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**Front Cover:** The *San Salvador* entering San Diego Bay on September 4, 2015. Photo by Jerry Soto.

**Back Cover:** The *San Salvador* leaving its construction site courtesy of the Marine Group, Chula Vista. Photo by Jerry Soto.

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The San Salvador Sails in to San Diego

By Iris Engstrand and Harry Kelsey

Not many descriptions exist of the original Spanish fleet that was assembled in Guatemala during the 1530s under the direction of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo. Some of the existing older vessels were doubtless refitted with supplies brought from Spain while others were newly built. These supplies, and much of the building materials, were transported by Indians overland from Veracruz to the Pacific coast. In a letter to the king written in May 1535, Pedro de Alvarado, adelantado of Guatemala, stated that he hoped to build “six or seven large ships.” Upon his return from Spain in 1539, Alvarado stopped in San Salvador and spoke to the historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, telling him that Cabrillo had supervised the building of seven or eight ships on the Mar del Sur (Pacific Ocean) for a trip to the Spice Islands. Diego Hernández, who served in the fleet, recalled in 1589 that “seven or eight ships” from this second fleet were built at the shipyard near Iztapa. Bishop Marroquín told the king in 1537 that the ships in Alvarado’s new fleet were “built the best of any that sail the seas.”

San Salvador on the high seas at last. Photo by Jerry Soto.
Despite the fact that descriptions of the fleet are meager, there is a good deal of circumstantial evidence that makes it possible to know more than ever before about the ships Cabrillo ultimately took to California. According to Oviedo, three of the ships were galleons of two hundred toneladas each. One of the two hundred-ton galleons was doubtless the San Salvador. This vessel was the almiranta, the ship of the vice commander of the fleet. Built and commanded by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, this vessel was later designated by the viceroy and probably by Alvarado as flagship of the armada that was to go up the coast. The men agreed that all the ships on such voyages ought to be two hundred tonners, since the smaller vessels took too much of a beating in heavy seas.

Once the fleet was assembled, Alvarado took the fleet to Acajutla for final fitting and loading. By midsummer 1540 everything was ready. The fleet sailed north late in August or early September 1540. Alvarado had with him thirteen ships and more than a thousand men, many of whom had come with him from Spain in 1539. Alvaro de Paz called it “the biggest gathering of men, arms, and horses ever seen in these parts.” Through a series of circumstances, including the death of Alvarado in a brief encounter with the Mixton Indians, the fleet was divided between Cabrillo, whose three ships were destined for California, and Ruy López de Villalobos, who took the remainder of the fleet to the Moluccas.4

Three ships left the Port of Navidad on the west coast of Mexico on June 27, 1542. Cabrillo, from the small town of Palma del Rio near Córdoba,5 was captain and pilot of his own ship, the San Salvador; Bartolomé Ferrer, from the Levantine (Mediterranean) coast of Spain, was chief pilot of one of the other ships, along with Antonio Correa, from Viana de Camyno in Portugal, captain and pilot of the third ship. The other two ships were La Victoria and San Miguel.6 On the 17th of September they entered today’s Port of Ensenada, leaving there on September 23. Passing three uninhabited islands—today’s Coronado Islands (Islas Coronadas) —they came in sight of the entrance to today’s San Diego Bay.

Almost everything we know about Cabrillo’s voyage to the west coast of present-day United States comes from an account that has been combined from several sources. It gives the reader a narrative of what the expedition saw and did, with the added benefit of being in the words of Cabrillo’s time, but it is not the ship’s official log. It is apparently a 1543 copy of a summary of other documents, probably prepared by Juan León, secretary to Mexican Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza. A textual analysis shows that the document is a compilation of several sources, and was probably copied from the original by Andrés de Urdaneta, who had circumnavigated the globe in 1532.7 The original now rests in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville and was first published in Spanish in 1857.
On Thursday [September 28, 1542] they went about six leagues north-northwest along the coast and found a very good enclosed port, to which they gave the name of San Miguel. It lies at 34° degrees 20 minutes [actually 32° 46 minutes], and after anchoring they went ashore, where there were people. Of these, three waited, and all others ran away. To these three they gave some gifts, and the Indians told them by signs that people like the Spaniards had passed inland; they showed with much fear. At night the Spaniards left the ships in a small boat to land and to fish. There happened to be Indians there, and who began to shoot with their arrows and wounded three men.

The next day in the morning they went with the boat further into the port, which was large, and caught two boys who understood nothing, not even signs, and they gave them shirts and soon sent them away.

