los Angeles scholars largely ignored the book, perhaps since a high-profile title on San Diego competed with the master narrative of Southern California history under their complete dominion.

The review of the book in the *San Diego Union* in September 2003 by Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman from the history department at San Diego State University focused on whether the book reached the level of muckraking insight achieved by Lincoln Steffens or Upton Sinclair, with much of her critique focused on recasting the
authors’ criticisms as “cynicism.” She believed the authors had not been fair and had not cataloged the city’s triumphs over time. The reviewer thought Davis’s focus on white-collar corruption excessive, yet the Los Angeles Times recently ran a story in April 2007 entitled “San Diego Elite Shun Public Spotlight” to indicate the “closed door” nature of politics and influence-peddling in the city, thus confirming Davis’s compelling argument about the problems of “private government” in the city over the twentieth century. I believe Davis nailed San Diego’s historic lack of coalition interests on the head, and Paul Vanderwood’s new work on the “Border Barons” will also confirm Davis’s view when published.

Cobbs Hoffman also takes Miller to task for his “Marxist interpretation” of local politics and his focus on social movements, like the Magonistas and the Industrial Worker’s of the World Free Speech Fight during the 1910s. Yet those familiar with San Diego history know that a very concerned San Diego Chamber of Commerce between 1912 and 1916 asked Governor Hiram Johnson repeatedly to mobilize the state militia to deal with the I.W.W. and border insurrectionists. The correspondence is in the Hiram Johnson Papers at the Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.

Cobbs Hoffman had almost no criticisms of Mayhew’s interviews. Overall, the review focused on what the book lacked rather than evaluating its stated intent. To this writer, Cobbs Hoffman, like some conservative reviewers of Mike Davis’s other books, engaged in ad hominem attack rather than seriously addressing the intent and achievement of the book in question. The review certainly did not live up to the infamous and generous suspension of belief seen in the criticism of Susan Sontag or Joan Didion.

In the end, Under the Perfect Sun should be evaluated within both the corpus of work on San Diego history and also according to its stated goal: it is a work of both history and cultural criticism that hopes to initiate discussion about the city’s future by looking at its past. The book inherently calls for a sense of civic and municipal accountability rather than allowing private government in search of generating wealth for the bipartisan political elite of the city to undermine a larger sense of the “commons.” I think the authors offer important historical context for understanding the city’s political instability and financial insolvency since 2000. The authors also offer some roadmaps to a more progressive and accountable politics as the city moves into the twenty-first century.

“Reflections on Davis, Mayhew and Miller’s Under the Perfect Sun”

Abe Shragge, University of California, San Diego

Under the Perfect Sun takes a few good steps in the direction its authors promise in their introduction to the book: it does highlight some of the glaring “discrepancies between tourist San Diego and working San Diego.” Moreover, it surely provides elements of “a serious history of the city” along with at least a glimpse of the “social extremes” that have characterized life in San Diego since the time of earliest non-native settlement in the region (3). Parts of the book make compelling reading, as Mike Davis and Jim Miller in particular express themselves in clear, often passionate prose while harnessing excellent original research performed by others. Kelly Mayhew’s oral histories, which comprise the
third section of the book, both humanize and personalize the critical episodes that appear in the first two sections by transcribing the candid reminiscences of some of the key challengers of the dominant culture who appear in the first two sections.

As a work of history, however, Under the Perfect Sun fails to satisfy. It reads more like a collection of anecdotes than a thoughtful analytical work based on a clear and continuous chronology. The several tales share a common theme based upon a radical critique of the immoral/amoral behavior of San Diego’s elites and the oppression they have brought to bear on the city’s working class, immigrants, and people of color, but they do not in the aggregate present a solid or even coherent “alternative people’s history” that the three authors promise in their introduction. I believe that their narratives of the outrages experienced by those who campaigned for civil rights, human rights, racial equality and social equity in San Diego add a great deal to our understanding of the region’s troubled history. Even so, I still want to know much more about the lives of the underrepresented and oppressed groups who are the subjects of their stories. Davis’s and Miller’s exposés of the ruling class give readers precious little sense of what it was like to live in neighborhoods restricted to people of color. They tell us little of the dreams and aspirations of those who came to San Diego in search of a better life. We learn next to nothing about how those hopes were disappointed or fulfilled.

In “The Next Little Dollar: The Private Governments of San Diego,” Mike Davis briefly sketches the tribulations of San Diego’s severe pre-1900 growing pains as experienced by the struggling, failure-prone Anglo business community; retells the story of the city’s emergence as the nation’s preeminent martial metropolis between 1900 and the end of World War II; and then offers an extended rendering of the grotesque shenanigans carried out by a coterie of dishonest, avaricious businessmen who ruthlessly bought and sold the city’s natural, human and political resources as if the city were their own ripe plum to pick. Jim Miller’s contribution, “Just Another Day in Paradise? An Episodic History of Rebellion and Repression in America’s Finest City,” tells six stories of reactionary hypocrisy, misguided patriotism, perfidy and oppression that occurred in or around the city over the span of the twentieth century. In so doing, Miller hopes to debunk once and for all the myth of the “Heaven on Earth” that San Diego’s elites tried to sell to the world. Thus Davis and Miller attempt to prove that San Diego is “open to greed and closed to social justice.” They conclude that San Diego is the “most corrupt city on the West Coast (3).”

Taken all of a piece, Davis’s and Miller’s narratives paint a grim, even horrifying, picture of the social, political and economic structures upon which San Diego’s boosters and businessmen built their fiefdoms. They succeed admirably in their portrayal of the life of the city that the tourists might indeed “never see,” as long, that is, as the tourists avoid reading the newspapers. The newspapers themselves (in contradistinction to the copiously cited radical underground press), as the two authors point out repeatedly, are notoriously partisan and biased—all on the wrong side of the political spectrum—and have been that way for generations. But Davis’s principal contribution in the book, the rise and fall of C. Arnholt Smith, was big national news in its day, as was Pete Wilson’s racist neo-populist political trajectory, as was the sudden collapse of the Nancy Hoover-Tom Shepard-J. David Dominelli-Roger Hedgecock axis. To the uninitiated,
these revealing, true-to-life and well-told tales of the city might seem deliciously steamy. But to anyone who has read the local newspapers and local as well as national magazines, or who has even a mild, locally-based sense of historical or political curiosity, consciousness or conscience, they are old news, explored in these pages in relentless detail. Mike Davis establishes thoroughly the point that succeeding generations of corrupt businesspeople, all deeply invested in socially and environmentally rapacious real estate development, wielded sufficient power to direct the life of the city with more authority than the properly constituted government—an apt but unoriginal assertion.

