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**Front Cover:** San Diego Rowing Club 1906. From H.R. Fitch photo ©SDHC # 1685-1.

**Back Cover:** University of San Diego women rowers win the 2010 WCC Championship on Lake Natoma near Sacramento. Photo courtesy University of San Diego Athletic Department.

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The History of the Resilient
San Diego Rowing Club

By

Joey Seymour

“San Diego is the capital city in water sports on the Pacific coast. Having established that fact, it is easy to prove that the clubhouse of the San Diego Rowing Club is the capitol (1917).”

The story of the San Diego Rowing Club (SDRC) is unique because it tells the tale of a club established in 1888 by thirteen rowing enthusiasts that grew into the city’s most prominent male club, boasting a membership of 1,200 in the 1930s and

San Diego Rowing Club’s Boathouse circa 1902. This was the club’s home for nearly eighty years. Courtesy of SDRC.

Joey Seymour, author of San Diego’s Finest Athletes, University of San Diego alumnus, wishes to thank Dr. Molly McClain, David Frost and the San Diego Rowing Club for the opportunity to work on this fascinating project as well as Dr. Iris Engstrand who assisted in the research and selection of the photos contained within this article.
1940s. Men of stature and wealth as well as every day laborers were members of the club and all rowed, laid about nude on the sun deck, played handball, basketball, and/or baseball together. Rodney Brink wrote in 1917, “Practically every profession, business and craft is represented in the membership of the club. To know all the members of SDRC is to have a wide acquaintance among the men, young men and older men, who are at the helm of business in San Diego.”

Former SDRC president, Jerome (Jerry) Navarra of Jerome’s Furniture, captured the essence of the club’s early days with his comment that “The place was filled with real characters. It truly was a place where two men could be sunning in the nude while discussing the economy; one a cab driver, the other one a bank president.” Time, two World Wars and a decline in interest in rowing, however, saw the once mighty club battling to save not only its famous clubhouse, but its club as a whole. Yet, through all the high and low points, SDRC has survived and continues to introduce the sport of rowing to new generations.

The origin of sculling, a form of propelling a boat with a long, single oar off the stern, dates back to the early 1700s in London, England. Mark Sauer traced the sport’s roots in 1985, “The only bridges across the lower Thames were the London and the
Chelsea. Those wishing to cross the river elsewhere had to hail a ferry, typically a light sculling boat operated by a ‘waterman.’ The watermen began to wager on who could scull the fastest from bridge to bridge. In 1715, Doggett’s Coat and Badge, the first organized race between the London and the Chelsea bridges, took place and has occurred every year since.

A Club is Born

“On the evening of June 7, 1888, a group of thirteen men gathered at Steadman’s Boathouse and formed the Excelsior Rowing Club.” It was on this day that the San Diego Rowing Club was born. In an effort to have a more regional sounding name when competing, the club name was officially changed on September 2, 1891, to the San Diego Rowing Club. In 1921, there was an attempt to change the name to the San Diego Rowing and Athletic Club because the club had much more to offer than just rowing.
In the 1950s, a proposal not only to move to Mission Bay, but to change the name of the club to reflect the move came up to the members, but was vehemently voted down.

Besides constantly considering a change of their name, SDRC members spent the first twelve years of their existence moving from boathouse to boathouse, while at the same time fighting to keep up membership. The first location, Steadman’s Boathouse, was SDRC’s home for only a year. The location was ripe with issues, including the resignation of R.B. Steadman from the Excelsior Rowing Club. From 1889 to 1891, the club rowed out of the D Street Boathouse on Atlantic Street (now Pacific Coast Highway) between E and D streets. The members were not satisfied with this location however, and on July 11, 1891, SDRC moved for a third time to L. A. Chandler’s Boathouse at the foot of Fifth. The club would remain there for nine years, during which time memberships began to increase significantly and enough monies were saved to justify purchasing and building their own clubhouse.

On January 1, 1900, a housewarming was held to welcome the members to their new home at the foot of Fifth Avenue (525 W. Harbor Drive) on the bay. The San Diego Union reported, “The new boathouse of the San Diego Rowing Club on the steamship wharf was completed last week, when the members moved in and took possession of their new home, which represents an outlay of about two thousand dollars.” Several prominent architects, including William Templeton Johnson, who designed the Serra Museum, San Diego Natural History Museum and San Diego Museum of Art, were asked to submit prospective plans for the clubhouse, but the winning design—mostly based upon cost—went to club member Harry K. Vaughn.

To celebrate the architecturally stunning new clubhouse in 1900, a few members jumped into the 58-degree water. This has since become a tradition that the club continues to this day. Every January 1, members jump into the bay to welcome in the New Year and celebrate their past. On the 68th anniversary of the annual “dip,” the San Diego Union noted in 1957, “Polar bears like to swim in cold water. Most people don’t. The San Diego Rowing Club has more people than polar bears, but for 68 years members have been plunging into the bay on New Year’s Day anyhow.” In 1971, SDRC president, Percy A. Rooks said, “It’s the best cure we know of for a New Year’s Day hangover.”

In 1934, the clubhouse had an unexpected, but incredibly appreciated, expansion when “part of the harbor was dredged for the clear passage of large Navy ships, the scooped up bottom of the bay was dumped in this place near the Fifth Avenue ending. They wanted to connect it and make a pier for lumber carriers, but they never did.” The man-made island would become known as Brennan Island after former port director, Joe Brennan. SDRC leased Brennan Island, landscaped it with beautiful palm trees, geraniums, and some annuals to go along with the grass fields. They also built a brown building that would become home to the club’s famous handball courts.
Reporter Lew Scarr wrote, “It is an island that is used only for fun. Nothing is sold there; no one is imprisoned there and no immigrants are detained there. But you can swim there; you can play handball there; you can have a picnic there.”

The new clubhouse would remain SDRC’s home for seventy-nine years and would see many of San Diego’s most important men serve as not only members, but also as club president, as was the case with James Wadham and Harley Knox. Also a considerable number of its members would serve in both World Wars. In 1920, John W. Swallow reported that “more than 180 members of the San Diego Rowing Club served in some branch of service during World War I.” During the height of the club’s popularity, any man wishing to make a name for himself in San Diego would pay the minimal initiation fee ($15) and monthly dues ($1) to become a member. Their membership would grant them access to all those with influence and power in the city.

Prominent Club Members

In 1973, well-known San Diego sportswriter Jack Murphy wrote of the San Diego Rowing Club, “There was a time in this city when a man couldn’t very well get elected mayor unless he passed some of his time exercising or loafing, or both, at the San Diego Rowing Club.” From 1911 to 1963, nine of San Diego’s fourteen mayors were reported to have been members of SDRC. The mayors served a combined 42 years in office, leaving only a cumulative 10 years during that 52-year span in which a mayor of San Diego was not a member of the Rowing Club. Dick Barthelmas, a former captain of SDRC and San Diego Sun columnist who penned the popular column “Rowing Club Gossip,” wrote in 1960, “The dividends of healthful exercise and stimulating companionship found in this lusty organization are being reaped today by hundreds of men who have become leaders in the community. They are indebted to that little group of pioneers who knocked together a ramshackle clubhouse at the foot of E Street away back in 1888.”
Beyond political figures, there were also heads of banks like Anderson Borthwick and leaders of local business like Hiram Gould of Pioneer Trucking, real estate and civic promoter David C. Collier, and Joseph and Richard Jessop of Jessop’s Jewelers. According to Aviation-Maritime writer Ken Hudson, “In its F. Scott Fitzgerald-era heydays, the San Diego Rowing Club was an exclusive organization that counted many of the city’s most influential and wealthy businessmen and public officials as members.”

James E. Wadham served for only two years as mayor of San Diego from 1911 to 1913. He had come to San Diego via Illinois in 1870. Wadham witnessed the birth of the San Diego Rowing Club and became one of its early members alongside “San Diego’s First Citizen,” George Marston. Marston ran for mayor after Wadham decided not to run again in 1913, but was unsuccessful. He lost to Charles F. O’Neall, who served as mayor from 1915 to 1917 and belonged to SDRC as well. During Wadham’s short tenure as mayor, he found himself in a sticky situation when riots between the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW or Wobblies) and local vigilantes sprang up in

A trophy celebrated the Championship of California in 1914. The barge was named for San Diego mayor, James E. Wadham. Courtesy of SDRC.
1912. Wadham had passed an ordinance making any form of public demonstration illegal. The Wobblies continued to protest, despite the ordinance, and a group of San Diego vigilantes fought back by dragging the protestors out of town. Wadham’s warnings were not heeded, unfortunately for their leader—known anarchist Ben Reitman—who was abducted from his hotel room and allegedly tortured. Mayor Wadham’s views were nevertheless echoed by San Diego conservatives, and the mayor later served as president of the San Diego Rowing Club in 1918.

Like his predecessor James Wadham, John L. Bacon moved from Illinois to San Diego, arriving in 1914. He was a civil and structural engineer who aided in designing aquatic features for exhibits that were showcased at the 1915 Panama-California Exposition in Balboa Park. Bacon was elected mayor in 1921 and served until 1927. One of his main goals was to promote tourism. In 1922 he stated, “I would rather see 100 tourists come to San Diego, spend a month or a season, be busy every minute with healthful, outdoor entertainment, and go back home to tell their relatives and neighbors that San Diego is the greatest town in America than to have 10,000 tourists come, stay 24 hours, and go away ‘knocking’ because they had a dull time.” A popular mayor at first, Bacon was forced to deal with the main issue of the day—the construction of water projects. He was unable to overcome the litany of problems that enveloped him and the daunting tasks left undone. He thus declined to seek re-election in 1927. Ironically, after his term as mayor, Bacon served as president of the Boulder Dam Association, seeking to raise funds for the construction of the dam later to be called the Hoover Dam. Bacon’s successor was fellow SDRC member Harry C. Clark, mayor from 1927 to 1931. Clark lost his bid for re-election due to the same issues that plagued Bacon. The $8.5 million spent in water projects, such as the Lake Hodges Dam, were seen as failures in the eyes of taxpayers. Clark served as the rowing club’s treasurer from 1920 to 1922.

“Don’t ever do anything you’re afraid will be found out – and then you can say what you think,” was one of Mayor Percy J. Benbough’s favorite sayings. He was a colorful mayor that served San Diego during the early days of World War II. Born in London, England, in 1884, Benbough and his family moved to San Diego because his parents had been advised that it “was a good town in a fine new country for boys to grow up in.” He had an interest in sports, which brought him to the San Diego Rowing Club, but the club could not fulfill his real passion, auto racing. He was elected mayor in 1935 and overwhelmingly re-elected in 1939. His final term in office took place in what was referred to by the San Diego Union as, “The greatest period of expansion the community has ever known.” Benbough was an extremely popular no-nonsense mayor who died while in office on November 4, 1942, at the age of 58—the only mayor of San Diego to die while serving. The city mourned and flags were flown at half staff.
Harley Eugene Knox was the second of San Diego’s mayors during this time frame to serve as president of SDRC. Knox joined SDRC in 1922 and served as president, presiding from 1937 to 1941. Harley’s foray into rowing occurred after an insult. He was told, “You’re too light to race; you wouldn’t stand a chance against a full-size crew.” Knox led his crew, the “Mighty Mites,” to two consecutive victories over the first-string team. In 1928, then serving as captain of the varsity squad, Knox coached the team that made it to the finals of the Olympic trials, only to lose by mere seconds to the team from Harvard.

Knox, born in Nebraska in 1899, moved to San Diego in 1912 and became a dairy owner. He was elected mayor in 1943 and served until 1951. Knox’s mayoral successes included the development of Mission Bay Park, San Diego’s freeway systems, and the creation of the San Diego County Water Authority. In 1944, only a year into his first term, Knox was injured in a plane crash. The health problems stemming from the accident would continue to bother him for the remainder of his life. Harley Knox died at the age of 57 in 1956. He is one of the few San Diego mayors to have a biography penned about him.

SDRC member John D. Butler may very well have been the best athlete to have served as mayor of San Diego. He was also the first mayor to have been born in San Diego. Butler was an All-Star football player at San Diego State College and was one of the many rowers to serve in World War II. After Knox, sidelined by health issues, decided not to run for a third term, Butler rose to the challenge to fill the seat of his SDRC comrade. According to his wife Virginia (Kirk), “He was very proud of San Diego and was very much a home town boy.”

During his term from 1951 to 1955, Butler continued many of Knox’s programs including progress on Mission Bay, the one-way street system downtown, and the urging of San Diego residents to conserve water. Instead of seeking another term (because the pay was too low), Butler, an attorney, bowed out to another fellow member of the San Diego Rowing Club, Charles C. Dail. In 1984, Butler was inducted into the San Diego Hall of Champions. Butler and Joseph Jessop are the only two members of the San Diego Rowing Club to have been given this prestigious honor by the Hall of Champions.
Even though a discussion of politics was frowned upon while relaxing at the SDRC clubhouse, the fact that from 1935 to 1963 each mayor of San Diego, including Howard B. Bard appointed after the death of Benbough in 1942, had also been a member of the San Diego Rowing Club is no coincidence. This trend concluded with Charles C. Dail who served from 1955 to 1963. When Harley Knox decided to run for mayor, his Fifth District seat became available. Dail won, unopposed. Dail was an accomplished politician who also continued to promote Knox’s projects, created the metropolitan sewage system, the seawater conversion plant, and joined the city of San Diego with Yokohama, Japan in the sister city project. As was the case with Benbough and Knox, Dail died of a cerebral hemorrhage at the early age of 59 on July 13, 1968. According to the San Diego Tribune, Dail oversaw, “many changes which led to establishment of San Diego as a forward looking, prosperous and cooperative city during his administration.”

Many San Diegans in 1969 considered Anderson “Andy” Borthwick “San Diego’s most popular citizen.” His athletic accomplishments were rivaled only by his lengthy list of charitable community projects. Reporter Carl Ritter called Borthwick “the epitome of the civic-minded, straight-shooting man of his word.” In his profession, Andy Borthwick excelled in banking for 54 years, many times taking chances on loans that would end up saving local businesses. As a civic leader he was director of the YMCA, San Diego Hospital Association, Downtown Association, Fiesta del Pacífico, Isotope Research Institute, the California and San Diego Chambers of Commerce, and the local chapter of the American Cancer Foundation to name a few.

In 1918, young Andy joined the San Diego Rowing Club. He joined in the club’s handball and bowling activities, sports aided by the fact that he was ambidextrous, but his true passion was rowing. He said of rowing, “most people who meet at a sporting event forget each other in a week, but not oarsmen. That’s a big part of what makes this sport so special – the tremendous fellowship.” Andy was No. 4 oar in a four man shell that included H. DeGraff Austin, who would later become a county supervisor and president of SDRC, remaining one of its most active and tenured members until his death in 1980, and banker C. Arnhold Smith. Smith owned the San Diego Padres during a portion of their minor Pacific Coast League years and the team’s first five seasons in Major League Baseball from 1969 to 1974. In 1928, Andy was on the rowing
team coached by Harley Knox that lost in the Olympic trials in 1928. The team would attempt to represent the United States in 1932, only to lose again in the finals. In 1973, Borthwick assisted his friend Joseph Jessop in starting the San Diego Crew Classic that has since become one of the city’s most anticipated regattas. The Crew Classic is known as “America’s Premier Spring Regatta.” Anderson Borthwick died on October 10, 1982, leaving behind a legacy of athletic endeavors and civic generosity.

In 1978, Dick and Joseph Jessop sat down with Jack Murphy to discuss the third annual San Diego Crew Classic. Dick noted, “It will be one of the best and largest regattas ever held in the U.S. That pleases me because rowing is a clean, honest sport. Of all our sports, rowing has the best reputation.” The Jessop brothers worked tirelessly and spent much of their own money in developing the San Diego Crew Classic. They were assisted by ZLAC rowing club member, Patricia Stose Wyatt. ZLAC (the first initial of the four women who founded the club in 1892) is recognized as the oldest women’s rowing club in America. The Jessops were one of the most influential of the early families, having moved to San Diego from England in 1891. After a few years of struggling as ranchers, they assisted their father, Joseph Sr., in the opening of a watch shop on F Street, which developed into Jessop’s Jewelry, still a staple in San Diego. Dick joined SDRC at the age of 16 and in 1908, along with his teammates, won the Pacific Coast rowing championship for the San Diego Rowing Club. At that time the club boasted 1,000 strong members. Dick and Joe Jr.’s love for
rowning had translated into the Crew Classic, but the Jessops also helped save the struggling San Diego Yacht Club when its membership had dwindled to only 11 after World War I (six were Jessops). They also donated funds to help San Diego State University purchase shells for its crew team. It is without a doubt that the Jessop brothers gave a substantial amount of time and money to develop the sport of rowing in San Diego.

San Diego Rowing Club in Competition

Patricia A. Schaelchlin wrote in her 1984 book, The Little Clubhouse on Steamship Wharf, “Regattas and competition became an important part of the club life in the years before World War II. The club competed for the western coast championship through the Pacific Amateur Association, rowing against Vancouver and Victoria in British Columbia, and against San Francisco, Alameda, and Long Beach in California. They competed nationally against the Philadelphia and Chicago teams in the National Association of Amateur Oarsmen.” Today the club is a member of the United States Rowing Association, the national governing body for the sport of rowing.

Long time member and former president of SDR, DeGraff Austin stated, “We always aspired to be an organization giving a service to the young men of the community to learn the lessons of an amateur sport in a clean, decent place and without any particular sectarian dedication and it worked splendidly.” It worked so well that the club began amassing numerous titles in competitions—first on the west coast and then on the national scene, almost immediately after its inception in 1888.

According to Dick Barthelmass, “The year 1919 will long be remembered by old-timers as the one when the club’s ‘Big Crew’ brought home the bacon from the Pacific Association of Amateur Oarsmen’s regatta at San Francisco.” The club won again in 1920, with one of its most notable members, H. Del Beekley, serving as coxswain. Beekley, a San Diego High School student...
Del Beekley, who stood barely 5 feet tall and weighed 110 pounds, was a loud and boisterous coxswain, coach, and ambassador for the sport. Even at 96, he would attend to the matters of repairing racing and rowing equipment as well as cleaning and organizing the boat house of the San Diego Rowing Club. From 1935 to 1963, Beekley worked for Prudential Insurance. He, like many SDRC members, would walk from his downtown office to the clubhouse at the foot of Fifth Street for a mid-day break to go for a row or enjoy the club’s famed sun deck. He would often be joined by George Chambers who, it was reported, “religiously hung out a sign ‘Gone to Rowing Club’ on the locked door of his place of business on Sixth Street, every noon. Sometimes he would inadvertently lock an absent-minded customer inside, and it would be up to the cop on the beat to solve the problem. His daughter was none other than San Diego’s famed swimming star, Florence Chambers.”

When the Jessops began the San Diego Crew Classic, Del Beekley was on hand to assist in any way that he could. When Mark Sauer, staff writer for the San Diego Union, asked Beekley in 1985 to describe why he was so drawn to rowing, Beekley replied, “This is the ultimate team sport, I liken it to a performance by a symphony orchestra. Everyone has to work together exactly; everyone has to do the very same thing at the
same time.” Beginning in the 1920s, the San Diego Rowing Club sponsored a Sea Scouting ship. A division of Boy Scouts of America focusing on nautical skills, Sea Scouting teaches children the lessons emphasized by the Boy Scouts. Eugene Storm, a junior high school vice-principal, was a leader of the Sea Scout ship when his young son Jim enrolled. In February 1957, Jim Storm, at the age of 16, had become a member of the San Diego Rowing Club. His size (6'8" and 209 pounds), strength and dedication set him apart from other rowers of his age. While Beekley missed competing in the 1928 Olympics by a mere two seconds, Jim Storm not only competed, but brought home a silver medal from the 1964 summer Olympics in Tokyo.

Leading up to the 1964 Olympic Games in Japan, Storm was approached by Seymour Cromwell, who asked if Storm would compete with him in the Double Sculls event. “I felt like a kid being asked by Mickey Mantle to play for the Yankees,” Storm recalled. A number of members of SDRC came together and raised money for Storm’s trip to Tokyo. All were proud when the native San Diegan, along with Cromwell, won silver. In 1967, Storm, along with his partner Jim Dietz of the New York Athletic Club, won gold at the Pan-American Games in Winnipeg, Canada. After the win, Storm focused his attention on schooling. He graduated in 1971 from the University of
California Medical School and became a practicing psychiatrist. Today he lives in San Francisco and is one of SDRC’s most famous and longest tenured members.

There is one name that has become legendary within the San Diego Rowing Club—Kearney J. Johnston. In 2003, San Diego Union-Tribune sports columnist Bill Center penned, “Kearney didn’t make rowing in San Diego. He didn’t help create the Crew Classic or relocate the San Diego Rowing Club. He didn’t have the money or political punch to make those things happen. No, Kearney Johnston didn’t make rowing in San Diego. He just made rowing in San Diego better.”

For over 70 years, until his death at the age of 93 in 2003, Johnston was the San Diego Rowing Club’s most revered member. Born on November 17, 1910, Johnston attended Jefferson Elementary, Roosevelt Junior High, and San Diego High School. Early on Johnston showed athletic promise. He learned to wrestle at the YMCA downtown and competed in both the 112 lb. and 118 lb. divisions through his high school career.

While a member of the Sea Scouts, Johnston became interested in rowing. He was enamored by the beauty of the shells, and within a few weeks of his first lesson, his talent became evident. In 1930 he wanted to become a member of the San Diego Rowing Club; his job working the printer at the San Diego Union, however, did not earn him enough to pay the $25 initiation fee. He was making only $14 a week. A local businessman and father of one of Kearney’s fellow Sea Scouts purchased 10 memberships for several young men, including Kearney, who would remain a member for 73 years.

During the club’s golden age, Kearney was one of many who gathered at the San Diego Rowing Club after work. At 5:30 in the morning when the papers were finished pressing, he would arrive as the sun was just rising and go for a row. Johnston had some local sculling success early on, but it wouldn’t be until the ripe age of 63 when he truly began to compete, and win. Upon his retirement, Johnston dedicated himself to being in the water every day. With the exception of a few weeks each year during the holidays, Kearney would venture to SDRC every day either by trolley or bus because he never learned to drive and row 1,000 meters. After his row, he would teach anyone who sought his tutelage about sculling and then tend to the business affairs of the club.

In September 1974, Johnston and his wife Hilda traveled to Bern, Switzerland, for the first International Veterans Rowing regatta. He was the only representative from
the United States, traveling for the first time on an airplane. Kearney competed as a single rower and amazingly won the world championship in the 52-and-up single sculling race. Vern Griffin reported, “He had a two-boat-length lead at 100 meters, pulled out to three lengths at 500 meters and held that lead over the rest of the 1,000 meter course.” Johnston came in second to a Frenchman 20 years his junior in the 45-year-old and up race. It was the beginning of an incredible career that would see him win three more world championships—1978 in Mexico City as a single sculler, 1980 doubles with Joseph Goldbart of Israel in Kerteminde, Denmark, 1985 doubles with Mario Castelli of Long Beach in Toronto, Canada and numerous national championships. The San Diego Hall of Champions honored him with four Breitbard Certificate of Athletic Achievement awards throughout his career.

Probably the most impressive accomplishment of Johnston’s career is the number of people he taught to row. As of 2001, he claimed to have had 969 students. Whether or not that is an accurate number, it is safe to say that Johnston’s passion for rowing was shared with anyone who was interested, and his influence on the sport was vast. Members of SDRC referred to Kearney as “Mr. Rowing Club.” At the age of 87, as manager of SDRC’s boathouse in Mission Bay, it was reported by Dorothy O’Donnell that, “In addition to teaching and competing, Johnston bustles about the boathouse performing a variety of tasks that help keep the club running smoothly. In exchange, he pays no dues for his club membership. On any day, he’ll be repairing sculls, answering the phone, and washing the piles of towels used to dry the boats. But he’s never too busy to forget to feed the gulls and sandpipers that loiter around the club from his stash of bread crumbs.”

Kearney Johnston passed away on November 22, 2003, a few days after his 93rd birthday. Even though he is gone, his legacy and accomplishments live on in the club’s new facility at El Carmel Point. There can cer-
tainly be no accurate account of SDR C without detailing the importance of Kearney Johnston. He may no longer be sweeping sand off the patio or taking his shell, the “Hilda J,” out for a row, but his presence remains.

