The Journal of San Diego History

The Journal of San Diego History

SAN DIEGOS CRAFT BREW CULTURE

Wells Fargo Stagecoaches

Bed and Saddle
Wells Fargo stagecoaches were painted an identifying color with the company name in gold leaf. These are still the signature colors of Wells Fargo.

Leather Curtains
Older leather curtains helped keep the drive from coming out of the stagecoach.

Driver's Box and Staggered Seats
The driver handled the reins of a team of four or six horses. The Wells Fargo stagecoach was designed to keep six, two on each side. Each horse and covered Wells Fargo teams were harnessed to the front horse.

High Wheel
C崭arriage wheels made of solid oak were stacked on the rear and front, which was covered with waterproofed leather.

Spokes
Made of hard-hewn hickory, every spoke was the same weight and measurement to ensure perfect balance.

Tires
A small coin-sized brass was impressed into the tire and set around a wooden circle, allowing it to roll on the ground.

Brakes
The wooden leathers tied to the brake were used to slow and stop the stagecoach as needed.

Tongue
The stagecoach had a huge tongue on the back to hold the stagecoach in place.

Wheels
The wheels and running gear of the stagecoach were painted a bright yellow green.

Stamps
The stagecoach was made of cast iron and had a stamp used to print the Wells Fargo logo.
Publication of The Journal of San Diego History is underwritten by a major grant from the Quest for Truth Foundation, established by the late James G. Scripps. Additional support is provided by “The Journal of San Diego History Fund” of the San Diego Foundation and private donors.

The San Diego History Center is a museum, education center, and research library founded as the San Diego Historical Society in 1928. Its activities are supported by: the City of San Diego’s Commission for Arts and Culture; the County of San Diego; individuals; foundations; corporations; fund raising events; membership dues; admissions; shop sales; and rights and reproduction fees.

Articles appearing in The Journal of San Diego History are abstracted and indexed in Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life.


PRESERVE A SAN DIEGO TREASURE
Your contribution will help to create an endowment for

The Journal of San Diego History

Please make your check payable to The San Diego Foundation. Indicate on the bottom of your check that your donation is for The Journal of San Diego History Fund. The San Diego Foundation accepts contributions of $100 and up. Your contribution is tax-deductible.

The San Diego Foundation
2508 Historic Decatur Road, Suite 200
San Diego, CA 92106

(619) 235-2300 or (858) 385-1595
info@sdfoundation.org


Back Cover: Photo from Wells Fargo Since 1852 (2011), p. 11. Images produced by Wells Fargo Historical Services from Wells Fargo Corporate Archives, San Francisco, California.

Design and Layout: Allen Wynar

Printing: Crest Offset Printing

Editorial Assistants:
Travis Degheri
Cynthia van Stralen
Joey Seymour
CONTENTS

VOLUME 59 WINTER/Spring 2013 NUMBERS 1 & 2

ARTICLES

San Diego’s Craft Brew Culture
Ernie Liwag and Matthew Schiff
5

Wells Fargo: California’s Pioneer Bank
Iris Engstrand
23

On the 50th Anniversary of President John F. Kennedy’s visit to San Diego State College
Seth Mallios
41

Designing a Unified City: The 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition and Its Aesthetic Ideals
Carlotta Falzone Robinson
65

IN MEMORIAM
Richard Amero
87

BOOK REVIEWS
89
San Diego’s Craft Brew Culture

Ernie Liwag and Matthew Schiff

Craft brewers are defined by the Brewers Association as brewers who are “small, independent and traditional.”¹ They produce fewer than six million barrels of beer annually; less than 25 percent of their brewery is owned or controlled by a non-craft brewer; and they produce a high proportion of all malt beers.

San Diego County is witnessing a boom in the craft brewing industry. The number of brewing businesses has doubled since 2010.² Craft beer thrives at a time of consolidation for large national brewers. In 2008, the Belgian-Brazilian company InBev purchased Anheuser-Busch and SABMiller; Molson Coors Brewing Company merged to form MillerCoors. The two companies “dominate the American beer market” with ownership of fifty-six of the top 100 selling beers in America.³ This consolidation came at a time when overall beer sales were down an estimated 1.3 percent by volume nationwide, though interestingly, it is also happening at a time when more breweries—2,751 at the end of 2012—are operating in the United States than at any other time in American history. Many craft beer enthusiasts, as well as judges of national and global competitions, claim that San Diego County possesses some of the best microbreweries.⁴

This article explores the growth of the craft beer industry in San Diego County and identifies the conditions that have made the region a globally recognized center for craft beer production and innovation. In the 1970s, a series of events made it possible for the craft beer industry—including home brewing, brewpubs, and microbreweries—to explode in San Diego. Congress passed an Act in 1978 exempting small amounts of home-brewed beer or wine from taxation (Title 26 U.S. Code § 5051 and § 5053). Nevertheless, states remained free to permit or restrict

---

Ernie Liwag, author of “Craft Beer in San Diego Society” 53, nos. 1-2, The Journal of San Diego History, (2007): 24-36, received his BA in history from the University of San Diego and served in the U.S. Navy. Liwag continues his military service in the Air Force Reserves. Matthew Schiff is the Marketing Director for San Diego History Center and curator of the exhibition Bottled & Kegged: San Diego’s Craft Beer Culture. He received his BA and MA degrees in history from the University of San Diego.
the production of alcoholic beverages at home. In California, State Assemblyman Tom Bates authored what became known as the “Bates Bill” making possible the “manufacture of beer for personal or family use, and not for sale, by a person over the age of 21 years” (Cal. Code § 23356.2). The California legislature in 1982 permitted licensed beer manufacturers to “sell beer and wine, regardless of source, to consumers for consumption at a bona fide public eating place on the manufacturer’s premises and which are operated by and for the manufacturer” (Cal. Code § 23357), giving rise to the brewpub.

While it required legislation to assure that what they were doing would not get them arrested, it was the adventurous and innovative spirits of home brewers that were responsible for building San Diego’s craft brewing culture. Home brew clubs like QUAFF (Quality Ale and Fermentation Fraternity), North County Home Brewers Association, Foam on the Brain and others formed throughout the region and its members had the opportunity to try their recipes out on one another and exchange ideas and best practices. These clubs were, and still are, the foundations upon which many successful brewing careers have been built. For example, home brewer Skip Virgilio started AleSmith Brewing Company in 1995, sold it to Peter Zein, current owner and former QUAFF president (1999-2001). Current brewer and past QUAFF president, Tod Fitzsimmons, is the brewer. Before craft brewing could become an industry that would support the careers of the aforementioned, the general public would need to learn to appreciate, and
begin buying, the new varieties of beer the home brewers-turned-professional brewers were making.

During the mid-1980s, brands such as Budweiser, Coors Light, and Miller High Life dominated San Diego’s beer market—as well as those of the rest of the United States. The high cost of imports deterred working people from buying foreign beer. Instead, they picked up six-packs of Budweiser, Coors, or Miller. Distributors and retailers, meanwhile, found European imports less profitable and began removing them from their shelves. In 1990, the top five U.S. brewers projected sales to rise 2.3 percent.

Given its proximity to the border, San Diego stores filled their shelves with imported Mexican beers. San Diegans were satisfied with imported beer until 1985 when the price of imports skyrocketed as much as 58 percent. Some brands cost as much as six dollars a bottle, five dollars more than any of the national brewers’ beer for the same volume. In 1989, Impact, a drinks industry newsletter, reported that “the market for imported beer is losing its sizzle,” increasing only four percent in 1988. Sonny Clark, a former brewer from Stone Brewing Co., commented on Mexico’s dominance of the imported beer market during the 1980s: “Corona and Tecate dominated the shelves in San Diego because those were the only imported beers cheap enough for distributors to carry at the time. European imports were priced fairly high in those days. We are also close to the border so that had an effect.” He went on to say, “While San Diego in general

The City Brewery Saloon and Beer Gardens operated between 1868 and 1888 at the northwest corner of 5th and B Streets. The Saloon and Beer Gardens continued to serve customers until 1898. ©SDHC #10474-1.
was in a Corona craze, there were consumers who grew to dislike it."

It took brewpubs, legalized in 1982, to effect changes in San Diegans’ taste for
beer and they cultivated the market of consumers who were growing to dislike
the readily available store-bought brews. Brewpubs provided the conduit for
what was then considered a specialty beer to be sold to the general public. In
San Diego, the first brewpub to open was Karl Strauss’ Old Columbia Brewery & Grill in 1989. For San Diegans, the brewpub’s beer excited local palettes. Not as “hoppy” as the India Pale Ales (IPA) and Double IPAs of present day, the beers at Karl Strauss were inspired by German-style recipes from the brewpub’s brew master, and Chris Cramer’s relative, Karl Strauss, the former brew master for Pabst Brewing Company. The rise of brewpubs, combined with growing dissatisfaction with imported beers, and the influence of home brewers began to educate San Diegans and shift their tastes from what they had known to what they did not yet know.

Beer as we know it today, is a beverage made from water, malted barley (or other malted cereal grain), hops, and yeast. Conrad Doblier, an Austrian immigrant, first brewed in the region in 1868. He had arrived in the late 1850s and settled in Chollas Valley, just east of downtown San Diego near today’s CA-94/I-15 interchange. Doblier, and the other brewer in town, Philip Wedel, were by definition craft brewers; small independent operators who used traditional methods. Since Doblier’s father had been a brewer in Austria, he may have learned his trade...
12 Both he and Wedel sourced, or grew, their own ingredients. By 1896 however, brewing had become big business.

When San Diego Brewing Company opened for business in 1896, it was the largest industrial enterprise in San Diego County. Financed by well-heeled investors, including John D. Spreckels, the brewery produced 140,000 barrels annually and distributed its product throughout the city, making deliveries to saloons and hotel bars, but also shipping product out of the city via refrigerated rail car.13 In 1913, Mission Brewing Company opened a comparatively smaller-sized production facility, which is still standing today at 1751 Hancock St.14 San Diego Brewing Company purchased the Fredericksburg Brewery located near present-day 22nd Street along San Diego Bay and the Mission Brewery. The company then reformed as San Diego Consolidated Brewing Company in 1914.15

The Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, passed January 16, 1919, prohibiting the production, sale, and transport of alcoholic beverages, nearly destroyed the brewing industry in the United States. The only brewers left standing were those who had invested in national distribution. They began to produce other products like industrial alcohol and near beer, beer that contained half of one percent alcohol by volume. In April 1933 the government recognized that prohibition was a failure and the National Prohibition Act popularly known as the “Volstead Act” was lifted.16 Americans were once again able to buy and consume alcoholic beverages legally.

Prohibition ended, but not without its consequences in the beer industry. In 1910, prior to Prohibition, there were some 1,500 breweries in the United States; after the repeal of prohibition the numbers grew slowly. Only 33 breweries had been re-established by 1940. Six of those breweries produced as much beer as the total of all breweries during the pre-Prohibition years. By 1980, the industry consolidated even as a young man.12
San Diego’s Craft Brew Culture

Aztec Brewing Co., founded in 1933, advertised its Famous ABC Beer (natural lager and supreme) as “Class in a Glass.” ©SDHC Sensor #6-454.

Aztec Brewing Co. was originally established in Mexicali, Mexico, in 1921. At the end of Prohibition, all of the plant equipment was moved to San Diego to the site of the former Savage Tire Co. at 2301 Main St. in the Barrio Logan neighborhood. ©SDHC #7062-I.
Aztec Brewing Co.’s softball team gathered in the colorful tap room, or Rathskeller, to celebrate their status as 1936 Champions of San Diego. ©SDHC Sensor #6-469.
more with the top three brewers—Anheuser-Busch, Coors, and Miller Brewing—accounting for 84 percent of the total domestic beer sales.\textsuperscript{17}

The impact of Prohibition was felt keenly in San Diego. To make up for lost revenue, San Diego Consolidated had resorted to making “near beer” like Hopski, which was produced out of the Mission Brewing facility. This, however, did not pay the bills. The building was sold in 1925 to the American Agar and Chemical Company. Prohibition also had a strong impact on Tijuana and Mexicali (112 miles east of Tijuana), but for different reasons.

During Prohibition, San Diego’s proximity to Mexico meant that San Diegans could still drink beer legally south of the border. This helped keep the taste for beer alive with San Diegans and provided economic stimulus to Tijuana’s main business district. Its population soared.\textsuperscript{18} In 1920, Tijuana had a population of 1,028. By 1930, it had grown to 11,271. Over 180 cantinas, including La Ballena—known as “the longest bar in the world”—sprang up around present-day Avenida Revolución (then called Main Street). The Agua Caliente Hotel and later racetrack was the most lavish establishment to cater to the crowds of American tourists. The racetrack attracted daily crowds of 3,500 people and the hotel advertised 500 elaborately decorated rooms.

The rise in tourism corresponded with a rise in the brewery business. Two breweries in Mexicali supplied Tijuana’s numerous attractions with beer during Prohibition. Compañía Cervecería Azteca (Aztec Brewing Company) and Cervecería Mexicali (Mexicali Brewery) saw business levels quadruple during the 1920s.\textsuperscript{19}
Almost as quickly as it arrived, the experiment of Prohibition failed in the United States and the amendment was repealed in 1933. Visitation to Tijuana decreased sharply and soon some cantinas closed. The breweries that had established themselves during Prohibition had lost much of their target market. Aztec Brewery, however, decided to move their operations north of the border and soon became San Diego’s largest, and most beloved, brewery.20

After the repeal of Prohibition, San Diego had only three breweries: Aztec Brewing Company, San Diego Brewing Company, and Balboa Brewing Company. Together, they produced 25 percent of all the beer produced in California. San Diego’s population, meanwhile, had more than doubled, reaching nearly 290,000 in 1940.21

This initial success of San Diego’s breweries would be short-lived. At the onset of World War II, national brewers made deals with local bars, taverns, liquor stores, and “package stores” (stores that sold beer packaged in bottles and cans) to
San Diego’s Craft Brew Culture

San Diego’s Craft Brew Culture

sell their brands almost exclusively. At the same time they used their massive resources to buy out local breweries across the nation. The national breweries’ dominance in packaged beer, the increasing barrel taxes, grain rationing, the inability to adapt to stricter food and industrial laws, and the growing desire for imported beer led to the closure of all the local San Diego brewers by 1953.22

After the closure of Altes Brewing Co., the last remaining San Diego brewery, in 1953, San Diegans had to get their beer from the package store, local bars, or Tijuana, Mexico. For a different tasting beer, they turned to imported beer from Mexico such as Tecate, Dos Equis, Corona, Negro Modelo, and Pacifico. In the 1960s, packaging and keg advancements allowed beers from Europe to reach California, giving San Diegans an even wider variety of imports, including Becks, Heineken, Guinness, Krönenburg, and Tsingtao.23 By 1970 imports accounted for 6 percent of the beer sold in San Diego, far higher than the national average. In 1981, imports represented 3 percent of U.S. consumption. In that year, sales of foreign beer jumped 14.3 percent compared with overall industry growth of 2.2 percent. By 1985, the import market in San Diego reached its peak, rising to 10 percent of the total market share while, nationally, the import market share was 4 percent.24 In 1976, Jack McAuliffe, a home brewing enthusiast, founded the first microbrewery, New Albion Brewery, in Sonoma, California. According to the Brewers Association, a microbrewery produces fewer than 15,000 barrels of beer per year. It sells to the public through one of the following methods: the three-tier system—brewer to wholesaler to retailer to customer; the two-tier system—brewer acting as wholesaler to retailer to customer; and directly to the consumer. New Albion Brewery produced ale, porter, and stout. According to one wine shop owner, quality issues plagued the brewery: “When they were good they were very, very good....”25 The brewery lasted only six years, but it created a trend in California encouraging home brewers to take their unique creations to the beer market. Other early efforts included DeBakker Brewery in Novato, River City Brewery in Sacramento, Palo Alto Brewing Co., and Sierra Nevada Brewing Co.26

In 1983, a home brewer established the nation’s first post-Prohibition brewpub,
the Mendocino Brewing Company’s Hopland Brewery in Hopland, California, ninety miles north of San Francisco. Lawrence Fisher, writing for *The New York Times* in 1986, noted that the brewpub brought to mind the old Hop Vine Saloon with “its handcrafted oak bar and original ornamental stamped tin covering the walls.” He added that “brewpubs have rapidly become a popular fixture in Northern California and the Pacific Northwest.” A few years later Betty Fussell, author of *Food in Good Season*, noted the development of “a style of beer cuisine.”

San Francisco Brewing Co., located in a turn-of-the-century saloon, offered lagers, top-fermented ales, and “a broiled hot Louisiana sausage sandwich with peppers and onions.” At Berkeley’s Triple Rock Brewery and Alehouse, “you can climb to the beer garden...to eat your bowl of black bean chicken chili or a sandwich of roast beef and Swiss cheese, slavered with blue cheese dressing, on a Semifreddi Bakery baguette flavored with anise and poppy seeds.” She noted wryly, “Not exactly standard beer fare.”

San Diego became the seventeenth largest beer market in the country in 1989, consuming 0.9 percent of the U.S. total. It was the twelfth largest market for imported beers, and the eleventh largest restaurant market.

Once consumers started shifting their interest towards craft beer, businesses developed to accommodate them. At first, craft beer appealed to upper-middle class consumers but, in the long run, it depended on the support of middle-class drinkers. The upper-middle class by itself could not increase or sustain the growth of craft beer. The population of San Diego increased 4 percent annually during the 1980s. On the other hand, according to one local brewer, the market for craft beer increased 35 percent annually from 1990-2000. Per capita consumption remained steady at between 20-22 gallons. Even if the upper-middle class accounted for 25 percent of the population in San Diego (a generous estimate), it still could not account for the soaring popularity of craft beer. Gradually, however, craft beers gained the support of home brewers who were decidedly middle class. According to one local brewer, imports and craft beers did not advertise but relied on their popularity among the “in” crowd for support. This crowd increasingly included middle-class home brewers.