In terms of presenting a real and crucially important "secret history" of the people whose equally real blood, sweat, and tears made the city a vital place to live and work, Jim Miller's episodic history of San Diego's hard-pressed civil rights and labor movements does a greater service to its readers. Miller's accounts of the violence and repression that working people have suffered as they tried to organize and sustain unions since the late 19th century are harrowing indeed. The quixotic tale of the Magonista Revolt of 1911, during which a small group of Mexican and American radicals victoriously fought pitched battles with Mexican federal troops, and then briefly occupied Mexicali and Tijuana, contrasts effectively with the highly disturbing (and much more historically significant) story of the Free Speech Fight of 1912-1914. The more contemporary vignettes that follow these similarly illuminate other elements of the city's dark though not particularly hidden past. But any reader with even a shred of affection for the region must ask, were there any successful agents of change for the better in San Diego? For all of the gross oppression, repression, high handedness, unfairness and inequality that really have characterized life in San Diego, can one find any positive factors at all in order to better balance the historical equation? Miller's work implies some excellent questions for historians to ask now and in the future, and it is this kind of detailed social history of San Diego that we still need.

Under the Perfect Sun provides a fine jumping-off point for students who take my History of San Diego course at UCSD, and it is in that regard that I find the book's greatest value. Because the authors expose glaring injustices in so many different aspects of life in the San Diego region that have occurred over such a long period of time, my students have no problem devising critical research questions of their own, derived from issues and sources they have found in the pages of the book. Someday we may get our comprehensive social history of San Diego after all. But who else will read and enjoy Under the Perfect Sun? Radicals on the Left, activists committed to social, political, economic and environmental justice, and perhaps even less-than-radical but liberal-minded people who happen to be curious about San Diego will find satisfying "aha!" moments here. But the authors did not do enough original research or analysis if their goal was to find something new under the perfect sun.

The book will surely prick the consciences of members of those groups who are not already committed to activism. Readers, however, who for any reason are not so sympathetic to radical Left criticism will probably find it difficult to get past the introduction. If they do in fact manage to read further, they will likely feel bemused if not belabored by the stridency and relentlessness of Davis's and Miller's approach. The authors tell us over and over again, it seems, that San Diego is nothing more than a moral cesspool; that the city's mainstream institutions and
traditions are wholly corrupt; and that the only voices worthy of attention come from the ranks of the oppressed. There is some truth in these assertions, but they cannot stand as whole story.

Response to Roundtable Essays on Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See

Jim Miller, San Diego City College

Let me begin by expressing my appreciation that the Journal of San Diego History has recognized the significance of Under the Perfect Sun by doing this roundtable. We are pleased to read Matt Bokovoy’s analysis that we have penned a “new historical narrative for San Diego” that gives a “roadmap” for future scholars and activists. Rudy P. Guevarra’s assertion that we write in “the tradition of Howard Zinn” by offering a “people’s history of San Diego” is also insightful as are his suggestions that even more work on communities of color in San Diego is needed. Both of these critics view the work in the larger context of San Diego history and though not uncritical, acknowledge the groundbreaking, interdisciplinary nature of our project. Even as I will respond in kind to the two less generous critics of our book, we thank Abe Shragge and Kyle Ciani for the time and work they put into responding to our project.

We do differ with the roundtable’s editor in believing that the Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman review from the San Diego Union-Tribune is a suitable starting point from which to explore our book. As Bokovoy aptly puts it, Cobbs Hoffman’s review is little more than an “ad hominem attack” in line with others coming from the minor cottage industry of Mike Davis bashers. There is little of substance to note in her snide dismissal of Davis’s seminal work and in her condescending backhanded compliment of Kelly Mayhew’s contribution. As for her attack on my section of Under the Perfect Sun, I will let the following letter, also published in the Union-Tribune, stand as a response:

Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman disingenuously plays the detective in her review of Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See, shockingly revealing that the authors of a book, whose preface proclaims that, “This is a partisan book, dedicated to the San Diego Left,” are ideologically motivated. While noting that, “the authors admit their work is partisan, calling it a ‘tool for activists,’” Cobbs Hoffman still can’t resist falling prey to a knee-jerk anti-leftism. Fashioning herself as the champion of “most San Diegans,” she puts herself front and center in defending “America’s Finest City” against not just the red menace, but any assertion that San Diego is ever anything but a “livable city.” What is most troubling about her review is its intentional and mean-spirited misrepresentation of the work’s content. She claims to “reveal” my naive sympathy for Mexican anarchist Ricardo Flores Magón’s “apocalyptic vision” by rearranging quotations from different sentences when, in fact, I argue that after analyzing the history written on the revolt “what emerges is the farcical story of an anarchist revolution expropriated by boosters to
sell the Panama-California Exposition that they hoped would help woo the military and promote real estate in San Diego.” I also call the Magonista revolt, “one of the most bizarre series of events in the history of the city.” Sadly, recognizing the complexity of the history as I actually present it seems beyond Cobbs Hoffman’s reach.

Cobbs Hoffman also claims that my history of the sixties skips over the history of “more middle and working class” San Diego State in favor of “elite” UCSD, when in fact I do address SDSU and City College activists as well as the Congress of Racial Equality, the GI antiwar movement, the struggle for Chicano Park, and the local countercultural press. Hence her claim is wrong on the facts and she compounds her offense by ignoring the full scope of my history of San Diego in the sixties.