The day after that, in the morning three large Indians came to the ships, and by signs told how inland there walked men like the Spaniards, bearded and dressed and armed like the ones on the ships, and they showed that they had ballistas [crossbows], and made gestures with their right arm as if they were spearing. They went running as if they were on a horse, and showed that they killed many of the Indian natives, and for that reason they were afraid. These men were well proportioned and large. They went around covered with the furs of animals. While in port, a very large storm passed, but because the port was so good they felt nothing. The weather came from the west-southwest, and south-southwest and it was rainy. This was the first real storm they had undergone, and they stayed in the port until the following Tuesday [October 3, 1542]. Here the natives called the Christians “Guacamal.”

Following this portion of the expedition, the three ships sailed on to Catalina Island, where they interacted with the Indians in a friendly exchange and then continued on northward. After extensive exploration of the coast probably as far north as the Russian River. Cabrillo fell on an island they had named La Posesión and broke his arm near the shoulder. He died on January 3, 1543, as a result of the fall, and was buried on that island.

Cabrillo’s chief pilot Bartolome Ferrer took charge of the fleet and continued their explorations northward until mid-March. On April 14, 1543, the three ships returned safely to the Port of Navidad.
NOTES

1. For a complete analysis of the preparations for the voyage to California, see Harry Kelsey, *Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1986), Chapter 4 “Merchant and Shipbuilder,” pp. 65-93.

2. Pedro de Alvarado (1485-1541) participated with Hernán Cortés in the conquest of Mexico and later in the conquest of Guatemala and El Salvador. He became the Governor of Guatemala and was known for his cruelty toward the native populations.

3. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1478-1557), a Spanish historian born in Madrid who participated in the colonization of the Caribbean, wrote a detailed chronicle about the men involved.

4. Ruy López de Villalobos (1500-1544) was a Spanish explorer from Malaga first to land in Mindanao, naming the islands Las Islas Filipinas for Philip II of Spain. Villalobos was imprisoned by the Portuguese for trespassing into their territory and died in his prison cell on the island of Amboyna.

5. Researcher Wendy Kramer of Toronto, Canada, recently discovered the reference to Cabrillo’s birthplace in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, in the section of *Justicia*, document 1159.

6. These were the three ships to arrive in San Diego on September 28. Even though the San Miguel was the smallest of the ships, the arrival coincided with the feast day of San Miguel Arcángel (St. Michael Archangel, today September 29 with a calendar change). The name La Victoria was given to San Clemente Island and San Salvador to Catalina Island. See Kelsey, *Cabrillo*, pp. 144-147.

7. Andrés Urdaneta (1498-1568) was a Basque circumnavigator (1536) and Augustinian friar who discovered a return route for the Manila Galleons from the Philippines along the Japanese Current in 1565.

8. There have been several translations into English; this one was done for the Cabrillo Historical Association by James R. Moriarty and Mary Keistman.

9. These were men from the expedition of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado who in 1540 led a group of soldiers overland from the headwaters of the Gulf of California into the southwest. A portion of the men under Hernando de Alarcon and Melchior Diaz crossed the Colorado River explored into what is now the Imperial Valley.

10. There is an ongoing controversy over the site of Cabrillo’s burial place. Possibilities include the islands of Catalina, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa.

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*A poster at the build site on Spanish Landing explaining the process once the actual building began. Photo by Maggie Walton.*
Following is a pictorial essay on the building of the replica of the *San Salvador* by the San Diego Maritime Museum from 2008 to 2015.
Stan Rodriguez speaks on behalf of the Kumeyaay Indians at the keel laying ceremony on April 15, 2011. Seated are Bill Dysart, Tom Workman, Mayor Jerry Sanders, Councilman Kevin Faulconer, Port Director Scott Peters, Doug Sharp, and Ray Ashley. Photo by Maggie Walton.

The Ambassador from Spain to the United States Ramon Gil-Casares awarding San Salvador designer Douglas Sharp the medal of Isabel la Católica on May 30, 2014. Left to right–José Luis Solano, Consul General of Spain, María de los Angeles O’Donnell Olson, Honorary Consul of Spain, Douglas Sharp, Dr. Iris Engstrand, Jesus Benayas, and Dr. Ray Ashley. Photo by Maggie Walton.
The San Salvador takes shape on Spanish Landing. Photo by Jerry Soto.

The San Salvador flanks San Diego Bay protected by its scaffolding. Photo by Jerry Soto.
Various shots of the interior of the San Salvador. Photos by Jerry Soto.
(Continued) Various shots of the interior of the San Salvador. Photos by Jerry Soto.
The top of the mast. Photo by Maggie Walton.

A chalupa—the small boat taken aboard the galleon for short trips ashore. Photo by Maggie Walton.
Several hundred members of the build crew worked together. Photos by Maggie Walton.
The stern of the San Salvador at the fund-raising fandango on September 27, 2014. Photo by Maggie Walton.
The bow of the San Salvador overlooks the fandango. Photo by Maggie Walton.
The way to the Kumeyaay village. Photo by Maggie Walton.