A Club in Crisis

With the onset of World War II, the San Diego harbor became increasingly busy with naval traffic. The members of the San Diego Rowing Club began to dwindle due to water conditions as well as a migration to the suburbs. In the 1950s and 1960s, many members requested a move to Mission Bay—a project proposed and developed by many of the influential members of the club. There were those few, however, who were stubborn and wanted to stay in their long-time location at the foot of Fifth Street, despite a building in desperate need of repair and resting in polluted waters. In the post war years, the club that once boasted 1,200 members dwindled down to 20, and a clubhouse admired for its unique architecture literally began to sink into the bay. Battles with the San Diego Port Authority and a chain restaurant nearly killed the club’s identity, but SDRC would have a happy ending thanks to a few supporters who refused to give up.

In April 1971 the winds of change began to swirl around the eighty-three year old San Diego Rowing Club. Membership had been reduced to fewer than 200, with the majority of members remaining solely for the social aspect. The facility was

Members lounging on the famous sun deck circa 1924. Courtesy of SDRC.
The San Diego Rowing Club

showing signs of age, especially when the boardwalk causeway that led to Brennan Island, home of the club’s handball courts and other amenities, was closed by the Port Authority due to missing pilings and overall safety issues. Port Director Don L. Nay quipped, “Maybe they can row out there.” This initial confrontation with the Port Authority turned into a decade-long battle, specifically when Nay and the Port Authority commissioners refused to renew the club’s lease after it expired in 1972. The club paid rent on a month to month basis, with the Port Authority having the ability to evict them at a moment’s notice as well as raise their rent which they did several times. Between 1971 and 1978, the rent was raised from $186 per month to $473, an amount the club could not handle.

With only 25 of their 200 members actually rowing on a consistent basis, the club decided to lift the ban on women. In 1974, Karen Proskauer became the first female member of the San Diego Rowing Club. The inclusion of women did not bother Kearney Johnston one bit, as he would say on numerous occasions, “It’s easier to teach women than men to row…men won’t listen. Women learn to feather more readily. They are also faster to learn the technique for getting into a shell without upsetting it or punching a hole in its delicate bottom.” In fact, many of the female members spearheaded the effort to save the clubhouse.

Ken Hudson wrote in 1975, “The venerable San Diego Rowing Club—perched precariously on aging wooden pilings and a few steel rails is getting close to the point of going under.” The building was beginning to sink into the bay. Yet, the members believed they could raise enough money to renovate the clubhouse, if only the San Diego Port Authority would give them a long term lease. A catch-22 dilemma was created for club president, Jerry Navarra, who joined the club in 1971 as a third generation member. The Port Authority would not extend a long term lease until sufficient plans were produced to repair the building, yet neither investors nor members would donate enough funds for repair of the building until they were assured of a long term lease. Members did get together in May 1975 for “Survival Day.” The day was utilized to paint and clean up the old building as well as renovate a few features, but the efforts were not enough. The club was the only remaining facility on the bay that was leak-

Plaque on original clubhouse on San Diego Bay. Photo by Iris Engstrand.
ing raw sewage and in March 1978, the Port Authority sent the rowing club’s insurance agent an engineering report noting the building as a “hazard to all who enter it.” Thus the club’s insurance was revoked, making it a liability.

The San Diego Union in March 1978 noted another issue for SDRC, “Part of the demise of the rowing club has come from the demise of the influence of its members.” Many of those members joined the Cuyamaca Club or the University Club or just became too aged to row. Yet, a small group of determined members and preservationists banded together to at least save the clubhouse, if not the club, for history. The group was led by Patricia A. Schaelchlin, author and president of San Diegans for the Rowing Clubhouse, Inc., and Carol Lindemulder, president of SOHO (Save Our Heritage Organization). In July 1975 San Diego’s Historic Site Board listed the clubhouse as a historic site. Then in September 1978, the building was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. “When we received the historical designation, I almost had a heart attack,” noted Jerry Navarra. Despite these victories, in December 1978, fire inspectors deemed the building to be an “immediate hazard” and the San Diego Rowing Club was evicted.

Looking back on the club’s crusade to stay in the harbor, Navarra passionately stated, “Although there is probably disagreement, Mission Bay is a better location for the club. It is much safer. The typical route was to cross the bay to Glorietta Bay in Coronado. You had to deal with tugboats and boat wakes. I don’t recall anyone getting swamped, but there were times when you had to row like hell to get out of the way. On the other hand, the club was a historical landmark with a rich tradition, and it is a shame that it is not in operation today. It could have remained as a downtown club for cards, handball, socializing, exercise, all the things you could do there, and less serious rowing.”

A New Beginning for the San Diego Rowing Club

As they fought to save their clubhouse, members of SDRC knew in September 1979 that they would have to relocate. A temporary facility in Mission Bay at Santa
Clara Point became their new home after occupying the clubhouse at the foot of Fifth Street for nearly eight decades. A core group of 25 members vowed to keep the club alive. While they worked on finding new recruits and a permanent location for the club, the efforts to save the clubhouse for historic purposes took a positive turn. Patrick Goddard, vice president of Chart House restaurants, visited the location and developed a plan to save it. In 1968, Chart House renovated the Coronado Boathouse and turned it into one of its fine dining destinations. It was the first time the chain had taken on the daunting task of renovating a historic site. In turn, the restaurant generated the company $1.5 million per year.

A surprising 5-1 vote by the port commissioners on June 2, 1981, approved plans for the Chart House to move in and renovate SDRC’s clubhouse. The Evening Tribune reported on July 3, 1981, “Chart House says it will save as much of the old building as possible. It wants the real thing, not a replica. It says it will get to work as soon as a lease is signed and permits granted.” Goddard dedicated $1.5 million to the project and, in June 1983, the clubhouse of the San Diego Rowing Club was reopened as the Chart House restaurant. A dedication ceremony, much like the one held in 1900, took place on January 1, 1984. Members of SDRC gathered at the restaurant for their annual dip into San Diego Bay.

On March 15, 1978, SDRC unceremoniously moved out of its old clubhouse and while they would continue to house some of their items including shells there for another few months, they were to begin anew in a small, temporary location on Santa Clara Point, which some members referred to as “the garage.” The club strained to remain relevant until the death of one of its long time members, A.W. Coggeshall, in 1987, gave it new life. The club found itself with an inheritance of $850,000 to be utilized in the construction of a new and permanent home on El Carmel Point. Carol Olten wrote, “Before his death, Coggeshall was known as an eccentric with large holdings in downtown real estate, including the Carnation Building, where he ran a business in plumbing fixtures. But early in his life, Coggeshall was a champion oarsman for the club. He was part of the 1928 San Diego team that lost to Harvard by two seconds in the U.S. Olympics trials. An automobile accident resulting in a smashed elbow cut short Coggeshall’s rowing career. He remained close to the club however, furthering efforts to find a new location after the club’s historic bay front boathouse was taken over by the Chart House restaurant in the early 1980s.” In 1991, SDRC moved into its new state-of-the-art facility, thanks to Coggeshall’s generous donation. Both the University of San Diego and University of California, San Diego men’s and women's crew teams currently row out of the Coggeshall Rowing Center.

SDRC enjoyed a resurrection after moving into their new location at Santa Clara Point. Memberships increased from 25 in 1978 to 257 as of December 2010. Efforts to bring back the social aspect to the club became a priority in 2006 when the Garty
The retrieval of the memorabilia to be housed in the Garty Family Rowing Pavilion was yet another battle the club had to fight.

Patrick Goddard, in wanting the Chart House restaurant to be authentic and respectful to SDRC clubhouse, sought to get many items representing the club’s rich history showcased in the restaurant. He noted that “Once everyone saw what we were doing, people started bringing in things from their attics—boats, trophies, photographs of relatives—because they wanted to fill the new[ly] restored structure
with the life of the rowing club." In 2003 however, another chain restaurant, Joe’s Crab Shack, purchased the Chart House and began to erase the history of the location. San Diego Union columnist Maureen Magee wrote, “At Joe’s Crab Shack on the San Diego waterfront, tarnished trophies, broken plaques and historic photos are on display alongside plastic lobsters and foam lifesavers as tourists toss back beers and fried fish.” Members of SDRC and president Randy Hanna made it a priority to have all the items returned to the club. Yet, Houston-based Landry’s Restaurants, Inc., owners of Joe’s Crab Shack, stated that they had sold all the items to J.H. Whitney and Company who would be taking over ownership of the restaurant, believing that the items became their property when they purchased the Chart House and not on loan, as Goddard noted they were.

After hundreds of letters and phone calls were made, along with the impact of Maureen Magee’s original article, it only took a month for the J.H. Whitney and Company to return every item to the club. These are now on display in the Garty Pavilion. Randy Hanna said, “We couldn’t be happier. We’ve been grinding away on this for a couple of years, thinking one day we might get the collection back. We are all surprised by the support we have been getting.”

The San Diego Rowing Club and its members have weathered many storms since they first took to their shells and began rowing as a club in 1888. Despite the ups and downs, the generosity of members and passion for the sport of rowing has kept them going. Generations of children have learned to row at SDRC and moving forward, that is the main goal of the club’s current president, David Frost, who stated, “Effectively carrying out our non-profit mission to provide water safety and rowing instruction for youths of all ages,” as his top priority. Stu Neffeler, a long time member of the club and a champion in his own right said, when asked what makes SDRC so special, “To me, it’s nearly a century and a quarter of not only being still alive, but significant as well. For this to continue we need both a willingness to compete on the highest levels, and to cherish our heritage.”

As the club rang in 2011, the
members, as they always had, dove into San Diego Bay on January 1. The current membership roster includes representatives from ten foreign countries—Mexico, Argentina, Australia, Canada, Ireland, Scotland, Netherlands, Germany, New Zealand, and the Czech Republic.

It may no longer reside in a historic building, but SDRC’s rich history and traditions are continuously honored and remembered for the significance that the club played in San Diego history. At the same time, club leaders and members look to the future and the advancement of the sport of rowing. “Rowing is an endurance sport, both mentally and physically; you get out of it only what you put in,” commented San Diego Union-Tribune sportswriter Bill Center, and for 123 years the San Diego Rowing Club has endured.59
NOTES

2. Ibid.
7. Vaughn later designed several WPA projects during the 1930s.
11. Ibid.
15. A photo of John Forward jumping from the sun deck into the bay was found, but it is undated and does not note whether it is John Forward Sr. or John Forward Jr. Both served as mayor of San Diego. The only father-son duo to have held the office. Forward Sr. served from 1907 to 1909 and Forward Jr. served for only one year, 1933-34. He resigned the position. The photo is most likely Forward Jr., as his father died in 1926 at the age of 75. The photo shows a young diver in good physical shape.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
34. Schaelchlin, The Little Clubhouse on Steamship Wharf, 29.
38. Ibid.
46. Hudson, “Rowing Club Close to Sinking.”
48. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
The Casa and The Don: Juan Bandini’s Quest for Homeland in Early San Diego

By

Victor A. Walsh

From the far side of the historic plaza, the restored, two-story Cosmopolitan Hotel with turned wooden columns and baluster railings stands like a sentinel to history in the afternoon light. Originally built in 1827-1829 as the family residence of Don Juan Bandini and forty years later converted into Old Town’s principal hotel and stage stop, it is one of the most noteworthy historic buildings in the state.¹

Few buildings in California rival its scale or size (8,000 square feet) or blending of nineteenth-century Mexican adobe and American wood-framing construction techniques. It boasts a rich and storied past — one that is buried in the material fabric and written and oral accounts left behind by previous generations.

The purpose of this article is to recount the building’s history during the Mexican and American Transition periods and the people and events associated with it. Like old San Diego, the imposing adobe home and the Bandini family while they lived there...

Dr. Victor A. Walsh, historian with the San Diego Coast District of California State Parks, he was actively involved in the restoration of the Casa de Bandini/Cosmopolitan Hotel as historian and adobe mason. He has published a number of prize-winning articles including one on the Casa de Estudillo of Old Town San Diego in the The Journal of San Diego History (2004). The author especially thanks historian Ellen Sweet, who compiled extensive research materials on the building’s history and those associated with it, and Cynthia Hernandez and Nena Reid, who transcribed and translated the bulk of the cited Spanish sources.
experienced profound economic and cultural changes. Those and subsequent events left their imprints on the building as well as on the cultural memories associated with it.

Over time, the Casa and the Don became the very embodiment of a transplanted aristocratic Spanish heritage. Bandini’s life, as this article shows, was far more complex and layered in the events of California than in traditions of the Old World. It reflected the dynamics of a region in the throes of wrenching changes due to Mexico’s inability to colonize and develop Alta California, the U.S.-Mexican War, and California’s epic Gold Rush.

The Casa and The Don

Juan Bandini would become one of the most prominent men of his day in California. Born in Arica, Peru, on October 4, 1800, he was the son of Captain José María Bandini, a Spanish naval officer and mariner from Cádiz in Andalucia, and Ysidora Blancas, a native Peruvian of Spanish descent. Like his father, Bandini was the product of the Old and New World. His early life in Lima, where his father was stationed, was unsettling. By his third birthday, death had claimed his mother and two siblings. As the only surviving child of that marriage, he later sailed with his father to Europe, where he completed his schooling in Spain and Italy with a focus on law. José Bandini, although often away due to military service in the Napoleonic Wars, was the boy’s mentor, source of support, and a living example of his Old World ancestry.

During the second decade of the nineteenth century, much of Spain’s New World territories but especially Peru and Mexico rebelled against Spanish rule. Captain Bandini, who had returned to a politically unstable Lima, spent much of his time on the open sea, stopping and trading at Latin American and Mexican ports. In 1819 and 1821, he sailed up the Pacific coast from San Blas to deliver supplies and troops at the presidios of San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. His brig, Reina de los Angeles, was reportedly “the 1st vessel to fly (the) independent colors” of Mexico according to the historian Hubert Howe Bancroft. A year later, by then retired, a widower and loyal citizen of Mexico, he decided to resettle in San Diego, lured by the promise of a new beginning. His twenty-two-year-old son Juan, who admired his father and had no lasting ties to Lima, accompanied him.

In 1827, Governor José María Echeandia
granted Juan Bandini and José Antonio Estudillo, his brother-in-law, adjoining house lots on the plaza, measuring “100 varas square (or 277.5 x 277.5’) in common,...” Through his marriage to Dolores Estudillo and, after her death in 1833, to Refugio Argüello, the daughter of another influential Spanish Californio family, Bandini would carve out an illustrious career as a politician, civic leader, and rancher. He allied his large family with influential American immigrants and welcomed American statehood. His American sons-in-law included Abel Stearns, the wealthy Los Angeles trader and cattle baron, Colonel Cave Couts, a prominent San Diego rancher, and Charles Robinson Johnson, a Los Angeles business associate.5

The one-story adobe home that the father and son built on the plaza was originally U-shaped with two wings extending out from the plaza parallel to present-day Juan and Calhoun Streets.6 It stands 45º off true north-south axis coinciding with the plaza’s alignment.7

According to Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo’s drawing from memory, the Bandini house originally had eight rooms,8 a zagüán or entranceway, a kitchen attached to the wing on Calhoun Street,9 two patios in the rear10 along with a corral, and a shed for rigging and harnessing horses. Water was available from two hand-dug wells: one behind the wing on Calhoun Street and the other at the northeast corner of the corral. The drawing reveals that no exterior doorways opened on to the main streets or plaza probably because the building stood on a level cobblestone foundation above the street grade, making access difficult.11 At the southwest corner directly across from the plaza
where Mason and Calhoun Streets converge, ASM Affiliates archaeologists uncovered remnants of the original foundation. The base of the wall rises five feet above the original street grade at this corner. They also uncovered sections of what appears to be a cobblestone abutment or walkway at the base of the corner wing walls. In sum, the original building literally sat on a pedestal dominating the plaza.\textsuperscript{12}

Alfred Robinson, the New England shipping agent for Bryant and Sturgis, described the stately whitewashed adobe in 1829 as a “mansion,...when completed, (will) surpass any other in the country.”\textsuperscript{13}

The home was the pride of this frontier outpost, a symbol of Bandini’s elite status and love of fine things. The rooms had thick adobe walls, and deep-set windows with wooden shutters. The ceilings were heavily beamed, despite the scarcity of wood, and covered with large pieces of muslin sewn together to trap insects and dirt. The floors were packed earth, while the roof was moderately sloped, and most likely originally covered with thatch and later clay tile. Materials such as clay tiles, wood beams and lintels were probably salvaged from the hilltop presidio, already in a state of deterioration. In 1828, Bandini ordered palos colorados or redwood posts from the American merchant, John Cooper, in Monterey. The posts, which were planed on one side and measured 1/3\textsuperscript{rd} vara (or 11 inches) in diameter and 4.5 to 5 varas (12.5 to 13.9 feet) in length, were probably used for the veranda facing the lower patio.\textsuperscript{14}

As time passed and the family grew, more rooms were added to both wings. By the late Mexican period, the house had between 12 and 14 rooms according to contemporaries. William Kip, California’s first Episcopal Bishop, who stayed at the casa in January 1854, wrote that the house was “...built in the Spanish style, around the sides of a quadrangle into which most of the windows open...”\textsuperscript{15}

The household furnishings typified the family’s elite social status. They were “massive and beautiful,” in the words of Arcadia Bandini Brennan, Bandini’s great-granddaughter. They included many ornate pieces brought to this remote outpost by José Bandini from Spain and Peru or that belonged to Dolores Estudillo, Bandini’s first wife. Among the family’s most prized possessions were the heavy, hand-wrought
silver washbowls, pitchers, goblets, and pots that decorated many of the rooms. One item of special note was a lotus-shaped bowl featuring the family’s crest of two serpents coiled around a cross.16

To build this casa was a colossal undertaking. Built at the same time as the Estudillo adobe residence, it would take nearly two years to complete. Making thousands of adobe bricks, turning them on their sides to dry in the sun, firing ground-up oyster shells in kilns for whitewash, laying cobblestone foundations, cutting and planing timbers, and making leather straps out of tanned cowhides to tie the beams required a large, specialized workforce of craftsmen and laborers. The only institution that could fill such a heavy demand for labor would be nearby Mission San Diego de Alcalá, which most likely rented out Indian workers to Bandini and Estudillo. Highly skilled artisans were probably brought in from Mexico to perform the more complex engineering and construction aspects.17

Exactly who supervised the construction remains unknown, but given the building’s level of architectural sophistication it probably was not Bandini. It had built-in, adobe-layered cornices and unexposed roof rafters — Spanish Colonial features usually found only in the designs of California’s missions. The cobblestone foundation on the Calhoun Street side, which archaeologists uncovered, extends outward and gradually slopes in order to catch water run-off. This indicates that the adobe walls facing the streets had a roof overhang rather than a veranda.18

A superb dancer, graceful and lithe as an athlete, Juan Bandini was the tecolero or master of ceremonies who loved to hold extravagant parties and fiestas in his large front sala or parlor room. “The parlor is a fine, large room with a white pine floor, so worn from dancing that the knots project,” recalled Major Samuel P. Heintzelman in 1849. “On the walls are several fox hunting scenes and a picture of [George] Washington. On the clock case—a Yankee clock—is the American flag.”19

*Image: Arcadia Bandini, nd. Photo courtesy the Huntington Library, 8537-C-4.*
The sala was the hub of “social gaiety” in old San Diego, especially after 1834 when it became the sixth pueblo in Mexican California. Bandini used the room to entertain family and friends, to host lavish parties, including the weddings of daughters Dolores and Ysadora, and to meet important people, such as traveling dignitaries from the Mexican Republic and the United States. Arcadia Bandini Brennan recalled a family tradition of placing “little gold dollars” in painted cascarones or eggshells, which were tossed to the guests by Indian servants. Among those who enjoyed Bandini’s largesse was José María Híjar, appointed leader of an expedition, supported by the México’s vice president, Valentin Gomez Farías, in 1834 to colonize the sparsely populated province. Bandini was the president of the company that sponsored the plan.

Robinson left an evocative account of the festivities surrounding the blessing of the newly constructed home on December 28, 1829. The ceremony began at noon, attended by the governor (then in residence in San Diego), presidio officers, family, and friends. A priest from the nearby mission walked from room to room, sprinkling holy water on the walls. Guests then “…sat down to an excellent dinner, consisting of all the luxuries the place afforded, provided in Don Juan’s best style,” remembered Robinson. “As soon as the cloth was removed, the guitar and violin were put in requisition, and a dance began. It lasted, however, but a little while, for it was necessary for them to spare their exertions for the evening fandango. So poco a poco, all gradually retired to their home.”
That evening the footpaths leading to the grand house “were enlivened with men, women, and children, hurrying to the dance,” recalled Robinson. “On such occasions it was customary for everybody to attend without waiting for the formality of an invitation.” In the candle-lit sala, Robinson saw a graceful couple performing Mexico’s national dance, el jarabe, amid “shouts of approbation.”

They kept time to the music, by drumming with their feet, on the heel and toe system, with such precision…. The female dancer… cast her eyes to the floor, whilst her hands gracefully held the skirts of her dress, suspending it above the ankle so as to expose to the company the execution of her feet. Her partner… was under the full speed of locomotion, and rattled away with his feet with wonderful dexterity. His arms were thrown carelessly behind his back, and secured, as they crossed, the points of his serape, that still held its place upon his shoulders. Neither had he doffed his ‘sombrero,’ but just as he stood when gazing from the crowd, he had placed himself upon the floor.\(^22\)

The other rooms had either compact earthen or clay tile floors. Some rooms, probably the sala, apparently had cobalt blue floral patterns painted on the whitewashed walls. Sometime during or after the U.S.-Mexican War, this room was wallpapered. The paper was green and white and had a floral pattern. In her memoir, Arcadia Bandini Brennan noted an interesting household practice that she had heard from her grand-aunt Tia. “She told me that… the floors were fixed by having the ground in each room well swept, then wet down by buckets of water. When dry, green grasses or soft leafy branches were put all over, evenly laid and the beautiful rugs were rolled out.”\(^23\)

The household maintained rigid hygienic standards according to Juan’s great-granddaughter. One interesting practice noted by Arcadia was the fact that Indian servants hauled the household’s ‘slops’ to the beach where they were buried in holes and braced or enclosed with logs. The logs were then
removed and the sand swept in by the waves carried the human wastes out to sea.
Many of the interior walls were painted with lime or whitewash while exterior walls
were whitewashed or plastered with slaked lime mixed with sand. The high PH levels
in the lime washes and plasters kept the walls free of fungus and other bacteria.  
Bandini envisioned his home as a gathering place for family and friends. He was
deepest fond of his daughters Arcadia and Ysidora, who had moved to Los Angeles in
1841 when fourteen-year-old Arcadia married Abel Stearns. Twelve-year old Ysidora
was sent as a companion to her older sister. By the mid-1840s, Bandini set about
refurbishing the home and grounds in hopes of tempting them to visit Refugio and
him on a more regular basis. In the spring of 1846, he ordered 50 pieces of glass, all
8 x 10 inches, to install paned, wood-framed windows in the house. In a follow-up
letter, dated June 23, he warmly thanked Stearns for fulfilling his request. 
The following year, Bandini replanted the gardens with “pretty flowers,” and
remodeled the lower patio, lining it with potted plants and covering the cobblestone
with clay brick. The hand-dug well was replaced with a deep brick-lined well, most
likely built by a Mormon mason. In addition, Bandini built a small wooden bathhouse
on the lower patio for the comfort and privacy of his daughters when they visited
him. “I think they are going to like it very much when they come to pay a visit,” he
exclaimed to Stearns. A raised doorway with steps and small porch roof were later
added on the Mason Street wing facing the plaza. 
Small parties were frequently held in the enclosed lower patio, complete with
guitarists and violinists and on one occasion in 1849, a contortionist—a young boy
with flexible bones (soltura de huesos)—entertained family and guests. 
To Bandini, a man driven by an exacting sense of duty, caring for the home meant
caring for his family. Constructing this grand house signified something greater than
paying homage to the family’s patrimony and social position. It also symbolized
that this Peruvian son and Spanish father had adopted Southern California as their homeland or patria.\textsuperscript{31}

\textbf{Uncertainty on the Frontier}

While living in San Diego, Bandini played pivotal roles in the 1831 revolt that toppled the autocratic rule of Governor Manuel Victoria and the abortive 1836-1838 uprising against Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado. Bandini’s motivation for revolt stemmed in part from his desire to establish San Diego as the territorial capital, which would allow it, rather than Monterey, to control public funds and political patronage.\textsuperscript{32} Like his father, he was a federalist who saw tremendous potential in a resource-rich Alta California provided it could free itself from the yoke of political dominance by Monterey and Mexico City. The “great Mexican Federal Republic,” he concluded in his \textit{Historia de la Alta California}, had deprived Californios of reaping the “advantages and benefits” of their territory. It had failed to promote colonization; to protect citizens against Indian unrest; to support institutions of civil government, and to capitalize on a global hide and tallow trade by waiving import duties on foreign goods. “It is California that has suffered the most from the misfortunes that afflict us,” he wrote his close friend Mariano Vallejo in 1836.\textsuperscript{33}

The most immediate and pressing concern for Bandini and other rancheros was protecting their lands and stock from Indian raids—a situation that was inflamed by the breakup or secularization of the missions and the refusal of Monterey, the capital, to appropriate funds to reinforce the small garrison at the San Diego presidio.\textsuperscript{34} An alarmed Bandini often took extended leaves of absence from the pueblo of San Diego to check on the condition of his ranchos and to arm his vaqueros. In a letter, dated November 6, 1834, he informed Vallejo that he had to return to San Diego in haste from
Santa Barbara rather than continue his journey to visit him because “barbaric Indians” had pillaged one of his ranchos, stealing “just about anything,” including livestock, crops, horses, and tools. His letter, as evidenced below, reflected a tone of desperation.