This is followed by the assertion that my work is “essentially Marxist” and is guilty of “seeing repression” everywhere, even in the beer ban at the beach. What this bit of clumsy red-baiting fails to note is that the bulk of the paragraph she quotes from cites the Free-Speech fight, thirties labor struggles, the civil rights movement, and the attacks on the countercultural press before I ironically note the “petty” battles over the use of public space in the present. This too is an intellectually dishonest bit of analysis.

Finally, the good professor cedes that my history “proves that the strong do indeed rule, and often badly,” but then red-baits me a second time, insinuating that my solution to social injustice must be a “communist” San Diego. If Cobbs Hoffman had actually read my section on communists in San Diego in the thirties, she would have noted that while I applaud the bravery of leftists who fought for the rights of farm workers, I note the “brutality” of Stalinism and the “rigidity” of American Communists and quote Kevin Starr who calls Stalinism an ideological “dead end.” Nonetheless, Cobbs Hoffman prefers to ignore this and go for the cheap shot by red-baiting. While my history does comment on the good things done by radical activists, it is not at all uncritical, nor does it call for an America’s Stalinist City. A strong labor movement, affordable housing, a clean environment, civil rights, and racial tolerance do not amount to a system where “man exploits man,” despite Cobbs Hoffman’s feeble either/or argument. By her reasoning, any critique of the status quo amounts to an endorsement of totalitarianism, as the notion of a democratic left seems to have eluded her altogether.

It should be noted that Cobbs Hoffman’s review of Under the Perfect Sun came during a period of time, just after the 9/11 attacks, when she was involved in publicly chastising intellectuals for their lack of patriotism. Indeed, in “Teach What’s Good About the Country, Too,” an opinion piece published in the Houston Chronicle in 2002, Cobbs Hoffman goes so far as to play the role of apologist for groups such as the American Council of Trustees and Alumni when she implies that some scholars may deserve to be on “Cheney’s blacklist” (an attempt to list and demonize “insufficiently pro-American” professors). Specifically, Cobbs Hoffman
observes that, “If some American intellectuals are not as prepared to defend the nation as they are to criticize it, they may deserve the accusations of ‘unpatriotic’ that we have parried for 30 years.” Thus with some distance from the post 9/11 zeitgeist of “watch what you say,” we can place the kind of criticism in which Cobbs Hoffman was engaged in its proper context—that moment in time, during the lead-up to the war in Iraq, when many self-proclaimed patriots were telling us that we needed to be less critical of our country just at the moment when brave, patriotic dissent from the status quo was precisely what was needed. Hence, Cobbs Hoffman’s attempt to belittle a prominent Leftist scholar, like Mike Davis, and condescendingly dismiss two emerging progressive scholars should be seen as part of her larger ideological project.

In sum, bias and ideology, like bad breath, are always things we say the other guy has. Our analysis of San Diego’s history is no more ideological than the essays of our critics or the “Gosh, Aren’t We Nice” versions of history most often marketed as San Diego history. As Howard Zinn points out in A Peoples’ History of the United States, the writing of history is an inherently ideological exercise. We must, he argues, choose to emphasize some things more than others and “any chosen emphasis supports (whether the historian means to or not) some kind of interest, whether economic political or racial or national or sexual.” Cobbs Hoffman, on the other hand, still seems married to some mythical notion of objectivity that would mask her essentially conservative embrace of the hegemonic view of “America’s Finest City” as neutral while chastising our “radical” approach as ideological.

As for the other criticisms of the book, the most repeated is that Under the Perfect Sun does not include enough archival research and is hence “unoriginal.” This near fetishization of archival research misses the importance of history as argument. It substitutes a kind of narrow and pedantic disciplinary gatekeeping for insightful analysis. Abe Shragge is particularly ungenerous on this point, claiming that Davis’s section offers nothing new to “anyone who has read the local newspapers.” Like Cobbs Hoffman’s use of marks around “genius award” in her review, this kind of glibly dismissive tone toward one of the most important intellectuals of our time is simply petty sniping. Bokovoy’s point that we would have never finished the book had we drawn more extensively from the archives and that what we were aiming for was a synthesis of the public transcript that would suggest a new historical narrative about San Diego is far more accurate.

While we make no claim to have scoured every archive in San Diego, we do believe the book was adequately researched and documented. And Under the Perfect Sun does make use of some archival research as well as other primary sources, such as interviews. Our primary purpose (openly stated in the introduction) was to debunk booster stereotypes, provoke more research on the neglected histories of labor and communities of color, annoy the town’s vapid cheerleaders, and, most importantly, “provide a tool for activists.” Nowhere in the book do we claim that Under the Perfect Sun is a comprehensive history of every aspect of the city nor do we argue that we did the most painstaking tour of the archives in the history of history. Indeed my title notes that my history of rebellion is “episodic.” What we were interested in doing was entering and shaping the argument about the meaning of San Diego’s history and how it speaks to the city’s present and future. In that regard, the book is unprecedented and completely original.

None of the writers in this roundtable can name a single other published work
that offers a progressive analysis of San Diego like ours. Matt Bokovoy gives us a learned and useful catalogue of articles, books, theses and dissertations yet to be published as books that deal with San Diego history, but none of the texts listed offer a similar approach or are as comprehensive as our book despite its admittedly limited focus. Indeed there is not a single book from a university or mainstream press that even attempts to look at San Diego history through the lens of labor. Revealingly, neither Shragge nor Ciani acknowledge this point nor do they address my discussion of the limitations of existing San Diego history. Why? Perhaps they could not mount a credible argument that any broad history addressing the city from a bottom up perspective exists and hence, unable to grant us that accomplishment, they turned to finding fault elsewhere. If there was a glut of radical San Diego history, perhaps we could take the arguments about our lack of originality seriously, but, seemingly unable to identify our stated purpose, Shragge and Ciani (whose essay is an extended red herring largely dedicated to discussing her own interests) take us to task for not doing things we don’t say we are trying to do. Hence their criticisms are mostly irrelevant and/or off the point. Rather than engage the argument of the book that says its aim is “redressing [the] deficiency of published social criticism,” Shragge and Ciani change the subject.