Cabrillo Monument Rangers at the launch site, July 29, 2015. Photo by Molly McClain.
The San Salvador Sails in to San Diego

Original model of San Salvador by Joe Bompensiero on display at the build site during construction. Photo by Iris Engstrand.

San Salvador at the Marine Group, Chula Vista. Photo by Jerry Soto.
The San Salvador Sails in to San Diego

Excited spectators photograph the San Salvador off Point Loma at the Festival of Sail, September 4, 2015. Photo by Iris Engstrand.
The San Salvador with downtown San Diego in the background. Photo by Iris Engstrand.
Safeguarding the Innocent: Travelers’ Aid at the Panama-California Exposition, 1915

By Eric C. Cimino

In January 1914, the editorial page of The San Diego Union promised that the upcoming Panama-California Exposition would usher in a “new era” in the city’s history. San Diego would “emerge from its semi-isolation...and take on the dignity of a metropolis, a great seaport, and a commercial center.” There was a dark side, however, to this anticipated transformation as the newspaper reported that the city would soon be overwhelmed with “thousands of strangers and to these will be added thousands of immigrants who will make this port their landing place.” Among the newcomers would be many

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inexperienced young women who faced the threat of exploitation by criminals active in sex trafficking, known as the white-slave trade.¹ This “army of vice” abducted women and forced them into prostitution; it was blamed for myriad disappearances at world fairs in Chicago and St. Louis.² As San Diego prepared to host the Panama-California Exposition, the Union urged the city’s leading women to be aggressive in countering white slavery and safeguarding “feminine virtue.”³

To confront the interconnected problems of urban growth, tourism, immigration, and the sex trade, San Diego women and their supporters established the Travelers’ Aid Society of San Diego (TAS-SD) in late 1914. Its mission was to prevent prostitution and other forms of exploitation by providing social workers to greet female travelers at the city’s train station, docks, and on the exposition’s fairgrounds. The TAS-SD intended to reach young women before they fell into the clutches of the “army of vice” by escorting travelers to hotels, rooming houses, and institutions that were considered safe and respectable. The group helped stranded travelers locate family members and friends, attempted to return runaways to their parents, cared for sick passengers, and provided follow-up social services.

The new TAS-SD was part of a larger travelers’ aid movement that had coalesced in response to the moral and sexual dangers thought to confront single women as they increasingly entered American cities in search of work and leisure.⁴ To protect travelers, sectarian organizations like the YWCA, the Council of Jewish Women, and the African American-led White Rose Mission began providing travelers’ aid in late nineteenth-century cities such as Boston, New York, and Chicago.⁵ The world’s fairs further stimulated the growth of the travelers’ aid movement.⁶ In anticipation of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, the national leadership of the YWCA began planning for a nation-wide travelers’ aid network. It urged every local YWCA in the United States to create a Travelers’ Aid Department and called for the compilation of a national directory of YWCAs that offered lodging to female travelers and the creation of a standard badge to be worn by travelers’ aid workers across the country.⁷
When the Louisiana Purchase Exposition opened, the YWCA was ready with its Exposition Travelers’ Aid Committee, chaired by Grace Hoadley Dodge. From its combined headquarters in New York and St. Louis, the committee coordinated travelers’ aid services to and from the fair. It distributed “278,000 leaflets, circulars, placards, and cards” from coast to coast to publicize its work. On the ground in St. Louis, the committee placed over a dozen trained workers who were on the lookout for travelers in distress. Subsequent world’s fairs in Portland, Oregon, (1905) and Jamestown, Virginia, (1907) saw similar national travelers’ aid networks take shape. In each case, however, the formal network dissolved at fair’s end. As a result, a permanent national travelers’ aid coalition did not exist when the cities of San Francisco and San Diego prepared to celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal in 1915.

For the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) in San Francisco, the exposition’s Woman’s Board initially planned to enlist the local YWCA to provide travelers’ aid. Its mission was to ensure that the PPIE had a “clean bill of moral health” and that all those who wished to attend the fair, especially girls and young women, could do so safely. To this end, the Woman’s Board proposed that the YWCA expand its routine travelers’ aid work during the exposition year. The San Francisco YWCA declined, however, believing that such an undertaking was beyond its capabilities. The PPIE, therefore, sought outside help.