The destruction, or better said, ruin...has put me in the most catastrophic position that I could have ever imagined, to the point of not having anything to eat; nowadays I have resorted to selling off some jewelry that I was saving, and this is why I had to leave San Diego to search for that which is indispensable to the preservation of life....

Prior to the U.S.-Mexican War, Bandini had coordinated the sale and shipment of provisions to the U.S. military by ship through the American consul Thomas Larkin of Monterey. Ongoing business dealings with American traders, especially his ranching activities with his son-in-law and business partner Abel Stearns and his future son-in-law Cave J. Couts, had convinced him that California’s future lay with the United States, not Mexico.

A calculating, outspoken politician, and gifted speaker, Bandini was at the center of political controversy during his service in the California Assembly or Diputación as war with the United States loomed ever closer. He and other delegates from the southern pueblos were alarmed by Commandant General José Castro’s proclamation in March 1846 to form a junta of northern military officers to defend the province against an American invasion or uprising. Disregarding the real possibility of such a threat, Bandini condemned Castro’s action as “the fool’s errand of such a reckless man.”

He (Castro) wants to flatter the people and at the same time he manifests the intention to subjugate them; he pretends to defend freedom but emphasizes the oppressive measures that he imposes, and finally by appealing to the defense of the Californios, he wants to submerge them into the tyranny of his capricious and arbitrary will.

Bandini was convinced that Castro, whom he believed would soon march his army south to dissolve the Assembly in Los Angeles, was the most immediate threat to Alta California’s peace and security. “I am afraid of the consequences of such a brash document, and am almost certain that we will be engaged in a war that our nation has tried to avoid at all costs,” he forewarned Pío Pico.
Bandini’s forewarning became reality when the United States declared war against Mexico on May 13, 1846. Occupying San Diego was of strategic military importance to the U.S. because the pueblo possessed the only year-round harbor south of San Francisco. Certain that resistance was futile and that California’s destiny lay with this powerful nation to the East, Bandini welcomed U.S. forces. He formed close relations with U.S. military officers stationed in San Diego. Commander Samuel F. Dupont and Lt. Colonel John C. Frémont of the California Battalion dined frequently at his residence. On the eve of the Battalion’s departure for Los Angeles in August 1846, Bandini gave Colonel Frémont a beautiful sorrel horse. Bandini provided the small American garrison under the command of Captain Ezekiel Merritt, one of the leaders of the Bear Flag Revolt, and John Bidwell with sorely needed provisions such as saddles, horses, harnesses, and steers. Frémont later recalled that Bandini’s assistance was “extremely valuable” because he and his men “were entirely ignorant of the sur-

Commodore Robert F. Stockton. Photo courtesy of The Bancroft Library.
rounding country....” In January 1847, the colonel, by then acting military governor of California, appointed Bandini to his seven-person legislative council. Bandini eagerly accepted the appointment, explaining in a letter to his friend Vallejo, a fellow member, that “it is imperative...for the love of the Country in which we are living.”

In November 1846, Commodore Robert F. Stockton arrived in San Diego on the frigate USS Congress. His mission was to fortify and garrison the pueblo and thereby protect U.S. access to the bay, the only real harbor south of San Francisco. Bandini’s home became Stockton’s headquarters. "Don Juan Bandini and family received the Commodore elegantly at their mansion and entertained him sumptuously," recalled attorney and historian, Benjamin Hayes. According to Hayes, the Commodore’s private band of thirty-seven musicians often played in the home at ‘Bandini’s bailes.’ Bandini and his family further assisted Stockton by escorting a detachment of his troops to his Rancho Guadalupe in Baja California to supply them with cattle, horses, and equipment. On the return trip, as the party approached San Diego, the officer-in-charge discovered that they did not have a flag to display to the sentries. Doña Refugio offered to sew a flag from the petticoats and dresses of her younger daughters Dolores and Margarita. This was reportedly the first American flag to fly over the plaza.

No longer under siege by Californios loyal to Mexico, the pueblo remained an armed camp: its residents uneasy in the wake of continued skirmishes and cattle rustling. Stockton had fortified the abandoned hilltop presidio with gun emplacements, and U.S. dragoons drilled daily on the plaza, renamed Washington Square. In early December, messengers from General Stephen Watts Kearny’s Army of the West arrived at Ban-
The Don Juan Bandini’s Quest

dini’s home to inform Stockton that hostile forces had surrounded Kearny’s troops in the San Pasqual Valley. Stockton sent out a large force to rescue the battered column and escort it back to San Diego. On December 12, a wounded Kearny and his exhausted men arrived on the plaza, greeted by the strains of ‘Hail, Columbia’ from Stockton’s band.

Unrest continued throughout 1847 after the war had ended in California. Bandini fretted about the threat of Indian raids, often reprimanding the U.S. military for not allowing rancheros, like himself, to take the law into their own hands to defend their families and property. In a letter to Stearns, dated October 27, 1847, he complained that “the cancer of theft by the Indians …spreading down to the border” again required his presence at his ranchos. He reprimanded the “agents of the American government” for allowing “the perversity of the Indians” to go unpunished.

Every day I hear heartfelt complaints, and some spill tears of pain when they see the few goods they acquired through years of working day and night, disappear from one moment to the next, and others who feel their interests threatened with ruin, lament not only the insecurity of these days, but also that they observe neither the favor nor protection promised, but the opposite conduct being followed.

In an earlier letter to Stearns, written from San Diego, perhaps to endear himself to the new American government, Bandini described continued resistance by the “Californios” as an act of “imprudent revolution instigated…by men of little judgment.” Resistance, he argued, was futile and ill conceived—the perverted view of a few men—that ultimately will be counter-productive to society’s well-being. “People and interests,” he claimed, “have been sacrificed without gain…contrary to common happiness.”

After the war, San Diego, soon to be called Old Town, became a welcomed stopover for thousands of miners en route to the Sierra gold fields. A brisk commerce developed as hotels, restaurants, billiard halls, tobacco shops, hardware, dry goods and clothing stores sprang up around the plaza to cater to the throngs of male fortune-seekers. Members of the Boundary Commission, both U.S. and Mexican, also spent time in San Diego. Writing home about his experiences, one participant wrote, “In the evening we had an excellent supper and dance (baile) at Bandinis. I certainly think it was the most appropriate and joyous celebration of the 4th that I ever witnessed.”

In 1850, Bandini opened a store in his home. Profits from the store and loans enabled him to make improvements to his home and the following year to erect a magnificent, two-story, wood-framed lodging house one block east of the plaza. Massive in size (120’ by 62’ deep) and boasting an unconventional zinc-plated roof and impressive
veranda on all sides, the Gila House cost Bandini an exorbitant $25,000 to build. It reportedly had over a hundred rooms; many of them offering a panoramic view of the San Diego Bay.

Bandini’s extravagant life style and penchant for entertaining continued. Doña Refugio, his second wife, recalled that the Gold Rush was “the reign of prosperity and plenty.” “How often did we spend half the night at a tertulia—till 2 o’clock in the morning—in the most agreeable and distinguished society. Our house would be full of company; thirty or forty persons at a table; it would have to be set twice. A single fiesta might cost a thousand dollars. But, in those days, receipts at my husband’s store might pass $18,000 a month.”

Once the placer (or surface) gold had run out, the miners stopped coming through San Diego en route to the gold fields and many businesses, including the Gila House, folded overnight. Suffering for lack of customers, Bandini never furnished the lodging house. “This bad speculation... greatly impaired his fortune,” recalled Benjamin Hayes.

With no profits from his store, falling cattle prices, and wasteful investments, Don Juan in April 1851 mortgaged his lodging house and family home to a French gambler, Adolfo Savin, for $12,822.90 to cover the loan plus interest that he owed this creditor. He expected to pay the loan off in several months from cattle sales that never materialized. Disaster was only averted when Bandini’s son-in-law Charles Johnson, who had recently married Bandini’s daughter Dolores, asked Stearns to help. “They are awfully cast down about this affair,” he wrote to Stearns the following month. Stearns interceded and repaid Savin’s loan and interest in late 1851.

With his grand home and extravagant ways, Bandini embodied the manners and bearing of a transplanted Spanish aristocrat. In later years and after his death he was often referred to as a Don, the signature title of Old World origins and rank. The American author Richard Henry Dana, who met Bandini in 1836, described him as “...accomplished and proud, and without any office or occupation, to lead the life of most young men of the better families —dissolute and extravagant
when the means were at hand.... He had a slight and elegant figure, moved gracefully, and waltzed beautifully, spoke the best of Castilian, with a pleasant and refined voice and accent, and had throughout the bearing of a man of high birth and figure.52

Bandini’s letters to Mariano Vallejo and Abel Stearns during the late Mexican period reveal a far different man — a hardworking rancher, often high strung and driven, beset by chronic illnesses, periodic hardships, worry over his family and property, and uncertainty about the future of his ‘native land’ — California. He frequently asked for assistance in the form of food or medicines, like quinine and castor oil, unavailable to him to relieve his coughing, asthma, and headaches and to treat assorted illnesses afflicting his family and his workers. After a poor harvest in 1836, he wrote Vallejo, in the “name of friendship,” confessing that he and his family were in “great need.” He asked his close friend, if he could spare “a little bit of wheat and other things whose use will be adequate to sustain life.” Continuing, he further explained:

Feeding my family is all I yearn for, since misfortune has reached its utmost, I lose sleep, I work incessantly to obtain sustenance, but oh my friend, even this doesn’t suffice, this is an unfortunate time.... I beg you not to miss the opportunity if you can send me something to eat.53

Many of Bandini’s requests for assistance were written while visiting his ranchos. Separations from family, especially his invalid father, and firsthand observations of his Indian workers’ hard-pressed lives instilled in him a strong sense of duty and concern. In a letter written from San Juan del Río on March 30, 1841, he asked Stearns to send him from 8 to 10 blankets for his cortadores de madera or woodcutters, and two arobas of rice, four to six pounds of coffee, and some chocolate to his sick father. In another letter written in December 1839 from Rancho Jurupa, he pressed his son-in-law to send two barrels of honey, which he wanted to give to the Indians at the ranch on Christmas Eve. The threat of workers leaving his ranchos because they were ill-clad prompted Bandini at times to request blankets, bolts of cloth, or other supplies from Stearns.54

On other occasions, Bandini’s behavior toward Indian people was not so laudable. A case in point was his administration of former Mission San Gabriel. He made off with the best horses, and could not provide Indian residents with the barest necessities, including clothing and food. The community’s dire straits reached a flashpoint in 1839-1840 when some Indians refused to work until Bandini provided them adequate clothing. An unnerved Bandini asked William Hartnell, the Visitador General of the ex-missions, for assistance, ending his letter on this note of dismay: “Please consider
the harm that would result if these Indians are not compelled to work because you
are unable to cover their basic needs.”

Tensions escalated and on a Sunday after Mass, a group of Indians confronted
Bandini and told him that they, not government-appointed administrators, should
determine San Gabriel’s fate. “I reproved them severely,” he recalled, “for their secret
meetings which they held at night, saying that the government would punish them....
With that they departed but they are not to be trusted.”

Perhaps the most egregious offense, according to the parish priest Father Tomás
Esténaga, was the fact that family members and in-laws like the Estudillos and Argüel-
los, often accompanied by servants, stayed at the mission, consuming its meager
supplies of food in a time of great need. “There is still some bread, though not every
day; a little bit of meat just for the midday, some wine and aguardiente, but there is
nothing else,” reported a saddened Father Tomás in 1840. In July, Hartnell discharged
Bandini as the mayordomo of the former mission.

Bandini faced perhaps his greatest personal struggle in April the following year
when his beloved father José fell deathly ill at Rancho San Juan del Río in Riverside.
As the end approached, Bandini, apparently unaccompanied by Refugio or other
family members, would not leave his father’s side. He did everything he could to
alleviate his suffering, including summoning a Roman Catholic priest to give him
the last rites of Extreme Unction. He made several last-minute requests to Stearns
to send delicacies such as coffee, his father’s favorite drink, because “I am going to
lose my best friend soon.” On April 28, 1841, “with great sorrow,” he informed the family in a letter to Stearns “that today, Wednesday, about 8 o’clock in the morning, God almighty has claimed the soul of my dear father, Don José Bandini.” Shortly afterwards, probably to cope with his loss, he announced that daughter Arcadia’s marriage to Stearns would be postponed.38

William H. Thomes, who met Bandini in 1843, described him as “prematurely old” with heavy-set eyes, deep wrinkles around the temples, and a decided stoop to his shoulders — an indication that hardship and worry had taken a toll on his health. “This was only five years after Mr. Dana had seen him,” explained a surprised Thomes, “and the change must have been great in that short time.” 59

Misgivings about the Changing Order

By the summer of 1847, Don Juan’s initial optimism about American rule had given way to growing disillusionment. In a letter to Abel Stearns, dated June 7, he voiced alarm about the breakdown of civil order because of American military occupation. “Liberty, the one guarantee the citizen can make use of in civil affairs, has become licentiousness,” he wrote. “Thus, one sees in the towns nothing but drunkenness, gaming, sloth, and public manhandling of the opposite sex.”60 Bandini became increasingly convinced that the war and subsequent gold rush had not only transformed the structure of California society, but also had irreparably changed its mores for the worse. “It (the Gold Rush) has fomented vice, unleashed pernicious ambitions, (and) given rise to violent piecework in the mines,” he wrote in 1855. “The lure of gold,” he concluded, “has become its own authority.”61

His trust in the U.S. government declined further when William Walker, a quixotic Southern filibusterer, invaded Baja California by sea in early October 1853 to set up an independent republic. After briefly occupying La Paz, Walker and his force of some 45 Americans sailed up the coast to the village of Ensenada. The situation rapidly deteriorated during the next few months. The schooner Caroline sailed away leaving Walker’s company stranded. A Mexican naval vessel then blockaded the harbor, while the sudden arrival of additional overland recruits created severe food shortages. Scores of men began to desert, breaking up into small bands and plundering ranches and leaving in their wake a terrified Mexican citizenry as they

Joe Bandini. Photo courtesy of Special Collections, USC Regional Library, Los Angeles, CA.
fled northward to the border. “The condition of the people is truly lamentable,” wrote a correspondent from the San Francisco Daily Alta California. “The greater portion of the male population have been obliged to leave their families. The ‘Liberators’ have taken away what provisions they had, so that if before long the filibusters do not leave that miserable country, many of the families will starve.”

On December 1, 1854, members of Walker’s army stopped at Bandini’s Rancho Guadalupe in the interior, where they confiscated horses, saddles, ropes and other supplies and then returned to their encampment at Ensenada. Other forays into the interior by the remnants of his army and deserters followed. When news of the incident reached Bandini in San Diego, he immediately left for his rancho, where he organized a party of thirty armed men consisting of his sons José María and Juan, his servants and volunteers, to help drive the Americans out of Baja California. At a rancho outside of San Vicente, a company of Mexican cavalry and Bandini’s volunteers caught Walker napping and drove the filibusters across the border. Back in California, Walker was put on trial in San Francisco for conducting an illegal war, but was quickly acquitted of all charges of violating Mexican neutrality.

Several months afterwards, Bandini wrote a detailed account of Walker’s ill-conceived invasion. He condemned it not only because of the personal losses he had suffered in stolen livestock and destroyed property, but also because it aroused bitter anti-American sentiment on the border, and in his opinion ended all hope of peacefully annexing Lower California by the United States. “Walker’s conduct,” he concluded, “created widespread antagonism towards the United States; brought financial loss to the invaders; caused the devastation of the invaded country; led to prolonged suffering among some of the families that were reduced to abject poverty; cost the lives of about forty men between the aggressors and their opponents; …and lastly... brought shame and ridicule upon such an ill-conceived expedition.”

Along with Pablo de la Guerra of Santa Barbara, Bandini became an outspoken critic of American legal jurisprudence. The source of tension was the passage of the Land Act of 1851. The law empowered Congress to appoint three commissioners who were responsible for determining the validity of land titles dating to the Spanish and Mexican eras. It also declared that all titles, whether rejected or confirmed
by the commissioners, could be appealed to the U.S. District Court in San Francisco.

In 1855, Bandini published a passionate rejoinder in the *Southern Californian*, a Spanish-English newspaper based in Los Angeles, saying that the law, if not repealed, would topple Californio landholders into the “deepest abyss of wretchedness.” It would force them to forfeit their lands because they lacked the financial resources to defend their claims in lengthy lawsuits. Lawyers have exacted “large and scandalous sums ...in recompense for their services,” he noted. It required them to present evidence in the form of surveys to support their claims rather than hand-drawn maps or *diseños* as was the custom under Mexican rule. “The modes of procedure were strange to us, every thing was foreign, even our manner of speech,” he explained. Finally, the act repudiated the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ending the war with Mexico whereby “the American Government pledged its sacred honor” to protect the property rights of Mexican citizens who remained in the conquered territories.65

Central to Bandini’s argument was his conviction that the Californios were “the *bona fide* landowners in the state.” Some lands had been in their “possession...for forty and fifty years,” he stated.“...They have planted orchards and vineyards—they have enclosed and cultivated fields—there they and their children were born—and there they lived in peace and comparative plenty. But now—‘Our inheritance is turned to strangers—our houses to aliens.’”66

In 1851, the debt-ridden and disheartened Don renounced his U.S. citizenship and returned to Baja California, where he was expelled for inciting political unrest. He returned to Old Town in 1854 and opened a *tienda barata* (cheap goods store) in the front *sala* of his *casa*. The effort failed and by September, he had leased part of the house to Joseph Reiner who opened a hardware and dry goods store. Around this time, a front porch with a wood shingle shed roof and boardwalk floor was added to improve the building’s operation as a store.67

Bogged down in litigation with Bandini’s frustrated creditors, Abel Stearns, as his business partner, decided to lease out the *casa*. In May 1856, Jacob Elias and Hyman Mannasse opened a retail shop in Casa Bandini where they sold ready-made clothing, fancy dry goods, hats, caps, boots, and trunks.68

Mired in debt, Bandini spent much of his time away in Baja California defending his titles to

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*Arcadia Bandini Stearns de Baker. Photo courtesy of Special Collections, USC Regional Library, Los Angeles, CA.*
land against possible seizures due to changing laws, and along the border, attempting to make his and Stearns’ ranchos more solvent and to secure them against cattle rustlers and desperados. In 1855, he attempted, perhaps half-heartedly, to sell his beloved casa in San Diego and ranchos in Tecate and Guadalupe. He was not successful.\(^{69}\)

Illnesses continued to take a dreadful toll, sometimes laying him up for weeks at a time without treatment. “My sickness was becoming worse each day and I feared being unable to travel should I remain there [Rancho Guadalupe],” he wrote Stearns in June 1856.

I would like nothing better than to be rid of all property and leave that land [Baja California] for whose development I have sacrificed so many of my years, my health and a great part of my fortune, helping out in its hours of need only to be rewarded with ingratitude and the sufferings which its tyranny has made me bear.\(^{70}\)

On January 12, 1859, Bandini, aware that he was dying, made out his will in San Diego. He explained that he wanted “to be buried without any pomp” and that his executors promptly pay off his creditors to ensure “the best harmony with my family” He also “implored” his children, as his heirs, to “avoid all kinds of disputes...[and] behave as gentlemen towards all...”\(^{71}\) On August 19, 1859, he transferred ownership of his beloved casa and other properties to Stearns to whom he owed over $32,000.\(^{72}\)

After collapsing several times in Los Angeles’ sweltering summer heat and expe-

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Cosmopolitan_Hotel_ca_1868.jpg}
\caption{Cosmopolitan Hotel ca 1868. Photo ©SDHC #3875-A.}
\end{figure}
riencing difficulty breathing, he was moved to Arcadia and Abel Stearns’ elegant adobe home, El Palacio, where he died on Friday, November 4, 1859, at 4:25 p.m., after receiving the Catholic Church’s last rites. “He died,” recalled close friend Charles Brinley, “without a struggle and went off as one sighs. The lady members of the family” were not allowed in the room, Brinley stated, because “their grief was frantic upon a knowledge that his end was approaching.”

The grand old home, now neglected and often battered by the elements, fell into disrepair. On October 2, 1858, a windstorm destroyed the kitchen roof and damaged the tile roof of the main house. By 1860, it stood empty, a forgotten epitaph to Don Juan’s death.

In September 1861, George Alonzo Johnson wrote Stearns, inquiring about renting the Bandini house, while repairs were being made to his home at Rancho Peñasquitos. Under the direction of Ephraim Morse, a local merchant and family friend, repair of the Bandini house began, including patching the roof with 124 new clay tiles.

On May 27, 1862, an earthquake cracked the adobe walls in several rooms, including a large vertical crack in the dining room, and collapsed the end wall parallel to Juan Street. The damage was not repaired. Clearly frustrated by his inability to maintain or lease “the old house in San Diego,” Stearns wrote Cave Couts in 1864, explaining, “it would be well to nail up the doors and encharge some one there to look after it.”

The Legacy of a Don

In the annals of Old Town’s history and its folk traditions, Bandini and his home have assumed an almost legendary presence. He was a “noted caballero” in the words of his grandson Cave Couts, Jr., who embodied the grace and elegance of old Spain. In this remote frontier society, Bandini’s proud bearing, education, flamboyant dress, and extravagant ways set him apart. He became the epitome of a Spanish Don, “the aristocracy of the country,” according to Dana. Bandini, in short, became an American invention, a caricature of his real self, during but especially after his lifetime.

This Peruvian-born rancher and civic leader was more than just an elegantly dressed dandy who loved to dance and entertain in his home. Having served as a delegate to the Mexican Congress, a member of Alta California’s assembly (diputación) and town council (ayuntamiento) often at the center of political and economic controversy, he was “one of the most prominent men of his time in California,” wrote Bancroft in 1885.

Bandini’s life, especially in later years, was anything but that of a “princely Don.” American claimants challenged the validity of many of his Mexican grants in Southern California. Changes in Mexican law stripped him of title to his ranchos in Baja California. Chronic illness, mounting debts, Indian unrest, and the anarchy unloosed by the Gold Rush overwhelmed him.
The letters he wrote to his son-in-law Abel Stearns and close friend Mariano Vallejo often reflect a melancholic self-centeredness. Part of this can be attributed to the unrest and uncertainty of that era and his sometimes desperate concern about his place and that of his family in the new society. But part of it also stems from Bandini’s identity as an ‘emigrant’ or outsider who was not fully accepted by his California-born peers.83 This dimension of his life has been forgotten by posterity. Bandini is remembered, as one writer recently put it, as a “legendary renaissance Californio” who entertained “legions of notables.”84 His home in Old Town has likewise become fused with the memory of him as a Don whose life embodied the traditions of Old Spain. Remodeled in 1930, 1947-1950, and 1978-1980, the Casa de Bandini was transformed into a luxurious Spanish colonial hacienda that in no way resembled either Bandini’s original single-story adobe or the later two-story Cosmopolitan Hotel.85

In 2010, California State Parks completed a three-year restoration of this historic landmark, returning it to its appearance as the Cosmopolitan Hotel. Roughly 80 percent of the restored hotel’s original fabric and features were preserved or accurately reconstructed, including much of the adobe brick, remnants of white-washed walls, most of the original cobblestone footprint, and hand-hewn lintels dating to Bandini’s time. They are part of a living tradition, a forgotten way of life that deserves to be remembered rather than eulogized.