Another aspect of the criticism worthy of being addressed is Shragge’s comments on Mike Davis’s and my “stridency” and the “dark lens” through which we view San Diego. Apparently “any reader with even a shred of affection for the region” would be sorely pressed to find “any positive factors at all” in our analysis. What this misses, of course, is the fact that the struggles I discuss were heroic struggles. That ordinary people stood up to vigilantes and corrupt police during the free speech fight is a good thing, despite the horrible treatment they got. It’s positive that protests led to Chicano Park. It’s positive that CORE fought for civil rights. All the activism my section and Kelly Mayhew’s document is positive. The fact that Mike Davis speaks truth to power is positive. In fact, I end my section of the book by observing that, “hope is a moral obligation.” Shragge’s inability to see this is more revealing of his own perspective than of ours. It suggests a defensive position that takes the booster narrative of the city as “positive” and views any criticisms of that view as “negative.” Thus, whether consciously or not, Shragge’s critique of our “dark lens” accepts and/or apologizes for the local hegemony, which either marginalizes or erases many important aspects of San Diego’s history and present.

As noted above, Kyle Ciani’s essay is largely devoted to faulting us for not writing the book she would have written. That said, the central contention of her essay is worth discussing. Her assertion that philanthropy by the likes of Helen Copley and Joan Kroc offsets the harm done by others (she names John Spreckels and John Moores in particular) is naïve and misses the primarily ideological function that charity often serves. Most corporations factor in giving as part of their larger efforts at public relations and/or “image management.” Hence, it is good for a corporation like Wal-Mart to build little league fields and hire “greeters” in small towns where their supercenters kill small businesses, drive down wages, hurt the environment, and send employees to the state for health care. While they spend a relatively small amount of money on charitable PR, corporations save a lot more by externalizing costs. In the nineteenth century, Andrew Carnegie wrote “The Gospel of Wealth” about the importance of “giving” while he happily left the dirty business of union busting to his underlings. For every Carnegie library
there were thousands of poor workers whose long hours and grueling working conditions made the notion of them ever going to the library a joke. Indeed, as the Wall Street Journal recently reported, corporate giving today is getting even more linked to “outcomes” than ever before with companies looking for evermore bang for their buck. I recommend that Ciani view the award-winning documentary The Corporation for more information on how corporate propaganda works in the real world before she lectures us on “balance.”

Specifically, does the Copley-built YMCA compensate for the millions of dollars the Copleys spent to harass employees and bust unions at the San Diego Union-Tribune? Ciani completely ignores our discussion of the UT’s role in a wide range of reactionary political activity, so I suspect she does not have a serious answer to this question. Do the Copleys’ donations to “civic causes” negate the near daily demonization of teachers and other public sector employees that comprise the editorial pages of the UT? Perhaps Ciani might ask an underpaid elementary school teacher who pays for supplies out of her own pocket. Does Kroc’s generosity at USD and KPBS compensate for the failure of McDonald’s to provide living wage jobs? Does it compensate for the epidemic of obesity that the fast food industry actively fosters and profits from? Does it make it OK that the production of beef continues to contribute to the devastation of the environment both here and in the Amazon? I recommend Ciani read Eric Schlosser’s fine book, Fast Food Nation, for an education on this issue. As a teacher in an under-funded community college, guilt-ridden product of Catholic schools, public sector unionist, and director and chief fundraiser for a non-profit entity at San Diego City College, I would urge Ciani to ask harder questions. Perhaps start by comparing the lack of generosity of San Diego’s monied elite compared to those in other major California cities. Talk to people actually involved in fundraising in a city where the rich are largely right wing and libertarian and think that if something doesn’t make money on its own, then it’s not worth funding. Perhaps you might even ask the folks at the San Diego Historical Society how easy it is for them to find big donors. Finally, it is nitpicking when you go after typos.

The last aspect of the roundtable and Cobbs Hoffman’s review that is worth noting is the way almost all of them give short shrift to the importance of Kelly Mayhew’s contribution. Cobbs Hoffman and Ciani are concerned with women’s history when criticizing my work, but have very little to say about the original research that Mayhew does in this section. Cobbs Hoffman only cites Mayhew when using her interviews to attack me and Ciani with all her concern for women’s history relegates her discussion of Mayhew to a measly paragraph. Why the lack of respect for the only female author? Why the silence on the importance of oral history when so much concern is expressed about our lack of “original” research? Mayhew’s work is a vital record of living history that should be of great use for future generations of historians. Indeed, she has been contacted by a good number of scholars, young and old, who have sought her advice and guidance on similar projects. The miserly response to her work does it a great disservice.

In conclusion, we feel that Under the Perfect Sun serves as starting point for more progressive work on San Diego. We have received many letters and emails from graduate students and scholars interested in following up on particular aspects of our work. This was precisely what we hoped would happen. We have met a lot of people involved in local non-profits, unions, environmental, and legal rights
organizations who have told us that our book was an invaluable resource. We have
given many talks to local groups and are proud that all of the proceeds from the
book go to CITTAC, an organization that helps maquiladora workers struggling
for economic and environmental justice in Tijuana. In addition to the activists
and scholars who have contacted us, we were amused to see our book referenced
in a recent mayoral election forum and have heard from a good number of local
elected officials and media figures as well. In sum, contrary to the claims of some
of our critics, Under the Perfect Sun has proven to be a very usable history for many
San Diegans engaged in the vital task of working for a better future. It is our hope
that Bokovoy and Guevarra are right and more scholars, journalists, activists,
and ordinary San Diegans will continue to uncover more untold stories. If that
happens, it was work worth doing.
What would help broaden and deepen historical, cultural, and contemporary
discussions about San Diego? While there are many things to consider, several
seem most important:

1. **We need one of the local universities and/or a nonprofit to fund the publication
   and distribution of books on San Diego. Without that we will forever be wedded
to convincing editors outside the city to care (not an easy task), and/or be
stuck looking to private sources for funding that may be inclined to continue
producing nothing more than brag books to sell to tourists;**