By 1913, there was a new leader of the travelers’ aid movement, the Travelers’
Aid Society of New York. Its general secretary Orin Baker was committed to establishing a national umbrella organization that would unite all travelers’ aid societies and departments in the United States. His goal was to build such a coalition for the PPIE and, unlike earlier travelers’ aid efforts, make it permanent. To promote his vision, Baker embarked on a national tour in 1913 that brought him to forty-six states, including California.13

San Francisco women learned of Baker’s campaign and promptly summoned him in the fall of 1913 for the dual purposes of establishing a local and national Travelers’ Aid Society.14 He was in San Francisco by mid-January 1914 and, two months later, oversaw the incorporation of the Travelers’ Aid Society of California (TAS-California). Following a model pioneered by the Travelers’ Aid Society of New York, the TAS-California was non-sectarian and featured prominent Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant leaders on its Board of Directors.15 It also contained representatives from San Francisco’s business, railroad, legal, educational, and welfare sectors. M. H. Robbins was the TAS-California’s first president and Milton Esberg led the Executive Committee. Another important founder was Helen Sanborn, the president of the exposition’s Woman’s Board.16

Orin Baker did not confine his attention only to San Francisco. In January 1914, the general secretary also traveled to San Diego with the intention of drumming up support for a Travelers’ Aid Society prior to the onset of the Panama-California Exposition.17 He met with city business leaders including George Marston on
January 25 and gave a public address at the San Diego YWCA the following day. In its coverage of his speech, The San Diego Union agreed that San Diego would soon see an influx of tourists and immigrants, many of them young women. Baker believed that a stand-alone TAS was the key to safeguarding women, thousands of whom, he claimed, had disappeared at previous world’s fairs. The Union, however, was not ready to endorse a Travelers’ Aid Society; instead, it stressed the role of the city’s YWCA in protecting visitors from “the evils that will be spread for them at every turn.”

The Travelers’ Aid Society of San Diego

For its part, the YWCA was not convinced that it could successfully coordinate large-scale travelers’ aid and welcomed Baker’s return to San Diego in mid-October 1914. On this occasion, Baker addressed delegates from the city’s welfare organizations at the San Diego Hotel. He urged audience members to form a provisional committee charged with establishing an independent Travelers’ Aid Society. According to Baker, social welfare providers from the east were deeply concerned about the safety of women traveling west for the two expositions. If adequate provisions for “moral protection” were not in place by January 1, 1915, social workers would have no choice but to urge eastern women to stay away from California.

Confronted with this ultimatum, the leading citizens in attendance unanimously agreed to establish the Travelers’ Aid Society of San Diego (TAS-SD). Among those who pushed for the TAS-SD was Edith Shatto King, a social worker and co-author of the influential investigative report Pathfinder Social Survey of San Diego (1914). King justified the need for a TAS in terms of the city’s immediate and long-term future. San Diego, she announced, faced a rush of fair visitors “from all over the world” and eventually would have to deal with a severe “immigration problem” due to the Panama Canal. Only a “strong” and non-sectarian Travelers’ Aid Society could handle these attendant pressures. The gathering ended with a pledge from Panama-California Exposition president G.A. Davidson that his board would “cooperate with the San Diego Travelers’ Aid Society in every way to protect visitors to San Diego during [the] Exposition year.”

The fledgling TAS-SD was under considerable time pressure, especially when compared to its sister organization in San Francisco, which had almost a year to prepare for the opening of the PPIE. In contrast, the TAS-SD had to be ready in less than three months. Incorporation took place in November and the TAS-SD held its first official meeting on December 23, 1914, in the Snyder Building at 835 Sixth Street. The leadership included many of the most prominent civic and
religious leaders in San Diego. Noted physician Frederick R. Burnham served as President, while the liberal rabbi Montague Cohen of Temple Beth-Israel acted as First Vice President. Other religious figures on the first Board of Directors were Rev. Father T. N. O’Toole, Rev. Charles Barnes, and Rev. W. H. Geistweit. The board also featured important business, civic, railroad, and welfare leaders such as the department store owner and reformer George Marston, wealthy philanthropist and city booster Ellen Browning Scripps, journalist Eva Bird Bosworth, and banker and exposition president G.A. Davidson.

For use as its headquarters, the TAS-SD secured a room in the eight-story Timken Building at Sixth Avenue and E Street, free of charge. In mid-January 1915, it hired its first worker, Ella Thomas, who for the preceding five years had been the YWCA’s agent at the Santa Fe station. By March, three other female workers had joined Thomas and served at the train station, the Fifth Avenue docks, and the Balboa Park fairgrounds.

Requiring an executive secretary to direct fieldwork, the TAS-SD looked to New York City. Orin Baker was ineligible because he had recently committed to spending the year in San Francisco for the PPIE. Not wanting to neglect Southern California, Baker suggested his son, Horace, as a good candidate for the job.
For the better part of two years, Horace had been running the Travelers’ Aid Society of New York in his father’s absence. President Burnham enthusiastically accepted Baker’s recommendation and urged that Horace begin his official duties in February. His annual salary of $2,500 would be paid for through a generous donation by board member Ellen Browning Scripps.²⁷

Horace Baker’s arrival was eagerly anticipated. The TAS-SD assembled a special greetings committee that would formally meet Baker and introduce him to the city’s prominent businessmen. The committee also planned a gala for late February at the Grant Hotel in honor of their new executive secretary.²⁸