NOTES

2. Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of California (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1885), 2:708-709; Bandini Family-Abel Stearns Coll. 101, Box 2, Folder 7 (Historical and Biographical re: José Bandini), UCLA Special Collections, Los Angeles, CA (YOUNG); José Bandini, A Description of California in 1828. Translated by Doris Marion Wright (Berkeley: Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1951), vi-vii; Arcadia Bandini Brennan, Arcadian Memories of California, Box 1, Folder 5, (Bandini House), MSS C-D 5206, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA (BANC), 32. This source is also available at the San Diego History Center, San Diego, CA (SDHC). The Brennan collection at the Bancroft contains photographs and additional folders on the family, including copies of the Bandini crest and shield. The crest, entitled “Laus Dio Bandini,” features two snakes coiled around a cross, while the shield, entitled “Bandini Guistiniani – Prince of Rome,” features the double-headed eagle.
3. Bancroft, History of California, 2, 261, 440, 708 (quote); José Bandini, vii; Arcadia Bandini Brennan, Arcadian Memories of California (typescript, 1952), 12, San Diego History Center (SDHC). Sometime after Ysidora’s death in 1801, José Bandini married Manuela Masuelos y Capaz of Arequipa, Peru by whom he fathered six children. The fifth child, Manuel Antonio, born on June 13, 1814, became the twenty-fourth archbishop of Lima.
4. Bancroft, History of California, 2:546-547. One vara is 33.3 inches.
5. Juan Bandini acquired grants to ranchos at Jurupa and Rincón along the Santa Ana River in Riverside in 1838 and 1839, a rancho at Muscupiabe in San Bernardino in 1839, and ranchos at Tecate, Tijuana,
Guadalupe, Los Vallecitos, and San Rafael in northern Baja California between 1834 and 1845. Bandini raised cattle as well as invested in lumber and mining operations on his ranches. During Mexican rule in Alta California, Bandini served as secretary to Governor Pío Pico in 1845, deputy from Alta California to the Mexican Congress in 1833, member of the diputación or provincial assembly, member of Old Town’s ayuntamiento or town council, customs collector, and alcalde or mayor in 1848. He also was appointed administrator of the San Gabriel Mission in 1837. During the American transition period, he was elected superior judge of San Diego district in 1849 and city treasurer in 1850. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of California (San Francisco: The History Co., 1886), 3 (1825-1840): 136, 189, 612, 633; Katherine L. Wagner, “Native of Arica: Requiem For A Don,” The Journal of San Diego History (JSDH), 17, no. 2 (Spring 1971): 3-4; H. D. Barrows, “Juan Bandini,” Historical Society of Southern California, 4 (1899), 243-244; William E. Smythe, History of San Diego, 1542-1908 (San Diego: The History Company, 1908), 1:164-167; Patricia Baker, “The Bandini Family,” JSDH, 15, no. 1 (Winter 1969): 26-27; Temple, n. p.; Daily Alta California, August 23, 1849, col. A; San Diego Herald, April 22, 1854; Los Angeles Times, September 24, 1944, reprinted in Brennan, 63-64.

6. In the Pioneer Register and Index of his History, 2:708, Bancroft states that José Bandini built the house. It is more likely that it was a joint effort given the scope of construction, the fact that the older Bandini suffered from gout, and that the house lot was owned by Juan.


8. One of the rooms facing Calhoun Street had a tabique or thin partition wall that did not support the weight of the structure.

9. The kitchen may not have been constructed with ceiling high adobe walls. ASM Affiliates archaeologists uncovered a brick-lined, sandstone-block drainage system beneath the hearth floor from the upper patio. It cut across the room emptying onto the Calhoun Street side. It most likely dates back to the late 1840s or early 1850s since the bricks are American. Bandini may have hired a skilled Mormon mason in 1847 to build a brick-lined well on the patio. The drain may have been part of that job. Judging from the ash and charcoal deposits, open hearths were used for cooking. See IS Architecture, Cosmopolitan Hotel Site Diagrams, Early and Late Bandini Archaeological Features (2010 draft) and Early Bandini Floor Plan (2010 draft).

10. The rear patio or traspatio occupied higher ground above the lower patio. ASM Affiliates archaeologists uncovered the cobblestone foundation of an adobe wall dividing the two patios. Its purpose was to reduce sediment run-off onto the lower patio during rainstorms. See Early and Late Bandini Archaeological Features, cited in note 9.

11. The absence of doorways and steps may also indicate that this socially elevated family sought privacy from the din of public activities on the plaza. ASM Affiliate archaeologists (J. Schaefer, 2010 draft cited above) uncovered remnants of a cobblestone foundation within the footprint of the original 1829 south wing along Calhoun Street. There is a remnant lintel embedded in the adobe above. The foundation below the lintel drops more than a foot, suggesting that a doorway may have existed here. The original street grade at this location is about ½ feet below the adobe base, making it feasible to build a doorway here. Interview with ASM archaeologist Stephen Van Wormer, April 25, 2008.

12. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, “Plano de la Casa Havitacion de Don Juan Bandini en San Diego,” Folder 211, (n. d.), Documentos para la historia de California, 1817-1850: Alviso Family Papers, MSS C-B 66, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Vallejo visited the house in 1829, but the date of his drawing, apparently from memory, is unknown. The drawing shows two doorways on opposite sides of the zaguán or entrance hall facing the side street. Four other doorways opened out onto the inner patios. One interior doorway opened into the sala. See also “Juan Bandini,” typescript, (n. d.), in Bandini I Vertical File, Department of Parks and Recreation, San Diego Coast District Library, San Diego, CA (SDCDL). On foundation at the southwest corner, see ASM Affiliates photograph, unit 8 (April 3, 2010).


14. Much to Bandini’s dismay, it would take over a year-and-a-half before he received the redwood posts
sometime after November 1829—undoubtedly too late to complete the house’s construction before the December 28 blessing as he had hoped. See Bandini to John M. Cooper, 7 de Julio de 1828, frame 253-253A, 7 de Agosto de 1829, frame 393, 7 de Octubre de 1829, frame 436, 7 de Noviembre de 1829, frame 460, 21 de Marzo de 1831, frame 197; Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo Papers, MSS X-X 2 Film, BANC.


18. Bruce Coons, historical consultant of the Cosmopolitan Hotel Restoration project, February 27, 2008 and David Felton, senior state archaeologist on the restoration project, interviewed by author March 27, 2008.


20. The first pueblo to be organized was San Jose (1777), followed by Los Angeles in 1781, Villa de Branciforte near Santa Cruz in 1797, Monterey in 1813, San Francisco in 1833, and San Diego in 1834.

21. Smythe, 1:133; Daily Alta California, February 27, 1851, May 17, 1851; Stiegler, 21; Tinker, 55-57; John S. Griffin, A Doctor Comes To California (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1943): 76; Brennan, 23; Walter Gifford Smith, The Story of San Diego (San Diego: City Printing Co., 1892), 50; William Heath Davis, Seventy-five Years in California, edited by Harold A. Small (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1967), 215; Keld J. Reynolds, “The Reglamento for the Híjar y Padrés Colony of 1834,” Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly, 28, no. 4 (December 1946):143-147. Híjar’s nephew, Carlos, a member of the expedition, later left a perceptive account of his impressions of early San Diego in Recuerdos sobre California…en 1834, MSS C-D 102, (1877), BANC.


24. The practice of removing human wastes and non-burnable trash to the beach explains to some degree why archaeologists were unable to locate trash sites on the property during the restoration phase. On-site inspections also revealed remnants of lime wash and plaster on the first-floor adobe walls, including an entire section of lime plaster underneath the stairway in the entrance hall leading to the second story when the building operated as the Cosmopolitan Hotel. Lime wash or paint was commonly used in 19th-century hospitals because of its hygienic properties. See Brennan, 34, SDHC or BANC; Bandini Era Finishes, draft report, 1-6.

25. Bandini often mailed presents to them, and, in his correspondence to Stearns, frequently sent them unsolicited advice about how to behave. In one letter, he wrote: “I beg you to tell Ysidorita to change the clothes of her brothers, to mend them so they are not raggedy, to arise early and clean her room
and the room of her sister, to make the coffee, to sweep early, and to dust, for this exercise is good for the health and is beneficial to the interest and to the good education as well.” See Bandini to Stearns, 16 de septiembre de 1842, Bandini Family-Abel Stearns Coll. 101, Box 1, Folder 1, YOUNG. See also Bandini to Stearns, 8 de Deciembre de 1841, Abel Stearns Coll, SG Box #5, Huntington Library (HL).

26. Bandini to Stearns, 29 de Mayo de 1846, 23 de junio de 1846, Abel Stearns Coll., SG Box 6, HL.

27. Company B of the Mormon Battalion, then stationed in Old Town San Diego, had at least four skilled brick masons. By June of 1847, the company had dug from 15 to 20 wells. They were usually between 20-to-30 feet in depth. See Henry William Bigler, Diary of a Mormon in California, Discovery of Gold, 1846, MSS C-D 45, Film, 40-42, BANC.

28. The bathhouse may have enclosed the well. See Ray Brandes and James R. Moriarty, Historical and Archaeological Report, Master Plan, Old Town San Diego SHP (Department of Parks and Recreation: typescript, 1974), 317, 230, SDCDL; Bandini to Stearns, 7 de julio 1847, Abel Stearns Coll., SG Box 6, HL.


30. Bandini to Stearns, 12 de Febrero de 1849, Abel Stearns Coll., SG Box 6, HL.


32. San Diego was the territorial seat from 1825 to 1831 under Governor José María de Echeandía. The former governor played a leading role in the 1831 revolt, and succeeded the deposed Manual Victoria as governor from 1832 to 1833. San Diego, however, did not replace Monterey as the capital. See Bancroft, 3:50-51.


34. On September 20, 1834, Mission San Diego de Alcalá’s 1,200 square miles came under civilian control as a result of secularization. Over the next two years, in what amounted to a vast land grab at this and other missions, mayordomos (government-appointed administrators) sold or gave away Indian claims to friends and cronies. Out of the 1,445 Indians living at or near the mission in the early 1830s, only two dozen families received land at the newly established Indian pueblos of San Dieguito, Las Flores, and San Pasqual. Without land and destitute, former neophytes either drifted to the settlements and ranches or joined up with marauding bands in the backcountry. In 1834, 1836 and 1837, Indian attacks and killings at a number of ranchos and a foiled plot to attack Old Town San Diego itself escalated tensions and reprisals. The pueblo’s population dropped from approximately 500 to 150 inhabitants during this decade of unrest. On the adverse impact of secularization on the so-called emancipated neophytes, see Laura Bride Powers, Old Monterey’s California’s Adobe Capital (San Francisco: San Carlos Press, 1934), 128-130. On Indian unrest and attacks on ranchos in the San Diego vicinity, including those of Bandini, see Weber, 120; Michael Gonzalez, “War and the Making of History, The Case of Mexican California, 1821-1846,” California History, 86, no. 2 (2009): 19-21; William Heath Davis, Glimpses of the Past, MSS C-D 65 (n.d.), 181-190, BANC.

35. Bandini to Vallejo, 6 de Noviembre de 1834, frames 309-309-1, Vallejo Papers, BANC. See also Bandini to Stearns, 18 de Mayo de 1842, Stearns Coll., SG Box 5, HL.

36. See Bandini to Larkin, 28 de Junio de 1844, no. 127, Documents For The History of California, MSS C-B 38, pt. 1; Bandini to Larkin, 26 de Febrero de 1845, no. 41, Documents For The History of California, MSS C-B 39, pt. 3, BANC.
37. See Joseph Mesmer Coll. 539, Box 5, Folder 18 (Don Juan Bandini); Carolina Lokrautz, “María Aracdia Bandini, First Century Families,” typescript, (1962), in California Ephemera Coll. 200, Box #6 (Bandini Family), 4; Cave L. Counts to Abel Stearns, February 8, 1852, Bandini Family-Abel Stearns Coll. 101, SG Box #2, Folder #3, YOUNG.

38. Bancroft, 5:30-53; Bandini to Governor Pío Pico, 23 de Junio de 1846, no. #80, 2-4 (quotes), Colección de Don Juan Bandini, MSS C-B-69, BANC. See also Carlos Manual Saloman, Pío Pico, The Last Governor of Mexican California (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2010).


40. Bancroft, 5:330, 433; Extracts from private journal-letters of Captain S. F. Du Pont while in command of the Cyane, during the war with Mexico, 1846-1848 (Ferris Bros., 1885), January 24, 1847, 98.

41. Bancroft, 5:356; Benjamin Hayes, Emigrant Notes, MSS C-E 62, 456, 459, BANC; Col. J.J. Warner, Judge Benjamin Hayes, Dr. J.P. Widney, An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County California (O.W. Smith, Publisher: Los Angeles, CA, 1936), 61; Charles Dwight Willard, The Herald’s History of Los Angeles City (Los Angeles, Calif.: Kingsley, Barnes & Neuner, 1901), 221-222; Smith, 89; Baker, 24; Tinker, 58-59.

42. In one of the few battles fought in California, Kearny’s column suffered 31 casualties, including 19 killed, while the Californios under General Andrés Pico lost one soldier.


44. Bandini most likely exaggerated the degree of unrest in the hope that his influential American son-in-law could influence American policy.

45. Bandini to Stearns, 27 de Octubre de 1847, Bandini Family-Abel Stearns Coll. 101, Box 1, Folder 1, YOUNG.

46. Bandini to Stearns, 19 de Enero de 1847, Bandini Family-Abel Stearns Coll. 101, Box #1, Folder #1, YOUNG. See also Bandini to Governor Pío Pico, 23 de Junio de 1846, no. #80, Colección de Don Juan Bandini, MSS C-B-69, BANC. In this letter, Bandini contends that war against the United States is not only unwinnable, but also contrary to the aspirations and interests of the Californios.

47. Robert Patterson Effinger to Brother Mike, August 1, 1849, Doc. File, SDHC. Original at the California Historical Society, San Francisco, CA.

48. Stiegler, 23-24; Daily Alta California, January 1, 1853; Hayes, Emigrant Notes, 229, BANC; “Keen Memory of Angelo Smith, Who Lived in the Day of the Bandinis, Pedrarenas, and Other Noted Spanish Families,” San Diego Union news clipping, Old Town History Vertical File, Box #68, SDHC. According to “Letter from San Diego” published in the San Francisco Daily Alta California, March 28, 1869, Bandini built a balcony to provide seating “…for the judges who resided over those taurine tournaments” of not long ago. The balcony was accessible by either a trap door or possibly a stairway. Benjamin Hayes notes the discovery of the trap door in his Emigrant Notes on August 26, 1857, 319, BANC.

49. Hayes, Emigrant Notes, 591, BANC.

50. Ibid, 229.


52. Richard Henry Dana, Two Years Before The Mast (New York: Penguin Books, Signet Classic, 1964), 222-223; see also Lokrautz, 4, YOUNG.
53. Hayes, *Emigrant Notes*, 226, BANC; Bandini to Vallejo, 21 de Agosto de 1836, frame 148, Vallejo Papers, BANC; see also Bandini to Vallejo, 21 de Marzo de 1836, frames 105-107, Vallejo Papers, BANC; Bandini, San Diego to Stearns, 23 de Junio de 1846, Box 6, HL.

54. Bandini to Stearns, 14 de Dicembre de 1839, 30 de Marzo de 1841, 3 de Mayo de 1841, Abel Stearns Coll., SG Box 5, HL. See also Bandini, San Gabriel, to Stearns, 23 de Septiembre de 1838, 31 de Dicembre de 1838, 5 de Abril de 1840; Bandini, San Juan del Río, to Stearns, 26 de Septiembre de 1841, Abel Stearns Coll., SG Box 5, HL.


56. Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Gabriel Mission and the Beginnings of Los Angeles* (San Gabriel: Mission San Gabriel, 1927), 187 (quote)-192. In another example, an overseer Hilario García was tried in 1830 for flogging a party of Indians accused of stealing cattle, “one of whom was pulled about by the hair until he died,” according to Hubert Howe Bancroft. García was sentenced to ten years, but at a second trial, his sentence was reduced to five years after “Bandini defended García, pronouncing the charges only lies of Indians.” See Bancroft, 2:549.

57. Father Narciso Durán, Santa Barbara, to D. S. Arnel, 17 de Enero de 1840, frame 1009, *Archivos de Las Misiones*, MSS C-C-4 and C-C-5, BANC.

58. Bandini, San Juan del Río, to Stearns, 8 de Abril de 1841; 23 de Abril de 1841, (quote); 27 de Abril de 1841; 28 de Abril de 1841; Abel Stearns Coll., SG Box 5, HL; Doris Marion Wright, *A Yankee In Mexican California, Abel Stearns*, 1798-1848 (Santa Barbara, CA: Wallace Heberd, 1977), 89.


60. Bandini to Stearns, 7 de Junio de 1847, Abel Stearns Coll., SG Box 6, HL as quoted in Wagner, 5.


64. Cleland, 165-166 (quote).

65. Juan Bandini, *Southern Californian*, 11 de Abril de 1855, 2., cols. 5-6 (quotes).

66. Bandini, *Southern Californian*, 11 de Abril de 1855, 2, col. 7 (quote); see also Wagner, 7-8.

67. See business advertisements in the *San Diego Herald*, September 16, 1854; February 3, 1855; Brandes and Moriarty, 320; Henry Miller’s 1857 watercolor of the building and Old Town San Diego.


70. Bandini to Stearns, 17 de Junio de 1856, as quoted in Wagner, p 8. See also Bandini to Stearns, 8 de
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Junio de 1857, 6 de Noviembre de 1858, Abel Stearns Coll., SG Box 7, HL.

71. Juan Bandini, Last Will and Testament, January 12, 1859, MSS 92/47, BANC, 2-4, (quotes). Abel Stearns and sons José María and Juan Bandini were named executors. All debts were to be satisfied before remaining assets, including real estate, cattle, and lands in Mexico, were to be distributed to heirs. One-fourth of the remaining four-fifths would be distributed to his wife Refugio Argüello de Bandini; one-tenth of the remaining three-fourths to each of his ten children; remaining one-fifth to cover funeral expenses; remaining one-fifth to the Catholic Church of San Diego; and what remained, if anything, to the education of his grandchildren.

72. See Wagner, 10; Stiegler, 26. Other property listed in the transfer included 2,000 head of cattle, 300 horses, and 300 sheep of “...all classes, ages, and descriptions...” in California and Lower California. Rancho Jurupa, site of the Gila House (destroyed in an 1858 windstorm), and Bandini’s mark and cattle brand were mortgaged to Stearns.

73. Charles Henry Brinley to CJC (Cave J. Couts), November 5, 1859, Couts Coll., CT 120 Box 3, HL. See also Dr. John S. Griffin to C.J. Couts, October 4, 1859, Couts Coll., CT955, HL.

74. See Bandini to Stearns, 7 de Octubre de 1858, Abel Stearns Coll., SG Box 7, HL. In a follow-up letter, dated 6 de Noviembre de 1858, to Stearns, Bandini stated that it would cost him roughly 300 pesos to haul away the debris.

75. City of San Diego, Population Manuscript Census Schedule, 1860, 7, SDHC.

76. Johnson to Stearns, September 26, 1861, Abel Stearns Coll., SG Box 34, HL.

77. Cave J. Couts to Stearns, December 10, 1861, Abel Stearns Coll., SG Box #19, HL.

78. Benjamin Hayes, Notes on California Affairs, MSS C-E 81, Folder 9 (San Diego), 490-493, BANC. The earthquake also cracked Thomas Whaley’s sturdy brick home in several places. Other damaged buildings included the Pico and Wrightington adobes and the Colorado House, a three-story wood-frame hotel.

79. Stearns to Cave J. Couts, November 16, 1864, Stearns Coll. SG Box 37, CT 2223, HL.


81. Dana, 222.


83. See, for example, Bancroft, 3:488, who attributes the following statement to Antonio María Osio, a member of the Los Angeles ayuntamiento and later author of the highly regarded History of California, 1815-1848 (1878), regarding Bandini’s outspoken opposition to Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado. “I have told Don Juan Bandini he had better go home and keep quiet, since in this fandango only Californians will be allowed to dance. This did not please him, but it is best that he keep quiet, through a friend.”


85. Stiegler, 56.
The Role of Cemeteries in Historical Research:  
The Curious Case of Pioneer Park

By

Gabriel Lawson

Historical archaeologists seek to provide a more complete understanding of our past through the analysis and interpretation of both documentary sources and material culture. One specific type of material culture is that pertaining to death and commemoration, which possesses a long history of usage within archaeology for the purpose of understanding past societies.¹ For the historical period in particular, such studies initially focused on inscriptions, but later expanded during the twentieth

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century to include research about regional variations in commemorative practices, as well as the symbolism associated with different styles and motifs. Further, research of grave memorials has demonstrated its value with regard to understanding the individual identity of both the commemorated and the commemorators themselves.

On one level, burials can be used to research age, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and vocational identity. Additionally, inscriptions and epitaphs, monument typology, and cemetery orientation, all provide information about the people’s identity they commemorate, as well as additional information about those surviving the deceased. Perhaps this is due, at least in part, to the fact that mortuary evidence has always had a rich history of being ‘qualitative’ as well as ‘quantifiable’ in nature. Being that, qualitative scales measure name-based data (which lacks numerical characteristics), such as genders, styles, and emotions, and quantitative scales measure data that is numerical, such as age and date. For instance, in the course of analyzing the ‘quantitative’ number of epitaphs that contain introductory formula such as ‘in loving memory of’, one can also allow for the ‘qualitative’ content of the inscription which relates to the specific feelings (of loss or other emotions) expressed by those who mourned the deceased.

Of course, the scale of measurement applied to a particular data set is not fixed, and a list of qualitative styles, when placed in rank order, begin to take on the numerical concepts of higher and lower, or earlier and later. Ultimately, the inclusion of more qualitative scales of measurement, along with quantitative measures typical of the Processual Era has led to more complex analysis and interpretation of burial and commemorative data. This allowing for the qualitative aspects of mortuary data can even make room for the inclusion of the researcher’s own experiential insight. However, with regard to identity, one must also note that individuals possess multiple identities, some of which can be imposed from the outside, and might even contradict one another.

San Diego’s Calvary Cemetery

In 1873, Joseph Manasse, Prussian immigrant and shop owner who became a successful entrepreneur at the time, sold a parcel of 10 acres to the City of San Diego, California for the purposes of establishing both a Protestant and Catholic cemetery. It was not long after, however, when Father Antonio Ubach, Reverend of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, surveyed the land and found it to be too rocky for the purposes of a cemetery. Father Ubach, who had studied to become a priest at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, came to San Diego in 1866 after traveling extensively as a missionary. Therefore, the land was exchanged for another parcel owned by Manasse in 1876. Although the Protestants never used their land, and that particular adjacent 5-acre
A parcel became Mission Hills Park, a new Catholic cemetery was established to serve as a burial area in replacement of El Campo Santo, a previous cemetery originally located within the Pueblo of San Diego. Known as Old Town as early as 1850, it was San Diego’s first American municipal settlement. In accordance with the ethic of improvement, this comprised the movement of the burial area away from the middle of Old Town to a bluff on the outskirts of the growing town area. The bluff afforded not only more burial room, but offered a picturesque view of the bay from the cemetery grounds.