2. **The local media are, at best, only occasionally interested in serious writing about
   the city, whether it be critical, creative, cultural, etc. We need a new independent
voice in the local media that is not the **UT** or the two weeklies that survive by
selling ads. Academic journals are great, but the audience is limited and we need
public intellectuals beyond the usual suspects to broaden the discourse about
the city. Perhaps a **New Yorker** for San Diego;**

3. **We need to incorporate more local history into the curriculum of schools and
   colleges. Without that, there will never be an audience for local history;**

4. **We need a far-reaching interdisciplinary effort that encourages scholarship on
   things local rather than dismisses and marginalizes it;**

5. **We need to stop thinking like we live in a small town. Think big and stop being
defensive. Yes, San Diego is a beautiful place where we all like the beach and
the park. Let’s get over that and think about what it means to live on one of
the most crossed international borders. What is the relationship between the
sunny tourist image of our city and the hard realities of being at the center of the
military industrial complex? What is the relationship between the marketing of
nature and environmental sustainability? What does a service sector economy
promise for the future? Who owns the city? What is the culture of the city
beyond our self-promotion? What moments of our past are worth revering?
What legacies should we seek to move beyond?**
Fossil Exhibition Reveals the Prehistoric Past of the San Diego Area

On July 1, 2006, the San Diego Natural History Museum opened Fossil Mysteries, the largest and most comprehensive exhibition the museum has ever undertaken. Blending traditional and contemporary exhibition techniques, Fossil Mysteries showcases the last 75 million years in the southern California and Baja California bioregion—known among scientists for its incredibly rich fossil record that includes sharks three times the size of great whites, mammoths, sea cows, lions, dinosaurs, giant sloths, whales, walruses, saber-tooth cats, dire wolves and more.

Having conducted extensive research with museum visitors, members of the community and within the national network of museums, the exhibition developers created new and innovative methods of engaging the public, encouraging visitors to touch, think, and discover. The exhibit is unique because it takes an inquiry-based approach—meaning the visitors are presented with evidence and complex questions, then encouraged to “solve” the mysteries themselves. All mysteries, fossils and objects are centered in this region, and create a sense of place for San Diegans and inspire respect for this region in out-of-town visitors.

While nearly 100% of the specimens have been found locally, the science concepts in Fossil Mysteries are global. In creating the exhibition, the museum’s research and exhibition staff consulted and collaborated with over 50 scientists and 20 artists and fabricators from around the world. The result is a presentation of cutting-edge scientific concepts presented in new, colorful and imaginative ways. Climate change, plate tectonics, and evolution are the themes that string together the exhibition, which is laid out chronologically. These themes and major regional events in time connect our present to the past and the future, and demonstrate the relevance of natural history in today’s world.

Exhibition Curator and Curator of Paleontology, Dr. Tom Deméré, explained:

Fossils provide different kinds of information. They address questions of evolution; tell us about ancient environments and ancient ecosystems. They provide direct evidence for extinction and how it occurs "... quickly? A drawn out affair? Selective or universal? How do you know that this was a whale, this a bat?" Visitors of all ages are challenged to solve these mysteries.

Highlights of the exhibition include the following: life-size models of an Alberatosaurus, a Lambeosaurus, and a sea cow, fleshed out on one side and skeleton on the other; a fully fleshed out megalodon shark (the most accurate depiction ever created of this shark, which is the world’s largest known predator); a fully fleshed out ankylosaur, based on fossil evidence found in the region (the most complete dinosaur fossil ever found in California); an articulated walrus in a giant free-standing case; a floor-to-ceiling “fossil aquarium” with actual whale bones on display, with a giant mural by world-famous paleoartist William Stout as a
backdrop depicting all of the animals that lived in the ocean during the Pliocene; a giant-sloth and a swooping pterodactyl with a 23-foot wing span. For children, there are huggable baby animals: a mastodon, brontothere and sea cow.

Fossil Mysteries uses the universal language of art to convey complex messages. In fact, “the exhibition is a magical art exhibition in itself,” says Exhibit Art Director, Jim Melli, “with giant murals painted in California plein-air style by William Stout, illustrations by Doug Henderson and Tim Gunther, animal models by Bill Monteleone, and steel sculpture by Richard Webber.” The animal models were created with experimental use of materials under the direction of Melli, who sketched every plant and animal in the exhibition, created all of the maquettes for larger reproduction, and art-directed the fabrication processes.

“Accessibility for all was a major goal of the museum’s creative team,” explained Exhibition Designer Michael Field. “All interpretive material is presented in both Spanish and English; there’s lots of touchable fossils and hands-on activities; displays and signage are the right height for kids as well as adults; the 9700-sq.-ft. floor plan is open, dynamic and flowing. The messages are conveyed in a variety of media to appeal to all types of learning preferences.”

Conceived and designed by the exhibition and research staff of the San Diego Natural History Museum over a three-year period, Fossil Mysteries required assistance from many experts. The Exhibit Services department of the Science Museum of Minnesota fabricated the interactive components, furniture, platforms, railings and lighting, and managed the installation. Science Museum of Minnesota staff worked with a number of highly talented subcontractors from both the United States and Canada for fabrication of the animal and plant casts and models.

Fossil Mysteries is a permanent exhibit portraying some of the earliest life forms in San Diego County.
**BOOK REVIEWS**


Reviewed by Maria Fadiman, Associate Professor, Geosciences, Florida Atlantic University.

People often refer to the “virgin” landscape that existed before the European arrival to California. In *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California’s Natural Resources*, M. Kat Anderson makes two important arguments. First, she challenges the concept of an unaltered pre-European landscape and shows how native Californians managed the land. Anderson questions the conventional classification of humans into the categories of hunters/gatherers, on the one hand, and agriculturalists, on the other. Instead she argues for a land management continuum, placing native Californians between the two categories. Second, Anderson argues Indian practices on the land are actually more beneficial to ecosystems than the later practice of trying to protect land completely from human influence.