When he arrived in San Diego on February 10, 1915, Horace Baker issued a statement that praised the city as the “ideal location with the ideal conditions to establish a model travelers’ aid society.” With these opening words, Baker made it clear that the founding of the TAS-SD had national implications for it was to serve as a “model” that could be replicated in cities throughout the United States. He described the plan in place to combine all such societies into a national association during the summer of 1915. Concluding, he stressed that his stay in San Diego was not meant to be temporary; rather, he and his wife intended to make San Diego their “home.”²⁹

According to The San Diego Union, the subsequent gala for Baker was a
resounding success. Held at a ballroom in the Grant Hotel, it featured performances by the violinist Alice Devlin and the young fifteen-year-old pianist Edward Schlosberg who played Liszt’s “St. Francis Preaching to the Birds.” The festivities continued with an informal talk on travelers’ aid by the guest of honor followed by a lively social hour.30

Horace Baker wasted no time in getting acclimated to his new surroundings. He immediately launched an investigation of the city’s rail and steamship networks and studied traffic patterns in and out of San Diego. To ensure that he was “intelligently informed as to what visitors to our city need protection from,” he also examined San Diego’s leisure scene. In March 1915 he visited a variety of cafés and rooming houses and found their moral conditions “most deplorable indeed.”31 The TAS-SD compiled a list of respectable hotels, rooming houses, and institutions that women could consult when making decisions about where to stay.32 Baker also quickly set up travelers’ aid training courses along the lines of those in New York. Social workers attended their first training in March and continued to train well into the spring, with four meetings held in May and five in June.33

Even before their training had begun, agents were on active duty at the city’s transportation hubs. In January, Ella Thomas took up her new position as the TAS-SD’s lead worker, assisting over two hundred travelers. When the workforce
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grew to four and coverage expanded to the docks, the total number of travelers helped increased to 618 in March and 978 in April. Summer was even busier, as more and more visitors poured into San Diego for the fair. The TAS-SD had its peak performance in July, with workers providing aid to 2,255 travelers. Altogether, 13,766 people received travelers’ aid during the exposition’s first year.34

Most travelers encountered the TAS-SD at the newly constructed Santa Fe Depot. The old Santa Fe station was demolished in early March and replaced by a much larger Spanish Colonial Revival style building. In the new depot, the TAS-SD occupied a furnished room that doubled as the field workers’ office and a rest room for travelers.35 Agents met hundreds of arriving and departing trains each month. In May, for example, they met 361 trains and provided social work to 504 rail passengers; in July, the TAS-SD’s busiest month, the numbers increased to 443 trains and 1,134 passengers.36

Among the July travelers was a “pretty, young, and attractive” girl named Eleanor Houson from Minneapolis, Minnesota, who came to San Diego to visit a friend. Together, they planned to tour the Balboa Park fairgrounds. Houson’s case provides a good example of the TAS-SD’s routine work at the Santa Fe Depot. When she arrived on July 14, Houson discovered that her friend, Mrs. Frederickson, was not there to meet her. Prepared for such a situation, she presented the Travelers’ Aid Society with Frederickson’s telephone number and address, hoping to get directions. The agent on duty, Mrs. R.A. Haskins, insisted on calling first to ensure that the friend was home. Mrs. Frederickson answered and was surprised to learn that Houson had arrived. After the phone call, the agent escorted Houson

Santa Fe Depot under construction, October 1, 1914. ©SDHC 4438-G.
uptown to her friend’s address where the two women were safely reunited.37

A similar situation took place three days later when Anna Vance from New Wilmington, Pennsylvania, arrived at the depot in the early evening, expecting to meet relatives. No one was there to meet her and Vance wandered around the station for some time, unsure of how to proceed. Eventually she spotted TAS-SD agent Mary Penney and asked for help in locating her family. Agent Penney looked up a telephone number and made contact with Vance’s cousin, who was just about to leave for the exposition. He promptly swung by the depot, picked up Vance, and the two made their way to Balboa Park to meet the rest of the family. Penney in her notes called it “a most satisfactory case.”38

The TAS-SD encountered not only visitors but also workers and performers headed to the world’s fair. In August, lead agent Ella Thomas handled a case at the Santa Fe Depot involving a member of the Haydn Choral Society. Katherine Roberts, twenty-eight, was on her way to the exposition with her ensemble when she took ill with fainting spells immediately before boarding an early morning train from Los Angeles. Upon arrival in San Diego, the choral society’s physician notified the TAS-SD of the woman’s condition and inquired if there might be somewhere the singer could rest. Agent Thomas helped the woman up the stairs to the travelers’ aid rest room on the second floor. There, under Thomas’s care, Roberts dozed intermittently for the next six hours. When she was finally ready to leave the station, Roberts, a recent prize-winner at the Panama-Pacific Exposition...
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in San Francisco, expressed confidence that she would be well enough to sing her solos and duets during the evening’s performance.³⁹