Chuck Stephens, a construction worker, took on home brewing as a hobby in 1993,

*I started home brewing because I heard it was cheaper to make beer yourself. It’s a complicated process I had to learn and it really wasn’t that much cheaper, but it was well worth it. I’m not conceited or anything but I got really good at it and make beer that tastes great to my friends and me. My friends tell me that I make the best beer they have ever tasted. After that, I got four more of my friends to try it out. Only two of them still do it but the important thing is*
that they know that something better is out there than a ‘bud’. You will never catch any of us drinking that stuff. Well…maybe after mowing the lawn. It’s kinda like water.30

The growing demand for craft brew led to the opening of the Bolt brewery (a microbrewery) in Fallbrook in 1987 which was the first commercial brewing venture since 1953 and was quickly followed by Karl Strauss’ Old Columbia Brewery in 1989. Callahan’s Pub and Brewery opened in 1990 in Mira Mesa and was the first craft brew multi-tap establishment in San Diego.31 The average San Diego beer drinker began taking more of an interest in craft beer after Callahan’s opened. The owners intended to widen the consumer base for craft beers by providing reasonably-priced handcrafted beer, great food, and a casual sports-bar atmosphere. Callahan’s not only catered to craft beer enthusiasts but attracted nearby college students as a popular place to have a beer, shoot pool, and watch a sports game any time of the week.

In 1992 Pizza Port, a pizzeria in Solana Beach with a brew house within, began brewing some of the first high-IBU beers for which San Diego would soon become known. Stone’s Arrogant Bastard Ale became one of the most widely-recognized, and distributed, San Diego craft beers.32 The increasing popularity of craft beers with high IBUs has been caused, in part, by changing generational attitudes. In the 1980s, the most popular beers in San Diego were twice as bitter as the national beers. By the mid to late 1990s, the most popular beers were up to four times as bitter. To some extent, this can be explained by changing tastes. Drinkers who started with Karl Strauss in 1989 may have developed a taste for more bitter beers, causing them to turn to Stone Brewing Co. beers in 1996. It can also be explained by the rising affluence of a new group of drinkers—“Generation X.” Those born between 1963 and 1978 not only bought into the craft beer craze but, not surprisingly, pushed the envelope when it came to “taste.” They are often characterized as people who live aggressively and take more risks.33 To some degree, Stone’s Arrogant Bastard appeals to Generation X by challenging them to try the product. The label shows an aggressive-looking gargoyle holding a beer above the phrase “You’re Not Worthy.” The back of the label reads:
Arrogant Bastard Ale: This is an aggressive beer. You probably won’t like it. It is quite doubtful that you have the taste or sophistication to be able to appreciate an ale of this quality and depth. We would suggest that you stick to safer and more familiar territory—maybe something with a multi-million dollar ad campaign aimed at convincing you it’s made in a little brewery, or one that implies that their tasteless fizzy yellow beer will give you more sex appeal. Perhaps you think multi-million dollar ad campaigns make a beer taste better. Perhaps you’re mouthing your words as you read this.34

The Home Brew Mart in Linda Vista, opened in 1996 as a hobby shop for home brewers, soon began making beer on a commercial scale in back of the store.35 In a matter of years, the hobby shop grew to become a commercial production center for Ballast Point brand beers and today is the second-largest brewery in San Diego County, though the main production facility has moved to the Scripps Ranch area.

Today, San Diego County is home to 65 producing craft breweries and there are upwards of 20 in the planning stages.36 This rapid growth is fueled by the growing appreciation of craft beers nationwide, though San Diego County is a leader in terms of the number of breweries in a geographic location (one brewery for every 47,000 people). The boom in craft beer, along with a robust tourist culture, helped to expose greater numbers of visiting beer drinkers to the wide variety of flavors county brewers have created. The County’s rise to prominence has prompted greater investment in new brewing operations as speculators eye
San Diego’s Craft Brew Culture

Exterior of Home Brew Mart/Ballast Point Brewing, 2013. Photo courtesy Ballast Point Brewing Co.

Original Stone Brewing Co. production facility with president Steve Wagner (left) with CEO Greg Koch. Photo courtesy Stone Brewing Co.
year-after-year, double-digit growth. In 2011, the craft beer industry grew 13 percent in volume and 15 percent in sales, following respective growth rates of 12 percent and 15 percent in 2010. Of the current 65 breweries, all but 18 opened after 2006. The market is so robust that many brewers find success brewing niche beers like Belgians or sours that add to the multitude of varieties that the county’s brewers offer. While the future of the industry in San Diego County looks promising, there may ultimately be a time when the market becomes saturated and conglomeration or sell-offs occur but for now, there has certainly never been a better time or place to be a beer drinker in San Diego County.
NOTES


2. Matthew Schiff, interviews conducted with San Diego County brewery operators, 2012-2013.


5. Skip Virgilio, interview by co-author Matthew Schiff, San Diego, CA February 7, 2013.


14. See photo on page 11.

15. Williams, San Diego Breweries, 4.


20. ABC Brewing Company, Articles of Incorporation, Feb. 1933, San Diego History Center Archives.


26. Ibid.


32. IBU stands for “International Bittering Units” and is the brewing industry standard for measuring bitterness across all beer profiles; Chris Cochran, interviewed by Matthew Schiff, March 1, 2013. Stone Brewing Co. distributes to 37 states, plus Washington D.C., and exports to 5 countries as of March 2013.


34. This passage is found on the bottles of Arrogant Bastard Ale.


Wells Fargo: California’s Pioneer Bank

Iris Engstrand

Wells, Fargo & Company, known popularly as Wells Fargo Bank, was officially organized as a joint-stock association on March 18, 1852, to provide express and banking services to California. The history of its founders and their entry into the express business, however, goes back further. In fact, Wells and Company, a New York firm employing William Fargo, operated between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic Ocean for several years before the California gold rush catapulted the company into its starring role as the state’s pioneer bank. Although best recognized through its iconic stagecoach, Wells Fargo began by using stage lines already in business. It was not long, however, before the familiar red stagecoach made its appearance on the newly opened trails in the west.

Henry Wells (1805-1878), a native of Vermont, was 36 years old in 1841 when he became an agent in Albany, New York, for an express line established on the Hudson River by William Harnden to deliver packages of bank notes between New York and Boston. Harnden soon expanded his service to include newspapers and other parcels and his first office was a bulletin

Henry Wells, born in Thetford, Vermont, on December 12, 1805, was an early expressman—a term applied to persons capable of speedy and uninterrupted message delivery. He became president of the American Express Company upon its founding in 1850 and with William Fargo organized Wells, Fargo & Company in 1852. Wells founded Wells College for Women in Aurora, New York, in 1868; the college became coeducational in 2005. Wells died in Glasgow, Scotland in 1878. Photo courtesy Wells Fargo Corporate Archives.

Iris Engstrand is co-editor of The Journal of San Diego History and professor of history at the University of San Diego. Although the story of Wells Fargo’s early days has been told previously by Elizabeth MacPhail (JSDH 1982) and others, it is appropriate to bring its history up to date and honor Wells Fargo’s sponsorship of the Craft Beer Industry Exhibit and Gala of 2013.
board in a New York City coffee house. Two years after joining Harnden, Wells had his own firm with two partners operating as Livingston, Wells & Pomeroy between Albany and Buffalo. Wells himself made weekly trips on five or six railroads and two stage lines to give faster service than the post office. In 1844 Wells hired William G. Fargo (1818-1881) of New York as a paid messenger to make use of lake steamers in the summer and wagons in the winter.

The express business, like today, offered fast and reliable service to the extent that lines were extended and competitors formed their own companies. In 1850 the route between Albany and Buffalo led to the merger of Wells & Company; Butterfield, Wasson & Company; and Livingston, Fargo & Company to form the American Express Company. Operating out of New York, Wells became president and Fargo treasurer. The discovery of gold at Coloma on the American River in California in 1848, however, did not go unnoticed by the founders of American Express. The actual rush to California took place after news reached the East Coast in December 1848 and President James K. Polk announced the amazing discovery. Thousands of people made plans to travel by ship or wagon train. As the need for transportation developed, John Butterfield, an original investor in Wells Fargo, James Birch and others were making plans for overland stage lines from Missouri to California. A major competitor in the gold fields was the Adams Express Company.

After Wells, Fargo & Company was formally organized in 1852, financier Colonel Edwin Morgan of Aurora, New York, served as president until November 1853 when Danford N. Barney took over. At that time, all eyes were turned toward California since the newly formed state regulated neither the banking nor the express industry. Anyone with a wagon and team of horses could open an express company.

The California connection with Wells Fargo began when the company sent two agents to California, the population of which had grown from 92,000 in 1850 to some 260,000 in 1852. Agent Samuel P. Carter arrived on June 27, 1852, and was charged with opening a General Express Forwarding Agency. A bulletin in the Daily Alta California on July 3, 1852, announced that Wells Fargo would purchase...
and sell “Gold Dust, Bullion and Bills of Exchange” and would handle the payment and collection of gold dust, bullion and specie in addition to forwarding packages, parcels and freight between San Francisco and New York. The company would also handle shipments to cities and towns throughout California. Wells Fargo assured customers that armed agents would travel with all shipments and offer the same protection as customary in the east. 3

Wells Fargo was not immediately involved in holding money until banker Rueben W. Washburn arrived in San Francisco on July 10, 1852, on board the steamer Tennessee. 4 Washburn’s first exchange was completed on July 13, 1852, marking the beginning of Wells Fargo’s banking business. Henry Wells made his first trip to California on the Oregon, arriving on February 5, 1853. He wrote a letter to Wells Fargo president, Colonel Morgan, commenting at length on the progress of the company and the success of Carter and Washburn:

Our Internal Express here is one of the most profitable that I ever knew for its age . . . . I will go up to all our offices . . . . I am perfectly satisfied with all Carter’s arrangements. They have been judicious and well timed, liberal but not extravagant & as such have given me the confidence of the best men of the Town.

You may recollect Brigham of the Harnden Express was spoken of & he has kindly offered to take charge of our interests here in connection with the Vanderbilt line of steamers [through Nicaragua] at the moderate salary of Ten Thousand a Year. 5 Carter is worth two of him. In fact he is the man for the position . . . but he will [want to] come back & remain [in the East] . . . .
This is a great Country & a greater people. Our Express is just in from Sacramento & the mines & our Waybill for New York will amount to nearly $3000. The amt. going forward by this Steamer as you will see is the largest ever shipped from this Port. Had the express got in from the Southern mines we should have had some Two Hundred Ounces more to add to our amount.6

The first official Wells Fargo agent listed for San Diego in 1855 was Eugene B. Pendleton, a well-known merchant in Old Town.7 San Diego’s mail service since the end of the U.S.-Mexican War had been irregular at best—arriving generally by an occasional Boston Merchant ship, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, or some means of overland delivery by Wells Fargo or Adams Express Company. The San Diego Herald kept residents informed about events occurring up and down the state.8

Within six years after the discovery of gold, California was no longer the land of plenty. Disgruntled miners were returning from the gold fields empty handed. San Francisco, where jobs, lodging, and money were scarce, was suffering from crimes held in check at times only by the activities of vigilante committees. By February 1855, unsound speculation in the financial world caused the California banking system to collapse and Wells Fargo faced its first crisis. A run on Page, Bacon & Company, a San Francisco bank, began when its parent bank in St. Louis collapsed and the run soon spread to other financial institutions—all of which, including Wells Fargo, closed their doors. Nevertheless, Wells Fargo reopened its doors within a week and was one of the few banking/express companies to survive the panic because it kept sufficient assets on hand to meet the demand.9

Wells Fargo absorbed Adams & Company along with other transportation companies that had failed. As a survivor of the panic, Wells Fargo had the advantage

Vallecitos Stage Station in today’s Imperial County. ©SDHC OP 17134-3271.
of eliminating competition and achieving a reputation for dependability. From 1852 on, Wells Fargo expanded to become the most dependable transportation and banking agent. Under President Barney’s direction, the company’s banking and express activities supported its stagecoach business. In 1857, when the Overland Mail Company was organized by individuals involved in the leading express companies, Wells Fargo—often listed as its founder—served as Overland Mail’s banker and primary lender. John Butterfield, the third founder of American Express, became Overland’s president. The San Diego Herald noted in 1857 that Wells Fargo had captured most of the express business in San Diego and was highly regarded, but warned that it should not make its charges too high.¹⁰

In 1859, when Congress failed to pass the annual post office appropriation bill and consequently had no way to pay Overland Mail, the company’s indebtedness to Wells Fargo grew.¹¹ When there was no way to pay this debt, Butterfield resigned and control of the company passed to Wells Fargo in 1866. The company’s involvement with the Overland Mail also led to its participation in the Pony Express during the last six months of the colorful mail delivery’s existence. By the end of 1860, the Pony Express was deep in debt and its life abruptly ended when the transcontinental telegraph lines took over urgent message delivery in late 1861. From 1862 to 1865, however, Wells Fargo still operated a private express line between San Francisco and Virginia City, Nevada.

By the 1860s, Wells Fargo, with 147 offices in California, continued to buy out stage lines throughout the west. It not only had a monopoly on the express business, but, with its Concord coaches, “became the proprietor of the greatest stage empire in the country.”¹² Each coach, drawn by six horses, carried fifteen passengers—nine inside and six outside, including the driver and a Wells Fargo messenger. Even though danger from Indian attacks or stage robbers existed, their frequency was often exaggerated in stories about the west. Nevertheless, passengers still had to heed a set of warnings that included instructions as follows:
When the driver asks you to get off and walk, do so without grumbling. He won’t request it unless absolutely necessary. If the team runs away—sit still and take your chances. If you jump, nine out of ten times you will get hurt. . . . Don’t smoke a strong pipe inside the coach—spit on the leeward side. If you have anything to drink in a bottle, pass it around. . . . Never shoot on the road as the noise might frighten the horses. Don’t discuss politics or religion. Don’t point out where murders have been committed if there are women passengers. . . . Don’t imagine for a moment that you are going on a picnic. Expect annoyances, discomfort, and some hardship.¹³

By late 1866, Wells Fargo had bought out the stagecoach lines of its major competitor Ben Holladay, who had acquired the routes from Salt Lake City to Missouri.¹⁴ Even though the combination of Wells Fargo, Holladay, and Overland Mail lines became the undisputed stagecoach leader, their empire was short lived. Completion in May 1869 of the transcontinental railroad, built through the joint efforts of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroad companies, caused the slow demise of the stage business and a decline in Wells Fargo stock. Central Pacific promoters led by expressman Lloyd Tevis organized the Pacific Union
Express Company to compete with Wells Fargo. On October 4, 1869, William Fargo, his brother Charles, and Ashbel Barney negotiated a deal with Tevis and his associates to buy Pacific Union Express and receive exclusive express rights for ten years on the Central Pacific Railroad. Fargo took over as president of Wells Fargo in 1870 and was replaced by Lloyd Tevis in 1872.15

Meanwhile in San Diego, Frank Ames succeeded Pendleton as agent in 1865. He was followed by prominent Old Town residents E. W. Morse, J. S. Mannasse, and José María Estudillo. When gold was discovered in Julian in 1870, Wells Fargo quickly opened an office there and began transporting gold from San Diego to the mint in San Francisco.16 Wells Fargo closed its office in Old Town and opened its San Diego headquarters in a brick building at the corner of Sixth and G where New San Diego founder Alonzo Horton had his real estate office. The new Wells Fargo agent was Frank S. Lawrence, who handled Alfred L. Seeley’s tri-weekly stage service to Los Angeles, transporting mail, express, and passengers, and another line between San Diego and Yuma.17

Wells Fargo expanded rapidly and the number of banking and express offices grew from 436 in 1871 to 3,500 at the turn of the century. The company established the first transcontinental express line and gained access to East Coast markets. As the agricultural industry in California expanded, Wells Fargo promoted the
use of refrigerated freight cars. In San Francisco, banking and express operations were separated and the banking operations moved to the northeast corner of California and Sansome Streets.