Father Antonio Ubach, who was a native Catalan from northeastern Spain, laid out the graveyard and named it Calvary Cemetery. There are no precise figures to let one know exactly how many individuals are buried in Calvary Cemetery, but in 2007 estimates ranged from 1,650 to as many as 3,400 burials. In fact, more recent research by the San Diego Hall of Records has placed the number somewhere around 4,000 individuals interred. This includes some of San Diego’s earliest pioneers. For half a century, Calvary Cemetery served the needs of San Diego’s Catholic community, and is purported to have seen its greatest usage during the influenza pandemic of 1918-1919. The cemetery, however, soon after fell into disrepair, and following the opening of Holy Cross in 1919, a new Catholic Cemetery, Calvary began to elicit signs of further neglect and even vandalism. Even a WPA project during the late 1930s and early 1940s was not enough to save Calvary Cemetery, and in 1960 the graveyard saw its final burial. Despite its varied and intriguing use as a cemetery for almost a century, perhaps another as yet interesting story consists of what was soon to follow.

In 1968, through a municipal law that was specifically introduced a few years earlier, the City of San Diego declared Calvary Cemetery to be abandoned, and soon commenced to declare
the area a health hazard. A year later, the city had all of the gravestones razed and removed, and literally dumped into a ravine at another local cemetery, Mount Hope. In fact, riders of the San Diego Trolley were treated to the display of the unceremoniously discarded stones along a local route. Some time later, public outrage led to the vast majority of the gravestones being buried in a ‘mass grave’ at Mount Hope Cemetery. Archeologist Seth Mallios, who runs the San Diego Gravestone Project, stated that he has been unable to find any other examples of a mass grave for gravestones from any time period, region, or culture.

The only indication that Calvary Cemetery was ever in existence is a memorial consisting of about 140 gravestones which were selected for their historical significance, and were set in cement in the southeastern corner of Pioneer Park in 1988. Additionally, most of the dead are commemorated by six flush brass plaques listing the known dead, and a relatively unnoticeable small plaque reading “dedicated to the memory of those interred within the park.” It is the first half of these one hundred and forty monuments that have been recorded for the purposes of this research project.

Identity: Age and Sex

The usage of cemetery data for demographic purposes is usually not desirable, given the existence of much more accurate sources of information available through census data, business records, and otherwise, for the historical period. Basic demo-
The Role of Cemeteries in Historical Research

graphic information, however, such as age and sex of the interred is useful when the data are applied more specifically to understanding the parameters of the cemetery or mortuary data itself. Of the 70 burial monuments researched, the ages of the individuals ranged from less than a year old to 92 years old, with an average burial age of 54 years old. Of these, slightly more were male than female. Chart 1 displays the distribution of individuals with respect to age and sex of those commemorated. The chart illustrates that there are significantly more men than women commemorated in the first half of the Pioneer Park memorial, and that the average age of death is fairly advanced. Most likely, this does not reflect the actual demographics of the entire cemetery, but sample bias due to the inclusion of the priests’ burial markers in the first half of the memorial.

From a historical perspective, information from the memorials used in the calculation of age, such as the year of death, seems to illustrate more clearly the history of the cemetery when it was analyzed on a ranked scale. When burial year is manipulated and ranked from earliest to latest, familial names such as Ames, Bogen, Stewart, and Coutts begin to illustrate a timeline of the first families that began interring their dead at Calvary Cemetery. Interestingly, many of these same surnames are amongst the last of the individuals interred from the 70 memorials sampled. Nevertheless, it must be noted that once again specific grave markers retained at the site are purported to have been selected based on their historical significance, which very well affects their ability to represent the original demographics of the cemetery.¹⁶

Identity: Religious Affiliation

The religious affiliation of the commemorated individuals is highly evidenced as Catholic. Documentary evidence supports that the cemetery was laid out by a Catholic priest, and was serviced by the Parish of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, which is in the center of Old Town.¹⁷ In addition to such evidence, religious symbolization associated with Christianity and Catholicism is directly displayed on a number of the memorials. Symbols such as the cross, a praying Jesus, a book, and in particular, a cross within a circle are all Christian symbols. Further, the cross within the circle might be construed to be more Catholic specific, given its associations and resemblance to the Eucharistic host, which is an integral part of the Catholic Mass.¹⁸

Identity: Ethnicity

Ethnicity in itself is difficult to define, and ethnic identity has been construed as being more of a variable social phenomenon than a fixed static construct.¹⁹ Still, for the purposes of this study, ethnicity is defined as evidence of identification or
commemoration, with reference to one’s particular geographic origin at birth, or more loosely defined evidence of ethnic heritage via particular surnames. Of the 70 memorials researched, seventeen contained specific information regarding birthplace. These ranged from countries such as Ireland, Belgium, Austria, Spain, and France; to states such as Tennessee and Illinois; to specific cities such as Los Angeles and El Cajon. The inclusion of one’s native place of birth seems to have been most prevalent among the Church Reverends, with more than 50 percent including such information. Perhaps the inclusion of one’s native country, state, or even city on the burial monument, evidences pride or at least an association with these particular places of origin with the identity of the deceased, by the commemorators. In fact, many of the people buried at Calvary Cemetery were pioneers who migrated from other areas, and perhaps these commemorations are evidence of the conscious awareness of this among the community members themselves.

It is also interesting to note that when comparing the stated area of birth, there is variable level of agreement when compared to the ethnic origins of the surname. This seems to be related to the nature of location regarding birthplace on the burial markers. Table 1 shows the comparison between the birthplace listed on the memorial and the ethnic associations with each surname. There is much more agreement between the two sources of information when the reference is to a different country. Further,
when birthplace references become more within country or state, the associations are much less related geographically. This seems to suggest that when inferring ethnicity from surnames, the inferences are more valid when addressing the ethnicity of an immigrant, as opposed to a pioneer that traveled from a different region of the United States to settle the area. Still, all references emphasize the idea that the individual was born someplace ‘other’ than where they were buried.

Table 1: Level of Agreement between Birthplace and Surname

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Stated Birthplace</th>
<th>Ethnicity of Surname</th>
<th>Level of Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Country Level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. H.J. Baert</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Germanic</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. C.L. O’Brien</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria L. O’Brien</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. Patrick McGreevy</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>North Irish</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Mayrhofer</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Czech</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anton Mayrhofer</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Czech</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. Bernard Smyth</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. Jos. M LeCerf</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James McCoy</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis D. Murtha</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michel Bernard Pedot</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugenie Ollevier Pedot</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Powers</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. A.D. Ubach</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State and City Level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cave Johnson Couts</td>
<td>Tennessee, U.S.</td>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Del Castillo</td>
<td>Los Angeles, CA.</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus Chacon</td>
<td>El Cajon, CA.</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lizzie C. Malloy</td>
<td>Illinois, U.S.</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sample of 70 memorials from Pioneer Park
Identity: Vocation

The inclusion of information regarding the vocational identity of the individuals represented by the burial monuments was in general, infrequent. The large exception of this seems to be the church reverends that invariably included within their name the abbreviated title of ‘Reverend’. This is not unique to Calvary Cemetery, and Mytum lists ‘religious leadership’ as a major category of commemorated vocations across time periods. In further support of this is the marble stone family marker of the Mayrhofers, who were the only family to be buried in the same original area as the priests. Although they were not priests, at least two Mayrhofers were members of The Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, today known as the Equestrian Order of the Holy Knights of Jerusalem. This organization, which has its origins in the late eleventh century, is listed as a confraternal secular organization devoted to the traditional teaching of the Catholic Church, and whose mission is the equality of man and equal access to the Holy Land by Christian, Jewish, and Muslim alike.

Although the vocational identity of another prestigious trade, a doctor, was included on one individual stone sampled the other memorials researched seem to be more centered on a fraternal organization known as Woodsmen of the World. Woodsmen belong to a fraternal organization in the United States based in Omaha, Nebraska, that operates a large privately held insurance company for its members, the Woodsmen of the World, which was established in 1890 by Joseph Cullen Root. One of the most enduring physical legacies of the organization may be the number of distinctive headstones erected in the shape of a tree stump. This was an early benefit of Woodsmen of the World membership, and the headstones can be found in cemeteries nationwide. Although originally included with membership for the purposes of ‘giving honorable burial to our sacred dead’, this program was abandoned in the 1920s as too costly. The sample of stones reviewed does not include any tree shaped examples, but a number of different stones are ornately shaped and include...
the inscription ‘woodman of the world’ or ‘woman of woodcraft’, as well as the circular symbol of an ax, a cut log, and the Latin motto ‘Dum Tacet Clamat’, translated as ‘though silent, one speaks’.

**Inscriptions and Epitaphs**

Most of the markers researched did not include an introductory formula. Out of the 70 individual memorials, however, thirteen did include such formula. The introductory formula seemed to be consistent within particular family groupings. As Table 2 illustrates, the family groups of McCoy/Murtha, Marron, and Stewart all incorporated introductory formula on most of the memorials.

Table 2: Individual Memorials including Introductory Formula

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Introductory Formula</th>
<th>Separate or Shared Marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James McCoy</td>
<td>In Memory Of</td>
<td>Shared (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis D. Murtha</td>
<td>In Memory Of</td>
<td>Shared (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnifred A. Murtha</td>
<td>In Memory Of</td>
<td>Shared (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matilda F. Marron</td>
<td>In Loving Memory Of</td>
<td>Separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elias Marron</td>
<td>In Memory Of</td>
<td>Separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maggie Stewart</td>
<td>In Loving Remembrance of Our Dear Sister</td>
<td>Separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.B. Stewart</td>
<td>In Loving Remembrance of Our Dear Brother</td>
<td>Separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Stewart</td>
<td>In Loving Remembrance of Our Dear Brother</td>
<td>Separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John C. Stewart</td>
<td>In Loving Remembrance of Our Dear Father</td>
<td>Separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa Machado Stewart</td>
<td>In Loving Remembrance of Our Dear Mother</td>
<td>Separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary J.E. Stewart</td>
<td>In Loving Remembrance of Our Dear Sister</td>
<td>Separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco Arguello</td>
<td>In Memory Of</td>
<td>Separate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Guadalupe De Smith</td>
<td>In Memory Of</td>
<td>Separate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Sample of 70 memorials from Pioneer Park*
Of these, further analysis of the Stewart Family led to an interesting finding. Not only do many of the markers contain the same introductory formula, but the markers’ material and form are extremely similar. The almost identical form of the markers, considering the wide range of dates of death, seems to suggest that the markers are not all original and had been replaced at some time, quite possibly when the cemetery was rehabilitated during the late 1930s. Another piece of evidence that suggests replacement is the marker for Mary J.E. Stewart which states ‘In Loving Remembrance of Our Sister’, but then lists the individual as ‘and Grandma’ even though the individual was only 20 years old when she died.

Concerning epitaphs, most of the grave markers do not include a long epitaph, which coincides with previous research of grave memorials for the 1870s to 1940s relative to previous time periods. Many had abbreviated or short inscriptions, including 21 ‘R.I.P.’s and two ‘I.H.S.’s. Still, some of the larger monuments incorporated longer epitaphs. Father Ubach’s memorial stone, besides being one of the few constructed from atypical (for the sample) white limestone, displays the epitaph:

Native of Spain
For over forty years faithful
And beloved pastor in San Diego
Requiescat in pace

The final line is currently below concrete level. One of the other longer epitaphs is on the marker of Rev. Bernard Smyth that reads:

The law of truth in his mouth
And iniquity was not found in his lips:
He walked with me in peace
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And justice and did turn
Many away from iniquity
Malachi 2.6.

The longest inscription, however, is on the McCoy/Murtha marker and reads:

Though many tears for him are shed
Tho’ hearts are rent with parting pain
Yet who’d recall the happy dead
Or bring the blessed soul back again
Ah why should we grieve that
The spirit has flown
To that heaven of rest where no
Sorrow is known

It is not surprising that the longest epitaphs in the sample memorialize individuals with Irish surnames, given the rich tradition of epitaphs from that region.  

Symbolism

A number of different symbols were present on the memorials surveyed, the most common of which was a cross. Of the 70 memorials researched, 34 directly incorporated a cross. This is close to 50%; however, at least seven of the memorials which did not have the cross symbol, were originally grouped together in family plots with a family name marker that did include a cross symbol. In addition to the cross symbol, eleven memorials incorporated a circle encompassing the cross and fifteen incorporated some type of foliage. These were by far the most prevalent symbols. Aside from these symbols, there were occasional symbolization in the form of shaking hands, a praying Jesus, columns, a book, and a heart.

The cross has a long history as a symbol of life. Associated with cre-
ative power and eternity by the Assyrians and Celts, as well as fertility and future life by the Phoenicians and Egyptians, the cross is a symbol of immortality through Christ. The cross is also comprised of two intersecting lines which could be construed to represent the crossing from life into the afterlife. The foliage symbols bring to mind the cyclical and ephemeral nature of life.

**Monument Size, Form, and Material**

In general, most of the stones were small (under 1.4 m), and composed of a grey granite material. Both the oldest dated and newest dated stones, when ranked according to date of death were composed of this material. Also with regard to height, the current memorial site incorporated a number of stones which were flush with the ground level, but at one time seem to have been upright. The only other stone materials included in the sample were 1) white marble and 2) white limestone. The white marble was only exemplified by three stones, two from the late 1800s and one from the mid-1940s. The white limestone seems to have been reserved for larger carved stones, including large family name markers. Limestone is a typical choice for memorials based on its workability and durability, even though it has a tendency to flake with time. Interestingly, the limestone markers were very ornate, but included a rough-hewn look, possibly to mask future damage over time.

**Orientation and Position in Cemetery**

The analysis and interpretation of the orientation and position in the cemetery was challenging because none of the memorials were in their original positions. Still, a burial plot map drafted in 1942, before the grave markers were moved from their original positions, is available. When the cemetery was transformed into Pioneer Memorial Park, the headstones were originally to be completely eliminated; however, the concern of citizens led to some of the headstones being returned to the park some 18 years later. This led to both similarities and differences in the current orientation.
as compared to their original placement. On the most general level, the grave markers have become memorials, in the sense that they no longer marked the place of interred remains. This is in agreement with the trend outlined by James Deetz, consisting of markers becoming removed from the remains of the deceased over time.\textsuperscript{29} In fact, the continued presence of a marker at all, aside from one which is no longer in the same location as the physical remains, seems to be the exception, instead of the rule.\textsuperscript{30}

One similarity between the current positioning and the original placement of the markers centers on the placement of the priests’ headstones. When Calvary Cemetery was originally plotted out, a separate area was set aside for the priests’ plots.\textsuperscript{31} In fact, only one family was buried in the area reserved for the priests, that being the Mayrhofer who were members of a devout Catholic organization, The Equestrian Order. In the current configuration, all of the priests and the Mayrhofer markers are positioned together. Another interesting similarity between the original and current positions concerns the placement of markers into familial groupings. The Gassen, Stewart, and Ames families all were originally grouped into family plots, and the current groupings are similar in position. One interesting difference concerns the Couts family. While currently grouped together, some burials with the surname Couts were not originally buried within the family plots, but outside and in different areas of the cemetery. One wonders what the reasoning was for the burial of some Couts

\begin{center}
\end{center}
outside of the family plot. Nevertheless, whatever the reason was, they’re together now.

Particular attention should be paid to one difference—the placement of the grave markers in the most southeasterly area of the park at the current time. Keep in mind that without citizen activism, no original markers would be present in the park. Additionally, although the markers are present, they can hardly be seen from most of the park and the street that runs in front of the area. All of the markers are in perhaps the least prominent and lowest elevated position in the area’s expanse. In fact, the only real direct indication that the remains of over 4,000 individuals are in the park is a rather unnoticeable brass plaque measuring 3 inches by 18 inches with the inscription ‘dedicated to the memory of those interred within this park’.

This evidence, coupled with the fact that the markers were not originally intended to be a part of the park and were only brought back in 1988, some 18 years after their removal in 1970, greatly suggests that the fact that Pioneer Park—even though it contains the remains of 4,000 people—was meant to be forgotten.

Two main topics of concern need to be brought up. The most basic is the almost complete lack of recognition of the physical remains of the deceased. If cemeteries are a reflection of the society that commemorates the dead, then at least as far as Pioneer Park is concerned this suggests a complete and utter desire to not visually memorialize, and even ignore the physical remains, which means, in effect, ignoring or hiding physical death. If one interprets the memorials as more of an active agent

in the formation of societal qualities, one would most likely argue that the current positioning of the memorials drastically decreases their effectiveness as an impetus for contemplation. Even though the stones complete removal was interpreted as over zealous, and some memorials were brought back in 1988, the move has been criticized.

Secondly, the reservation of space as a place reserved for the dead, is dead in and of itself in Pioneer Park. People play, picnic, make out, and walk their dogs within the park and on top of the ground containing the dead. The space has become a place of rest and enjoyment, but not for contemplation of mortality.

**Conclusion**

Numerous aspects of identity were available in the analysis and interpretation of the 70 memorials researched. They helped to shed some light on the basic demographics of Calvary Cemetery, but more specifically, the Pioneer Park memorial. Also, the historical transformation of Calvary Cemetery into Pioneer Park demonstrates the changing nature of grave memorials in San Diego over time. The founding of the park, followed by its usage for fifty years, its decline and rehabilitation, its abandonment and conversion, and the call to activism and return of some memorials—all illustrate the dynamic nature of this memorial in San Diego. Further research would consist of analysis and interpretation of the second half of the memorials, followed by research of the photographs taken of the many headstones before being removed and later buried at Mount Hope.
NOTES

1. Leicester, School of Archaeology and Ancient History. The Archaeology of the Modern World (University of Leicester, 2009)
14. Mallios and Caterino, Cemeteries of San Diego. Mallios was one of James Deetz’ top students.
15. Tarlow, Bereavement and Commemoration: An Archaeology of Mortality.
17. CCSD, Calvary Cemetery San Diego.
21. CCSD, Calvary Cemetery San Diego.
24. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
28. CCSD, Calvary Cemetery San Diego.
29. Deetz, In Small Things Forgotten.
31. CCSD, Calvary Cemetery San Diego.
The Mischief Record of “La Gobernadora”
Amelia Stone Quinton, Charles Fletcher Lummis, and the Warner Ranch Indian Removal

By
Valerie Sherer Mathes and Phil Brigandi

In 1902, conditions were grim for the Indians living on the Warner Ranch in northern San Diego County. A decade-long legal battle over their eviction had ended the year before with a ruling from the United States Supreme Court ordering them from their ancestral homes. Since that ruling, they had been visited by a steady stream of government officials, Indian advocates, and concerned individuals. Most of the attention was focused on Cupa, the home of the Cupeño people at Warner Hot Springs and the largest village on the ranch.¹

Early in May, Amelia Stone Quinton, the president of the Women’s National Indian Association (WNIA),² visited the village, and met with the Cupeño leaders to discuss their options. An inspector

Amelia Stone Quinton (1833-1926), co-founder of the Women’s National Indian Association, had a hand in Indian Rights controversies across the country for more than four decades. Courtesy of the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

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from the government Indian office had already recommended that the government purchase 3,300 acres of the Rancho Monserrate as a reservation for the displaced villagers. But others had objected, notably Charles Fletcher Lummis, the influential Charles Fletcher Lummis, the influential editor of the Land of Sunshine magazine, published in Los Angeles. Through his political connections, he was expecting to be appointed to a special commission to review other possible reservation sites and make a new recommendation to the government. Lummis was angry when he learned of Quinton’s visit. He believed she was trying to interfere with his efforts. He was especially unhappy to hear that she had suggested Washington, DC, in hopes of meeting with President Theodore Roosevelt.

On May 23, 1902, the Los Angeles Times ran a front page article attacking Quinton and her work. That same day, Lummis wrote to Quinton, warning her to be cautious. His letter did not catch up with her until ten days later. She quickly replied, defending her actions and correcting many points in the Times’ fierce account. In the meantime, others entered the war of words, including Josephine Babbitt, the government school teacher at Cupa, Dr. Lucius A. Wright, the Mission-Tule River Indian Agent, and Horatio N. Rust, the former agent. Five of their letters are reproduced here, along with the original newspaper attack on Quinton. They offer an interesting insight into some of the personalities and politics that lay behind the Warner Ranch Indian removal. Who would speak for the Indians? Who had their best interests at heart? Would the Cupéno take part in trying to solve their troubles, or simply be left on the sidelines while others decided what was best for them?
By the time Amelia Stone Quinton visited Warner Hot Springs in 1902, she had already spent more than two decades in various capacities directing the activities of the WNIA. She was no stranger to controversy, adroitly handling difficulties with secretaries of the interior, commissioners of Indian affairs, and Indian agents. Her tiff with Lummis was minor compared to others she had already weathered.

The WNIA had been founded in 1879 in Philadelphia by Quinton and Mary Lucinda Bonney, who organized massive petition drives on behalf of the Indians during the first few years. Then, after the founding of the male-dominated Indian Rights Association (IRA), these energetic women concentrated their efforts on missionary work which ultimately brought Quinton to California a number of times. The association's California work had begun in 1886 at the Round Valley Reservation in Northern California. Other missionary projects soon followed at the Hoopa Valley Reservation and in Greenville where they sponsored a boarding school. In the southern part of the state they worked among the so-called Mission Indians at Cahuilla, Soboba, Morongo, El Potrero, Martinez, and at Warner Hot Springs, where they hoped to build a hospital. While the proposed hospital never materialized, from 1892 to 1899 the WNIA, with the major funding coming from the New York City Indian Association auxiliary, supported Dr. Rebecca C. Hallowell as a medical missionary, and extended some support to Julia M. French, the government field matron. In January 1899 the WNIA's "Agua Caliente" mission was transferred to the Moravian Church.

Quinton's first visit to the village of Cupa had been in 1891 during an exten-
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Salvador Nolasquez (1861-1933) served as Captain at Cupa in the 1890s, and traveled with the Warner Ranch Indian Commission in 1902 to look at prospective reservation sites. ©SDHC #19101.

The expansive tour of western states organizing upper-and middle-class white women into local auxiliaries of the WNIA. At that time she viewed the village’s hot sulphur springs and concluded the site would be an ideal location for an association-sponsored hospital – an idea also held by Mission Indian Agent Horatio N. Rust. She returned again in 1895 and in 1902. On May 5 of that year, Quinton, accompanied by Reverend William H. Weinland, a Moravian minister, and his wife, left Hemet to visit Warner Hot Springs. They arrived at the village on the evening of the following day. Quinton found much had changed since her first visit in 1891. Now she found better homes and a new schoolhouse with comfortable living quarters for the teacher, Josephine Babbitt. Babbitt had begun her long tenure at the village in 1890, and was described by Quinton as a “Christian woman, who is not only teacher, but truest mother, friend, adviser, and moral instructor to her attached Indian friends.”

The Cupeños welcomed Quinton, and met with her in the schoolhouse on May 7 to discuss their impending removal. “All was conducted with decorum,” she wrote, “but the hushed tones, and the spirit of sadness that pervaded the assembly were eloquent of the sorrow shadowing all.” The tribal leaders told Quinton, “This is our home, we wish to stay here; we do not wish to consider any other home.” The village captain and others said they thought they should go to Washington to tell President Roosevelt what was in their hearts. “This is our affair; it is about our home,” they told her. At first, Quinton discouraged them from trying to send a delegation, but later she changed her mind.