Travelers classified as “runaways” were also frequent clients of the Travelers’ Aid Society. One of the most intriguing cases involved a nineteen-year-old girl named Frances Cooper who had been living with her mother in Los Angeles while trying to make it in Hollywood as a silent picture actress. She claimed to have briefly worked for Majestic Studios and to know the famous actors Wallace Cooper, Ruth Roland, and Mary Alden, the latter having starred in *Birth of a Nation*.⁴⁰ Cooper and two friends left for San Diego on March 21, 1915. The mother of one of the girls, concerned about their wellbeing, contacted the local YWCA for help in locating them. The YWCA promptly handed the case over to the TAS-SD.

Agent Mary Penney took charge and soon found Cooper and her friends at the Hotel Troy at 1055 Sixth Street, a location she described as “[morally] questionable.” Penney convinced Cooper to leave the hotel and stay instead at the YWCA.⁴¹ Over the next three days, the agent looked after Cooper whom she described as having “no money and little clothing [and] no special talents or desire for work.”⁴² Penney purchased clothing for her and then began a series of urgent telegrams

Women and children at the entrance to the Panama-California Exposition, 1915. ©SDHC UT #2769.
to Los Angeles. She sent word to Cooper’s mother that her daughter had been found and was being cared for. She also sent telegrams to a probation officer, Mrs. Bradley, and a doctor named Harriet Probasco. It seems that Penney had grave concerns about the girl’s health. She implored Bradley to help “save this girl” and to make contact with Probasco, a doctor for juvenile facilities and an expert on venereal disease.43

When Frances Cooper returned to Los Angeles on March 25, she was promptly reunited with her mother. The records do not reveal if she saw Dr. Probasco and from what, if any, health issues she may have been suffering. It is clear, however, that Cooper was moved by the kindness shown to her by the TAS-SD for, over the next several months, she penned numerous letters to agent Penney and Executive Secretary Horace Baker. The initial letters are optimistic, but subsequent ones reveal an unemployed, down-on-her luck, and lonely young woman. After her mother was hospitalized in August, Cooper sadly wrote to Penney: “I am left alone.”44 While the TAS-SD may have removed Cooper from a dead-end and unhealthy situation in San Diego, it seemed to have returned her to a similarly frustrating situation in Los Angeles.

Another notable case involving a runaway occurred in the spring of 1915. Shortly after midnight on May 26, young Mabel Franzen lowered a homemade rope of towels and sheets out of her second story window and escaped to the Santa Fe Depot where she boarded an overnight train, the Owl, destined for Los Angeles.45 Franzen was determined to reunite with her boyfriend Llewellyn Carson whom her parents had forbidden her to see. Carson was the son of the notorious former San Diego mayor, William Carson, who was wanted on embezzlement charges. When her family realized that Franzen was missing, they immediately notified the authorities.46 Shortly before noon on the 26th, the family, a policeman, and Ella Thomas of the TAS-SD held a conference at the depot. Thomas pledged to keep a close eye on the station in case Franzen returned. When Thomas went off duty, she turned the case over to agents Penney and Minnie Moore.

In the early evening, Penney and Moore noticed a young woman alone in the station. The latter believed that the girl matched the description of Mabel Franzen provided by her mother, but the former disagreed. Penney approached the girl anyway and offered assistance, which the girl declined. Moore, however, refused
to let the case drop. She began to trail the traveler throughout the station and eventually approached her. This time, the girl seemed amenable to assistance. She said that she lived in San Diego and could use help getting “all this baggage” onto a streetcar. Moore replied, “Why I’ll help you gladly.” Moore saw the girl onto the streetcar and, as it departed, wondered if there was anything else she could have done to ensure that the girl safely reached home.47

The next day The San Diego Union reported that Mabel Franzen had been reunited with her anxious family in the late afternoon on May 26. The paper explained that after reaching Los Angeles, Franzen had second thoughts and immediately decided to turn back.48 Moore was sure that this was the girl that she had encountered at the Santa Fe Depot. Both the newspaper and TAS records give a similar time of arrival, but one detail stands out: the traveler at the depot possessed a great deal of luggage while Franzen reportedly slid out of her window on a homemade rope. She likely traveled to L.A. with few possessions. Moore may have rushed to judgment in her desire to be part of such a “first-rate case.”49

TAS-SD was also present at the Balboa Park fairgrounds, though its work there was more contentious than at the depot or docks. In January 1915, it launched an investigation into the moral conditions of the fair’s Hawaiian Village, located
The Travelers’ Aid Society had little time to dwell on its retreat from the exposition as it soon had to deal with a threat to its very existence. In the spring of 1915, board members’ interest in the organization began to wane. Several Executive Committee meetings in May, June, and July were either canceled or shortened because no quorum was present. In August, a prominent member, Eva Bird Bosworth, resigned. Her departure was followed by a startling announcement by Executive Secretary Horace Baker that the TAS-SD was running a deficit and, if the financial situation did not improve, he would be forced to fire two workers. To keep the organization afloat, Horace’s father Orin Baker sent an emergency donation of $180 with the understanding that board members would match this amount through fundraising of their own. The Board was able to raise $42 in September, but this was not enough to ease doubts about the TAS-SD’s future. The Executive Committee scheduled a meeting for October 19 at the Grant Hotel in order to discuss the pressing “financial situation and the question of the continuance of the Society.”