John J. Valentine, General Superintendent of Wells Fargo, inspected San Diego’s office in 1873 with James Gamble, Superintendent of Western Union, to determine its future prospects. Henry Wells arrived in 1875 to discuss the possibility of a stage line to Tucson and eventually New Mexico since the possibility of a direct railroad line was deemed impossible. A financial recession in the mid-1870s caused numerous banks to close, so any expansion of Wells Fargo was set aside.¹⁸ In 1878 Wells Fargo combined its office with Western Union and the express agency was transferred to J. W. Thompson, manager of Western Union, who remained with Wells Fargo for many years and saw to it that both agencies moved back to Sixth and G, which also housed Seeley’s Santa Ana and Julian stage offices. In April 1881, Wells Fargo reduced its express rates effective in all 700 offices and was known to be more reliable than the United States Postal Service in delivering mail.¹⁹

By 1885 the California real estate boom was beginning to be felt in San Diego. Business and new buildings were moving north toward D Street (Broadway). In
March, Wells Fargo and Western Union moved to the impressive Horton Bank Block at Third and D. Thompson was still Manager and Agent for both firms and also handled bookings for the Julian and Temecula stage lines. The two companies then had the advantage of a location with a large and secure bank vault installed at great expense by Alonzo Horton who had designed the building to be occupied by a bank.20

The Boom of the Eighties resulted from the completion of the Santa Fe Railroad from the east to Southern California. Hundreds of newcomers, attracted by advertising brochures featuring California’s mild climate, took advantage of the low rates offered by the railroads. Wells Fargo, needing more office space, moved the ground floor of the I.O.O.F. (Odd Fellows) building at the corner of Sixth and H (Market) and then to the Gunn Building on the southeast corner of Sixth and F the next year.21
When the boom collapsed at the end of that decade, it was due to a business depression throughout the country, culminating in the “panic of 1893.” Of the eight banks in San Diego in 1889, five went out of business in the early nineties. John J. Valentine, who became president of Wells Fargo in 1892, reported that the financial panic of 1893 had not affected Wells Fargo and the company continued delivering mail until 1895. That service was finally left to the United States Postal System.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Wells Fargo’s Directory listed 3,103 offices in nearly every state. An office had been located in Mexico City and had connections with Australia, China, Europe, and South America. On March 18, 1902, Wells Fargo celebrated fifty years in business. The company presented a highly-prized silver commemorative medal to everyone who had been with the company more than one year. Three
were presented to San Diegans J. R. Beardsley, agent, J.E. Rice, cashier, and A.F. Reed, clerk.23

In 1905 Wells Fargo separated its banking and express operations when prominent financier Edward H. Harriman, a dominant figure in both the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads, gained control of Wells Fargo. Harriman reached an agreement with Isaias W. Hellman, president of the Farmers and Merchants Bank of Los Angeles, to merge Wells Fargo’s banking operations with the Nevada National Bank, founded in 1875 by silver barons James G. Fair, James Flood, John Mackay and William O’Brien. This merger resulted in the formation of Wells Fargo Nevada National Bank, which opened on April 22, 1905.24 By 1906, San Francisco clothing manufacturer Levi Strauss had joined the bank’s board. This occurred shortly before the earthquake and fire of April 18, 1906, destroyed the city’s business district including the Wells Fargo Nevada National Bank building. The bank’s vaults and credit, however, were
left intact. As a result of the country’s generosity, including donors in San Diego, money flowed in and the bank’s deposits increased from $16 million to $35 million in eighteen months. Recovery was slowed by the panic of 1907 that began in New York in October, but the years following were committed to achieving success.

By the outbreak of World War I, Wells Fargo had fully recovered. During the war the express division became the largest carrier of perishables using refrigerator cars. The federal government pressured American Express, Adams Company, and Wells Fargo, the three largest express companies in the United States, to merge “in the interests of winning the war,” and so on June 30, 1918, a merger took place. The new company became known as American Railway Express. Wells Fargo’s express office in San Diego had remained in the Express Building at Sixth and F until 1915 when it moved to the southwest corner of Eighth and Broadway. Its last agent in San Diego, C. A. Townsend, continued on with the American Railway Express in the same Eighth and Broadway location. Most of the Wells Fargo express workers remained as employees of the new company but were sad to see the name of Wells Fargo disappear from San Diego and the rest of the country.

Isaias Hellman died on April 9, 1920, and was succeeded by his son Isaias Jr., who died a month later. Frederick Lipman, who favored both expansion and the conservative banking practices of the Hellmans, was elected president. On January 1, 1924, Wells Fargo Nevada National Bank merged with the Union Trust Company, founded in 1893 by Isaias Hellman, to form Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Company. The bank prospered during the 1920s and Lipman’s conservative
management and reinvestment of the bank’s earnings allowed it to survive the Depression of the 1930s. Lipman retired on January 10, 1935, and was succeeded by Robert Burns Motherwell II.28

In 1935 San Diego held the California Pacific International Exposition in Balboa Park. Although the fair opened in the middle of the depression, it received unprecedented contributions and proved very successful. One of the popular exhibitors was Wells Fargo. Its success contributed to the decision by Wells Fargo Bank management to open a History Room in its main office in San Francisco for the use of the public. That History Room, now the Wells Fargo History Museum, has become one of the outstanding sources of information on the history of the west and the part Wells Fargo played in its development.29

Wells Fargo prospered during the World War II years. Isaias W. Hellman III was elected president in 1943 and by the 1950s had begun a modest expansion campaign. In 1954, the name was shortened to Wells Fargo Bank to capitalize upon its frontier imagery and to simplify further expansion. A number of changes and successful mergers took place in the 1960s and the name remained Wells Fargo.

Richard P. Cooley was elected president and CEO in November 1966 during a significant change in operations. Wells Fargo, together with three other California banks, formed the Western States Bankcard Association to introduce a Master Charge card (now MasterCard) to its customers as part of its plan to challenge Bank of America in the consumer lending business. Initially, 30,000 merchants

Sitting: Henry G. Fenton (left) and W. H. Barber. Standing: Wells Fargo Stage Coach owner Roscoe Hazard (left) and George Daley, 1956. ©SDHC 12244.
participated in the plan. The new credit card, unlike individual charge cards at single stores, made it possible for consumers to shop at a variety of locations, travel, and pay bills without carrying large amounts of cash, but with increased interest payments on past-due amounts.

Wells Fargo Bank re-entered the Southern California market in 1967 with an office in Los Angeles. Early in 1969 it received authority to open branch offices in downtown San Diego and La Jolla; after an absence of more than fifty years Wells Fargo returned to San Diego. In the next ten years Wells Fargo offices in Southern California grew from sixteen to 116, proving that Richard Cooley’s enthusiasm had not been misplaced. In September 1980, Wells Fargo announced a twenty-story office tower would be built on the block bounded by Broadway, E, First and Front, to be a part of the redevelopment of San Diego’s Centre City.

When the early 1980s saw a decline in Wells Fargo’s performance, President Cooley announced the bank’s plan to scale down. In 1981, a $21.3 million embezzlement by a Wells Fargo employee shocked the banking community and surprised almost everyone in management. L. Ben Lewis, an operations officer at the Beverly Drive branch in Beverly Hills, pleaded guilty to the charges. The evidence suggested a classic case of the dangers in the increasing use of computers in banking and in the proliferation of bank branches.

In 1982, Wells Fargo Bank, the primary subsidiary of Wells Fargo & Company, a bank holding company with 417 offices in the United States and abroad and 396 in California, was the eleventh largest in the country and third in the state. Its president
Carl Reichardt, and his successor in 1984 Paul Hazen, improved the bank’s retail network by an extensive automatic teller machine network and through active marketing of services. In May 1986, Wells Fargo purchased rival Crocker National Corporation from Britain’s Midland Bank for some $1.1 billion. With this single act, Wells Fargo doubled its branch network in Southern California and increased its consumer loan portfolio by 85%.33 Midland kept about $3.5 billion in dubious loans. Crocker doubled the strength of Wells Fargo’s primary market, making it the tenth largest bank in the United States.

The recession of the 1990s caused Wells Fargo to slash its labor force and boost its cash flow with technical innovations. During 1995 Wells Fargo initiated discussions about a merger with American Express. This would have been notable since both companies were started by Wells and Fargo. Wells Fargo was looking for a global presence but problems with systems and personnel took their toll and the merger did not happen. On November 2, 1998, Wells Fargo completed a merger with Norwest, a banking and financial services company based in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and expanded the number of its offices.

The acquisition of Wachovia, headquartered in Charlotte, North Carolina, was announced on October 3, 2008, and completed on December 31, 2008.34 This allowed Wells Fargo to expand operations into nine eastern and southern states, creating a superbank with $1.4 trillion in assets and 48 million customers.35 The merger was approved by the Federal Reserve as a $12.2 billion all-stock transaction.
By 2013, Wells Fargo & Company had become a diversified financial services company providing banking, insurance, investments, mortgages, consumer and commercial finance through more than 9,000 stores (branches) and more than 12,000 ATMs. The current Wells Fargo Building in San Diego at Fourth and B is a centerpiece for San Diego’s downtown. Its commercial banking services are handled both in San Diego and Carlsbad while its regional hub headquarters are in San Diego and Escondido. Total employees in San Diego and Imperial Counties reached 3,295. As 2013 began, Wells Fargo ranked first in market value in the United States and third in the world among all financial services companies.36

The modern Wells Fargo History Museum and archival depository is located at 420 Montgomery Street in San Francisco—not far from the location of Wells Fargo’s first bank building in 1852. For San Diegans, Wells Fargo has proved its faith as expressed by William Pridham, General Superintendent, in 1888, when he said, “We expect that San Diego will become the second city of importance in California.” Wells Fargo, a legendary company that first served San Diegans in 1852, is today, 161 years later, an important factor in the continuing growth of California’s second largest city.
NOTES


2. The original board of directors included Johnston Livingston, Elijah P. Williams, Edwin B. Morgan, James McKay, Alpheus Reynolds, Alexander M.C. Smith and Henry D. Rice. Wells, Fargo, Livingston and McKay were also on the board of American Express.

3. Loomis, 16-17.

4. Ibid., 18.

5. Deliveries of express and mail to New York were accompanied by a messenger and went by steamer from San Francisco, with crossings at Panama or Nicaragua. Shipments around the Horn took three to six months, but those by way of Panama only thirty-four days.

6. Loomis, 34.


8. San Diego Herald, April 8, 1854.

9. Loomis, 74-76. Adams & Company closed its doors and former employees organized the Pacific Express Company, which then collapsed and was reorganized into Alta Express. The Chinese maintained their faith in Wells Fargo and refused to withdraw their money.

10. San Diego Herald, April 18, 1857.

11. By this time, Butterfield had formed the Butterfield Stage Company which was delivering mail from Missouri to San Francisco. It had replaced the first stage line formed by James Birch from San Antonio to San Diego in 1855.

12. Hungerford, 47.


14. Holladay had acquired the business of Russell, Majors & Waddell, founders of the Pony Express, and operators of other stage lines.

15. Loomis, 210-219 passim. The Tevis Cup, awarded to the winner of a one-day 100-mile endurance test called “America’s Toughest Ride” from Lake Tahoe to Auburn, California, recreates the hardships endured by Wells Fargo expressmen during the late nineteenth century. Named for Lloyd Tevis (1824-1899), by his grandson Will Tevis, the 57th annual ride was held in August 2012.

16. For a complete account of the Julian stagecoach robbery of money transported by Wells Fargo, see MacPhail, 219.

18. These years also coincided with an increase in the number of stage robbers, including the famous Black Bart who left a little poem with his demand note signed “Black Bart Po8.”


22. *San Diego Union*, May 16, 1897. Miles covered included 28,762 by rail, 1735 by stages, 777 by inland steamers and 5,761 by ocean steamers, for a total mileage of 37,035.


24. Loomis 284-287. Hellman was one of the three founders of the University of Southern California in Los Angeles in 1880.

25. Loomis, 314.


27. Loomis, 318.

28. Ibid., 319-323.

29. Ibid., 318.

30. Since 1852, 45.


33. The bank paid an unheard of price—about 127% of book value at a time when American banks were generally going for 190%.

34. Wachovia came from the Latin form of the Austrian name Wachau. Moravian settlers arriving in North Carolina in 1753 gave the name to the land they acquired, which includes Winston-Salem, because it resembled the Wachau Valley along the Danube.

35. Before its acquisition by Wells Fargo in 2008, Wachovia was the fourth-largest bank holding company in the United States based on total assets.

On the 50th Anniversary of President John F. Kennedy’s Visit to San Diego State College

By Seth Mallios

Introduction

U.S. President John F. Kennedy’s appearance and commencement address at San Diego State College on June 6, 1963, was the most important event in the institution’s history. JFK was the first and only sitting U.S. president to set foot on the collegiate campus at Montezuma Mesa. His visit came at a seminal moment for the nation: the United States was only months removed from the Cuban Missile Crisis, President Kennedy would introduce landmark civil rights legislation to Congress only days after his return to Washington, D.C., and JFK’s assassination would occur less than six months after this appearance. Furthermore, the content of the president’s address, reproduced here in its entirety, was one of his most memorable. In his speech, President

President Kennedy gives the 1963 San Diego State College commencement address. Courtesy of SDSU Archives (acu-vip-jfk018).

Seth Mallios is Professor and Chair of the Anthropology Department and Director of the South Coastal Information Center at San Diego State University. He has led archaeological excavations in San Diego County atop Palomar Mountain at the Nate Harrison Site and in Old Town at the Whaley House and has written two books on San Diego cemeteries. He recently published Hail Montezuma!: The Hidden Treasures of San Diego State (2012).
Kennedy left no doubt as to the supreme importance of education, insisting that every subsequent issue in his address—racial equality, economic strength, and even national security—could be realized only through a systemic and comprehensive enlightenment of a nation and its people. In fact, it was at the San Diego State commencement that President Kennedy first poignantly and memorably declared, “No country can possibly move ahead, no free society can possibly be sustained, unless it has an educated citizenry....” These are arguably the region’s most legendary spoken words.

The impact of JFK’s appearance at San Diego State was profound. It thrust the college into the national spotlight and was the pinnacle in a series of visits by high-profile political dignitaries during the 1960s, including Eleanor Roosevelt (1962), Barry Goldwater (1964), Ronald Reagan (1966), and Robert Kennedy (1968). The most transformative effect, however, was on the institution’s research agenda. At the 1963 commencement ceremony, San Diego State granted President Kennedy its first-ever honorary doctorate and the inaugural doctorate of the newly formed California State College system. While this ceremonial degree may have seemed largely superficial, it greatly enhanced and facilitated San Diego State’s ability to award non-honorary doctorates. The presidential visit proved to be a significant tipping point for the research capacities of the institution, starting with its first research doctorate in 1967 and culminating with SDSU being feted as the nation’s top small research university from 2006-10. It is worth emphasizing that the research consequences of the Kennedy visit were not coincidental; the doctoral-granting issue inspired the presidential invitation in the first place.

This article offers an overview of the landmark Kennedy event in San Diego, tracing the motives and actions of various key individuals who made the presidential visit a reality. It also documents a wide variety of attempts over the past half century to commemorate the 1963 JFK San Diego State commencement. In uniting a discussion of historical details with a survey of consequent memorialization, this article endeavors to define the legacies of the Kennedy visit on its impending 50th anniversary.

Background

The 1960 Donohoe Act established the education master plan for the State of California. In the century leading up to this legislation, much of California post-secondary education had evolved organically within individual institutions, and there was little standardization in entrance requirements, curricula, or degree-granting capabilities. This changed in December 1959 when the Regents of the University of California and the State Board of Education approved a
new master plan that placed the extant University of California (UC), California State College (CSC), and California Community College (CCC) systems in an explicitly tiered framework for post-secondary education. The plan declared that the UC institutions were reserved for the top eighth of graduating high-school seniors, the CSCs were for the top third, and the CCC system was for any other Californians interested in post-secondary higher education. In addition, the guidelines stipulated that California State Colleges were not allowed to grant doctorates on their own; they could only offer joint PhDs with other universities. In early 1960, California State Senator George Miller crafted Senate Bill 33 to incorporate many of the provisions from the recently approved master plan. Governor Edmund “Pat” Brown signed the bill into law on April 27, 1960. State Assemblywoman Dorothy Donohoe, who had created the initial resolution that called for a master plan and chaired the State Assembly Education Committee, died on April 4, 1960, just weeks before Senate Bill 33 was signed. In her honor, the State Legislature renamed the master plan legislation “The Donohoe Higher Education Act.”

The Donohoe Act was vexing for San Diego State and especially its administrative head, President Malcolm A. Love. On the one hand, President Love was thrilled that San Diego State College could then offer doctoral degrees, even if it was required to find partner institutions. SDSC had an extended history of active research—longer than many of the UCs had even been in existence—and would finally be able to award its students with the highest graduate degree for their independent and noteworthy scholarship. On the other hand, President Love was frustrated that his college was officially being designated as second-tier. San Diego State officials took immediate actions to answer the mixed ramifications of the Donohoe Act. The faculty began proposing specific joint doctoral programs and simultaneously adopted a Faculty Senate statement emphasizing that while “the basic function of San Diego State College is to educate the minds of young people, …faculty research is second in importance only to academic freedom.” President Love echoed this balanced teacher/scholar dichotomy, embracing the aspects of the Donohoe Act that opened the door to doctoral-level research but resisting any notion that his institution was only a teacher’s college.

Despite the opportunities that the Donohoe Act provided for joint doctoral programs, no institutions agreed to partner with San Diego State in the early 1960s precisely because of this teacher’s-college second-tier stigma. The situation greatly frustrated San Diego State College administrators and faculty, who hotly debated how to overcome this barrier to granting doctorates. It was not until the early spring of 1963 that Henry Janssen, an intrepid political science professor, came up with a viable solution. His apotheosized story has grown in stature
During one particular breakfast at his Lemon Grove home, Dr. Janssen listened to the radio and heard that U.S. President John F. Kennedy was scheduled to visit San Diego during the first week in June of that year to observe military maneuvers. The professor went about his usual morning routine and then hopped on his bicycle for the daily commute to San Diego State. As he pedaled to campus, Janssen had an epiphany—the college should give JFK an honorary doctorate. Janssen knew that SDSU’s commencement was also scheduled for early June and reasoned correctly that the same rules, permissions, and protocol governed honorary and non-honorary doctorates. Simply put, the ceremonial degree could facilitate future research doctorates, especially when other institutions witnessed San Diego State giving President Kennedy a degree on its own. On arrival at the college, the ebullient Janssen immediately shared his brainstorm with office mate and fellow political science professor Ned Joy. Janssen finished his impassioned plea to Joy with the proclamation, “By God Ned, we’ll just give one away, and that’ll break the dam!” and then left for his 8:00 a.m. class.