The Cupeño’s fear and frustration had been growing for decades as they watched other villages in San Diego County disappear one by one. Their homeland around the hot springs had briefly been set aside as a reservation by President Ulysses S. Grant in 1875 but revoked by President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1880 when a later government survey determined that the hot springs was part of the vast Rancho Vallé de San José, better known as simply the Warner Ranch. By the 1880s, it was
The Mischief Record of “La Gobernadora”

owned by former California Governor John Gately Downey, and in 1892 he filed a lawsuit to remove the Indian “trespassers” from his land.13

The suit of John G. Downey vs. Alejandro Barker et al. was first heard in San Diego County Superior Court in July 1893.14 The Federal Government provided two attorneys to represent the villagers, Shirley C. Ward and Frank D. Lewis.15 A few years before, Ward had successfully defended the Soboba village near San Jacinto in a similar eviction suit. He argued that under Spanish and Mexican law, the villagers had a possessory right to their homes, and that the United States Government had pledged to uphold all existing property rights in California in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ceded the area to the United States at the end of the Mexican War in 1848.16

The case dragged on for years. Downey died in 1894, and his nephew, J. Downey Harvey was substituted as plaintiff. San Diego County Superior Court Judge George Puterbaugh eventually disqualified himself for conflict of interest, due to his involvement in the plans to develop the water resources of the Warner Ranch–something that could only be done after the removal of the Indians. Finally, on December 29, 1896, Judge W.L. Pierce ruled that the Downey interests owned the land, and the Indians would have to go.17 Immediately elderly Cupeños confided to Babbitt their fears of “being ejected from their homes.”18 While the Indians lamented their loss, a San Francisco Chronicle article described their removal as “a good thing for Southern California.” Their presence had kept “27,000 acres of excellent land... out of the hands of home builders and has contributed little to the sum of progress.”19

Denied a request for a new trial, Ward and Lewis appealed to the California State Supreme Court, with the IRA putting up the money for the appeal bond. Ward, convinced of success, had written Herbert Welsh, IRA founder: “Personally, I have no doubt as to the case being decided in our favor both by the Supreme Court of this State and the Supreme Court of the United States. The question involved is purely a question of law,” he confidently wrote.20 Because of a backlog, the California Supreme Court did not hear arguments until April 19, 1899. Unfortunately since the days of the Soboba case, several new justices had been appointed and, in October 1899, the court upheld the verdict on a four to three vote.21

An application for a rehearing was turned down, but by now, the case was attracting national attention, prompting the United States Attorney General’s office to carry a final appeal to the United States Supreme Court. But once again, the verdict was the same. On May 13, 1901, the Supreme Court ruled that the Indians had no right to their homes.22 Members of the IRA were keenly disappointed, as was Quinton, who remarked to Welsh that “the case of the Agua Caliente Indians has been a great grief.”23

Because J. Downey Harvey refused to sell just the hot springs and, instead, offered the government a full 30,000 acres of the ranch for $245,000—a price considered too high by the government—in November 1901 Commissioner of Indian Affairs William
A. Jones sent James McLaughlin, one of their most experienced inspectors, to look for a new home for the displaced villagers. McLaughlin’s eventual recommendation was to purchase the Rancho Monserrate near Bonsall, in northern San Diego County and set it aside as a reservation.24

It is at this point that Charles Lummis entered the story. In 1901 he had organized his own Indian rights group, the Sequoya League, primarily a West Coast-based Indian rights organization intended to work with the government on common-sense policies with Indian consent. He promoted the League through the pages of his Land of Sunshine magazine (soon to be renamed Out West).25 The first order of business for the League was to help the Cupeños who were facing eviction from their village. With that in mind, Lummis personally surveyed the Rancho Monserrate, finding insufficient water and a $70,000 price tag that was more than twice what the land was worth. Josephine Babbitt agreed. She had written Lummis in February that she had learned from others that the place was “unfit and unsuited in all respects,” with no wood, dry pastures, and a dry river during much of the year.26

Lummis next turned to fellow-Harvard student Theodore Roosevelt to intervene. With his support, Congress established the Warner Ranch Indian Commission to make a new recommendation for a reservation, and authorized $100,000 for its purchase and the removal of the Warner Ranch Indians.27 Lummis, of course, would serve as chairman, assisted by Charles L. Partridge and Russell C. Allen.28 Lummis had visited the hot springs in March 1902, and held his first meeting with the Cupeños,
trying to explain that he only wanted to help them. But there was some delay in the final approval and appointment of the commission, and it was during that uncertain time that Quinton had made her visit.

Lummis seems to have played a role in the May 23, 1902, Los Angeles Times article attacking Amelia Stone Quinton. He is quoted in the article, calling her “an obscure woman” who was only adding to the anguish of the Indians like other “meddlesome or ignorant persons.” Besides his letter to Quinton, written that same day, he also wrote demanding more information from Mission Indian Agent Lucius A. Wright, and schoolteacher Josephine Babbitt. He wrote Wright that he assumed it was Quinton, and not Babbitt, who was responsible for the “recent underhanded work that you and I have felt sure was being done there” in “getting the Indians in a bad frame of mind.”

Lummis’ letter to Quinton was addressed to her at Warner Hot Springs, but as she had left two weeks before, Josephine Babbitt forwarded the letter to her California home at Val Verde, near Perris, and sent her own response to Lummis. In fact Babbitt corresponded with Lummis several times. On April 23 she had informed him that the village captain and his interpreter wanted to consult him as a “friend to the Indians,” not as a member of the commission, about “the advisability of their going to Washington” to plead their case before the president. They had already collected more than enough money to fund their own trip and had asked her to accompany them. She had agreed to go. They were all waiting for his “verdict.” Shortly thereafter, Lummis did meet with the village captain and five others, advising them “it would be useless and that there was no hope whatever for them to keep their present homes.” Disappointed, in late June the captain and another Cupeño went to San Bernardino to consult Attorney John Brown. Babbitt tried unsuccessfully to explain to them that by doing so they “were doing themselves an injury, and going contrary to the wishes of their real friends.” Then when she explained that she would not be accompanying them to Washington because “it would be useless,” they decided she had joined “the ranks of those that are trying to get them away from their homes.”

In the meantime, former Mission Indian Agent Horatio Nelson Rust entered the fray with a letter to the Times attacking “my old arch enemy” Quinton as an “unprincipled woman who sought to stir up the Warner ranch Indians” against the good work of Lummis and the special commission. Rust painted a grand picture of his own Indian work, taking great liberties with the facts. He claimed, for example, that Quinton had only come to California in 1891 on his invitation, when in fact she had come as part of her campaign to establish auxiliary branches of the WNIA throughout the West. He also claimed Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan had encouraged him to establish a hospital at Warner Hot Springs, and that he had selected the location and drew up the plans, when in fact it was Quinton who first approached Morgan
about a hospital. When the WNIA failed to get a hospital built, Rust complained that “My plans were all frustrated, my promise to the Indians broken.”

Rust ended his letter on a strange note, citing the case of a female “fortune teller” from Colton whom he described as a liar and a “bad woman” who had been visiting local villages during his days as agent. He said he had ordered the Indians “to tie her to a tree and flog her.” It was “very easy for a bad woman to deceive the Indians,” he added. His veiled threat shows the depth of his dislike for Quinton, who had been critical of him in the past. Clearly, men like Rust and Lummis did not appreciate an active, assertive woman infringing on what they considered “their” struggle for the Indians.

Four days after Rust’s letter, Reverend William H. Weinland, who had been with Quinton on her disputed visit to the hot springs, came to her defense, telling the Los Angeles Times that she did not create “but found already existing, the dissatisfaction in the minds of the natives concerning their removal.” What’s more, he added, she had not criticized Lummis or his commission.

Quinton’s response to Lummis, dated June 3, 1902, was accompanied by a seven-page explanation of her actions which she had asked him to forward to the Times.
Despite the critical tone of his letter, the vitriolic letter from Rust, and the abusive *Times* article which started it all, Quinton’s letter is measured, respectful, and calm. But in her reply, she was clever enough to quote Lummis’ own description of his meeting with the Cupeños a few weeks before hers where he noted that if the Indians “could say in Washington what they said to me, as they said it, they would need no advocate.”39 Because Quinton’s lengthy explanation never appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, it can be assumed that Lummis put the original away in his files.

In addition to her long explanation to Lummis, Quinton also defended her actions in a speech before the Pasadena Women’s Missionary Union, where she explained that the Cupeños were already talking about sending a delegation to Washington before she arrived. Although she had informed them that a trip to Washington was both a waste of time and money, she did offer them some advice as to which men might best represent them if they chose to send a delegation.40 To further explain her position, she followed up with a lengthy article that appeared in *The Indian’s Friend* that summer.41

In July, Quinton and Lummis finally met face to face in Los Angeles, and Lummis announced that “her motives at Warner’s ranch, which appeared so insurrectionary at the time, were misunderstood,” that she had convinced him of “her devotion to the cause,” and that he was sorry to have the head of a national organization “discredited without cause.”42

The struggles over the removal of the Cupeños, and the squabbles between the individuals trying to help them, continued for another year. During that time, Lummis seems to have crossed swords with almost every other player in the drama, including the Indians’ attorney, John Brown, reporter George L. Lawson,43 and Special Inspector James E. Jenkins,44 who was ultimately assigned the thankless task of carrying out the removal – a role Lummis had initially expected to fill.

Lummis had become convinced that the Indians could only be moved by a show of force from the U.S. Army, and insisted that troops would be needed. Fortunately, Jenkins took a more peaceful tack, relying more on patience and diplomacy. In the end, a group of Cupeño leaders even had the chance to meet President Roosevelt during his visit to Southern California in the spring of 1903, just days before the removal began. But while the president received them, they were not given an opportunity to plead their case.45

Finally, on May 12, 1903, the wagons rolled, and the Cupeños set out on their three-day march to the new reservation at Pala. When they finally arrived, grown men wept openly. The land was barren and brushy, and the only accommodations were a pile of tents the Indians had to set up for themselves. Later, flimsy portable houses were brought in, which the Cupeño dubbed “coffin houses.” Their life on the reservation had begun.46
Los Angeles Times, May 23, 1902

POOR INDIANS VICTIMIZED.
Female False Pretender Among Them.
Holds Out Hopes That Set Aflame.
Woman on Warner’s Ranch May Cause Trouble for the Commission.

A new phase of trouble has been developed in the already complicated matter of providing new homes for the Indians who are to be evicted from Warner’s Ranch, and if it is not checked immediately, it may mean that this little handful of hitherto gentle sufferers, aroused now at the moment of their most acute agony of spirit, will either have to be moved to a new reservation by armed men, or will flee into the mountains, there ultimately to starve.

It appears that a wild-brained person by the name of Mrs. Quinton, whose authority to be on the reservation of the Warner Ranch Indians is not known by well-informed people here, has started in on a crusade at this critical moment to upset the almost perfected plans of the Southern California Indian Commission, has proclaimed to the Indians that she is a “gobernadora,” or she-governor; that the three well-known citizens of Southern California comprising the commission are bad men, scheming to inveigle the natives off their land; and has assured them that if they will disbelieve in the commission, which she says has no power at all, and go to Washington as she directs to present their case, their present homes will be saved to them. The result is that the Indians, after having come to believe in the sincere men who, without compensation, have planned to go out and provide the tribe with a suitable new home, have turned to this delirious woman in their last despair because she tells them just what they want to believe – that they can stay where they are.

FALSE PRETENTIONS.

This turbulent condition of affairs has just come to light through communications received from Indians who have smelt a rat in the woman’s head, and from other well-informed people on that spot.

They state that she is holding out these hopes to the poor Indians, telling them that the men of the commission are not their friends, but are fakers without authority; while she is a “gobernadora” with power at Washington, and offers to send a certain number of them to
Washington if they will resist the good offices of the commission. The letters state that the people are beginning to believe in her, and murmur against the men who are to move them, and that in their doubt, they are brewing trouble.

It is, indeed, a mean person or a fool who would make a disturbance at a funeral; for these Indians have been patiently reasoned by their true friends into outward resignation at the burial of their hopes, struck dead by the unchangeable decision of the Supreme Court which willed their homes from over their heads; and they had come to believe in the few friends who are trying to help them to the best under the circumstances, though the best – the transplanting – is the heart-rending chapter of the whole of this poor folk’s tragedy.

SERIOUS, SAYS LUMMIS.

Speaking of this unfortunate turn of affairs, Charles F. Lummis, whose efforts have largely brought about the appointment of the commission, said last night: “While the off-hand talk of an obscure woman is not intrinsically important, it must be borne in mind that the Indians of Warner’s ranch are now in the actual agony of fear and sorrow over the prospect of leaving their ancient homes, and that the stirring
up of doubt or resistance by meddlesome or ignorant persons may become an actually serious matter. It is evident to any who stop to think that in this unhappy case it is literally necessary that the Indians shall trust their only real friends. Even then, the transfer will be something of a tragedy, and if led to believe that their real friends are trying to take advantage of them, the matter may become most complicated and dangerous. One need only to know the difficulties of securing favorable legislation by Congress in such a case as this to realize what might happen if the commission’s work, for which so long and hard a fight has been made, were undone. Except for this commission, the Indians would long ago have been removed from their present homes by force onto the Monserrate [sic] Rancho. It has only been by the persistent efforts of their friends, through the Sequoia [sic] League, that the fixed decision of the Indian Bureau to purchase the Monserrate [sic] Rancho has been delayed, and the commission has been agreed on by the authorities to try to settle the matter more agreeably to the Indians, and more in accord with a just and business-like policy.”

THEY WANT TO KNOW.

Mrs. Quinton has gone at her revolutionary work in a secret and underhanded way, and has warned the Indians to tell no one what she has said, but to act as she directs. Those, however, who do not know whether to believe in the self-proclaimed “Gobernadora” Quinton or not, have appealed by mail in pathetic phrases to those in whom they formerly trusted here for an explanation of the enigma with which they are confronted.

Mr. Lummis visited the Indians not long ago, and persuaded them that to trust in the work of the commission was the only thing to be done now. But it is easier for them to believe this woman, who tells them that she is greater than the Supreme Court, and that the men who are to move them are wicked.

Some time ago, after this conference, ten of the principal men of the tribe, including the chief, Capt. Blacktooth, came all the way up to Los Angeles to consult Mr. Lummis again, showing that they valued his counsel. He noticed even then, however, that they had been tampered with, for they were imbued with the quixotic idea of going to Washington to plead their case. He could not find out who had been advising them, but before they left he had again convinced them that
the Washington idea was ignorant and silly and that any statements to the contrary which they had heard were false. He explained to them that the decision of the Supreme Court could not be changed, and that by going to Washington they would waste time and money, protract their own pain, and give pain to those who had to listen to them. They were so advised by all their influential friends, including the Indian agent, Dr. Wright, and Bishop George Montgomery, to whose flock they belong. ⁴⁹ In spite of their sorrow, and false hopes, Mr. Lummis stated yesterday, they recognized the argument, and the little band turned back to its homeless region submissively, but sorrowfully.

**GOOD WORK HAMPERED.**

After all this patient endeavor with the grief-stunned and ignorant minds, yesterday’s letters divulging the dissatisfied state of affairs on Warner’s Ranch, where most of the good work seems to have been undone by an underhanded, short-sighted woman of no authority, were naturally an unpleasant shock.

It is well known that the President sent for Mr. Lummis last November especially to consult him on Indian matters in general, and on this case in particular; and agreed to the appointment to the commission in
question of the three reputable citizens of Southern California already named in The Times. It is an entirely unselfish work, the commissioners receive no compensation while in the field.

Now comes this she-governor, proclaiming them bad and lustful men—one of them a bishop—and exciting the Indians to a pitch where the endeavors of the commission threaten to be frustrated if the bewildered natives are not set right in the matter.

The commission, which expects to start almost any day, intends to take a picked number of the Warner Ranch Indians along on its tour of the interior in search of a suitable tract, so that they may have an equal hand in the choosing of their future homes. In the beginning it was difficult to persuade any to accompany the expedition, as they shut their eyes, as it were, against the idea of moving until the very last moment arrives. They say, “We have no choice, except where we are.”

Now they doubt the authority of the commission, and it will be still more difficult to persuade them to go on the land hunt.

That they will turn at bay and strike when the moment of eviction comes if the Quinton doctrines continue to be preached to them, men who are not alarmists, nor ignorant of their subject, believe very probable. Either the commission must not be molested in its patient endeavors, or needless and serious trouble will cap the climax of the tragedy of the Indians of Aguas Calientes [sic].

It is thought that Mrs. Quinton has a mission at Aguas Calientes [sic], though the only teacher who has authority on the reservation is Mrs. Babbitt, the head of the government school.

Charles Fletcher Lummis to Amelia Stone Quinton

May 23rd, 1902

Mrs. Quinton,
Warner’s Ranch, Cal.
Dear Madam, –

I beg you to be judicious and friendly to the Indians and not to fill them with ideas which in the present state of the case may be very disastrous to them and to all concerned. The reports that I have from there are to the effect that you are telling them things which can only result in their greater distress and suffering. If these reports are accurate, you are doing the Indians and yourself a great injustice and
you should not pursue such a course in ignorance of the facts. If there were any possibility that by going to Washington the Indians could aid their cause, I would not only favor their going but would go with them and take them to the President, but everyone of common sense knows that neither the President nor Congress nor anyone else can reverse a decision of the Supreme Court. While you may not be familiar with the work that is being undertaken by competent people who are devoting themselves to the cause of the Indians, I can assure you that everything will be done in this case that human patience, knowledge of the facts, and official authority can do and while it may not be what we would like best, it will be the best that is left under the circumstances.

I trust that on reflection you will see that it is unkind to the Indians to fill them with vague and misleading ideas now. The Commission will come to see them at the outset of its work and will give them an authoritative statement of the facts.

Sincerely yours,

[C.F. Lummis]

Lucius A. Wright to Charles Fletcher Lummis

Mission Tule River “Cons” Agency
San Jacinto, California, May 26th 1902.
Mr. Chas. F. Lummis
Los Angeles, California.

Dear Mr. Lummis:

I am just in receipt of your favor of the 23rd inst., making inquiries concerning Mrs. Quinton, in reply I will say that this Mrs. Quinton is at the head of what they call the Indian Rights Association with headquarters in Philadelphia. Mrs. Quinton, in company with the missionary, Weinland, have both been to Agua Caliente where they remained some days and no doubt stayed at the school house with Mrs. Babbitt.

Mrs. Babbitt is Mrs. Quinton’s right bower in this country and belongs to the said Indian Rights Association. These people have considerable power in the East, but it has always appeared to me that they are a hindrance rather than a help to the work. I have all along maintained
that Mrs. Babbitt has by ill advice kept the Indians in a state of unrest and discontent and made it almost impossible to deal with them. She is hand in glove with this Mrs. Quinton; they understand each other thoroughly.

I was glad to see the roast they got in the paper the other day. I understand that Mrs. Quinton has left Warner’s ranch.

No doubt what you heard concerning her doing there was correct for these same people have made life a burden for me ever since I have been agent.

Hope to see you soon, Very Truly,

L.A. Wright,
U.S. Indian Agent

Josephine Babbitt to Charles Fletcher Lummis

Warner Cal.
May 25, 1902.
Dear Mr. Lummis,

Although knowing your dislike to get letters I must trouble you with still another. In the times [sic] of May 23rd appears an article headed “Poor Indians victimized.” I wish to state that it is misleading in every way, and false from “start to finish.” I was present at both the meetings in which Mrs. Quinton addressed the Indians, and can vouch for the fact that in no single utterance was there a word inimical to the commission; her visit here was a friendly one in every respect, and when she arrived, she with every one else thought a trip to Washington futile; none understanding better than Mrs. Quinton how matters go in Washington, and the inability of Indians to accomplish anything where all those in power had failed; but while here the article appeared in which it was stated that the appropriation had been “cut out,” and that no commission would be appointed, and that “Monserrate” was a foregone conclusion, and witnessing the fear, sorrow, and anxiety of the Indians and hearing their reasons very pathetically expressed, for wanting to plead their own case, and hear from the “Great Father” in
person that he might tell them; and hearing them wish to leave nothing in their power untried to secure their homes to them, in view of all this, her advice to them was to select two of their best men and go, that no harm could come of it, and as a last hope to make their own hearts lighter in the future by knowing that they had left nothing undone which they might have done, it would be well for them to go. Still with all this advice to go there would necessarily be an interval before their going for the reason that it was their wish that I accompany them; and that could not be without the consent of Hon. Commissioner [of Indian Affairs] Jones, and of course while waiting for his letter, if a commission were to serve? it would be known and appointed, and in that case the Washington plan would be abandoned. Mrs. Quinton explained to the Indians very clearly that the verdict of the Supreme Court could not be gone behind nor changed in any way; she also told them she had no power whatever in Washington, but that she could and would help them with letters to those in power who would assist them after they reached there; she advised secrecy only in so far as white campers were concerned, as they would garble her words and statements (as they undoubtedly have) and make no end of trouble. As for speaking against the men that were spoken of as expecting to act on the Commission, that she did not do, they were all strangers to her. After she was gone came the word that the appropriation had been restored, and the Commission would be appointed, then came a letter to the Indians from Mrs. Quinton advising them to send their men with the Commission to look at the lands examined and be in position to understand what was best for them; and if after all was through and all advised the Indians to go to Washington to be ready with their own money to do what would be decided best to do. I would be very much pleased if you would correct the statements in the Times, for they are unjust and untrue in every respect.

Yours faithfully, Josephine H. Babbitt

Josephine Babbitt to Charles Fletcher Lummis

Warner Cal.
May 28, 1902.
Mr. C.F. Lummis
Los Angeles Cal.
Dear Mr. Lummis

Your letter of May 24th and the magazines rec’d; the pictures are excellent and the article forcible; you will please send me another magazine; one of the Indians asked me for one this morning. You will have already received my letter in regard to Mrs Quinton. She is the President of the Womans [sic] Ind[ian] Association, and has always striven to help the Indians in every way, is well and favorably known in the Indian Office at Washington, and works in harmony with the Hon[orable] Commissioner Jones. She did not while here say or do aught but what was perfectly honorable and “above board.” She never mentioned “sect” in any way, and when you come the Indians will tell you the same, they are much distressed over the published account, and you will do us a great favor by telling us from whom the letter came and what Indian wrote or had such a letter written? Francisco Chutnicat [sic] (one of the men that called upon you in Los Angeles)58 has heard from some source, that it is said he wrote it, he wishes me to ask you to please state whether his name was used or signed to the letter? Your letter rec’d last evening by the Capt. and written in Spanish, has not been read yet, as none of the men read Spanish except in a very limited way, Ambrosio not at all.59 The Indians are much disturbed over that part of the article in which it is stated that they will resist when the time for their removal arrives: they have never for one moment had such a thought, for they realize the situation and know how futile such resistance would be, even though they wanted to rebel which they do not: nor would any one in sane condition advise such an act. I thank you for having written me on this subject, and trust you will do so whenever a disquieting rumor reaches you, that I may give you, as far as lies in my power, the true facts.

Yours most earnestly,
Josephine H. Babbitt.60

Amelia Stone Quinton to Charles Fletcher Lummis

Val Verde, Cal. June 3rd
(Tuesday) 1902
C.F. Lummis, Esq.
My dear Sir,

Your letter of May 23, forwarded by Mrs. Babbitt, has this moment reached me. But she writes me that you have already received hers, informing you of the utter falsity of the malicious report published in the Los Angeles Times of May 23d, which has already been answered by several friends conversant with my work & record, & my intense interest in everything that can help the Indians of our country for whom I have worked without pause for 23 years. I enclose a sketch written by a well known Boston literary woman regarding the work of “The National Indian Assoc’n” (formerly The Women’s Nat’n’l Ind. Ass’n) & of which I have the honor to be president, as for the last 15 years, as also I was its gen’l sec’y the 8 years previously & from its inception.

On Sunday June 1st I wrote the enclosed article, as many friends thought I should reply to so gross a personal attack, & I commit it to your care to present, if you please to the Los Angeles Times, & trust it will prove to you that I am “friendly to the Indians,” that I am as far as possible from giving them “ideas” that may be “disastrous” to them (or to any,) & that I am not the author of either “vague” or “misleading ideas,” or of their wish to see the President in Wash’n.

No soul can rejoice more over any good you can achieve for the Cupeños, or aid it, (to the extent of my ability) more sincerely, or work more earnestly for the harmonious, combined efforts of all friends of Indians of all types, without reference to creed or politics, than the subscriber. I hope the way may open for a conference with you on this whole subject.

I hope my article will be printed entire as its quotation from Lieut. Weber is important as I will explain when I see you. The article from Maj. Rust is as false as brutal & needs no reply, as it condemned itself. With most earnest wishes for all indeed good to the Indians.

Yours sincerely,
Amelia S. Quinton

Enclosure
Mrs. Quinton’s Reply, To the Slanderous Report of May 23d

A sad visitor, May 7th & 8th to Warner’s Ranch, summoned there by the repeated invitations of my friends of eleven years, the Cupeños or Agua Caliente Indians, & Mrs. Babbitt their friend and teacher for twelve years, I met them in their grief-full dread of eviction from the only home earth holds for their hearts.