Relying on Native California informants, traditional archival sources, and secondary sources, Anderson addresses Indian land management in detail. Beginning with an account of the historical abundance of California ecosystems, she moves into a detailed history of the native people and their understanding of plant life cycles, growth patterns, and optimal growing conditions. After explaining indigenous world views in relationship to the environment, she sets the scene for the “collision” with Europeans. She describes the European exploration and settlement of California, emphasizing its lasting effect on the land and native people. Several chapters, illustrated with various diagrams and archival photographs, detail traditional indigenous land management practices, such as harvesting, coppicing, digging, pruning, and burning. Anderson then shows how the California landscape is a direct result of indigenous management practices. She notes how current plant distributions and the existence of ecosystems, such as coastal prairies, montane meadows, and valley oak savannas, are results of native Californian manipulation of flora and soil. The last section of the book explores how today’s management activities can incorporate traditional practices. Tables, archival photographs, and illustrations show plant parts used, articles made, and collection methods employed by Native Americans.

In the beginning of the book, Anderson recognizes that some traditional practices had a negative impact on the land, but this idea is not revisited. It would have strengthened her arguments if she had addressed deleterious effects at greater length. Furthermore, when discussing the cultural collision of Europeans and Indians, she falls into a pattern of listing the maltreatment of the Indians and their land. Although historically accurate and important, such details sometimes seem irrelevant to her argument. However, these are minor criticisms for an effective and well-documented book. A particular strength of her work is that throughout she supports ideas, comments, and generalizations with concrete examples.
Not only does Anderson’s book give readers details of how traditional land management processes played out in the California landscape, she connects the reader to the people and the land about which she writes. At times, the reader feels as if walking in the California mountains and tasting acorn mush with roasted wild bulbs. This work is exceptionally readable for both academic and lay people. When using a technical term, Anderson defines the word in the text, and when discussing flora and fauna, she includes both the common and the scientific names. By covering in depth the cultural and ecological aspects of traditional land management and the importance such practices have for today’s world, Anderson has created a book that is useful to historians, ethnobotanists, ethnobiologists, geographers, anthropologists, and landscape ecologists.


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

Gloria Fraser Giffords and the University of Arizona Press have produced a thoroughly illustrated and remarkably detailed book on the colonial churches of northern New Spain. The author has assembled a wealth of information in a manner that will appeal both to architectural historians and to general readers of Spanish-era southwestern history. This publication provides an excellent framework of reference for those especially interested in the furnishings, symbolism, and iconography of these early churches. It will also aid the traveler wishing to understand the similarities and subtle differences that make these buildings distinctive with regard to missionary order and geographic region. Each structure tells a story not only of the builders’ particular background and faith, but often features the favorite saints of the missionaries who were in charge of the district.

Because of the difficulties inherent in written records, whether they be the personal prejudices of the writer or the lack of complete information, documentary accounts are also subject to the differing interpretations of various readers. “But,” according to Giffords,

the church buildings, decorations, and furnishings … serve as other records, records in stone, tile, wood, and adobe that have much to tell those who can read them. Although there will always be debate over the “civilization” and consequent destruction of native cultures by Spanish colonizers and clergy, the surviving churches of northern New Spain bear silent witness to the concentrated efforts of priests, parishioners, and converts to build and beautify structures that would serve as foci for religious and social life. They mark the introduction of Catholicism, on the one hand, and the replacement and even extirpation of indigenous religions and traditions on the other. Their furnishings and decorations signal the arrival and
expression of European technology in the form of manufactured
goods as well as architectural, artistic, mining, and agricultural
methods. (pp. 5-6).

Sanctuaries of Earth, Stone, and Light is divided into twelve chapters organized
around various themes. The first chapter explains the scope and focus of the
work while chapters two and three cover the style and plans for the churches.
The author discusses the various architectural movements and their influence
on church design. The next two chapters consider the buildings, materials and
techniques. Chapters six through twelve include details, furnishings, liturgical
linens and objects, vestments, images, retablos, symbols, and sacred iconography.
Each example is well illustrated, making it easy for any reader to understand its
meaning and particular role.

What is missing is the daily life of the native peoples and the Spaniards – both
military and civilian – who accompanied the missionaries during nearly 300 years
of religious interaction. Nevertheless, the buildings have their own stories to tell,
and the author has done a complete job of telling them. Giffords leaves literally
few stones unturned, carrying out her research by visiting and photographing
the colonial churches covered. She has also done research in the Archives of the
Indies (Sevilla), in the major repositories in Mexico and the United States, and
in the archives of the various colonial missions discussed, including numerous
collections of historic photographs. An appendix gives an extensive list of the
churches in northern New Spain that the author considers of special interest. A
glossary within the chapter on symbols and attributes defines the majority of
objects and symbols and explains the use of various colors as they appear within
the churches.

Sanctuaries of Earth, Stone, and Light is a welcome addition to the list of
significant books on the architecture and religious symbolism of colonial churches
in the Spanish Southwest. The price of $76.00 makes this attractive and complete
work an excellent investment.

Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions. By James A. Sandos.
photographs. 251 pp. $35.00 cloth.

Reviewed by Mark Sigmon, Lecturer, California History, San Francisco State
University.

The subject of the Spanish missions stirs very strong emotions, as anyone who
has taught California history can attest. On the one hand, there are those who
damn the Catholic Church and its efforts at spiritual conquest in California; on
the other, there are those who celebrate the Church’s spiritual triumphs. In a truly
outstanding book, Sandos seeks to move beyond the simplistic debate between
what he calls “Christophobic Nihilists” and “Christophilic Triumphantists” and
instead to show how Indians and Franciscans co-created mission culture. In so
doing, Sandos renders a genuine contribution to a field that is already somewhat
saturated.
In his opening chapter, Sandos discusses various theories of social control. He mentions methods of conquest and resistance to cultural erosion. He also discusses how the Franciscans themselves had to contend with control from the Crown and the priests’ resistance to military impositions. The second chapter is a straightforward discussion of the Native American tribes on the eve of Spanish settlement. In the third chapter, Sandos focuses on Junípero Serra and the theology that guided his evangelical outlook. This is one of the most crucial points that Sandos makes. Serra and the Franciscans were clinging to “medieval thought and practice.” These medieval practices included “flogging, shackling, or incarcerating in stocks any miscreant” (p. 50). Sandos points out that Serra faced a great deal of difficulty because Spanish colonial administrators and military leaders were beginning to adopt policies based on the Enlightenment and the concepts it fostered.