Dr. Joy, who was also Chair of the SDSC Faculty Senate, was thrilled by the idea and immediately telephoned SDSC President Love. An inspired Love promptly called California Governor Pat Brown, who was equally excited about the prospects of bringing JFK to the Golden State for a high-profile event. By the time Dr. Janssen’s class had ended and he returned to his office at 9:00 a.m., his plan had gained three levels of approval and was picking up even more momentum. Soon after, Governor Brown joined President Kennedy in the nation’s capital as a guest for Opening Day of the 1963 Major League Baseball season. After JFK threw out the ceremonial first pitch of the April 8 Washington Senators/Baltimore Orioles game, he arrived at SDSU to receive the honorary degree from Janssen and the college’s board of trustees. As a result, Dr. Janssen became a university legend.10
John F. Kennedy’s visit to San Diego State College

Orioles game, Brown made the request to the president that he speak at SDSC’s upcoming commencement. President Kennedy was intrigued by the offer but expressed concern that he had a scheduling conflict.\textsuperscript{12} Ten days later, Governor Brown would send the formal invitation to President Kennedy. On May 2, presidential special assistant Kenneth O’Donnell sent a letter to Malcolm Love lamenting that JFK would not have the time to speak at the SDSC graduation. Two weeks later, however, President Kennedy changed his mind when he was presented with alternative itineraries for his western trip. On May 16, O’Donnell confirmed that JFK would attend the commencement, prompting San Diego State’s college newspaper, \textit{The Daily Aztec}, to proclaim the next day: “It’s Official! Commencement Speaker is President Kennedy.”\textsuperscript{13}

At the same time that President Kennedy’s assistants worked diligently to coordinate his San Diego State visit, the College Senate took the necessary institutional steps to approve JFK’s honorary degree.\textsuperscript{14} President Love, who created SDSC’s Senate and long championed shared governance at the college, blended dedication to official protocol with an appreciation for symbolic acts. In this particular case, moments before the Senate considered the JFK honorary-degree measure, Love insisted that it be Professor Janssen who made the official motion to award President Kennedy the Doctorate of Laws.

Weeks before Dr. Janssen, Dr. Joy, President Love, and Governor Brown were pressing for JFK to come to State, 1963 SDSC senior class president Robert L. Weir was charged with finding a speaker for commencement. When his wife, Anna Lou, told him that she had seen in the newspaper that President Kennedy was scheduled to visit San Diego in early June, Weir immediately wrote two letters to Washington, D.C.—one to White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger and the other to President Kennedy himself—to ask if JFK would deliver the Aztecs’ 1963 commencement address.\textsuperscript{15} Weir’s request was independent of Professor Janssen’s research-based agenda, and his letter was the first communication that put the event on Kennedy’s radar. Furthermore, the senior class president was actively involved in the ceremony and the events leading up to it.

\textbf{June 6, 1963}

President Kennedy’s visit to San Diego lasted only about 24 hours, yet was packed full of numerous public and private events. He arrived on Air Force One at Lindbergh Field from El Paso, Texas, and immediately embarked on a 12-car eight-mile motorcade up Washington Street to Park Boulevard and then down the center of El Cajon Boulevard that was attended by more than 220,000 San Diegans.\textsuperscript{16} The sight of JFK waving to the crowd while traveling in a convertible
across San Diego eerily foreshadowed the tragic events in Dallas, Texas, less than six months later.\textsuperscript{17} For Professor Arthur Wimer’s SDSC journalism class, students were stationed along the motorcade route and instructed to use pay phones to give periodic reports for live coverage on KEBS, the college’s radio station and the forerunner of today’s KPBS. This innovative coverage won the Sigma Delta Chi Award for student radio journalism. Once the presidential caravan arrived at Montezuma Mesa, JFK was assisted into his cap and gown by SDSC student Jeanne Powell and members of the Aztec Angels. He was then led to the specially constructed stage at Aztec Bowl.\textsuperscript{18}

President Kennedy’s historic hooding at the institution’s 65th commencement was not just a landmark San Diego State event; it was an important California State College milestone as well. This nuance was not lost on CSC Chancellor Glenn Dumke, who insisted that the carefully constructed backdrop list “California State Colleges” first and “San Diego State” second, in addition to having the CSC seal placed above its SDSC counterpart. For the hooding ritual, Governor Brown spoke while President Love and Chancellor Dumke carefully placed the doctoral hood around President Kennedy’s neck and on his shoulders.\textsuperscript{19} After being hooded and granted the honorary degree, JFK gave the commencement address to the 30,000+ people in attendance, including the
over 1,700 students who made up the San Diego State College Class of 1963. The overflow crowd at Aztec Bowl more than doubled the venue’s previous attendance mark. There may have been even more individuals on site than officially tallied as people squeezed into every available space around the stadium—even along the dirt hillside. Despite the overabundance of people in the crowd, San Diego State managed to keep seating at the event somewhat organized. They issued small, individually numbered, seat-reservation tickets that had to be used at least 45 minutes before the 11:45 A.M. ceremony starting time. In addition, nearly every spectator was aware of the armed Secret Servicemen stationed atop many of the adjacent buildings, including nearby Social Sciences West and East (today’s Storm and Nasatir Halls).

Many of the individuals who witnessed the Kennedy address marveled at his speaking ability. Senior Class President Robert Weir emphasized that JFK seemed to have a photographic memory, checking his notes only once before the ceremony began and then speaking without a single hitch. Others noted how the U.S. President seemed to be genuinely enjoying himself during the ceremony. He warmed the crowd up with an opening joke regarding his gratitude for the immediacy of his recently awarded degree—a comedic line he used after receiving honorary doctorates at multiple commencements during his three-year presidency—and then proceeded to mix his passionate political messages with occasional light-hearted humor. G. Timothy Gross, who attended the ceremony as a youth, noted how JFK appeared to deliberately use the word “vigor” in his
speech as a playful nod to many contemporary political comedians, impersonators, and satirists, like Vaughn Meador, who exaggerated the president’s New England accent on words (e.g., “vigah”) in their routines.

Once the ceremony finished, President Kennedy strolled through the crowd for a final chance to engage with those assembled, returned his regalia to Powell, waved goodbye to the people still assembled in Aztec Bowl, boarded his helicopter (after bumping his head on the vehicle’s lowered doorway), and took off to the west. He and his coterie flew to the Marine Corps Recruit Depot (MCRD) for an honorary inspection of the troops. Following JFK’s address to over 5,000 marines and sailors, the president dined with the commanding officer of the MCRD, visited the U.S.S. Oriskany and the U.S.S. Kitty Hawk, and then flew to Point Magu the next morning. During this short visit to San Diego, more than a quarter of a million people saw the U.S. President.

Material Legacies

President Kennedy’s 1963 appearance at San Diego State has a mixed legacy on
John F. Kennedy’s visit to San Diego State College

the Montezuma Mesa campus, evinced over the past half century in a convoluted saga of memorials, intended memorials, misplaced memorials, and stolen memorials. Like many hidden treasures and archaeological palimpsests across the local university landscape, the above-ground clues of former events detail both the historical past and the attitudes of the continually evolving present. For every permanent memorial to JFK and his landmark visit, there are seemingly an equal number of aborted material tributes, stolen markers, and misplaced mementos.

The Kennedy commencement gown

In the year following the 1963 commencement, memories of President Kennedy loomed largely in the consciousness of San Diego State faculty, staff, and students. SDSC President Malcolm Love kept the graduation gown JFK had worn and prominently displayed it in his office. Honoring the CSC Chancellor’s request, he later sent it to the central office of the California State Colleges. At some point over the next four decades, individuals working in the Chancellor’s Office lost the gown.

JFK engages the capacity crowd after his speech. Courtesy of SDSU Archives (acu-vip-jfk008).
The 1964 yearbook

The San Diego State yearbook staff dedicated the college’s 1964 annual, Del Sudoeste, to JFK. It stated:

“The 1964 DEL SUDOESTE is dedicated to the memory of JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY, the 35th President of the United States of America, May 29, 1917—November 22, 1963.

Every emotion has been touched.

Every word has been spoken.

He lies in history;

Now is the time for reflection.”

Although the dedication conveyed a strong sense of solemnity and reverence, it was not displayed prominently in the yearbook. The dedication appeared on page 259 of the 304-page annual.

JFK Memorial Pool

Almost immediately following JFK’s assassination, officials at San Diego State began to discuss ways to memorialize the fallen president on campus. By the mid-1960s, college administrators had approved a plan for a John F. Kennedy Memorial Pool just south of the original Administration Building (today’s Hepner

The JFK Memorial Pool that never came to be. Courtesy of SDSU Archives (cam-sc-cpw-001).
John F. Kennedy’s visit to San Diego State College

Hall) on Campanile Walkway; its construction was tied to the building of a new campus library (Love Library). When funding issues surfaced in 1969, college officials decided to remove the memorial pool from the campus master plan. As a result, it was never built.

The Spurs and the Kennedy Library

In 1961, JFK first discussed the establishment of his presidential library—akin to those set up for President Herbert Hoover, President Franklin Roosevelt, and others—in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Less than a month before his assassination in 1963, President Kennedy had decided on a specific locale adjacent to Harvard University. By 1975, the Kennedy Library Corporation had changed the site of the JFK Presidential Library to Dorchester, Massachusetts because of residential congestion concerns and expected construction delays. One of the first groups to raise money to build the Kennedy Library was a women’s service organization at San Diego State named “The Spurs.” Fittingly, JFK’s honorary doctorate from San Diego State is now housed in the presidential library that SDSU helped to found.

The granite marker and California Registered Historical Landmark designation

In 1983, twenty years after the historic commencement address, San Diego State University commemorated the JFK visit with a large granite marker; the rock marked the spot where the president’s helicopter landed. Affixed to the sizeable commemorative stone is the official large metal California Registered Historical Landmark plaque, which reads:

“SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY. In 1960 the state legislature authorized the California State Colleges to grant honorary doctoral degrees to individuals who have made unusual contributions toward learning and civilization. On June 6, 1963 San Diego State College was the first of the California State Colleges to award the doctorate when it conferred a Doctorate of Laws degree on John F. Kennedy, President of the United States. CALIFORNIA REGISTERED HISTORICAL LANDMARK NO. 798. Plaque placed by the State Department of Parks and Recreation in cooperation with San Diego State University and Squibob Chapter E. Clampus Vitus, May 22, 1983.”
The sponsors for the plaque—the State of California Department of Parks and Recreation, San Diego State University, and Squibob Chapter, *E Clampus Vitus*—are an odd trio. The State of California and SDSU are obvious stakeholders in commemorating this event. The third partner, the Squibob Chapter of the *E Clampus Vitus* fraternal organization, is often characterized by actions of a much more irreverent nature. This plaque reveals honor-bound aspects of the organization that are rarely publicized. The members of *E Clampus Vitus* are dedicated to preserving Western heritage and history, especially if it is in any way humorous, impudent, or insolent. They have previously raised money for a variety of historical plaques, but many of these markers commemorate bordellos, saloons, and other bawdy establishments from the past two centuries. The nonsensical *E Clampus Vitus* name of the group mocks haughty uses of Latin, their motto “*Credo Quia Absurdum*” translates to “I believe it because it is absurd,” and the local chapter has chosen San Diego’s foremost satirist, John P. Squibob, as their namesake. Squibob was the pseudonym of nineteenth-century U.S. Army Lieutenant George Horatio Derby, one of America’s first great published humorists and a forerunner to Mark Twain. It is the cheeky tales of “Clampers”—the nickname of the members of the *E Clampus Vitus*—that are often publicized. Many of their self-descriptions are zingy one-liners, like, “this fraternity is not sure if it is a historical drinking society or a drinking historical society.” Close scrutiny of some of their community service, like the JFK marker at State however, reveals that they also engage, on occasion, in serious matters to preserve important local heritage.

A second plaque at the base of the large granite marker included the legendary passage from JFK’s San Diego State address: “No country can possibly move ahead, no free society can possibly be sustained, unless it has an educated citizenry…” This brass marker was stolen in October 2008. Funds are currently being raised
to replace the plaque in honor of the impending 50th anniversary of Kennedy’s visit and speech (June 6, 2013).

When former First Lady, democratic presidential candidate, and former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton made a campaign stop at SDSU on February 1, 2008, then San Diego State President Steven Weber intended to introduce her to the large crowd assembled at SDSU’s Cox Arena (today’s Viejas Arena) with the profound Kennedy quote. He wanted to emphasize both the White House connection to the host institution and the seminal role of education in modern society. At the last second, however, the Clinton campaign changed Weber’s remarks because three days earlier, on January 28, 2008, Senator Ted Kennedy (JFK’s brother) had just surprisingly endorsed then-Senator Barack Obama, instead of Senator Hillary Clinton, for the Democratic Party’s presidential nomination. As a result, the Clinton campaign did not want any mention of JFK or the Kennedy legacy at this event. In an e-mail from President Weber to Jim Herrick, Executive Director of the SDSU Alumni Association, sent on the morning of the Clinton rally, Weber wrote, “Alas, change in plans. Evidently, Kennedy references are out of favor at the moment.”

Aztec Bowl and the nomination of the San Diego State College Historic District to the National Register of Historic Places

Today’s “Viejas Arena at Aztec Bowl” resembles virtually no other venue in the nation. It began as a horseshoe-shaped football stadium, built in 1936 as a mammoth multi-phased Depression-Era project. Over the decades it would host a variety of events, including football games, rock concerts, dignitary birthdays, and even a few memorials. In 1997, construction crews erected a 12,000-seat arena that was built inside of the now-defunct bowl. The arena-inside-the-bowl look was neither the initial architectural design nor the planning ideal; it resulted from contentious litigation. The multiple lawsuits that led to this bizarre-looking architectural mitigation, however, are also part of the Kennedy legacy at San Diego State University.

From 1936 through the mid-1960s, Aztec Bowl hosted dozens of football games and was the athletic epicenter of the Montezuma Mesa campus. When San Diego State began playing its football games at San Diego Stadium (today’s Qualcomm Stadium) in the late 1960s in order to comply with NCAA Division 1-A venue-size rules, the college started to consider alternative uses for the space in and around Aztec Bowl. After two decades of intense study on the matter, university officials proposed a referendum in 1988 to replace the stadium with an on-campus arena and student activity center. San Diego State students voted overwhelmingly in
favor of the plan and approved the $47/semester fee increase to pay for the new facilities. In 1989, the CSU trustees formally approved plans to demolish Aztec Bowl.

Just as it seemed that Aztec Bowl would forever disappear from the campus landscape, a series of lawsuits stalled the impending construction. In 1989, multiple university neighborhood groups brought concerns to the university regarding negative impacts the new arena would likely have on the immediate area. San Diego State officials did little to comfort the local residents, dismissing their worries of increased traffic, noise, and intrusiveness from the many events to be held at the proposed site. As a result, the neighborhood groups sued SDSU by challenging the project’s Environmental Impact Report (EIR). To make matters worse for university administrators, San Diego State students Anne Rizzo and Thomas Thai then filed suit against SDSU, the Associated Students of SDSU (AS), SDSU President Thomas B. Day, CSU Chancellor Barry Munitz, and the CSU Trustees, asserting that the “exorbitant” cost of the proposed facilities violated state education codes.²⁵

The final challenge to the project resulted from work that was undertaken to celebrate the historical legacy of the institution. In 1994, Dr. Lynne Newell Christenson, Director of the SDSU Anthropology Department Collections Management Program, and two graduate students, Sue Wade and Alex Bevil, successfully nominated the historic core of San Diego State University to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).²⁶ The 1930s core included twelve buildings, famed sculptor Donal Hord’s Aztec statue in diorite, and Aztec Bowl.²⁷ As a result, these iconic structures and artwork were deemed nationally significant, worthy of preservation at a federal level, and protected from development. On the extensive NRHP nomination, one of the primary factors that led Christenson, Wade, and Bevil to include Aztec Bowl with the other buildings in the historic center of campus was the additional significance of President Kennedy’s 1963 visit and commencement address. At the time, much of the university was eagerly preparing for the institution’s centennial (1897-1997), and the ramifications of federal preservation law—specifically the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986—seemed to have been temporarily lost on SDSU officials.

University and CSU administrators, then engaged in three sets of litigation, petitioned the National Park Service (NPS) to reject the historic nomination and remove Aztec Bowl from the National Register. Arguing against the historical significance of the original 1936 stadium, the CSU Preservation Officer prepared a supplement to the EIR, stating that Aztec Bowl made no relevant contributions to San Diego history.²⁸ He attacked many of the specific points that Christenson and her team made to justify the importance of the venue, even disregarding JFK’s visit on the grounds that numerous institutions feted Kennedy during his
The stunning irony of top university officials arguing so vehemently against the significance of their own campus was evinced in President Day’s public declaration that Aztec Bowl was nothing more than “a 50-year-old pile of stones.”