They asked me to talk to them – “No,” I said, “Let me hear you.” Then they told out their hearts as Celsa Apapas – our bride of an April Sunday in 1895 when we visited our mission there & our missionary, a Moravian clergyman, performed her wedding ceremony in the presence of the Indians, Hon. A.K. Smiley, the teachers, the writer & others – told them to C.F. Lummis, as recorded on page 475 of the May number of “Out West.” The response in the brain & heart of the writer is revealed if not described on page 477 of the magazine above named which says: “If any of the people who have oppressed these Indians had ever talked with them, as man to man – they never would have oppressed them, that’s all, whether Washington jurist, or politician, or land-claimant.

The oppressor is invariably the man who never found out how human his slaves are – & not even a fool could help finding out if he talked with them, eye to eye.” The surge of sympathy, compassion, & the revolt of the justice sense are by no means concealed in this quotation.

It developed in our interview that the Indians had had hope (sic) that some group of their friends would put forth earnest effort to invent or discover some plan of which at least the 900 acres on which they are settled & have built their homes might be purchased for them by [the] Government rather than some strange ranch. An inspector had promised to urge in Washington their plea, but he had recommended another plan instead of this. Other earnest friends, though confessing & emphasizing the justice of their plea seemed to them only to try to reconcile them to the idea of a new home & to seek a new home for them while the one cry of their hearts seemed as far as ever from being heard when (sic) only it could be answered. “So,” they said “we have decided that we ought to go to Washington, & tell the President ourselves what is in our hearts & see if he might help us or move Congress to find some way to buy our own home for us if the Commission to find us a home is not appointed. If it is appointed we will wait till we see what it can do.” This plan was already settled in their minds & was not the invention of
the writer of this article & as she told the Indians, when she first heard it – it had seemed a hopeless plan to her.

Lieut. J.H. Weber, U.S.A., retired, then seeking health at Warner Hot Springs, had sent a letter to the writer dated April 22d 1902, which said:

“Mrs. Weber & I have come to the conclusion that you ought to know that these Indians are in great distress of mind, & that now is the crucial time when all their friends should rally to their support. They look to you to help them, & only yesterday some of them wished you were here. For some time past they have held meetings to consider the advisability of sending two of their tribe to Washington to say their case before the President & the Indian Office, & yesterday (April 21) they decided to do so. But someone must be there to advise and guide them; someone who commands the respect of those in authority, & you are the one they look to for help.” The letter then unfolded the plan in the mind of its writer, which, he said, “if carried out would elevate the Indians in So. Ca. materially & spiritually, & would in the near future settle the Mission Indian question.” His plan was for [the] government to buy the whole of Warner’s Ranch at $245,000; “place all Indians now on small isolated reservations” on it, “distribute a certain amount of the land to the Indians under certain regulations;” teach them self support, letting the springs belong to [the] government etc. etc. The letter closed with “I hope you will make every effort to go to Washington & aid the delegates there. If I were a member of your society I should say “You must go.” To this letter I had replied that it would be impossible for me to go to Washington, & then the journey seemed to be a hopeless one, as I told the Indians later.

But now I was looking into their faces, nay into their hearts; seeing them eye “to eye,” as did the writer in “Out West,” and that happened to me which happened to him. The Indians in substance said: “This is our affair; it is about our home, & we want no other. We think we should go to the President ourselves, & speak for our home.” Was not that sane, natural, just? Again, we agreed with C.F. Lummis when he said, page 409 of the April number of “Out West:” “If these harried people could say in Washington what they said to me, as they said it, they would need no advocate.” So when they demanded to know my thought what could I answer but this? “If you feel it a duty to go it would be right; & if it accomplished nothing you could at least have the satisfaction of having done all you could to save your home. I could not go with you; & I have no power to help, save by giving you letters of introduction.”
Could you, oh reader safe under the shield of home & property rights, & with a sure grasp upon all that makes your roof true home, have responded otherwise? But the Commission is now appointed, & we will hope that the gentlemen of whom it is composed may find some happy solution of the problem confronting them. Again in answer to the query of our friends the Indians we advised their acceptance of the invitation to accompany the Commission in its quest of light upon the clouds which now sorrowfully encompass them.

I know not surely who wrote the libelous report of the above visit, or whether it was made in malice or ignorance. But the allegations of the asserting of power, the guile, the slanders against the probably Commission,—for it was not yet appointed we were told,—& the then proposing the journey to the seat of government were every one false, as was the reported spirit of the interviews. The Cupeños are a people among whom the National Indian Association, over which I have had the honor to preside for fifteen years, had for six years an industrial & medical mission, though the hospital could not be built as the land was then in litigation & no title could be gained. But the work was of great interest; much was done for industry & sanitation, & the members of the Association still feel deeply for that wronged group of men & will watch with keen solicitude the outcome of the Commission’s work on their behalf.

Amelia S. Quinton

*A general view of the Monserrate Ranch in 1902. Lummis was determined to find another reservation site for the Warner Ranch Indians. ©SDHC #2963.*
NOTES

1. The village of Cupa was also called Agua Caliente. The Warner Ranch area is interesting because it was occupied by villages from four different tribal groups. Most of the Cupeno lived at Warner Hot Springs, with a few other families living with the Cahuilla people on the Los Coyotes Indian Reservation. Puerta la Cruz and La Puerta, on the northwestern side of the valley, were Luiseño villages. Mataguard and San José were Kumeyaay (Diegueño) villages. Kumeyaay people also lived on the San Felipe Ranch, southeast of the ranch; their village was included in the same eviction order. For a summary of all these tribal groups, see the Handbook of North American Indians - Volume 8, California (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978) 550-63, 575-609. William Duncan Strong’s Aboriginal Society in Southern California (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929) is also still useful.


3. Josephine Harlan Babbitt (1852-1940) was born in Illinois, the daughter of a prominent attorney. Around 1869 she married Henry W. Babbitt, the son of Pennsylvania Congressman Elijah Babbitt. Henry worked for many years as a clerk for the Department of the Interior. By 1884, Josephine was already teaching at a government Indian school on the Omaha and Winnebago Agency in Nebraska. Martha Ingersoll Robinson, a prominent San Diegan, described her as “a woman of unusual refinement, culture and education, Mrs. Babbitt has exerted an untold power for good among the people with whom she has chosen to live and work.” See San Diego Union, April 5, 1903, 7. One of her students at Cupa, Roscinda Nolasquez (1892-1987) later recalled, “She came here [to Pala], She came with the people and she stayed with us. But then she went back. She was a great friend.” (Interviewed by Phil Brigandi, August 7, 1985). Babbitt may well have been transferred because of her involvement in the Warner Ranch removal. She had accompanied them to Pala and continued teaching at the Pala Indian School for a short time. She then transferred to the Santo Domingo Pueblo as a field matron, see Lisa E. Emmerich, “To Respect and Love and Seek the Ways of White Women: Field Matrons, the Office of Indian Affairs and Civilization Policy, 1890-1938.” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 1987, 142, 172. In a January 10, 1910, letter to association officials, Babbitt explained she was working at Algondones, New Mexico among over five hundred Indians, see National Indian Association (NIA), “Missionary Exigencies,” The Indian’s Friend (March 1910), 8. (In 1902 the WNIA changed its name to the NIA and allowed men to join). In later years, Babbitt lived in the Canal Zone in Panama, where her son worked for the Federal Government, see “Mrs. Josephine Babbitt,” Los Angeles Times (July 14, 1940), 33.

4. Born in Ohio, Dr. Lucius A. Wright (ca. 1854-1933) came to California in the early 1880s and ran a drug store in San Jacinto from 1890-1909. He served as Indian Agent from 1897-1903 when the Mission-Tule Consolidated Agency was dissolved. For an obituary, see The Hemet News, April 14, 1933, 5.


6. According to Mary P. Ryan, Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present (New York: New Viewpoints, 1979) 88, women adopted the long established tradition of petitioning because at that time it was viewed “a proper and feminine tactic” not requiring “women to step out of the normal circle of their private lives.” See also Susan Zaszes, Signatures of Citizenship: Petitioning, Antislavery, & Women’s Political Identity (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

7. For WNIA work at Warner Hot Springs, see chapter 8, “WNIA at Agua Caliente and Martinez,” in Valerie Sherer Mathes, Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy (Austin: University of Texas

9. Rev. Weinland was employed by the WNIA as their missionary in what the association called their Ramona Mission. Although initially hoping to begin his work on the Cahuilla Reservation, near Anza, the Indians were reluctant to authorize the land for the mission, so he began his work at Soboba and El Potrero, on the Morongo Reservation. For a time he supervised all their missionary work in Southern California. For more on Weinland see Mathes, Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy, 121-27, 131-35, 138-40, 142, 146-50, 152, 154.


11. NIA, “At Agua Caliente,” The Indian’s Friend (July 1902), 2.

12. Jonathan Trumbull Warner (1807-1895), a Connecticut Yankee, came to California in 1831, became a Mexican citizen, and received a 48,000-acre land grant in 1844. After being burned out during the Garra Uprising of 1851, Warner and his family left the valley, and over the next decade he gradually lost his land piece by piece. Today the property is still known as the Warner Ranch. According to local residents, the original boundaries of the old Mexican grant had been drawn far south of the springs; newer surveys had continually pushed the line until the springs and hence the entire village eventually was considered Downey’s property, see WNIA, “Association News and Notes,” The Indian’s Friend (October 1892), 3.

13. Beginning around 1870 John Gatley Downey acquired part of the ranch and by the spring of 1880 was in possession of the entire property. Downey, an Irish native who made his fortune in real estate and ranching, had served as California’s governor from 1860 to 1862.

14. The Barker lawsuit covered the village of Cupa at the hot springs, and the Luiseño village of Puerta la Cruz. A separate suit, John G. Downey vs. José Quevas et al., was filed against the Kumeyaay villages of Mataguay and San José in the southeastern part of the valley, and the Luiseño village at La Puerta, near modern Lake Henshaw. The two cases were combined for all the court proceedings to come. At their annual meeting in December 1892 the WNIA called on Congress to provide an immediate appropriation to cover the expense of defending the Indians’ rights, see WNIA Annual Report (Philadelphia, December 1892), 33. For a general discussion of the case, see Phil Brigandi, “In the Name of the Law – The Cupero Removal of 1903,” www.socalhistoryland.mysite.com/article_12.html.

15. Ward (1861-1929), the son of former Mission Indian Agent John S. Ward, had been appointed Special Assistant U.S. District Attorney for the Mission Indians in 1886, see Ward to A. H. Garland (U.S. Attorney General), March 16, 1886, Letters Received #8672-1886, Special Case 31, Office of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Hereafter cited as SC, OIA, RG 75, NA, W.) For a brief biography, see “Shirley C. Ward,” History of the Bench and Bar of California, ed. Oscar T. Shuck (Los Angeles: The Commercial Printing House, 1901), 1084-85; and “Shirley C. Ward,” History of the Bench and Bar of California, ed. J. C. Bates (San Francisco: Bench and Bar Publishing Company, 1912), 543-44. His obituary appears in the Los Angeles Times, November 26, 1929. Lewis notified Indian Commissioner Thomas Jefferson Morgan than an action had been brought before the California superior Court by Downey, see Lewis to Morgan, September 10, 1892, LR #33961-1892, SC, OIA, RG 75, NA, W. Lewis was originally appointed an attorney for the Legal Defense Commission of the Lake Mohonk Conference in 1888 to prepare groundwork for legal cases and give assistance in any cases where the protection of the Federal Government was lacking. By 1891 he had been appointed a United States Special Attorney for the Mission Indians. In October 1892 he appeared before the annual convention of the Lake Mohonk Conference with details of the case, see Lake Mohonk Conference, “Report of Committee on Mission Indians,” Proceedings of the Tenth...


26. Babbitt to Lummis, February 22, 1902; see also Babbitt to Lummis, November 28, 1901, Josephine H. Babbitt MS1.1.161, Charles Fletcher Lummis Manuscript Collection, Braun Research Library, Autry National Center of the American West, Los Angeles. (Hereafter cited as Lummis Collection, Braun Research Library).

27. On behalf of the Sequoya League, Lummis had presented a memorial to officials recommending the appointment of a special commission, serving without compensation, to select a new home for the Indians. For the memorial see “The Sequoya League,” *Out West* (April 1902), 407.

28. Charles L. Partridge of Redlands was active in the Indian rights movement. See C.L. Partridge, “A
Brief Sketch of the Mission Indians,” *Redlands Citograph*, June 14, 1902. He died in 1908 following a railroad accident. His papers are now held by the Bancroft Library. Russell C. Allen, another Harvard classmate of Teddy Roosevelt, was the manager of the Sweetwater Fruit Company, which grew lemons at Bonita, in northern San Diego County. For a biography, see *San Diego County Pioneer Families* (San Diego: San Diego County Historical Society, 1977).


30. Lummis to L.A. Wright, May 23, 1902, L.A. Wright MS 1.1.4763A, Lummis Collection, Braun Research Library. Both Lummis and Wright assumed that the Indians’ fears had to be prompted by outsiders, as if the villagers didn’t have enough to be anxious about on their own. See also Lummis to Babbitt, May 23, 1902, Josephine H. Babbitt, MSL1.161.

31. Quinton had purchased a home some four miles north of Perris about 1892, presumably for retirement purposes. J. H. Tigner, in *The Ital of America: A Conservative and Truthful Description of the Great Wealth Producing Districts of Riverside County, California*, (Los Angeles: Home Printing Company, c. 1908), 40, writes the nine-room house on 45 acres included a 10-acre orange grove and five acres of olives. The property manager was her son, George H. Quinton. Tigner was incorrect, George was her brother-in-law. By the publication of this volume, the property had been sold to Mr. J. C. Beer of Long Beach.

32. Babbitt to Lummis, April 23, 1902, see also April 5; and Babbitt to Col. G. C. Robbins, April 22, 1902, Josephine H. Babbitt MSL1.161, Lummis Collection, Braun Research Library. Earlier, on March 21, at the request of the village captain, Babbitt had written Lummis about a “disquieting rumor” which had reached the village the previous day that they were to “be removed immediately to temporary quarters.” She enclosed a letter from Robbins, see Babbitt to Lummis, March 21, 1902.

33. Babbitt to Robbins, May 1, 1902, Josephine H. Babbitt MSL1.161, Lummis Collection, Braun Research Library. Babbitt had informed Robbins that the six Cupéños who had visited Lummis, were displeased with his advice and wanted to come to San Diego to see him.

34. John Brown, Jr. (1847-1932) came to San Bernardino as a child and became a well-known local teacher and attorney. He often involved himself in Southern California Indian affairs, which did not make him popular in some quarters. Lummis said Brown’s statements to the papers during the Warner Ranch removal were “pure fabrications without a tinge of truth,” and that if he was quoted accurately, “his talents lie more in the direction of fiction than of law.” “Fight Till Last Ditch,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1902, A1. For another attack, see “A Mission Indian Moses,” *Riverside Press & Horticulturalist*, March 28, 1891, 2. Along with James Boyd, Brown co-authored the *History of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1922); a brief biography can be found in volume 3, pp. 1130-32. A small collection of his papers is available at the Sherman Foundation Library in Corona del Mar.


36. For all quotes, see “Mischief Record of ‘La Gobernadora,’” *Los Angeles Times*, May 26, 1902, 9. See also Quinton to Thomas J. Morgan, September 1, 1891, LR #40821-1891, OIA, RG 75, NA, W.

37. The long range plan had been for Hallowell to minister to the Indians in their own homes, win them over, and then once the lawsuit was settled and the village safe, the association would acquire land and build a hospital with the consent of the villagers. See Quinton to William H. Weinland, January 20, 1893; see also February 14, 1893, William H. Weinland Papers, Box 7, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.


The Mischief Record of "La Gobernadora"

41. NIA, "At Agua Caliente," The Indian's Friend (July 1902), 2.
42. "Fight Till Last Ditch," Los Angeles Times, July 26, 1902, A1. It is unclear if the two had met before.
43. Lawson had come to the ranch as a reporter, and soon involved himself in the removal. Lummis attacked him in a lengthy letter, calling him "a wanton and malicious liar." See, "Lawson Denounced as a Cheap Liar," Los Angeles Times, April 9, 1903, 6.
44. Jenkins, who had arrived from Oklahoma, was one of eight government inspectors. His photograph can be found on p. 33 in Grant Wallace, "The Exiles of Cupa," Out West (July 1903).
45. "The Indians Will be Removed Today," San Diego Union, May 11, 1903. The article quotes the petition the Cupeno had prepared for the president.
46. The removal was widely covered in the newspapers of the time. One of the best eye witness accounts is by Wallace, "The Exiles of Cupa," 25-42. See also Joseph J. Schirmer, "Graphic Story is Told of Indians' Removal," Riverside Daily Press, May 14, 1903, 3; and Joel R. Hyer, "A California Trail of Tears: Removal of Native Americans from Warner's Ranch to Pala," in "We Are Not Savages": Native Americans in Southern California and the Pala Reservation, 1840-1920 (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001), 111-28. In 2010, the tribe was able to buy back Warner Hot Springs, where a number of their ancestors' adobe homes still stand. The tribe plans to continue to run the hot springs as a resort.
47. José Cecilio Blacktooth (ca 1840-1918) had been elected to serve as the headman at Cupa in 1892 and again in 1902 – a position commonly known as Captain at the time. His impassioned plea for his ancestors' adobe homes still stand. The tribe plans to continue to run the hot springs as a resort.
48. A direct appeal to Washington was being discussed by the tribe even before Quinton's visit. See "Want to Plead Their Own Case," Los Angeles Times, April 25, 1902, 10.
49. The first American-born head of the diocese, the Right Reverend George Montgomery (d. 1907) served as Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Monterey-Los Angeles from 1896-1903 at which time he was named coadjutor to Archbishop Patrick of San Francisco.
50. Rev. Henry B. Restarick, an Episcopal priest, had been one of the proposed members of the Warner Ranch Indian Commission but was not appointed. He was an active advocate for the local Indians and one of the founding members of Lummis' Sequoya League. After a number of years serving in San Diego, he was appointed Bishop of Hawaii in 1902.
51. The Warner Ranch Indian Commission was finally appointed on May 28, 1902, and left on their tour of inspection a few days later. Accompanying them were Salvador Nolasquez (1861-1933), a former Captain of the Cupeno, and Ambrosio Ortega, the lay reader at the chapel near the hot springs. See "Powwowing Over Homes, Los Angeles Times, June 11, 1902, A4, for the commission's meeting with the Cupeno.
53. Lummis to Quinton, Amelia Stone Quinton MS 1.1.3648, Lummis Collection, Courtesy of the Braun Research Library, Autry National Center of the American West, Los Angeles.
54. Quinton was president of the Women's National Indian Association. The Indian Rights Association, a totally separate organization, was founded in 1882 by Herbert Welsh. For a history see William T. Hagan, The Indian Rights Association: The Herbert Welsh Years, 1882-1904 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985).
55. Wright to Lummis, L. A. Wright MS1.1.4763A, Lummis Collection, Courtesy of the Braun Research Library.
56. William A. Jones (1844-1912) served as commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1897 to 1904. Born in Wales, he immigrated with his family to Wisconsin. After graduation he taught school for awhile, entered the banking business, served as mayor of Mineral Point, Wisconsin, and represented his Wisconsin county in the state assembly. See W. David Baird, "William A. Jones, 1897-1904," The
57. Babbitt to Lummis, Josephine H. Babbitt MS 1.1.161, Lummis Collection, Courtesy of the Braun Research Library.

58. Francisco Chutnicut (ca 1870-1941) was one of the village leaders at the time. His portrait can be found in George Wharton James, *Picturesque Pala* (Pasadena: The Radiant Life Press, 1916), opposite p. 42. The young man with him is Jim Brittain, though James incorrectly called him his son. Chutnicut’s niece Roscinda Nolasquez (1892-1987) supplied these identifications.

59. Ambrosio Ortega (1869-1922), the lay reader for the Catholic chapel at Warner Hot Springs, served as Captain at Pala in 1906. His portrait can be found in “The Exiles of Cupa,” *Out West* (May 1902), 479. John Steven McGroarty published a memorial to him in the *Los Angeles Times Illustrated Magazine* (May 21, 1922), 3, which was later reprinted and expanded in *The Indian Sentinel* (the quarterly publication of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions), (July 1922), 527-28.

60. Babbitt to Lummis, Josephine H. Babbitt, MS 1.1.161, Lummis Collection, Courtesy of the Braun Research Library.


63. While on a visit to Cupa with Quinton in April 1895, Rev. Weinland conducted the marriage service for Celsa Apapas, the daughter of a well-known Cupeño family, and Pedro Apapas. The young couple planned on attending Hampton Institute, in Hampton, Virginia. Founded by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong to educate freedmen, the college accepted its first Indian students in 1878. See, WNIA, “From California,” *The Indian’s Friend* (May 1895), 3, 6. Celsa Apapas often served as a translator during meetings with government officials prior to the removal.


65. The inspector was James McLaughlin, who recommended the purchase of the Monserrate Ranch as a reservation. See note 23.

66. The hot springs had been a popular spot with health-seekers and vacationers for decades, and the Cupeño catered to them, offering produce, meals, bathhouses, and even the rental of their own homes during the summers. For an account from a contemporary visitor, see Mary Haw Smith, “Life at Warner’s as Seen by Tourist,” *San Diego Union*, May 7, 1903, 2.

67. According to an article in the *Los Angeles Times*: “Word from Warner’s ranch tells of a mass meeting there last Monday [April 21] of about fifty of the men of the tribe. They decided that they would send one of their own number to Washington to intercede for them, and to listen to what is being said in the eviction case.” “Want to Plead Their Own Case,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 1902, 10. The Cupeño were prepared to pay the costs themselves. Roscinda Nolasquez later recalled that her father, Salvador Nolasquez, and Domingo Moro, hoped to go to Washington to represent the tribe.

68. Quinton to Lummis, and her “Reply,” in Quinton MS 1.1.3648, Lummis Collection, Courtesy of the Braun Research Library.
In Memoriam

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. 1924-2011

On January 22, 2011, Professor Doyce Blackman Nunis, Jr. died in Los Angeles at the age of 86 of complications following surgery. A member of the Board of Editorial Consultants for *The Journal of San Diego History* since the mid-1970s, Professor Nunis also served as editor of the Historical Society of Southern California’s journal, *The Southern California Quarterly*, for 43 years. In 2005, the Los Angeles City Historical Society gave him a special award for his “outstanding contributions in the areas of Los Angeles and California History.”

Doyce received his bachelor’s degree from UCLA in 1947, master’s from USC in 1952 and doctorate from USC in 1958. He taught history at the community college level and then became a professor at UCLA and later at USC, from 1965 until his retirement in 1989. He wrote and/or edited a number of outstanding books on California and Western American history. In this capacity he was able to offer ongoing advice as a peer reviewer regarding potential articles for San Diego’s history journal. Doyce was a generous colleague who was willing to help all who sought his counsel including students, fledgling authors, and writers established in their fields.

Doyce seemed destined to become a historian of the west since he was born in a log cabin without running water or electricity on May 23, 1924, in Cedartown, Georgia. After serving in the Navy, he moved to Los Angeles where, in addition to his history activities, he became a book collector, patron of the arts, research associate of the Huntington Library, and supporter of the new Los Angeles Cathedral, where his funeral mass was held on February 18, 2011.

Doyce Nunis will be missed by those he served in San Diego and by his fellow editors throughout the country. He will be long remembered by those who knew him and by all those who read his many works.
BOOK REVIEWS


Reviewed by Danielle J. Swiontek, Department of History, Santa Barbara City College.

This book is the companion volume to the similarly titled exhibit at the Autry National Center of the American West in Los Angeles, California, which ran from April 16 to August 22, 2010. Like the exhibit, the book seeks to reframe the standard narrative of the American West, shifting from a focus on the male, often Anglo, conquest of Native peoples to one centering on women’s creation of “home” in the context of changing western environments. The book employs archaeological as well as more traditional historical sources to examine women’s creation of social, political, and material culture. Taking a long and broad view of western development, the authors focus on three locations – New Mexico, Denver, and Puget Sound – to explore women’s agency in “creatively adapt[ing] to and transform[ing] their physical and social landscapes” as well as “craft[ing] culture” (p. 3) in very different societies.