At the emergency meeting Horace Baker presented a plan to save the society,
which centered on cost-cutting measures. Two jobs would be eliminated in addition to Baker’s own position as executive secretary. The Board approved the plan and decided in January 1916 to keep only Ella Thomas and Minnie Moore as members of the full-time staff. The Board also accepted Baker’s resignation “with feelings of deep regret.” Baker, too, must have felt disappointed given his high hopes of establishing a model Travelers’ Aid Society and making a permanent home for his family in San Diego.

There was no guarantee that these measures would work. Baker predicted that at least $1,800 would be needed for the remaining workers’ salaries and other miscellaneous expenses. Considering that twenty-four board members (out of thirty-six) had shown “no interest” at all in the society, securing this sum would not be easy. However, there was some reason to be optimistic about the upcoming year. The field work was in the hands of the very capable “senior worker” Ella Thomas and there would be two new board members: the local physician Dr. Charlotte Baker and the modern artist and clubwoman Alice Klauber, both of whom could infuse the society with much needed energy.

The TAS-SD did manage to survive the second exposition year but financial difficulties continued to plague the organization. In October 1916, the leadership made the decision to shut down the Travelers’ Aid Society at the end of the year and hand back the work to the YWCA. Orin and Horace Baker’s goal of establishing a permanent and non-sectarian Travelers’ Aid Society in San Diego had failed. Yet not all was lost. The Bakers achieved their related goal of forming a National Travelers’ Aid Society in the spring of 1917 and, in San Francisco, Orin Baker’s TAS-CA continued to thrive. In what Horace had initially deemed a “friendly rivalry” between father and son “to establish and maintain the best Travelers’ Aid Societies of the world in San Diego and San Francisco,” the father emerged the winner.

Epilogue

Travelers’ aid in San Diego remained under YWCA auspices until World War II. In 1941, a newly revived TAS-SD joined forces with the United Service Organizations (USO) to provide travelers’ aid to the young men arriving in San Diego to fulfill their military duties. All across the country, wherever there were defense centers, army camps, and naval bases, similar USO Travelers’ Aid Units emerged to assist not only the troops, but the women who followed them. In San Diego, USO Travelers’ Aid established an Information Center in a “spic-and-span cream-and-blue three room cottage” from which volunteers answered soldiers’ questions about their new community. The Information Center grew to
include a housing office tasked with finding temporary lodging for mothers and
their children as well as young single women who came to San Diego to be near
their husbands or boyfriends. Lastly, USO Travelers’ Aid operated a Lounge for
Troops-in-Transit that was run by ninety-two volunteers who, among other duties,
distributed peanut-butter-and-jelly sandwiches and coffee to soldiers heading off
to, or returning from, war.

Today, the Travelers’ Aid Society continues as a non-profit corporation in the
city of San Diego. Its downtown headquarters are at 925 B Street and a second
office for casework is located in the Saint Vincent De Paul Village on Imperial
Avenue. Travelers’ aid volunteers can be found at the Santa Fe Depot, the Cruise
Ship Terminal, and the San Diego International Airport where they assist “the
confused, the elderly, the military, children traveling alone, and anyone who
needs help, advice, directions, or reservations.” Reflecting a twenty-first century
approach to social work, the TAS-SD’s mission has grown to include programs,
such as counseling and relocation assistance, aimed at travelers confronted with
homelessness and/or domestic abuse.
NOTES


6. For more on women’s presence at the world’s fairs, see T.J. Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn, eds., Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at the World’s Fairs (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010).


10. Wilson, Fifty Years of Association Work, 202; Bertha McCall, History of the National Travelers Aid Association, 1911-1948 ([New York]: [National Travelers Aid Association], 1950), 2; “Traveler’s Aid at Jamestown,” Charities 18, no. 10 (June 8, 1907), 291; Travelers’ Aid Society of New York, Annual Report, 1908, 4.


12. Simpson, Problems Women Solved, 72; Travelers’ Aid Committee (San Francisco), Minutes, October 21, 1913, in Box 1, Folder 1, Travelers’ Aid Society of San Francisco Records (SFH 18), San Francisco History Center.