The NPS dismissed the university’s attempt to remove Aztec Bowl from the National Register, forcing San Diego State officials to mitigate the construction and find a compromise that both honored the past and satisfied the needs of the present and future. As a result, the university developed a new plan that incorporated parts of the original Aztec Bowl bleachers and cobblestone walls into the design of the new arena. The commemorative JFK rock and plaques were saved as well. In a more conciliatory spirit, San Diego State administrators also appeased local residential groups by restricting the total number of events at the new venue and financing the redesign of various neighborhoods by paying for a gated entrance in one community and a street extension in another. In addition, the California State Supreme Court ruled against Rizzo and Thai, determining that the student fee did not violate any educational codes. With all of these matters settled, construction began with a ceremonious groundbreaking on Monday, March 27, 1995, and the arena was opened a little over two years later in the summer of 1997.
A Conceptual Legacy

What can be missed in this discussion of high-profile anniversaries, continually evolving campus landscapes, transitory memorials, and self-condemning litigation is the insight and significance of the ideas in President Kennedy’s actual speech. The content of the address that JFK gave was somewhat of a surprise to San Diego State officials. Although the president’s staff had distributed a copy of the speech to college administrators in anticipation of the event, Kennedy strayed from the script; his 15-minute speech differed significantly from the pre-approved text and from his usual stump speeches. At multiple points he embraced historical perspectives and insisted that the supreme importance of education traced its roots back not only to the founding of the United States, but to the start of Ancient Greece and Western thought as well. In emphasizing that education was integral to both the creation and defense of democracy, he repeatedly complimented the State of California for its attention and resources toward education but lamented that schools in economically disadvantaged areas, especially in the American South, were critically underfunded. JFK then emphasized that this economic disenfranchisement was also a racial issue as educational opportunities were abundant for whites but often severely limited for non-whites. President Kennedy linked these educational barriers to a call for service; he immediately transitioned to the need for more teachers at all levels. JFK’s seamless conceptual ties between democratic freedom, economic and racial equality, and community service were at the core of his 1963 address, and they were each fueled by an unwavering investment in education.

This article concludes unequivocally that the most important legacy of the 1963 JFK visit is the primary idea he championed—that all societal progress is based on education. At a time in the twenty-first century when governmental support for public education has dwindled to record lows, this message is especially salient; on this 50th anniversary of Kennedy’s historic address, his statement that “Education comes at the top of the responsibilities of any government, at whatever level,” has never been more profound or relevant.
June 6, 1963, San Diego State College Address

by President John F. Kennedy

President Love, Governor Brown, Chairman Heilbron, trustees, fellow graduates, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express a very warm sense of appreciation for the honor that you have given to me today, to be an instant graduate of this distinguished college. It is greatly appreciated and I am delighted to participate in what is a most important ceremony in the lives of us all.

One of the most impressive, if not the most impressive accomplishment of this great Golden State has been the recognition by the citizens of this state of the importance of education as the basis for the maintenance of an effective, free society. This fact was recognized in our earliest beginnings at the Massachusetts Bay Colony, but I do not believe that any state in the union has given more attention in recent years to educating its citizens to the highest level, doctorate level, in the state colleges, the junior colleges, the high schools, the grade schools.

You recognize that a free society places burdens upon any free citizens. To govern is to choose and the ability to make those choices wisely and responsibly and prudently implies the best of all of us.

No country can possibly move ahead, no free society can possibly be sustained, unless it has an educated citizenry whose quality of mind and heart permit it to take part in the complicated and sophisticated decisions that pour not only upon the President and upon the Congress, but upon all the citizens who service the ultimate power.

I am sure that the graduates of this college recognize that the effort of the people of California that govern the Legislature, the local communities, the faculty, that this concentrated effort of mind and scholarship to educate the young citizens of this state has not been done merely to give this school’s graduates an economic advantage in the life struggle. Quite obviously, there is a higher purpose, and that is the hope that you will turn to the service of the state, the scholarship, the education, the qualities which society has helped develop in you; that you will render on the community level or on the state level or on the national level or the international level a contribution to the maintenance of freedom and peace and the security of our country and those associated with it in a most critical time.
In so doing, you will follow a great and laudable tradition which combined American scholarship and American leadership in political affairs. It is an extraordinary fact of history, I think, unmatched since the days of early Greece, that this country should have produced during its founding days in a population of a handful of men such an extraordinary range of scholars and creative thinkers who helped build this country—Jefferson, Franklin, Morris, Wilson, and all the rest. This is a great tradition which we must maintain in our time with increasing strength and increasing vigor.

Those of you who are educated, those of us who recognize the responsibilities of an educated citizen, should now concern ourselves with whether we are providing an adequate education for all Americans, will all Americans have an equal chance to develop their intellectual qualities and whether we are preparing ourselves today for the educational challenges which are going to come before this decade is out.

The first question, and the most important—does every American boy and girl have an opportunity to develop whatever talents they have? All of us do not have equal talent, but all of us should have an equal opportunity to develop those talents. Let me cite a few facts to show that they do not.

In this fortunate state of California, the average current expenditure for a boy and girl in the public schools is $515. But in the state of Mississippi it is $230. The average salary for classroom teachers in California is $7,000, while in Mississippi it is $3,600.

Nearly three-quarters of the young, white population of the United States have graduated from high school, but only about two-fifths of our non-white population has done the same. In some states, almost 40 per cent of the non-white population has completed less than five years of school. Contrast it with 7 per cent of the white population. In one American state, over 36 per cent of the public school buildings are over 40 years of age. In another, only 4 per cent are that old.

Such facts, and one could prolong the recital indefinitely, make it clear that American children today do not yet enjoy equal educational opportunities for two primary reasons: One is economic and the other is racial.

If our nation is to meet the goal of giving every American child a fair chance, because an uneducated child makes an uneducated parent who in another day produces another uneducated child, we must move ahead swiftly in both areas, and we must recognize that segregation and education, and I mean de facto segregation in the North as well as the proclaimed segregation in the South, brings with it serious handicaps to a large proportion of the population.
It does no good, as you in California know better than any, to say that that is the business of another state. It is the business of our country, and in addition, these young, uneducated boys and girls know no state boundaries and they come West as well as North and East, and they are your citizens as well as citizens of this country.

The second question relates to the quality of our education. Today one out of every three students in the fifth grade will drop out of high school, and only two out of ten will graduate from college. In the meantime, we need more educated men and women, and we need less and less unskilled labor. There are millions of jobs that will be available in the next seven years for educated young men and women. The demand will be overwhelming, and there will be millions of people out of work who are unskilled because with new machines and technology there is less need for them.

This combination of a tremendously increasing population among our young people, of less need for unskilled labor, of increasingly unskilled labor available, combines to form one of the most serious domestic problems that this country will face in the next 10 years. Of Americans 18 years of age or older, more than 23 million have less than eight years of schooling, and over eight million have less than five years.

What kind of judgment, what kind of response can we expect of a citizen who has been to school less than five years, and we have in this country eight million who have been to school less than five years?

As a result, they can’t read or write or do simple arithmetic. They are illiterate in this rich country of ours, and they constitute the hard core of our unemployed. They can’t write a letter to get a job, and they can’t read, in many cases, a help-wanted sign. One out of every 10 workers who failed to finish elementary school are unemployed, as compared to one out of 50 [college graduates].

In short, our current educational programs, much as they represent a burden upon the taxpayers of this country, do not meet the responsibility. The fact of the matter is that this is a problem which faces us all, no matter where we live, no matter what our political views must be.

“Knowledge is power,” as Francis Bacon said 500 years ago, and today it is truer than it ever was. What are we going to do by the end of this decade? There are four million boys and girls born each year in the United States. Our population is growing each decade by a figure equal to the total population of this country at the time of Abraham Lincoln, just 100 years ago.
Our educational system is not expanding fast enough. By 1970 the number of students in our public, elementary and secondary schools will have increased 25 per cent over 1960. Nearly three-quarters of a million new classrooms will be needed, and we are not building them at that rate.

By 1970 we will have seven million students in our colleges and universities, three million more than we do today. We are going to double the population of our colleges and universities in 10 years. We are going to have to build as many school and college classrooms and buildings in 10 years as we did in 150 years.

By 1970 we will need 7,500 Ph.D.’s in the physical sciences, mathematics, and engineering. In 1960 we graduated 3,000. Such facts make it clear that we have a major responsibility and a major opportunity, one that we should welcome, because there is no greater asset in this country than an educated man or woman.

Education, quite rightly, is the responsibility of the State and the local community, but from the beginning of our country's history, from the time of the Northwest Ordinance, as John Adams and Thomas Jefferson recognized, from the time of the Morrill Act at the height of the Civil War, when the Land Grant College system was set up under the Administration of President Lincoln, from the beginning it has been recognized that there must be a national commitment and that the national government must play its role in stimulating a system of excellence which can serve the great national purpose of a free society, and it is for that reason that we have sent to the Congress of the United States legislation to help meet the needs of higher education, by assisting in the construction of college academic facilities, and junior colleges and graduate centers, and technical institutes, and by stepping up existing programs for student loans and graduate fellowships and other student assistance programs.

We have to improve, and we have so recommended, the quality of our teachers by expanding teacher training institutes by improving teacher preparation programs, by broadening educational research and by authorizing—and this is one of our greatest needs--increased training for teachers for the handicapped—the deaf, and those who can't speak, and those who are otherwise handicapped. And it is designed to strengthen public elementary and secondary education through grants to the states for better teachers' salaries, to relieve critical classroom shortages, to meet the special education problems of depressed areas, and the continuing expansion of vocational education and counsel.
And finally, we must make a massive attack upon illiteracy in the year 1963 in the United States by an expansion of university extension courses and by a major effort to improve our libraries in every community of our country.

I recognize that this represents a difficult assignment for us all, but I don’t think it is an assignment from which we should shrink. I believe that education comes at the top of the responsibilities of any government, at whatever level. It is essential to our survival as a nation in a dangerous and hazardous world, and it is essential to the maintenance of freedom at a time when freedom is under attack.

I have traveled in the last 24 hours from Washington to Colorado to Texas to here, and on every street I see mothers standing with two or three or four children. They are going to pour into our schools and our colleges in the next 10 or 20 years and I want this generation of Americans to be as prepared to meet this challenge as our forefathers did in making it possible for all of us to be here today.

We are the privileged, and it should be the ambition of every citizen to express and expand that privilege so that all of our countrymen and women share it.

Thank you.
NOTES

1. This article is an expansion of the ideas put forth in Seth Mallios, Hail Montezuma!: The Hidden Treasures of San Diego State (San Diego: Montezuma Publishing, 2012), chaps. 5-6.

2. While other moments in SDSU's history are of critical importance—like the 1897 founding of the institution, the 1931 move to Montezuma Mesa, etc.—they are more singular in scope and do not match the compound significance of the JFK visit. The argument presented here regarding the magnitude of the Kennedy visit centers on the cumulative effect of four factors: 1) JFK was the only U.S. president to visit San Diego State while in office, 2) he visited during one of the most volatile times (foreign and domestically) in American history, 3) Kennedy's commencement speech was one of his most profound, and 4) the honorary doctorate that San Diego State gave to JFK at the 1963 ceremony greatly enhanced its ability to grant research PhDs, a cornerstone of the institution's enduring research legacy. Since JFK's doctorate, San Diego State has gone on to award 35 additional honorary degrees. In chronological order, the institution's honorees include: John F. Kennedy (1963), Glenn Theodore Seaborg (1966), Edwin O. Reischauer (1968), Bernard Lipinsky (1996), Alvena Storm (1996), D. Bruce Johnstone (1997), Shimon Peres (1997), Arthur Barron (1998), Arthur G. Linkletter (1998), Vahac Mardirosian (1998), Shirley Chisholm (1999), James Sinegal (1999), Miguel León-Portilla (2002), George Walker Smith (2002), Dwight E. Stanford (2002), Claire Van Vliet (2002), John Baldassari (2003), Charles F. Bolden (2003), Sol Price (2003), Kathleen Kennedy (2004), Norman Brinker (2005), Andreas Brown (2005), Ron L. Fowler (2005), Irwin Jacobs (2006), Craig R. Noel (2006), Martha Longenecker (2007), Deborah Szekely (2007), Leon Williams (2007), Darlene Shiley (2008), Malin Burnham (2009), Pete Wilson (2009), Don Coryell (2010), Charles W. Hostler (2010), Kazuo Inamori (2011), Leonard H. Lavin (2012), and L. Robert Payne (2012). For a list of all CSU honorary degrees, see: http://www.calstate.edu/honorarydegrees/ (accessed February 18, 2013). San Diego State did not grant any honorary degrees between 1968 and 1996. President Tom Day, who served from 1978-1996, was initially opposed to these sorts of ceremonial honors. At the end of his tenure, however, he changed his mind in an effort “to celebrate those [like Lipinsky and Storm] who had done so much for the university and to provide fund-raising opportunities” for his successor, President Stephen Weber (Personal communication, Thomas Day, December 11, 2012). Weber had had much success awarding ceremonial degrees as President at the State University of New York (SUNY) at Oswego, noting that honorary degrees “are very important statements of university values” (Personal communication, Stephen Weber, November 19, 2012). Weber granted 29 honorary degrees at SDSU in 15 years as university president.

3. San Diego State University’s ranking was based on Academic Analytics’ Faculty Scholarly Productivity Index; its designation as a “small research university” was determined on the basis of its having fewer than 15 doctoral programs. While many individuals at the university celebrated this ranking, some faculty disputed the designation with regard to how the scholarly criteria were chosen and employed in the calculations.

4. San Diego State College officials had invited then-Senator John F. Kennedy to visit their campus on previous occasions in 1955 and 1956, but the requests did not include the promise of an honorary doctorate. In 1955, JFK declined because of his recent spinal surgery; in 1956, the senator passed on the invitation due to his impending trip to the Far East.


7. San Diego State had been a State Teacher’s College from 1921 to 1935, but President Love was adamant that his institution’s teaching history—both in terms of quality instruction and the education of those individuals entering the teaching profession—not overshadow or diminish its equally significant research legacy.
9. Ibid.
10. Ned Joy had spearheaded a previous attempt at getting JFK to speak at San Diego State in 1956. He was unsuccessful and never shared this failure with officemate Henry Janssen.
11. California was an elusive prize for Democrats during this time and a stronghold for Republican presidential candidates during the 1950s, 60s, 70s, and 80s. In fact, JFK did not even carry the state when he won the White House in 1960. Nevertheless, in the early 60s, President Kennedy was eager to make political inroads in California, especially in the more conservative areas in the southern region of the state. Even though he would not live to see it, JFK’s attention to the Golden State was successful, as the 1964 national election (won by President Lyndon Johnson) marked the only victory for a democratic presidential candidate in California from 1952 to 1988.
13. In addition to bureaucratic matters, administrators, faculty, staff, and students at San Diego State had numerous practical matters to attend to as well. For example, new water pipes had to be completed to increase water pressure for the event, student finals were moved from June 6 to June 1, Arts and Sciences Dean Sidney Gulick designed JFK’s honorary doctorate of laws hood, and Dr. Gerald Person, Chairman of the Commencement Committee, had a seemingly endless list of details to oversee.
15. Although earlier itineraries of the visit planned for JFK to begin his San Diego tour with a speech at the Marine Corps Recruit Depot (MCRD), his schedule was ultimately modified to have his trip start with the motorcade across San Diego. Hail Montezuma!: The Hidden Treasures of San Diego State errantly reported that Kennedy’s MCRD address occurred before the San Diego State College commencement on June 6.
16. Weir asserts in his oral history that JFK’s San Diego limousine was the “same limousine that he was assassinated in.” “Robert L. Weir,” interview transcript.
17. SDSC senior electrician Tommy Braden oversaw the building of both the presidential platform and a separate dais for the media. The event was covered by 14 radio and television stations and included over 350 news people. Braden recalled that White House Secret Servicemen required that their construction specifications be followed to the letter, and that the two stages were “incredibly overbuilt.” There was great attention to detail; Robert Weir recalled that the president’s staff even “flew out a special chair that was on the dais [and] a special water for him [President Kennedy]” as well (2003 SDSU Oral History, Robert L. Weir).
18. JFK had already taken off his mortarboard by the time of the hooding as the President “did not like to wear anything on his head.” “Robert L. Weir,” interview transcript.
19. Exercises at the 1963 San Diego State College commencement began with the San Diego State symphonic band’s performance of “Ruffles and Flourishes” and “Hail to the Chief” to announce JFK’s arrival and was followed by the national anthem. Dr. Frank M. Lowe, Past President of the San Diego Council of Churches and Member of the San Diego Board of Education, then gave the invocation. President Love presided over the conferring of degrees, and was followed by official remarks from Governor Brown and an honorary citation by Louis H. Heilbron, Chairman of the Trustees of the California State Colleges. Following JFK’s hooding and address, the alma mater was sung, and then the Reverend Patrick J. Keane, principal at nearby St. Augustine High School, gave the benediction.
22. Work on Aztec Bowl started immediately after the college moved from University Heights
to Mission Palisades (today’s Montezuma Mesa) in 1931. The $260,000 initial phase of the project, which included excavation, fill, leveling, and rock removal, was funded by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) under the auspices of the State Emergency Relief Association (SERA). The $216,863 second phase entailed building of the stadium’s structural materials and was paid for by the Works Progress Administration (WPA). See Pamela Hart Branton, “The Works Progress Administration in San Diego County, 1935-1943,” M.A. thesis, San Diego State University (Spring 1991).


24. Anne Rizzo, a City Planning major, was especially active in the fight to save Aztec Bowl. She authored multiple Op-Ed articles (Daily Aztec, December 17, 1992, 7; Daily Aztec, March 1, 1994, 21; and Daily Aztec, March 3, 1994, 13) and spoke at the State Historical Resources Commission in favor of a National Register of Historic Places nomination for Aztec Bowl. For her tireless preservationist efforts, she received a “People in the Trenches Award” from San Diego’s Save Our Heritage Organization in 1995.


29. Like many compromises, the resultant mitigation left both sides in this contentious debate frustrated. University officials lamented that the new Student Activity Center only marginally resembled their initial plans. Furthermore, many historic preservationists were disappointed in how little of the original stadium was saved and incorporated into the new design. In fact, the National Trust for Historic Preservation listed the Aztec Bowl case in its 1995 “Preservation Year in Review” as “Bad News.” The Trust concluded, “The mitigation product was inadequate…. The HABS (Historic American Buildings Survey) recordation was poor, and the saving of a portion of the bleachers was incomplete.” For many individuals, the arena still is a symbol of contention and angst; retired SDSU athletic director Fred Miller simultaneously called the project one of the “great frustrations and great highlights” of his career (The Daily Aztec. Vol. 78, No. 117; March 28, 1995; Pp1, 3.)