Chapters four through seven are a narrative of the efforts of Serra and his successors to resist, evade, and eventually compromise with the Spanish colonial authorities. In the eighth chapter, Sandos carefully discusses the nature of disease. With surprising skill, Sandos builds a compelling argument concerning the European origins of syphilis. He goes on to describe the devastating impact the disease had on the mission Indians. The “cures” offered by shamans, unfortunately, contributed to the epidemic. Sandos also addresses the issue of venereal disease and priestly celibacy. He concludes that among the priests in Alta California “a small, but undetermined number probably contracted” venereal disease. However, Christophobic Nihilists should be warned that Sandos does carefully explain the many ways that syphilis could be spread through non-sexual transmission (pp. 123-124). The most poignant point that Sandos makes in this chapter is the very real effect that syphilis had on fertility rates among the Native American women living at the mission. “No one can imagine the anxiety of Indian mothers as they beheld their children born sickly and weak. Some babies and children had collapsed skulls and potbellies.” He concludes, “Female Indians bore the brunt of the colonial experience, while children simultaneously suffered the greatest fatality rates in the missions” (pp. 126-127).

In the last three chapters Sandos explores methods of Spanish control as well as Native Americans’ efforts to resist them. He argues that “in the attempt to win Indian hearts and minds, the Franciscans possessed a powerful tactic in music instruction” (p. 152). Indeed, as late as 1879, Robert Louis Stevenson would report that Native Americans were able to sing and chant in perfect Latin. However, Sandos is less than persuasive in explaining “music theory” and its role in “Low and High Mass.” Despite showing a willingness to learn Latin, there was a great deal of Native American resistance to the missionization process which Sandos explores in his tenth chapter. By carefully dissecting what he calls the “hidden transcript” of Native American subversion and intransigence, Sandos builds a very powerful case for Indian resistance manifesting itself “in a nearly infinite variety of ways.” In his final chapter, Sandos attempts to assess the California missions and he comes to a remarkable conclusion. It seems Serra and his priests were successful in converting Native Americans only when tribal elders believed they had something to gain.

Sandos does an excellent job of moving the debate of the California missions beyond simplistic “Christophilic” and “Christophobic” positions. He builds a compelling argument surrounding the mindsets of both the priests and the
Native Americans. As Sandos puts it, “From a scholarly perspective ... Indians and Franciscans together created mission culture in a complex interplay in which the identification of heroes and villains is as difficult as it is irrelevant” (p.184). Sandos’s work in carefully exploring that “complex interplay” will make a lasting contribution to the field.


Reviewed by Carmen Nava, Associate Professor of History, California State University, San Marcos.

Despite decades of important scholarship on the history of the borderlands and Chicano Studies, Mexican heritage continues to be undervalued in the American national consciousness and the grand narrative of U.S. history. For most scholars and members of the Mexican American community, the historical issues are more complex than awakening a “sleeping giant” or a deficit of cultural assimilation. In a welcome addition to the literature, Richard Griswold del Castillo’s Chicano San Diego: Cultural Space and the Struggle for Justice argues that “Chicanos” in San Diego are engaged in a complex process of “cultural creation, accommodation, rejection, and acceptance” (p. 6).

The study’s intellectual rationale is to respond to “the lack of understanding of the political, economic, and cultural importance of the Mexican people in the United States” (p. 1). For Griswold del Castillo, the root of the problem is “ignorance, which starts in the school and pervades public life” (p. 1). By “documenting the struggle” for social justice in San Diego, where Mexican Americans and Mexicans have encountered, and continue to confront, “oppression,” Griswold del Castillo and the other contributors continue the effort of scholars such as Rodolfo Acuña, Carlos Vélez-Ibáñez, and Vicki L. Ruiz to rewrite the master narrative of U.S. history. The authors correctly perceive that their reinterpretation has local, regional, national, and transnational significance.

The authors use multiple terms for the ethnic group under consideration: Spanish-speaking, ethnic Mexican, Mexican-origin, Mexican descent, U.S. Mexicans, Chicano, Chicana/o. While these multiple identifiers signal complexity in the historical experience of, and scholarly regard for, this ethnic group, the interchanging of multiple terms may be disconcerting and obscure meaning. For example, “Chicano” is used in an expansive sense for Mexican Americans, when it is usually understood as a specific reference to the political self-affirmation of the Chicano Movement in the 1960s. Furthermore, it should be noted that the term “Chicana/o” is a more recent effort to emphasize that the ostensibly inclusive term “Chicano” can actually obscure the significance and divergent experience of women. More precise discussion of terminology in the individual chapters would have helped both a general audience and scholars follow the development of individual and group identity and the fluidity of national and transnational identities. Still, readers can navigate successfully by attending to the voice of each author, and when read as a whole, the collection presents both fine details and broad contours.
The first four chapters provide a cohesive historical chronology of the diverse peoples in the San Diego region during the pre-colonial period, the era of Spanish colonization (1769-1820), the Mexican era (1821-1848), and the period of U.S. control (1848-1940s). The discussion of the early period is particularly effective because it documents the interactions between Native Americans and people of European and African descent in the San Diego and cross-border regions, and examines the missionization process thoroughly and without nostalgia. The discussion of the 1930s and 1940s provides insights into efforts for community organization and civil rights. The subsequent five chapters are topical and interdisciplinary, emphasizing the twentieth century and the present day. Five case studies explore family life in a San Diego labor camp; the gentrification of a well-known barrio; Chicana/o activism; Chicana art; and human rights and the border. The thematic chapters make good use of local newspapers and archival sources and provide the reader with thorough notations and bibliography. They all utilize oral histories, ethnographies and/or testimonios, including personal reflections by the authors. One of the most compelling chapters is Rita Sanchez’s “Chicanas in the Arts, 1970-1995: With Personal Reflections,” which is both a history of a little-known artistic community and an intensely personal reflection by the author as artist/activist/wife/mother. The personal stories do have limitations as evidence, but they also have strength and validity as testimony of agency, activism, and multiple responses to oppression. The cohesion of this collection is reinforced with a thoughtful final chapter, “Some Concluding Comments.”