Home Lands is divided into three sections based on the locales noted above. The first chapter, “Home on Earth,” centers on women in the Rio Arriba region of northern New Mexico. Beginning with the Pueblo Indians, the chapter explores how women interacted with the earth “to claim a home place, to sustain life” and “to make the present meaningful and the future a realm of human possibility” (p. 7). Over the course of more than 1000 years, Indian, Mexican, and Anglo women farmed, created household goods, moved when the soil was exhausted, and played an instrumental role in sustaining their societies. In the twentieth century, the political forces of Progressivism, two world wars, and a postwar boom, the authors note, remade New Mexico into a place of “urban sprawl, suburban growth, and economic development.” Women participated in this dramatic change at every step. By the twenty-first century, New Mexican women drew upon popular memory of the Southwest to create a sustainable market in southwestern art.

In “Women In Motion Along the Front Range,” the authors trace a similar pattern of development, but in this chapter they examine the impact of transportation and mobility on women and communities. They note the importance of horses and buffalo hunting, the development of the tipi as mobile housing, the interaction of Anglo and Indian communities in the fur trade, and the dramatic transformation of
the Rocky Mountain West brought about by the Homestead Act and the expansion of the railroads. The end of the chapter examines the effect of transportation – streetcars, trolleys, and automobiles – on the development of the city of Denver and its subsequent impact on women’s experiences as urban reformers and later, as suburban housewives in the postwar period.

Finally, in “Waterscapes of Puget Sound,” the book examines how women interacted with these waterscapes in the simultaneous creation of fluid economies of trade and stable communities in the Pacific Northwest. Here, Native peoples used the waterways as modes of transportation for seasonal trade and relied on marriage alliances to bind mobile and varied peoples together. Native conflicts over resources combined with Anglo American, Scandinavian, and Japanese migration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries led to dramatic changes in the Puget Sound region. The timber, fishing, canning, and agricultural industries boomed, with a profound effect on the environment. As in Denver, the Progressive era and the post-World War II period led to dramatic changes in urban growth and suburban sprawl, while World War II witnessed the growth of the defense industry and the internment of local Japanese and Japanese-American residents. The chapter ends by noting the growing “eco-mom” movement in Seattle, which emphasizes environmental preservation through local consumption.

The time period covered in the volume – from roughly 700 AD to 2010 – naturally limits the book to an overview of what is complicated change in the three regions. The authors have compensated for this by stopping periodically to examine in more depth the stories of individuals ranging from Owl Woman, who played a central role as a liaison between Anglo and Indian communities in the Pacific Northwest as the wife of an American fur trader, to African American Dr. Justina Ford, who capitalized on the transportation boom to reach poor, immigrant, and black patients in Denver. These more in-depth moments are supplemented with beautiful color and black-and-white photographs of women’s material culture, from baskets to clothing to photographs to paintings. In the end, Home Lands provides an excellent overview of the development of these three regions, and its motif of “home” works well to reframe the standard narrative of the West. Teachers, general readers, and researchers can easily continue this theme of home in their examination of other regions, while gaining from this volume a valuable perspective on the centrality of women’s participation in the making of the American West.

Reviewed by Phil Brigandi, independent historian.

Phineas Banning (1830-1885) was a prominent figure in Southern California in the first decades after statehood. His ships, freight wagons, and stage coaches helped move people and goods in and out of the region. Later, his children and grandchildren would also play a role in the development of Southern California. Historian Tom Sitton traces the fortunes of the Banning family through the generations, along the way displaying an impressive array of research. His extensive notes will help guide future researchers (especially those with access to the incomparable collections of the Huntington Library).

Phineas Banning receives the lion’s share of the attention (about 100 pages’ worth), but his sons, William (1858-1946), Joseph (1861-1920), and Hancock (1865-1925), their siblings, children, grandchildren, and even cousins also have their time in the spotlight. And indeed the accomplishments of the family warrant such attention. Phineas Banning helped develop the port of San Pedro, founded the town of Wilmington (1869), which tied his wharves to the city. He had a knack for fostering government improvement projects that also benefited his personal enterprises, and worked closely with the Southern Pacific railroad for the same reason. The town of Banning, along the SP tracks in Riverside County, was named in his honor in 1877. The three Banning brothers owned Catalina Island from 1892 until 1919 and were responsible for much of the early tourist development there. Hancock Banning’s wife, Anne Smith Banning (1871-1951), was a leader in Los Angeles philanthropic and social circles for decades.

This is truly a family history, beginning in Europe in the 16th century and continuing to Phineas Banning’s great-grandchildren. But the book does not sugar-coat the story, and Sitton gives equal time to the many family feuds and personal quirks. Along the way, we learn more about what Phineas Banning did than who he was—but then, he was primarily a man of action. And while the title speaks of the shaping of Southern California, the book is mostly concerned with Los Angeles, and grows noticeably thin when dealing with Banning enterprises in other areas (with the exception of Catalina Island, which receives special attention).

Sitton’s hefty volume helps to unravel Phineas Banning’s many businesses, projects, and partnerships. It will be useful to anyone whose interests include the many Banning family enterprises. However, the names of scores of other prominent 19th-
and early 20th-century Angelenos also move through its pages making it appealing to those interested in the history of development in the metropolis.


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

Lilian Jeannette Rice (1889-1938) designed and built a variety of residential and commercial structures in San Diego County, most notably cottages, ranch houses, and large estates in Rancho Santa Fe. Among her works listed on the National Register of Historic Places are the Santa Fe Land Improvement Company Offices, the Charles Shaffer House, and the Claude & Florence Terwilliger home. She also remodeled the former Juan Osuna hacienda for Hollywood star Bing Crosby, built the Paul Ecke Ranch home in Encinitas, and won a prestigious award from the American Institute of Architects for her design of the ZLAC Rowing Club.

Diane Y. Welch writes a fascinating and beautifully illustrated biography of this early twentieth-century female architect, focusing on the decorative details that characterized her distinctive Mediterranean style. She explains that Rice showed sensitivity when fitting her structures into California’s landscape, suggesting that she was an early twentieth-century example of an “eco-conscious designer, utilizing passive solar design.” According to Welch, “The landscape in effect became her canvas, and her buildings conformed to the lay of the land; boulders, ridges, and arroyos provided opportunities to place her structures in harmony with these features, making full use of views, coastal breezes, and the position of the sun” (p. 42). The Hamilton Carpenter residence, for example, fits seamlessly into the grade of the site, as do many of her other structures.

Welch rescues Rice from charges that she took credit for work done by her employers, the architectural firm Requa and Jackson. She served as resident architect of the Santa Fe Land Improvement Company from 1923-28 – not her employers – and signed presentation drawings and completion notices, “Requa and Jackson Per LJR.” Welch argues that she “should get credit for the work,” as she had the authority to sign the documents with her initials (p. 211). The author also refutes the idea that Rice copied Richard S. Requa’s “Southern California” style that drew on the architectural heritage of the Southwest, colonial Mexico, and Spain. Rice was inspired by a variety of con-
temporary architects and trends, including Julia Morgan, Hazel Waterman, the Arts & Crafts movement, and the landscape design philosophy of Berkeley’s Hillside Club. In fact, she traveled to Spain in 1925, a year before Requa sketched the farmhouses of Andalusia. Having sent her as an advance scout, he later followed her itinerary.

Welch draws on previously unpublished sources to document Rice’s life story and to shed light on the architectural community in early San Diego. She has done an admirable piece of detective work, particularly as the architect’s correspondence and business documents were “relegated to the landfill” after her death in 1938 (p. 16). The book includes notes and a bibliography, along with a list of projects. Welch notes, however, that the list is incomplete as many houses designed by Rice have yet to be identified. The architect was very prolific, particularly after she opened her own office in Rancho Santa Fe in 1928.

The book uses contemporary photographs of Rancho Santa Fe homes, inside and out, to illustrate Rice’s attention to detail. We see the distinctive Moorish-style chimney on the façade of the Ralph and Belle Claggett Residence, red clay tile roofs, iron grillwork, hurricane lamps and exterior light fixtures, and even a Mission bell at the Shafter Residence. Interior photographs show living rooms with tiled floors and fireplaces, wood-beamed ceilings, arched doorways, heavy mantelpieces, wrought-iron staircases, and bay windows. Landscape details show Rice’s sensitivity to her environment and often include such features as vine-covered pergolas, tiled patios, and cisterns. Ventilation systems, tiled bathrooms, light fixtures, doors, hallways, and drapery rails are also documented in high-quality photographs by Bertocchini Photography, Paul Body Photography, Darren Edwards, Gary Conaughton, Juliana Charity Welch, and Ron Krisel.

The book also looks at Rice’s commercial and institutional projects, including La Valenciana Apartments, a mixed-use office and residential project; the Inn at Rancho Santa Fe; San Dieguito Union High School; and the ZLAC Rowing Club in Pacific Beach, among others.

Rice died from ovarian cancer in 1938 at the age of forty-seven, leaving her associates Olive Chadeayne and Elinor Frazer to finish much of her remaining work. She is remembered as one of the few professional female architects in early twentieth-century California, an educated and successful career woman, a respected employer, a loving daughter, and a good-natured companion. Anyone interested in the built environment of Southern California, women’s history and biography, and residential architectural design will be pleased to own this beautiful, and long-awaited, book.

Reviewed by Greg Hall, Associate Professor and Director of Graduate Studies, Department of History, Western Illinois University.

Researching and writing from a unique perspective, Jan Goggans has crafted a meaningful history that is part biography, part agricultural labor history, and part photographic and textual analysis. The book is both thought-provoking and a pleasure to read. California on the Breadlines focuses on the personal and professional relationship between Dorothea Lange, one of the most celebrated and innovative photographers of the 1930s, and Paul Taylor, the socially and politically engaged labor economist who pioneered the field of agricultural labor studies. Although the relationship between Lange and Taylor is what holds the monograph together, it is Goggans’s analysis of Lange’s photography and of Taylor’s research and writing that makes the book a creative examination of the Great Depression and New Deal in California.

Goggans documents the intellectual and cultural influences on Lange and Taylor as they matured into their chosen professions years before they met. Having emerged from different backgrounds, they nevertheless possessed values and sensibilities that would complement each others’ work. They both settled in California and had established their own viable careers years before the Great Depression. Goggans also examines their earlier personal histories as well, which gives the book an intimate portrait of two very talented participants in the creation of the New Deal ethos as it unfolded in California.

Their collaboration began in the mid-1930s, as migrants from the Dust Bowl made a steady exodus to California for the promise of a new life in the West. The state and its agricultural system, in particular, were under enormous pressure to absorb an unwanted increase in population and a work force that outpaced available employment. That reality, coupled with organized labor’s renewed resurgence in seeking democratic rights in the workplace, created a radical crucible from which emerged a new social ethic that both Lange and Taylor helped to create and document. Taylor’s research and writing on California agricultural labor and the migrant population gave further purpose to Lange’s photography while her work illuminated his by providing it with a greater impact and an enhanced accessibility. Their work culminated in An American Exodus: A Record of Human Erosion, a masterpiece of New Deal narrative.

Throughout her book, Goggans draws extensively upon the primary sources left behind by Lange and Taylor. She brings forth their voices in this history and contextualizes their work with an innovative analysis supported by a wide range of
secondary sources. Moreover, she demonstrates an adept handling of several different fields of scholarly inquiry to produce an elegant portrait of a professional as well as a personal relationship. With Lange and Taylor both deeply affected by and engaged in some of the most dramatic events in California during the tumultuous decade of the 1930s, *California on the Breadlines* proves itself to be an accessible monograph that would be of interest to a variety of readers, students, and scholars.


Reviewed by Nicolas G. Rosenthal, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Loyola Marymount University.

First published in 1996 by the University of Illinois Press (and reviewed in *The Journal of San Diego History* 43:4 (Fall 1997)), this second edition of Troy R. Johnson’s work on the 1969-70 American Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island features an altered title and a new afterword by the author. It remains important both for its informative narrative of a crucial event in 20th century United States history and its foregrounding of Native people’s experiences and reflections. Yet, this latest edition lacks the type of critical reflection that readers might expect from an author twelve years after the initial publication.

Johnson’s argument, stated in the introduction, is that the nineteen-month occupation “ushered in a new era of American Indian activism that continued well into the mid-1970s and kept national attention focused on Indian rights and grievances” (p. 1). Much of the book that follows is a description of the events leading up to and during the major Indian takeover of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay. On March 9, 1964, in an attempt to publicize the poor conditions of Indians living in San Francisco, five Sioux Indians arrived on the island, read a proclamation, held a victory dance, and then returned to the city. Over the next five years as more Native people migrated to the Bay Area, the concern with the lack of jobs, decent housing, and cultural space continued to grow and led to another seizure of the island in November 1969. Extensive media coverage publicized this occupation, which allowed broader Indian grievances to reach a global audience, bringing in support and additional participants from across the country and around the world. The momentum eventually flagged, however, and just fifteen protestors remained when authorities quietly ended the occupation in June 1970. Nonetheless, Alcatraz continued to serve as inspiration for
Native people and led to a series of similarly high-profile protests around the country collectively dubbed the “Red Power” movement.

As it has since its first publication, the *Occupation of Alcatraz* provides an important account of events critical for understanding American Indian and United States history. Indeed, there is likely no scholar or teacher of Native people in the twentieth century who has not relied upon Johnson’s detailed narrative of the Alcatraz occupation for exploring such topics as Indian activism, urbanization, pan-Indian identity, and the shift towards government policies of self-determination. Recent scholarship has added layers of complexity to these issues, something that could have been effectively addressed by the new afterward. Furthermore, many of the critiques made following the first edition are still notable, such as the tendency towards light analysis, a failure to systematically develop the thesis, and the uncritical presentation of first-person testimonies. It is therefore disappointing that the author chose both to leave the original text wholly intact and to use the afterward as a way of continuing the narrative through the major protest activities of the 1970s, taking only passing note of the time elapsed since the first edition. In the end, the *Occupation of Alcatraz* has given scholars and teachers a great deal. This publication of a second edition, however, represents a missed opportunity by the author to revise the work and place it in context, thereby contributing even more.


Reviewed by Lawrence A. Herzog, Professor and Chair, Graduate Program in City Planning, School of Public Affairs, San Diego State University.

In its time, Reyner Banham’s *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* was somewhat of an academic bombshell for architectural historians and urbanist scholars. The book, first published in 1971 (and appearing here with its original text and a new foreword), challenged at least two prevailing wisdoms of the era: first, that architectural history books should consist of a chronological, ordered presentation of the evolution of important buildings and forms in a city; second, that Los Angeles, with its low density sprawl, homogenous suburbs, gridlocked freeways, and slavish attachment to the automobile, was an urban design disaster.

In no uncertain terms, Banham turned both of these notions upside down. He argued for a design history that went beyond the usual encyclopedia-like catalogue of
structures to encompass the larger socio-cultural, ecological, and geographic context. In his words, he wished to place architecture “within the topographical and historical context of the total artifact that constitutes Greater Los Angeles” (p. 5). Banham further toppled convention by suggesting that architectural history was more than a history of formally designed structures; it needed to embrace the totality of the cultural landscape, from freeways to fast food restaurants.

The author rocked the academy by offering a far more sympathetic view of Los Angeles, which by the late 1960s was attracting a whirlwind of criticism from progressive urban planners and designers for its emerging sprawl, smog, and dull suburban forms. While in his opening chapter Banham attempted to portray himself as neutral in these debates, the main text of the book reveals a writer not only sympathetic towards LA’s brand of urbanism, but one enamored by its possibilities. Banham maintained that “no city has ever been produced by such an extraordinary mixture of geography, climate, economics, demography, mechanics, and culture; nor is it likely that an even remotely similar mixture will ever occur again” (p. 6).

It is Banham’s passion for Los Angeles that is a driving force in the book’s timeless quality. Eccentric and lively prose is accompanied by images that evoke the sense of Los Angeles being something new, something cutting edge, something that peers into the future. Adding to the book’s allure is its presentation, a narrative that sweeps back and forth between chapters on Banham’s four ecologies (“Surfurbia,” “Foothills,” “The Plains of Id,” and “Autopia”) and those on architectural styles. This sense of things being out of order is meant to challenge the reader to consider Los Angeles in a different way. It is Banham being post-modern before post-modernism had fully taken hold.

For all of its virtues, Banham’s book is challenged simply by the passage of time. The 2009 edition tackles this challenge head on with a new foreword titled “After Ecologies” by architect and scholar Joe Day. Day writes about the ways LA has changed since Banham’s book was published, and whether the four ecologies perspective remains valid. Day makes several astute observations about the changing Los Angeles metropolis: first, that the idiosyncrasies recorded decades ago – exotic, odd buildings, modernist glass houses on hillsides, or surf culture landscapes – no longer adequately define Los Angeles; second, that an entire school of Los Angeles urban theory (in architecture, geography, art, etc.) has evolved to create a much larger discourse on the city; third, Los Angeles has lost its status as the symbol of urban sprawl (Phoenix, Dallas, or Miami are just as representative) and as the national icon of urban design simulation (Las Vegas likely gets the nod); and fourth, in terms of globally significant growth, Los Angeles is now overshadowed by boom cities like Shanghai, Mumbai, and Dubai.

Day also addresses a commonly held critique about Banham’s use of the term
“ecology.” Banham managed largely to ignore the environmental and green dimensions of ecology, preferring to go with a more culturally nuanced version of the concept. In Day’s words, Banham seems to imply that “ecologies…are simply what we make of them” (p.xxii). In this sense, perhaps times have changed. Los Angeles’ future must embrace the question of how the region will sustain itself. Banham is silent on the apparent environmental (and social) contrast between those living in Surfurbia or wealthy foothill communities, and those trapped on the Plains of Id. This seems ultimately a glaring shortcoming in the original book – and one which screams out for a new epilogue: how will a metropolitan region of 17 million spread across over a thousand square miles of semi-arid, water deprived land, and ranked with the worst air pollution in the United States sustain itself through the twenty first century? What kinds of ecologies will be needed? How will socio-environmental inequality be confronted?

Still, the value of Banham’s book must, in the end, be its trumpet call to architectural historians and students of cities to think beyond buildings or sterile land use categories. The text is a primer on the importance of “sense of place” in architectural history. Banham had the audacity and insight to leap across scholarly boundaries, to stitch together a narrative that poetically blends critical historic details – Spanish colonial revival architecture, European modernism, shopping mall design, Hollywood, freeway landscapes – into what will remain as the first and still one of the best comprehensive studies of the Los Angeles built environment.

EXHIBIT REVIEW


Reviewed by Jessica Lee Patterson, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Art, Architecture, and Art History, University of San Diego.

The variety of woodblock prints displayed in _Dreams and Diversions: 250 Years of Japanese Woodblock Prints_, an exhibition organized by the San Diego Museum of Art, functions as a splendid corrective to the old tendency to view Asian art through the lenses of tradition and continuity. When Western artists such as John La Farge (1835-1910), Vincent Van Gogh (1853-1890), and Aubrey Beardsley (1872-1898) began to study Japanese prints (especially the works of Hiroshige and Hokusai) in the nineteenth
In the 19th century, they were fascinated by the boldness of the colors, the delicacy and economy of the draftsman-ship, and the unfamiliar methods of posing figures or composing landscapes. To them, the prints were representative of a Japan that was timeless and unhurried, whose inhabitants lived close to nature and translated their observations into forms of art that struck Western eyes as so classical in expression that both La Farge and Van Gogh were wont to speak of the Japanese in the same breath as the ancient Greeks. When Van Gogh went to Arles it was to seek his “Japan,” or as close to it as he thought he could find in France, a provincial retreat where the pace of life would be slower, he hoped, and the people more amiable than in Paris.

The selection of artists whose works are currently on display in the Hoehn Family Print Galleries at the University of San Diego, a second venue for the exhibition, reveal a side of Japan that Van Gogh never dreamed of. Beginning with the opening of the Port of Yokohama as a foreign trade enclave in 1859 and accelerating with the reformist obsessions of the Meiji era from 1868, Japan entered a period of rapid change and flux. One room in the Hoehn Print Galleries contains examples of Yokohama-e, a genre of woodblock prints in which Japanese artists recorded their impressions of the exotic appearance and peculiar activities of the Westerners who had arrived to dwell in Yokohama, formerly a small fishing port but now a growing center for international trade. Panoramic and street views reveal the layout of the new city, already expansive by 1861, while figure studies attempt to convey something of the appearance and dress of the foreigners to a Japanese audience. One memorable picture by Utagawa Yoshiiku (1833-1904) assembles a gathering of outlanders of all kinds, the motley effect made all the more striking by the fact that the inhabitants of real nations are juxtaposed with the anatomically unusual denizens of mythical places, such as “Midgetland” or “No-Stomach Country.”

A second room in the Hoehn Galleries presents the work of three printmakers of the late nineteenth century, Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (1839-1892), Toyohara Chikanobu (1838-1912), and Kobayashi Kiyochika (1847-1915). All three were responding in distinct ways to the challenges and opportunities of the Meiji era. Although Yoshitoshi anchored his work to scenes that were familiar from history and literature, his compositions are original and explosively dynamic, barely contained by the boundaries of the page. Chikanobu likewise worked with the literary subjects popular with his audience, but he made skilful use of the new colors available through international trade. Several of his pictures feature stunning yet subtle plays between deep shades of violet, crimson, and teal. Kiyochika, by contrast, rejected the motion and brilliance that was creeping into the prints of his contemporaries. His more sedately composed and colored scenes of notable sites and landscapes combine elements of Western structure with Japanese techniques, producing hybrid images of the new Japan that intrigued and satisfied a public growing nostalgic for visions of the old.
Dreams and Diversions: 250 Years of Japanese Woodblock Prints has been an impressively varied and comprehensive exhibition since it first went on display in November 2010, using gallery space at both SDMA and USD. It is now in its second phase, having installed a set of new and different works in both venues. Many will glimpse the prints at SDMA; the galleries at USD, although less well known, are equally worthy of a visit. The Hoehn Family Print Galleries currently offers rare and remarkable insights into Japan’s artistic response to the nineteenth-century beginnings of modernity and globalization.

BOOK NOTES


Erotic City: Sexual Revolution and the Making of Modern San Francisco. By Josh Sides. New York, Oxford University Press, 2009. 292 pp. $29.95 cloth. Illustrations, maps, index, and notes. Historian Joshua Sides examines the impacts of the sexual revolution on the geography and politics of San Francisco in the late twentieth century in a work that challenges urban scholars to move beyond a reliance on “white flight” or “urban crisis” paradigms and recognize conflicts over the culture of sexuality as critical elements of the post-World War II urban environment.

Paying the Toll: Local Power, Regional Politics, and the Golden Gate Bridge. By Louise Nelson Dyble. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. 294 pp. Illustrations, maps, index, and notes. $39.95 cloth. This volume explores not just the construction of the iconic bridge but the politics behind its financing and management. The author pays particular attention to the way the Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District (an autonomous special district) became a major player in San Francisco politics while striving to maintain control over the structure.

This Day in San Diego History. By Linda H. Pequegnat. San Diego: Sunbelt Publications, 2009. x + 390 pp. References and index. $19.95 paper. An entry for each day of the year highlights a notable event in San Diego history. The volume’s index and cross-references to other calendar days allow the reader to track particular topics.
Wild Horses of the West: History and Politics of America’s Mustangs. By J. Edward de Steiguer. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011. 296 pp. $24.95 paper. Photographs, maps, table, and index. The protection of wild horses in the West has been a source of controversy for decades, as residents of western states, federal officials, and environmental advocates debate the impacts of the animals on range lands. Wild Horses of the West traces the origins of this controversy by examining the introduction of horses to the Americas, their incorporation into western cultures, and the science and politics surrounding the contemporary debates over protecting the animals.

Women Who Kill Men: California Courts, Gender, and the Press. (Law in the American West Series.) By Gordon Morris Bakken and Brenda Farrington. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. xi + 272 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. $45.00 cloth. The murder trials of eighteen women from the 1870s to the 1950s provide the foundation of this investigation of how changing gender stereotypes informed the prosecution, defense, and public discussion of these sensational crimes.
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Sol Price: Retail Revolutionary
The FedMart Years—1954-1975
by Robert Price
Colonel D.C. Collier: “An Inspiration to Citizens of Today”
by Richard Amero
The San Diego Chamber of Commerce Establishes the U.S. Naval Coal Station, 1900-1912
by John Martin
Economics and Spirituality in the Entrepreneurial Development Strategy of the Franciscan California Missions
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