30. Although JFK gave many public addresses during the summer of 1963, he tailored many of them to specific themes. For example, his remarks in Nashville, Tennessee at the 90th Anniversary Convocation of Vanderbilt University, on May 18, 1963, also emphasized the importance of education but were tied more directly to partnerships between government and community service—especially in light of the 30th anniversary of the Tennessee Valley Authority—than issues of racial equality. Likewise, his commencement address at American University, on June 10, 1963, discussed issues of societal progress and enlightened ideals but focused much more closely on peaceful solutions to the Cold War, a topic completely unmentioned in his San Diego State College speech.

31. When former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt spoke at San Diego State College in 1962, she foreshadowed some of JFK’s ideas on this topic, declaring that education was an inalienable right for all people regardless of race, gender, or wealth.
Designing a Unified City: 
The 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition and Its Aesthetic Ideals

Carlotta Falzone Robinson

At the conclusion of the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, William Randolph Hearst complimented its president by remarking that “no other exposition here or abroad has ever displayed so much artistic and architectural loveliness.” Hearst envisioned the legacy to American city planning, stating:

[The principles and policies which created the Exposition in all its practicability and artistic beauty will be applied in public buildings in all parts of our country. Civic centers will be built which will perform all their useful functions and be made at the same time objects of beauty, which will not only educate our own citizens at home, but attract visitors from afar.]

The Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) of 1915 was an experimental city built to create a new identity for San Francisco. Like previous expositions, it

Carlotta Falzone Robinson has a BFA in Architecture from the Southern California Institute of Architecture, a BA in Art History from Sonoma State University and is currently completing her MA in History at California State University, East Bay.

Editors note: San Diego and San Francisco, along with New Orleans, competed for the distinction of having a “World’s Fair” to commemorate the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914. San Francisco, as the article notes, won out over San Diego’s 1915 fair in receiving federal funding. San Diego still has several of its 1915 buildings to provide the basis for the 2015 Centennial.
was ostensibly organized to celebrate a historic event, the opening of the Panama Canal. In actuality, besides their commercial motivations, the fair’s organizers hoped the PPIE would help heal a fractured city and rid San Francisco of its reputation as an uncouth frontier town. Amid the aftermath of the city’s 1906 earthquake and fire—and coping with labor unrest, political scandals, and anti-immigration sentiment—the business community representatives behind the Exposition sought to exhibit the city as a cosmopolitan and commercially viable national entity. With an eventual nineteen million visitors to the fair, in a city with a population of less than half a million, the PPIE held the potential to reform the image of San Francisco, both locally and nationally.

Encompassing 635-acres and extending 75 blocks from the Presidio to Van Ness Boulevard, the PPIE was referred to as “The City of Domes.” The mere size of the fair alone would have earned it the title of “city,” but it was the PPIE’s unified architectural program that made it appear as its own civic entity. Designed by using Beaux-Arts street plans—incorporating “civic centers” and defining “suburban” areas—it achieved one of the most “aesthetically resolved American exhibitions” through the organizer’s careful program of integrated landscape, color, architecture, and historic iconography. The Courts of the PPIE, as well as the Horticultural Palace, Festival Hall, and Palace of Fine Arts formed the “civic center” of the fair, housing the educational, artistic, social, agricultural, and technological exhibits beneath Byzantine domes. To the east and west were “suburbs” containing foreign and state pavilions, livestock exhibits, a race track,
The 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition

and the “Joy Zone.” As with previous fairs, it contained an iconic building: the Tower of Jewels, a 432-foot tall tower hung with faceted, colored glass that reflected the sunlight during the day and the spotlights turned on it at night.

By the time of the PPIE, the physical appearance of expositions was the most important factor in attracting visitors, as exemplified by the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Chicago’s “White City” used French Beaux Arts architecture and planning to give birth to the City Beautiful movement—a new urban model for ordering civic space. Incorporating broad boulevards with monumental scale and neoclassical design, Chicago presented the first utopian exposition environment. It was criticized, however, for lack of stylistic originality, with its imitation of European architecture rather than the creation of an American style.

What made the San Francisco Exposition different was its departure from existing architectural models and its incorporation of the newest urban planning theories. It based its architectural design on the principles of the Aesthetic Movement, and created an environment that integrated architecture, color, urban planning, and landscape. In doing so, the PPIE addressed the organizers’ commercial and civic agendas, devising a cohesive design aesthetic that provided a unique case study in city planning.

Looking back at the PPIE, it is apparent that the overriding aesthetic principle of the Exposition was *gesamtkunstwerk*, a totally unified piece of art. The integration of architecture, murals, and sculpture, along with their relationship in shaping the visitor’s experience, place the PPIE alongside the European Art Nouveau
expositions that also self-consciously incorporated this idea associated with architect and urban planner Otto Wagner. Drawing on the ideology of the Aesthetic Movement and principles of the City Beautiful movement, the material design of the Exposition sought to achieve social and moral improvement through beauty and unity. The fair’s historian, Frank Todd, wrote, “The Exposition’s building plans rested upon a new and great principle...of architectural harmony...All chance of discord had been eliminated, and a harmony created that had never been seen on any such scale...its courts invited assemblage, its palaces were palaces of the public.”

By means of a deliberately planned environment, in which the Exposition arose as a walled city permeated with historic iconography, the fair’s organizers sought to remove visitors from the reality of urban life and surround them with formally ordered civic spaces. The principles of design were carried into the fair’s commercial zone as well, with restrictions on the architecture to regulate the notoriously “chaotic” Midway. Careful, aesthetic design and planning produced an ideal city—and an exotic, unified and cosmopolitan fantasy—that existed for nine months.

The Aesthetic Movement is often equated with decorative art and interior
design, rather than city building. A response to rapid urbanization in Great Britain and the United States, it was an important influence on new urban planning movements that sought to establish social order through beauty and organization of material space, such as the City Beautiful movement. Harmony and unity of design were the overlying principles of aestheticism, and the use of color, orientalist motifs, and nature were prominent design strategies utilized in interior decoration. American architecture of the Aesthetic Movement is usually studied by isolating styles that emerged from its influence—such as Queen Anne or Shingle style houses—by function, or by geographic region. The significance of the PPIE lay in its broader incorporation of the Aesthetic Movement’s interior, decorative, and urban planning precedents to create a city that would be an ideally ordered space, achieving “the moral and intellectual improvement of the whole social order.”

In the United States, peace, progress, education and trade were the public themes of Exposition organizers, but Robert Rydell shows in his analysis of American World’s Fairs that they were also a means to achieve long-range gain for their regional, national, and international economic interests. San Francisco’s desire to host the fair reflected its political agenda: a quest to achieve civic unity as well as “a melding of private and governmental activities in the promotion of development.” The first decade of the century had seen political strife and repeated strikes by labor. Trials exposing graft and back room deals, along with the murder of one of the prosecutors, had given San Francisco a “Wild West” image. The infamous “Barbary Coast” and large districts of the city containing immigrants added to the city’s reputation as uncivilized. A successful exposition would promote the civic unity that businessmen sought, while focusing positive international attention on San Francisco.

In 1904, department store owner Ruben Books Hale began rallying...
interest in San Francisco as host to a World’s Fair under the auspices of celebrating the completion of the Panama Canal. The idea was put aside temporarily as the city rebuilt after the 1906 earthquake and fire but, beginning again in 1909, a contingent of businessmen revived the plans. A protracted battle took place against New Orleans and San Diego to obtain Congressional approval for the fair. San Francisco’s promise to privately fund the fair, along with a massive publicity campaign, achieved victory over the other cities. At the same time that Hale was dreaming of the PPIE, businessmen formed the Association for Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco, led by James D. Phelan.

Aware of urban planning innovations in East Coast cities such as Washington D.C., Phelan asked Daniel Burnham to create an urban plan for the city. The result was a design for a new San Francisco, based in the City Beautiful movement Burnham had introduced at the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair. Wide boulevards radiated from civic plazas, and historic architecture demonstrated social order and democracy. Phelan hoped the new city plan would simultaneously control the environment, lessen the tensions between the city’s residents, and achieve national recognition for San Francisco. Burnham’s plan was destroyed in the 1906 fire and the desire of businessmen to rapidly rebuild, rather than implement the expensive and somewhat impractical city design, led to the use of the pre-earthquake urban footprint. Many of the city’s leaders were disappointed; they felt that the discarded design would have guaranteed “the city’s relation to the country and its civic character to the citizens.” The only place elements of the discarded Burnham plan would be seen in San Francisco was at the PPIE.

At the end of the nineteenth century, American city planning, “transformed itself into a movement of benevolence to elevate, through natural and beautiful surroundings, the whole urban population, a movement that would minister ‘to the elemental needs of man as well as uplift intelligence and taste.’” Daniel Burnham’s City Beautiful movement and its underlying order acted to incorporate these ideals. With the expansion of cities, the need to order their

functions arose, and the “grouping of public buildings” developed as a means to order their functions, create civic areas and “arouse civic pride and patriotism.”

Historical precedents came from Europe where city centers contained fountains, gardens and architecture, which became the ideal for beautifying increasingly industrialized towns. The introduction of parks and nature as a hygienic solution to overcrowded tenements and as a place for the social classes to mix emerged with the parks movement of the late 1800s. San Francisco’s Golden Gate Park was founded on those principles. The influence of the Aesthetic Movement brought a call for beauty as an element of urban planning with city planners arguing, “Sentiment is gathering to the form of an edict that the offensive shall not be forced upon the multitude, and that when the chief expenditure is of brains, and not money, they shall no longer be denied the right to live among beautiful things.” With only a new, partial civic center to stand in for Burnham’s Beaux Arts plan of San Francisco, Kevin Starr argues that the PPIE became a “symbolic substitute” and was a “serious effort in city planning.”

The fair’s architectural theme has been difficult for scholars to categorize as the buildings were an eclectic mix of Roman, Greek, Mediterranean and Middle Eastern styles and motifs. However, if one places this architecture within the context of the Aesthetic movement, the combination of elements echoes the revival of classicism, polychromy, and fascination with Orientalist themes that influenced interior design as well as domestic structures of the period.

Combining historical references in an “eclectic, cosmopolitan” manner that evoked a collective memory, the Exposition’s designers created a vague, imaginary “past.” They consciously “aged” elements of the fair to evoke a feeling of historicism and permanence, inventing faux-travertine plaster which gave the buildings the appearance of the marble used in Roman art and allowed color to be applied to building surfaces. Despite the eclecticism of styles, “the manner in which these forms are carried over from one palace to another, and the almost constant recurrence of some of them…blends them without jar or break.”

By using familiar motifs rather than the avant-garde style of Art Nouveau, which was popular at European expositions, the architectural message could be understood by visitors from different classes and countries. A shared historical understanding meant that for the architects and visitors alike, Greek columns symbolized democracy, Roman triumphal arches recalled power, and the Renaissance courtyard design—with fountains and sculpture—evoked harmony and balance. Orientalist domes and exotic motifs responded to a romantic fascination with the East as “other,” as well as reiterating San Francisco’s connection with Asia, and its anticipation of emerging as an international trade center with the opening of the Panama Canal.
The PPIE reflected the impermanence of San Francisco, which had grown up rapidly in the preceding five decades, only to be destroyed by the 1906 earthquake and fire. To create, and then recreate a history, the organizers chose historic architectural styles rather than the modernist movements popular in many European cities. Much of the city’s domestic architecture was Queen Anne style or Gothic Revival, while its newly built City Hall was Neo-Classical in design. By using the Aesthetic Movement’s principles of harmony and unity, along with
its relationship to eclectic historicism, the PPIE’s organizers were able to achieve an experimental city that, for nine months at least, felt rooted in history.

In addition to the use of purposefully aged historical buildings, the extensive use of landscaping at the PPIE added to the impression that the fair was a permanent city. This was one of the features that distinguished it from its European and American predecessors. Designed by John McLaren as part of the overall planning, the landscaping was conceived to work in harmony with the buildings, “to treat gardening as an adjunct of the architecture…and to make it support and accentuate the beauty of the buildings.”

The seventy-four acres of plantings included lawns, courts, flowerbeds, the lagoon at the Palace of Fine Arts, and the tree-lined avenues of the Exposition. The Avenue of the Palms was “bordered on each side for half a mile with a double row of California fan palms and Canary date palms…festooned higher than a man’s head with ivy and blooming nasturtium,” and the wall surrounding the fair utilized an innovative method of vine covering, giving it a sense of age.

Landscaping as a dominant element of the fair also embodied the Aesthetic Movement’s belief that nature should be an integral part of design. Two major motifs of the Aesthetic Movement were the peacock and the sunflower, often utilized in interior design along with William Morris’s floral and vegetative wallpaper designs. The Exposition’s landscaping also reflected the idea that parks could provide antidotes to unhealthy factories and tenements and serve as democratic spaces for the mixing of social classes. The abundance and size of the plantings implied permanence and the creation of a park-like setting.

San Francisco earthquake aftermath. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.
for the Exposition lessened the class distinctions between visitors.

Color was another innovation. While domestic structures gradually incorporated tints, public buildings were predominately white and gray. However, the fair’s organizers did not seek to reproduce the “White City” of the Chicago fair; they wanted to create architecture that was harmonious with nature.28 They also wanted to complement the historicism of the architecture. With the invention of imitation travertine, the buildings took on a creamy warm color and the impression of age.

Jules Guérin, an American artist who trained at the French Academy, was chosen as the Fair’s Chief of Color based on his international reputation as a colorist in a variety of mediums, ranging from theatre to large scale murals. The use of color as an external ordering device was in its infancy, but it was one proposed by many urban theorists as a means for civic beautification. Attention to color in interior design was a hallmark of the
Aesthetic Movement, but Guérin turned the domestic interior inside-out with his application of color at the PPIE. Every element of the fair had an assigned color, including architecture, landscaping, sculpture, flag poles, gravel, benches, janitor’s uniforms, the Joy Zone, and even the garbage cans. For the first time at a fair, the color could be seen at night, due to the innovation of concealed indirect and spot lighting for the PPIE. Combined with the frequent fog rolling in from San Francisco Bay, the effect was dream-like, further removing the visitor from the reality outside the walls.
Guérin’s psychological reasons for particular color choices within the Exposition are ignored by historians of the PPIE. He based his selection on his analysis of people’s psychological response to color, as much as for their visual impact, saying “quite unconsciously, colors affect the spirits.” He believed some colors promoted commerce, while others acted in a soothing nature. It is not known whether or not Guérin’s motivation for color choices was discussed among the Exposition’s organizers, but since he did reveal it in a published interview prior to the opening of the fair, it is likely they were aware of it. More often cited is Guérin’s choice of muted colors as a reflection of the Mediterranean “origins” of the fair’s architecture—certainly a more palatable explanation for the fair’s potential visitors.

As with a permanent city, the plan of the PPIE needed to provide solutions for logistical problems within its unified scheme. The fair organizers wanted to lessen the space between exhibition halls and to provide shelter from the winds off San Francisco Bay. Additionally, they wanted the plan to incorporate the outlying areas containing state and foreign buildings, livestock exhibits, and the midway within the overall design. By surrounding the entire fair with a 20-foot-high wall—ingeniously designed through plantings to resemble a hedge—both unity and practicality were combined.
The Court design of the PPIE was an innovative approach to exposition architecture. Traditionally, exhibition halls were placed along long avenues, with little unity of design between the individual buildings. Grouping structures as a conceptual whole reflected the growing interest of urban planners of the time. One wrote, “the creation of civic centers arouses civic pride and patriotism… which expresses power, greatness and ideality.” Three central courtyards were formed by eight pavilions which housed the main exhibits of the fair, ranging from transportation to education. Building facades faced inward on the courtyard, with exterior walls giving the effect of an unbroken architectural mass 70-feet tall.

The creation of a walled city within the fairgrounds reflected the historic precedents of Moorish and southern European cities. It allowed courtyards to act as interior, rather than exterior, spaces. All of the ornamentation faced the courtyard while the interiors of the buildings were un-designed, the result being shed-like barns for the exhibitors’ displays. Each courtyard’s buildings and facades were designed by one individual architect or firm, in coordination with those creating the sculpture, friezes, fountains, and landscaping. Historically, these courts echoed the idea of Mediterranean patios. Artistically, they reflected the unity that was a prominent feature in the Aesthetic movement’s design of interiors. Programmatically, they helped reinforce the individual themes of the courtyards.
Within the courtyards, programmatic ideology could be disseminated through design. For example, themes of Aryan superiority permeated the fair, with eugenics conferences and exhibits promoting themes of Social Darwinism.36 The largest space, the Court of the Universe, depicted the “Spirit of Enterprise which has led the Aryan race to conquer the West.” The architecture firm of McKim, Mead & White reinforced this idea through their use of Roman triumphal arches, 200-feet tall, and a curved colonnade reminiscent of St. Peter’s in Rome.37 Perched atop the facing arches were two massive sculptural groupings carrying out the theme, as well as enormous mural paintings and smaller sculptures throughout the court.