As editor, Griswold del Castillo goes out of his way to acknowledge the significance of the scholarship published by the Journal of San Diego History but notes that scholarly writing on Chicano San Diego is still incipient. Significant in and of itself, the historical experience of “Chicanos” in the San Diego region should be seen as integral to U.S. history. Chicano San Diego documents stories that persuasively contradict negative stereotypes and should inform the continuing discussion of transnational migratory labor.

Chicano San Diego will be useful both for expert and non-expert audiences, but in very different ways. Readers familiar with the historical experience of Mexican Americans will find nuanced discussion and intriguing voices that enrich the literature and suggest directions for future research. For readers who are new to this field, Chicano San Diego offers a thought-provoking introduction to key issues and themes.


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

Author and photographer Eric Pahlke has produced a beautifully illustrated book focused on the Victorian houses remaining in San Diego County. It includes a brief introduction to nineteenth-century San Diego and descriptions of the various architectural styles. Included are opulent mansions in Uptown and Sherman Heights, modest farmhouses in La Mesa, and summer cottages in Oceanside and Pacific Beach.
The book provides a visual reminder that people continue to love and preserve Victorian homes. The author hopes that his work “will inspire others to undertake the same effort” to save “these and other historic structures from San Diego County’s past” (vii). Victorian-style structures were built throughout the United States from the 1850s through the 1890s. Balloon framing, a rapid and inexpensive method of wooden framing, made possible irregular ground plans with many extensions. Doors, windows, roofing, siding, and decorative details were mass-produced in factories and shipped on the expanding railway network. Popular styles included the Italianate, Queen Anne, Shingle, Stick Eastlake, and Folk Victorian.

After World War II, nineteenth-century houses slowly started disappearing from neighborhoods to be replaced by parking lots, highways, urban renewal projects, and apartments. Tax laws rewarded owners for demolishing old buildings and penalized them for preserving them. In the 1960s, Victorian-era structures became the focus of the historic preservation movement. In San Diego, local artist Robert Miles Parker founded Save Our Heritage Organization (SOHO) in response to the scheduled demolition of the Sherman-Gilbert House, at that time located at 139 Fir Street. SOHO’s activism led to the creation of Heritage Park in Old Town and the preservation of historic structures countywide.

Pahlke’s book begins with a brief description of the houses in Heritage Park but he is most concerned to chronicle less well-known structures in other parts of the city and county. His photographs include houses in downtown San Diego, Sherman Heights, Golden Hill, Uptown, Logan Heights, Pacific Beach, La Jolla, National City, Chula Vista, Oceanside, Escondido, Coronado, Del Mar, Carlsbad, La Mesa, Lemon Grove, Poway, San Marcos, Lakeside, and Fallbrook.

The Hinkle House (1892) is the only remaining Victorian structure in Pacific Beach, a community that had one hundred permanent residents in 1899. Other survivors include the Elder House (1884) in Fallbrook, the Castle House (1887) in Lakeside, cottages in La Mesa, and the ornate Schutte Residence (1887) in Carlsbad.

Pahlke’s photographs emphasize the striking color combinations favored by homeowners. Some houses have been restored to the Victorian color palette—sienna red, hunter green, burnt yellow, brown—while others hark back to the “colorist” movement of the 1960s and 1970s. In National City, the Charles Blossom House (ca. 1879) is a purple and red “Painted Lady.” Pahlke illustrates the exterior and, occasionally, the interior of San Diego’s Victorian houses but he does not show cars, people, or the surrounding neighborhood. He wants readers to imagine what these houses looked like when they were new. His text focuses on the moment of creation, not on subsequent decades of use.

As a result, readers may not realize that Victorian San Diego remains under threat from developers. For example, the 1600 block of Union Street was once the only complete block of Victorian houses in the city. Since the 1980s, five houses have been torn down or removed to make way for a condo complex and an office building. Pahlke shows us only the remaining Ordway-Cassidy House (1888) and the Edward F. French Rental (1888), not their new neighbors.

San Diego County Victorians showcases an architectural style made possible by industrialization, the railroad, and a self-confident middle class. It is recommended to readers interested in local history, architecture, and the historic preservation movement.
BOOK NOTES

After the Gold Rush: Tarnished Dreams in the Sacramento Valley. By David Vaught. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007. xi + 310 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliographic essay, and index. $55.00 cloth. Focusing on the community of Putah Creek, David Vaught examines the fate of gold rush migrants who settled in California rather than returning home after failing to strike it rich. While many were no more successful in farming than in mining, their efforts did help lay the foundation for California’s agricultural economy.


Berkeley: A City in History. By Charles Wollenberg. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. xi + 224 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, and index. $18.95 paper. This monograph about the East Bay city begins with Native American inhabitants and traces the development of the Spanish-, Mexican-, and American-era communities. The author explores economic forces that shaped Berkeley, important infrastructural developments, as well as social protest movements centered around the University of California and the wider Berkeley community.


Devils Will Reign: How Nevada Began. By Sally Zanjani. Reno, University of Nevada Press, 2006. xi + 222 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. $29.95 cloth, $18.95 paper. Sally Zanjani of the University of Nevada, Reno explores the decade between the arrival of Nevada’s first settlers and the formal organization of the territory in 1861.

The Pursuit of Knowledge: Speeches and Papers of Richard C. Atkinson. Edited by Patricia A. Pelfrey. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. xiv + 210 pp. Index. $19.95 paper. This collection brings together some of the reflections and public statements of the seventeenth president of the University of California and former chancellor of the University of California, San Diego. The speeches and writings in this volume deal with a range of topics, including academic freedom, diversity in the university, and the role of the university in a knowledge-based economy.
In lieu of an index, please search complete issues online at http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/journal.htm

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*New Life for an Old House: A Community Legacy in National City* by Iris Engstrand

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