Interior ornament lavished on exteriors made it appear that the Exposition was, “‘turned inside out,’” according to the fair’s historian.38 This blending of interior and exterior design was consistent with architecture of the American Aesthetic Movement and offered a new solution for programmatic civic center design. The Exposition’s supervising architect George Kelham said, “The influence of the Exposition’s architecture is going to be felt on the Pacific Coast. Hereafter the clients who contemplate erecting buildings both of a public and private character will bring their architects, sculptors and decorators together as a board and leave them free to evolve by their united efforts thoroughly harmonious plans.”39
Ironically, the most celebrated Palace of the PPIE was Bernard Maybeck’s Palace of Fine Arts, a design based on the Romantic Movement rather than the Aesthetic Movement. The Palace, located on the western terminus of the courtyard block, contained a domed pergola bordered by a lagoon and flanked by a semi-circle of crumbling Roman ruins. Maybeck urged visitors to “analyze the Fine Arts Palace and the lake, not from the physical, but...from a psychological point of view with reference to the effect of architectural forms on the mind and feelings.” Unlike the ordered urban plan of the rest of the Exposition, this area had boating available in the lagoon and less structured Romantic landscaping. It acted as a park within the fairgrounds, another innovative element of the Exposition's design. However, by placing it on the axis of the other courts and using domed architecture and color consistent with the rest of the fair, the Palace of Fine Arts fit into the overall unified scheme of the fair.

Seven months before the fair was to open, World War I began, raising uncertainty as to which foreign nations would attend, or if the Exposition should continue. Due to heavy publicity prior to its opening, the PPIE had become an international event. After much speculation the Exposition’s president made the decision to continue, saying the fair would:

...help keep the torch of civilization burning and the feeling of international amity alive, and... that might conceivably become an

Palace of Fine Arts. Louis J. Stellmann, That Was a Dream Worth Building. Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.
instrumentality in the restoration of peace. The world needed the Exposition more than ever; there was more need than ever that it keep its engagement to the world.\textsuperscript{41}

A triangular area to the west of the Courts housed the U.S. state and international buildings. As each state or nation erected a building of its own
design, the resulting architectural mixture was eclectic.\(^2\) Oregon’s pavilion was a model of the Parthenon with the columns constructed from barked Douglas fir while Japan’s building was a traditional, though monumental, pagoda. As recognizable reproductions of vernacular architectural edifices, a general historicism made the structures appear familiar, and thus part of an ordered historicism. The organization of these buildings differentiated the PPIE from previous fairs. By using an axial street plan with broad expanses of continuous lawns and landscape, the eclectic buildings appeared unified. This area of the fair resembled a “suburb” where the architecture differed from the “civic center.” By using a City Beautiful plan, similar to the rest of the fair, the PPIE was able to create a city model that expressed a totality of design.

A purely commercial venture, the PPIE’s midway, the Joy Zone, was not excluded from the overall design of the fair. The midway first appeared as an amusement venue outside the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, which resulted in visitors leaving the grounds to partake in games and rides. Chicago’s 1893 Exposition included the *plaisance*, an educational and commercial venture that featured anthropological exhibits. The introduction of the giant Ferris wheel and “low entertainment” such as belly dancers, however, insured that midways would be known primarily for their amusements, profitability, and popularity. The inclusion of a midway amid the overall aesthetic program of the Exposition created difficulties:

A properly composed amusement district is a main attraction of an exposition, and has a most healthful effect on gate receipts. To that extent, plus the bonuses, rentals, and percentages that may be collected on the business, it is a principal source of exposition revenue, and one of the important supports of the other activities. Nevertheless, it is not quite in keeping with the exposition ideal, and may have a hard time conforming to it.\textsuperscript{43}

Inclusion of the Joy Zone in an idealized city forced Exposition planners to confront issues that earlier City Beautiful planners had ignored in their designs. Prior to the PPIE, residential and commercial portions of the city were excluded, as with the Burnham plan of San Francisco. The focus was always on civic centers, with no solutions for commercial realities of urban life.\textsuperscript{44} The PPIE’s inclusion of the commercial area of the fair in its overall design was revolutionary in both exposition and city planning, and served to continue the fair’s goals of unity and harmony throughout the grounds.

The Joy Zone covered about sixty-five acres, extending for almost a mile, or seven city blocks. All the concessions were on a wide paved boulevard, facing each other. The Exposition Committee issued leases to individual concessionaires but, unlike previous fairs, retained aesthetic approval on the design of the structures. Plans and specifications had to conform to the Exposition’s ideas of suitable form and
color. Another requirement of the fair was that the fronts of the buildings should be “fantastic,” expressing their concession without signage, if possible. As many concessionaires either did not have or could not employ an architect, the Division of Works of the Exposition designed seventy of the Joy Zone structures and Jules Guérin dictated the painting of all of the exhibits.45

The result was a vernacular kitsch that ranged from somewhat accurate models of the Grand Canyon, Yellowstone Park, and the Panama Canal, to Irish castles and a Gold Rush town, complete with dancing girls and taverns. The Zone’s lack of a uniform architectural style and overt commercialism were the antithesis of the fair’s aesthetic unity. Façade architecture, where oversized three-dimensional figures acted in place of signs, emerged. Instead of Orientalist palaces, 90-foot tin soldiers, a 120-foot gilded Buddha, and enormous plaster ostriches became the visual aesthetic. The fair’s regulations also required that unoccupied booths be covered by the adjacent façade, since there was a fear that empty spaces would make the Zone appear unsuccessful.

Ironically, the precedents set in fair midways in general, and the PPIE specifically, ended up being far more influential in future urban planning than the fair proper. The Exposition’s control of design elements and the innovation of adding color to the architectural facades of the PPIE gave rise to “programmatic architecture.”46 Not “concealing the real purpose for which the article has been made,” the architecture of the Joy Zone was closer ideologically to the foundations of the Arts and Crafts movement than any other part of the fair.47 While not architecturally cohesive with the main part of the Exposition, the close attention paid to the planning of the commercial zone exhibited the organizer’s quest for a gesamtkunstwerk.

Palace of Education. California’s Magazine, Cornerstone Number-1915.
The midway’s popularity was its democracy—anyone could go on an amusement ride or take an educational tour through Yellowstone Park, complete with working geysers. Less bourgeois than the Palaces, which housed “improvement” or progress exhibits, the fanciful atmosphere produced by the “chaotic” architecture provided a place for educated and uneducated alike. With educational exhibits housed in the form of rides and “vulgar” exhibits, it required no aspiration to higher social order. In the 1960s, Disneyland would figure out how to combine consumerism and concessions with an idealized historic landscape to recreate the midway.48 Uniquely American, the Joy Zone had packaged exoticism and foreignness as a commodity.

The Palace of Fine Arts still stands in San Francisco’s Marina District, but as an isolated artifact from the vanished “City of Domes.” It is no longer part of the ideal city created by the PPIE, one that was exotic, unified, and cosmopolitan. The importance of the PPIE was its existence as *gesamtkunstwerk*, a total aesthetic and symbolic environment built for the social and moral improvement of its visitors. Using the Aesthetic Movement to inform its design, the Exposition turned interior design inside-out to create a new programmatic civic architecture, it expanded the City Beautiful program to include the commercial zone, and it incorporated historicism to evoke a collective memory of the past. By unifying color, landscape, architecture and planning, the PPIE created a case study for urban planning.

The PPIE was the first time the principles of the Aesthetic Movement were used to create an entire city. By using color, nature, and exotic motifs, the fair appropriated elements from interior design, decorative art, and painting for use in the exterior environment. The Exposition influenced future civic center design and commercial architecture, introduced color as an architectural element, and gave birth to programmatic kitsch. It achieved the civic unity sought by the organizers, with government and private enterprise working together towards a unified goal. It was one of the few World’s Fairs to be commercially successful.
Post-World War I expositions and World’s Fairs, including the 1935 California Pacific International Exhibition in San Diego, would continue to reflect optimism about the future and nostalgia for the past.

NOTES


2. Ibid.

3. The words “exposition” and “fair” are used interchangeably throughout the article.


6. Ibid.

7. Beaux Arts architecture is formal, symmetrical, monumental and uniform, with ornamentation generally derived from Rococo and Renaissance motifs. Beaux Arts plans contain wide boulevards, axial plans that are symmetric, and uniformly placed architecture. The City Beautiful movement derived from the belief that the built environment could affect social order. Using European models of design and social ideology based in the Aesthetic movement, it advocated classical architecture, Beaux Arts planning, connections with natural elements such as parks, and strict ordering of the architectural elements.

8. The principle of design meaning “a total work of art,” where a unified aesthetic and symbolic content would surround and affect the viewer.

9. Greenhalgh, Ephemeral Vistas, 161. Otto Wagner was an important member of the Vienna Secession formed in 1897 by a group of Austrian artists who had opposed the prevailing conservatism of the Vienna Künstlerhaus with its traditional orientation toward historicism.


18. Boyer, Dreaming the Rational City, 3.
25. Ibid., 27.
29. Ibid., 349.
32. Ibid.
36. Robert Rydell, among others, has written extensively on the programmatic aspects of the PPIE.
42. Germany and Britain did not participate in the PPIE; they were the only countries absent due to the war.
43. Todd, The Story of the Exposition, 170.
45. Todd, The Story of the Exposition, 156.
47. Todd, The Story of the Exposition, 156.
Richard W. Amero (1924-2012)

Richard W. Amero was born in Gloucester, Massachusetts in 1924 and graduated from Gloucester High School in 1942. He served in the U. S. Army during World War II and obtained the rank of corporal while acting as a clerk and courier for the Headquarters Commandant, Chanor Base Section, European Theater of Operations. The Section was in charge of the famous Red Ball Highway that sent supplies to the front and maintained discipline in areas behind front lines. At the conclusion of the war, while waiting to return to the United States, Amero attended Biarritz American University in Biarritz, France.

After his discharge from the Army, Amero worked part time on the wharves of Gloucester, Massachusetts, where fishing is the dominant industry, and worked as a laborer for his carpenter/contractor father. Money from these jobs helped to defray costs at Black Mountain College, North Carolina, and Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York. Amero graduated in 1950 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, with a major in English and a minor in history. His attendance at college would not have been possible without the aid of the G. I. bill and generous grants-in-aid from the educational institutions he attended.

Amero moved to San Diego in 1956 and worked at Consolidated Vultee Aircraft (Convair), which later became General Dynamics. He recalled that he went into the Employment Office, announced that he had just graduated from college, and was hired immediately with no questions being asked. Such was the nature of wartime employment in San Diego during World War II and the subsequent Korean and Vietnam conflicts. From Convair, Amero went on to Solar Aircraft
for about six months. Upon hearing that San Diego Gas & Electric Company was hiring workers, Amero transferred there, where he worked for 40 years.


Amero’s publications include a biography of Madame Ernestine Schumann-Heink, a Gold-Star Mother, famous contralto, and former San Diego resident, published in the *Southern California Quarterly* and re-published in *Women in the Life of Southern California*.


In 1992, the year of his retirement from San Diego Gas & Electric Company, Amero gave the San Diego Historical Society the “Richard Amero Collection,” a compilation of over 250 binders of material on subjects pertaining to San Diego and California history. These included copies of correspondence by famous people associated with San Diego gleaned from archives throughout the country. A full description of the collection is available on the San Diego History Center website.

The Committee of One Hundred honored Richard Amero with the Gertrude Gilbert Award in 2010. His writings on Balboa Park history and a range of other topics are showcased on his website, which will be maintained by The Committee of One Hundred.

J. Michael Kelly, President
Committee of One Hundred
BOOK REVIEWS


Reviewed by Theodore A. Strathman, Adjunct Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of San Diego.

In The Chinatown War, Scott Zesch provides a thorough examination of the 1871 lynching of eighteen Chinese men in Los Angeles. Drawing primarily on court documents and newspaper accounts, Zesch painstakingly recreates the horrific incident and explores the trials that ultimately failed to deliver justice. While academic scholars may desire more contextualizing and analysis than Zesch provides, the author is to be congratulated on producing such a lively narrative, and those interested in Los Angeles, the history of vigilantism, and Asian American studies will find much of value in the book.

Zesch's book is organized in two parts. In Part One, Zesch examines the Los Angeles Chinese community in the years before the massacre. Several themes emerge. First, Zesch argues that Los Angeles’s Chinese residents enjoyed few successes in establishing meaningful connections (economic, social, or cultural), with other Angelenos. Second, while some Anglo Americans expressed a disdain for “John Chinaman” and his cultural attributes in the 1860s, virulent anti-Chinese sentiment only took off when the Los Angeles News, the town’s first daily, launched a significant editorial campaign against the relative newcomers. Finally, rival Chinese district associations (known as “companies”) fought for influence in Los Angeles’s first Chinatown, an enclave centered along the Calle de los Negros. The fighting tongs, mafia-like organizations that dominated the Chinese vice industries and whose leaders often worked with the district associations, operated in and contributed to an atmosphere of corruption and lawlessness, as Los Angeles’s police force was only beginning to show the first signs of professionalization.

Part Two narrates the events leading up to the massacre, describes in vivid details the attacks that took place on the night of October 24, and recounts the aftermath. Readers will be captivated by Zesch’s skillful storytelling and his masterful use of primary sources to reconstruct the events on the night of the lynching. Disputes between rival district associations simmered for a year before the henchmen of the Hong Chow Company killed a hired tong fighter. Police responded to the incident and discovered a gunfight in the street. In their attempt to intervene, Chinese gunmen shot two lawmen, one mortally. News of
the shootings brought a mob of whites and Latinos to Chinatown, where they surrounded the Coronel adobe, in which was congregated a group of Chinese bystanders as well as the Chinese gunmen. Police officers at this moment made the fateful decision not to break up the mob, instead choosing to seal off the Coronel adobe in the hope of trapping those responsible for the shootings. (Although the mob and police officers were not aware of it at the time, most of those Chinese who had participated in the gun battle had already escaped.) Eventually, a mob of as many as five hundred people stormed the building, and over the course of several hours tortured and lynched eighteen Chinese men. While local jurors in the ensuing trials did find eight men guilty of manslaughter, the California Supreme Court overturned the convictions on a technicality.

Zesch makes a compelling argument that the violence in Los Angeles had little to do with economic conflicts between Chinese workers and their fellow Angelenos. Few ethnic Mexican or white workers were in direct competition with Chinese laborers, Zesch asserts, and lynch mob members’ pronouncements against Chinese labor on the night of the massacre represented “a thin veil concealing raw hatred of a specific group of immigrants whose ways were different” (p. 177).

Still, some readers may wish for more analysis of what motivated those who participated in the lynching. Even if white workers in Los Angeles were not directly competing with them, could the Chinese nevertheless have constituted the “indispensable enemy” (to borrow from Alexander Saxton, whose book of that name is curiously absent from Zesch’s bibliography) against whom whites identified themselves? Indeed, questions of racial and ethnic identity abound. Zesch’s book describes a town in transition, where ethnic Mexicans still held some political power (including the mayor’s office at the time of the massacre) but where Anglo Americans had clearly made political inroads. The Mexican political elite’s days were numbered, though, as more Anglos were arriving in Southern California and as legal and environmental difficulties ate away at the Californios’ land base. Zesch does not explore what role, if any, these changes may have had on ethnic Mexicans’ participation in the massacre.

In the end, Zesch concludes, the massacre changed little, as the perpetrators escaped punishment and anti-Chinese violence would continue in California and the West. Zesch has done an admirable job bringing to light a tragic yet commonly overlooked incident. In so doing, he may help correct a historiographic overemphasis on San Francisco in California’s anti-Chinese movement. Future scholars may build on Zesch’s work by explaining how the story of the massacre alters our understanding of race and violence in the West.
Book Reviews


Reviewed by Alan Renga, Archivist, San Diego Air and Space Museum.

For most Americans, the story of aviation in our country has a definitive starting point: Kitty Hawk, North Carolina in 1903, when the Wright Brothers made their famous flight. However, many San Diegans do not know that this story has roots much closer to home, and has a local hero. *Quest for Flight* is a thoroughly researched book which takes an in-depth look into the life of one of America’s less celebrated aviation pioneers, John J. Montgomery. Not only do the authors discuss Montgomery’s life, but they place him in the larger context of the early days of aviation in California and the United States. *Quest for Flight* examines why Montgomery’s 1884 glider flight, which was the first made by a heavier-than-air machine in the Western Hemisphere, was not well known or publicized at the time. The authors also do a superb job of detailing what Montgomery did in the years following his first tests until his experiments resumed in earnest after the Wright Brothers’ famed flight. If you are familiar with Montgomery, or have seen the very stylized version of his life presented in the 1946 movie *Gallant Journey*, you know that his story does not appear to have a happy ending. The events leading up to his death in 1911 while flying the *Evergreen* glider are thoroughly covered. Through the course of the book we are introduced to other famous men involved in early aviation: Octave Chanute, Victor Loughead, and the Wright Brothers, among others. By the end of the monograph, it is clear how influential Montgomery was, and how he influenced other pioneers, both those experimenting with heavier- and lighter-than-air designs. This point is driven home in the book’s epilogue where Montgomery’s legacy is discussed. The epilogue also looks into the genesis of the “Montgomery Controversy,” in which some have doubted the validity of Montgomery’s claims of having made a flight in the 1880s. Those specifically interested in San Diego’s past will find the epilogue of special interest, as it focuses on Montgomery’s place in local history. In addition, there is a helpful glossary of aviation terms for those not familiar with “airplane speak.”

The most impressive aspect of *Quest for Flight* is the amount of research that went into writing it. The authors, Craig S. Harwood (great-great grandson of John J. Montgomery’s father) and Gary B. Fogel (the author of *Wind and Wings: The History of Soaring in San Diego*) visited archives all across the nation while writing the book. This research is documented in an extensive notes section, as well as
a comprehensive bibliography. It is the details they discovered while doing this research which really set *Quest for Flight* apart from many aviation biographies. Even if Montgomery weren’t a famous aviator, his family’s story is still fascinating. Without divulging details, it involves childhood tragedy and political intrigue.

After reading *Quest for Flight*, it is clear that the popular bias towards the Wright Brothers is overdone, and that Montgomery, and the West Coast, should get more credit for their roles in making the dream of flight a reality. Montgomery had many factors conspiring against him to keep him from attaining the fame and fortune of his contemporaries. However, the authors make clear that Montgomery was a man of science, and the reader is left with the impression that he would have been happy with the realization of how valuable his contributions were to the progress we have made in aerodynamics. Perhaps Montgomery’s story does have a happy ending after all.


Reviewed by Michelle M. Jacob, PhD, Associate Professor, Ethnic Studies, University of San Diego. Faculty Fellow, Center for Native Health & Culture, Heritage University.

*Reimagining Indian Country* provides readers with a well-researched account of the shifting definitions and meanings of “Indian Country.” Nicolas Rosenthal draws from a rich diversity of primary and secondary sources including community, tribal, and institutional publications. Each chapter focuses on a different aspect of the social changes that accompanied the migration patterns of American Indians between “cities, towns, rural areas, and reservations” (p. 3). Rosenthal’s main purpose is to explain these patterns by “showing how American Indians used Los Angeles and other cities throughout the twentieth century and how these uses fit into their larger social, cultural, and economic strategies rooted in migrant networks” (p. 5). Chapter 1, “Settling into the City: American Indian Migration and Urbanization, 1900-1945,” provides historical context for the larger migration movement of American Indians between reservations and urban centers. American Indian readers will recognize the patterns and similarities of our own family stories, as decisions around education and employment drove much of the movement.
Rosenthal’s analysis rightfully situates indigenous peoples as agents who define and redefine their roles and surroundings based on a complex meaning-making process. For example, Rosenthal draws from primary and secondary sources to explain indigenous perceptions of federal boarding schools, federal relocation and vocational programs, and performance opportunities at Disneyland and in Hollywood – all of which were used by indigenous peoples as tools to seek a better life during the process of reimagining Indian Country. What makes Rosenthal’s analysis unique is the strong emphasis on centering indigenous people’s perspectives throughout the telling of these complex stories of engagement and resistance in mainstream U.S. society. The discussion around performance and representation (Chapter 2, “Representing Indians: American Indian Performance and Activism in Urban America”) is especially useful in demonstrating the contradictions and complexities involved in challenging stereotypes of the “vanishing Indian” but doing so within a largely paternalistic structure rooted in the legacy of colonialism.

Some of the book’s most captivating data were drawn from interviews that the author conducted with people involved in key political and social movements. Randy Edmonds is one of Rosenthal’s interviewees, and San Diego-area community members will enjoy Randy’s insights into self-determination movements, such as when he discusses urban Indian organizations taking charge of Indian policy-making and programming in Chapter 3, “From Americanization to Self-Determination: The Federal Urban Relocation Program.” “We were a lot more knowledgeable about our own people. It was American Indians running the program for American Indians. Whereas the BIA was more bureaucratic and their approach to individuals that were coming off the reservation was that they were just numbers to them” (p. 74).

A major strength of the book is the skillful way in which the author draws from multiple sources of data. The strongest examples are the narratives from indigenous people themselves, including compelling stories in Chapter 4, “Postindustrial Urban Indians: Life and Work in the Postwar City,” which explains how American Indian activism targeted higher educational opportunities to “create a generation of professional Indians attuned to the pragmatics of working for their communities in conjunction with local, state, and federal agencies” (p. 99). However, Rosenthal also includes three tables of quantitative data to help explain the dramatic demographic changes among American Indians in the post-World War II experience. These tables help to show, in a quantitative snapshot, the urbanization of the American Indian population; however, two key cities within the book’s analysis (San Diego and Portland, Oregon) are not included in the tables. This omission is puzzling, but despite this shortcoming, the tables remain a helpful resource.
Rosenthal’s book will appeal especially to people interested in San Diego and Southern California history, as the book documents and analyzes movements from San Diego County reservations and discusses key, but often overlooked, examples of local Indian political organizing, such as the Mission Indian Federation. The exceptional photos will captivate any audience, as they provide a visual representation of the Hollywood Indian, aircraft manufacturing worker, consumer, policy advisor, and community activist, thus enriching the story that Rosenthal tells about the shifting meaning of Indian Country.

BOOK NOTES

Consuming Mexican Labor: From the Bracero Program to NAFTA. By Ronald L. Mize and Alicia C. S. Swords. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2011. Tables, glossary, references, and index. xlii + 294 pp. $28.95 paper. This history of Mexican migrant labor to the United States and Canada in the second half of the twentieth century examines the Mexican worker within the contexts of the politics of production and consumption. Corporations, consumers, and governments encouraged Mexicans to migrate when labor markets were in short supply and discouraged them in times of economic downturn. Consuming Mexican Labor sheds a critical light on the important role Mexican labor plays in the North American economy at a time when the immigration policy debate seems to lack precisely that insight.

The Fall and Rise of the Wetlands of California’s Great Central Valley. By Philip Garone. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011. Illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, and index. xvi + 442 pp. $39.95 cloth. Philip Garone’s book history chronicles the environmental degradation of the Central Valley’s wetlands as well as recent conservation efforts that have helped restore some measure of ecological integrity. Irrigation projects and large-scale farming threatened the wetlands’ viability as crucial habitats for aquatic life and migratory birds.

In Pursuit of Gold: Chinese American Miners and Merchants in the American West. By Sue Fawn Chung. Foreword by Roger Daniels. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, and index. xxvii + 258 pp. $55.00 cloth. Sue Fawn Chung explores the relationships between the Chinese and non-Chinese merchant community in two mining towns in the American Northwest at the turn of the twentieth century. She argues that rather
than remain isolated and insular, the Chinese community interacted with the white community to create economic relationships and avoid the anti-Chinese violence that plagued other mining towns. In *In Pursuit of Gold* adds long overlooked voices to the historical record and reshapes perceptions about Chinese miners in the West.

*The Making of Yosemite: James Mason Hutchings and the Origin of America's Most Popular National Park.* By Jen A. Huntley. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, and index. xi + 232 pp. $34.95 cloth. James Mason Hutchings led the first group of tourists into the Yosemite Valley in 1855 and became an early advocate of its scenic beauty. Huntley argues that Hutchings, while often dismissed as an opportunist and overshadowed by John Muir as the “father” of Yosemite National Park, deserves credit for bringing this landscape to the attention of Americans.

*Mexico and Mexicans in the Making of the United States.* History, Culture, and Society Series. Edited by John Tutino. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012. Maps, tables, notes, bibliography, and index. x + 320 pp. $55.00 cloth. A common perception of Mexico limits its influence to the United States border, often in criminal or supplicant terms. But the contributors to *Mexico and Mexicans* argue that the country of Mexico and its people have been at the center of United States history from colonial times to the present. This volume includes cultural, historical, and sociological perspectives, suggesting that the United States and Mexico have a shared history that includes production, politics, social relations, and cultural understandings.

*Saving San Francisco: Relief and Recovery after the 1906 Disaster.* By Andrea Rees Davies. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2012. Illustrations, maps, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, and index. x + 220 pp. $29.95 paper. In the aftermath of the earthquake and fire that devastated San Francisco, Davies argues, locals attempted to mold reconstruction efforts to meet the needs of various constituencies. While Progressive reformers, people of color, and advocates of the city’s working class entered the public sphere in these efforts, Davies maintains that the rebuilding programs typically reinforced hierarchies of difference.
DOCUMENTARY FILM REVIEW

_Inocente_. Directed by Sean Fine and Andrea Nix Fine, Yael Melamede, Producer, 39 min.

Reviewed by Antonieta Mercado, Assistant Professor, University of San Diego Communication Studies.

_Inocente_, a documentary directed by Sean Fine and Andrea Nix Fine, tells the story of Inocente Izúcar, a 15-year-old undocumented immigrant from Mexico who has lived homeless in San Diego, California, for over a decade. Inocente’s story is not unheard of in what is known as “America’s finest city,” where affordable housing is almost non-existent and the percentage of people living below the poverty line has grown from 11 percent in 2007 to 15 percent in 2011, according to the Center on Policy Initiatives, a progressive think-tank in the area.

The documentary, which was first aired on MTV, and has recently won an Oscar, follows Inocente from one of her family’s temporary homes to a school for homeless kids, where she is sponsored by the program _A Reason To Survive_, ARTS. There she creates very colorful paintings and paints over her own face with vivid colors. In the documentary, it is also possible to see Inocente’s mother, an immigrant from Mexico who became homeless when she denounced her abusive husband who had taken Inocente and her older brother against their will across the border to the United States. Authorities subsequently deported her mother to Mexico.

The documentary is an uplifting story about a very talented immigrant girl, who the creators have said would give them the opportunity to paint a picture of homelessness in the United States, since there are about 1.7 million homeless children in the country. Yet, it seems that they neither expected nor were prepared to tell the nuanced story of undocumented immigrants and the structural inequality that makes their lives marginal, such as the lives of Inocente’s family, including her mother and two younger brothers. For example, in San Diego County a recent housing boom left behind an array of Mac Mansions, while the immigrant workers who built those homes, mowed the lawns, and have worked as maids for some of their inhabitants, have lived in cramped housing in less desirable neighborhoods, or have had to live in canyons using makeshift homes because even shared living quarters are unaffordable to them.

Inocente’s story is told using a Horatio Alger myth framework, where profound inequality is viewed through the lens of personal responsibility, and not through the unequal social structures and relationships in human communities. Although
they use Inocente’s story to generate empathy from the audience and awareness about homeless children, it is important to go beyond the documentary in order to paint a complete and accurate picture of the issue. The contrasting stories of Inocente and her family, for example, are worrisome.

It is painful to watch a scene where one art director from Inocente’s academy brings a lawyer to convince Inocente’s mother to allow her to live in Toussaint Academy, a place for young artists, in order to relieve the tensions between them. The mother does not entirely understand her daughter’s quest to become an artist. There is no formal translation at the meeting, and the mother’s defeat, humiliation, and fear can be seen on the screen when she talks in a very low voice to the art director and the lawyer after receiving them in a garage that serves her as a precarious temporary home. It is possible to see the shame she feels from her inability to provide her children with a dignified place to live (in spite of working multiple jobs), and at the end of the conversation she agrees to let Inocente leave, and wishes her good luck. The documentary also mentions the array of shelters that have been temporary homes for Inocente’s family in San Diego. The viewer is left to wonder why nobody has been able to offer them a more permanent option during over a decade of homelessness, and why they have so frequently needed to shift from shelter to shelter.

*Inocente* undoubtly fits the American mainstream audience’s tastes for the individual success story. Yet, while it calls attention to an overall problem, it does so in a way that obscures the underlying social complexity. Although the documentary website will take you to a brief discussion about undocumented children and the Dream Act, the larger social and policy issues are minimized. Paradoxically, the individual story of Inocente is the film’s greatest strength, since it is directed to a more mainstream public, and narrated to appeal to the tastes of a wider audience. This documentary can be useful to start a more directed conversation about the structural causes of homelessness and the legal and economic causes of immigration. It is also necessary to understand the marginalization that undocumented immigration status can bring not only to a person, but to entire families and communities where working people just scrape by in the margins of an apparently prosperous society.
EXHIBITION
Opening April 6, 2013

Learn why San Diego County is becoming globally recognized for quality craft beer production and industry-changing innovation!

Explore the region’s early brewing history and how that helped create the craft brew culture of today!

Bottled & Kegged, the History Center’s featured exhibition, will educate visitors about the region’s brewing history.

Exhibit features:
• Historic retrospective of San Diego’s brewing past
• Brewing science
• Interactive brewing, hop, and flavor stations
• Educational programming for all ages
• “History Happy Hours” with beers brewed specifically for these events (21 and over)

SPECIAL EVENT
Makers of San Diego History Gala
April 27, 2013

For more information visit sandiegohistory.org
In lieu of an index, please search complete issues online at http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/journal.htm

Fall 2012: Volume 58 Number 4
San Diego and the Pacific Theater: Consolidated Aircraft Corporation Holds the Home Front by Natalie Nakamura
Patriotism and Profit: San Diego's Camp Kearny by John Martin
The 2012 Transit of Venus Observed at Real de Santa Ana, Baja California Sur, Mexico by Xavier López Medellín, Carlos G. Román-Zúñiga, Iris Engstrand, Manuel Alvarez Pérez and Marco Moreno Corral
Exhibit Reviews
Book Reviews

Summer 2012: Volume 58 Number 3
The Del Mar Race Track 75 Years of Turf and Surf by Amy Williams
UCSD From Field Station to Research University: A Personal History by Richard Atkinson
Father John Chrysostome Holbein: A Forgotten Chapter in San Diego Mission History 1849-1854 by William Jude Uberti
Mary B. Coulston: Unsung Planner of Balboa Park by Nancy Carol Carter
Book Reviews

Winter/Spring 2012: Volume 58 Numbers 1 & 2
The Origins of California's High-Seas Tuna Fleet by August Felando and Harold Medina
Tuna: San Diego's Famous Fishing Industry A Pictorial Essay by Amy Brandt, Karen Dooley, Matthew Schiff, & Iris Engstrand
Inspired by Mexico: Architect Bertram Goodhue Introduces Spanish Colonial Revival into Balboa Park by Iris Engstrand
Adventurers, Bandits, Soldiers of Fortune, Spies and Revolutionaries: Recalling the Baja California Insurrection of 1911 One Hundred Years Later by James Bartoli
Book Reviews
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Charlotte Cagan

BOARD OF TRUSTEES
Thompson Fetter, President
Robert F. Adelizzi, Vice President
Frank Alessi, Treasurer
Helen Kinnaird, Secretary
Hal Sadler, Past President

BOARD MEMBERS
Diane Canedo
Ray Carpenter
Jeff Cavignac
Bill Evans
Ann Hill
Lucy C. Jackson
William Lawrence
Woody Ledford
John L. Morrell
Ann Navarra
Susan Peinado
Sandy Perlatti
Kay Porter
Marc Tarasuck
Nell Waltz
Margie Warner
Allan Wasserman
Bob Watkins
Roger Zucchet

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Malin Burnham
Iris Engstrand
Kim Fletcher
Yvonne Larsen
David Malcolm
Jack Monger
Mary Walshok
Pete Wilson
Stephen B. Williams
Karín Winner

STAFF
Emily Aust
Alexandria Bender
Tammie Bennett
Elizabeth A. Burress
Keith Busby
Kristen Cairns
Emily Coddick
Corall Cowan
Michael Daligdig
Lisa Ducio
Natalie Fiore
Nicole George
Nyabthok Goldet
Mark Henderson
Amanda Hughes
Diana Inocencio
Naomi Kawamura
Jane Kenealy
Jessica LaFave
Sarah Matteoson
Samantha Mills
Stephanie Mirkin
Carol Myers
Heather Poirier
Joan Priddy
Lauren Rasmussen
Terri Rochon
Matthew Schiff
Gabe Selak
Christine Travers
Oscar Urrutia
Aurora Zabish

San Diego History Center gratefully acknowledges the generous support of the Director’s Circle and above.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Adelizzi
Mr. and Mrs. Frank J. Alessi
Mr. and Mrs. Dominic Alessio
Mr. and Mrs. Richard Amtower
Mr. Robert Bouttier
Diane and David Canedo
Mr. Ray Carpenter
Mr. and Mrs. James Dawe
Bram and Sandy Dijkstra
Mr. Bill Evans
Mr. and Mrs. Thompson Fetter
Mrs. Audrey Geisel
Mrs. Jacqueline M. Gillman
Dr. and Mrs. John D. Hill
Mr. and Mrs. Webster Kinnaird
Mr. Peter R. LaDow
Mr. and Mrs. William S. Lawrence
Mr. and Mrs. Chris Lischewski
Mrs. Barbara Malone
Mrs. Lois Marriott
The Corky McMillin Companies
Mr. Robert A. McNeely
Mr. and Mrs. James S. Milch
Ms. Ann Navarra
Mrs. Susan Peinado
Ms. Sandra Perlatti
Mrs. Kathleen H. Porter
Robert and Allison Price
Elizabeth Eager Rudlee and M. Lea Rudlee
Mr. and Mrs. Hal Sadler
William A. Waite and Patti Kramer
Mrs. Nell Waltz
Margie and John Warner
Mr. and Mrs. Allan Wasserman
Mr. Bob Watkins
Mr. and Mrs. Roger Zucchet
Preserve a San Diego Treasure

Your contribution will help to create an endowment for

The Journal of San Diego History

Please make your check payable to The San Diego Foundation. Indicate on the bottom of your check that your donation is for The Journal of San Diego History Fund. The San Diego Foundation accepts contributions of $100 and up. Your contribution is tax-deductible.

The San Diego Foundation
2508 Historic Decatur Road, Suite 200
San Diego, CA 92106

(619) 235-2300 or (858) 385-1595
info@sdfoundation.org
Bed and Gold
Wells Fargo stagecoaches were painted a distinctive red and white with the company name in gold leaf. These are still the signature colors of Wells Fargo.

Rear Wheel
Gummed surprised and mud were stored in the rear box, which was covered with waterproofed coats.

Spokes
Made of hand-hewn hickory, every spoke was the exact same weight and measurement to ensure perfect balance.

Tires
A circular iron band was expanded for heat and set around a wooden rim then crossed for cold water to enable being in place.

Brakes
The wooden leather brake shoes clung behind the wheel and helped bring the stagecoach to a halt.

Thoroughhorses
The stagecoach was on the thoroughhorses that served as stock animals. Their necks contacted Mark Twain to describe the Wells Fargo stagecoach as "a marvel on wheels."

Wheels
The wheels and running gear of the stagecoach were painted a beautiful yellow.