14. Travelers’ Aid Committee (San Francisco), Minutes, October 31, 1913.

15. On non-sectarianism and the Travelers’ Aid Society of New York, see Cimino, “On the Border

16. Simpson, Problems Women Solved, 71-72; Anna Nicholson, “Travelers’ Aid Society,” The Western Journal of Education 20, no. 9 (September 1914), 7; TAS-California Board of Directors, Minutes, April 9, 1914, in Box 1, Folder 1, Travelers’ Aid Society of San Francisco Records. For a summary of the TAS-California’s work during the PPIE, see Cimino, “On the Border Line of Tragedy,” 144-49.


21. Travelers’ Aid Committee, Minutes, October 15, 1914, in Box 6, Folder 4, Travelers’ Aid Society of San Diego Records, Special Collections and University Archives, San Diego State University [hereafter, TAS-SD Records]; “Society Organized to Protect Fair Visitors,” 1.

22. In December, another prominent organization geared toward women, the Woman’s Board of the Panama-California Exposition, held its first meeting. Molly McClain, “A Room of Their Own: Women’s Contribution to the Panama-California Exposition, 1915,” The Journal of San Diego History 61, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 253-78.


24. TAS-SD Board of Directors, Minutes, December 23, 1914, in Box 6, Folder 4, TAS-SD Records [all of the Board and Executive Committee minutes below are from Box 6, Folder 4]. See also Mrs. Thomas O’Hallaran, “First Annual Report,” 1916, in Box 6, Folder 4, TAS-SD Records; “Travelers’ Aid Society Holds Review of Work, The San Diego Union, October 25, 1916, 10.

25. Her salary was $75 a month. TAS-SD Executive Committee, Minutes, January 12, 1915; “Aid Society Work Will Benefit Travelers,” The San Diego Union, January 13, 1915, Section 2, 1.


27. TAS-SD Board of Directors, Minutes, January 26, 1915; Travelers’ Aid Society of New York, Annual Report, 1914, 22; TAS-SD, Annual Report, 1915, 2; “Travelers’ Aid Society Secures Secretary,” The San Diego Union, January 22, 1915, 8. In a letter to her brother, Scripps explained the appeal that travelers’ aid held for her, expressing support for its “underlying intent—to save the honest, instead of trying to restore the criminal; especially at this time and in San Diego to prevent the exploitation of innocent girls.” Ellen Browning Scripps to E. W. Scripps, Feb. 21, 1915. Thank you to Molly McClain for sharing this letter with me.


29. “Aid to Travelers Secretary Comes,” The San Diego Union, February 11, 1915, 4; TAS-SD Board of Directors, Minutes, February 2, 1915.

31. TAS-SD Executive Committee, Minutes, February 25, March 16, April 6, 1915. Baker shared his report on moral conditions with San Diego’s Committee of Nineteen on the Suppression of Vice, which he believed was in a better position than the TAS to remedy poor restaurant and housing conditions.


33. “Young Girls Helped by Travelers’ Aid Corps,” The San Diego Union, April 8, 1915, 3; Horace Baker, Executive Secretary Reports (typed), May and June 1915, in Box 2, Folder 20, TAS-SD Records.

34. TAS-SD, Annual Report, 1915, 5. A record 301,937 people attended the Panama-California Exposition in July. In the preceding months, the number of visitors had ranged from 130,000 to 180,000. Richard Amero, Balboa Park History, Chapter 5, online at http://balboaparkhistory.net/ (accessed June 16, 2015).

35. TAS-SD, Annual Report, 1915, 5; “Young Girls Helped by Travelers’ Aid Corps,” 3; TAS-SD Executive Committee, Minutes, March 16, 1915.

36. Horace Baker, Executive Secretary Reports (typed), May-July 1915. The monthly totals for the Santa Fe Depot reflect only the number of cases in which agents completed detailed reports. It excludes hundreds of instances in which “incidental” help was given.

37. R.A. Hoskins, Station Report, July 14, 1915, Box 2, Folder 30, TAS-SD Records

38. Mary Penney, Station Report, July 17, 1915, Box 2, Folder 30, TAS-SD Records.


40. Frances Cooper employment application, March 24, 1915, Box 2, Folder 30, TAS-SD Records.

41. Mary Penney, Station Report, March 21, 1915; Grace Adams to YWCA, March 22, 1915, Box 2, Folder 30, TAS-SD Records.

42. Mary Penney, Station Report, March 21, 1915, Box 2, Folder 30, TAS-SD Records.

43. Mary Penney to Mrs. Bradley, 1915; Penney to Dr. Probasco, 1915, Box 2, Folder 30, TAS-SD Records. On Probasco, see “Medical News: California,” The Journal of the American Medical Association 64, no. 9 (February 27, 1915), 750; “Editorial Notes,” Southern California Practitioner 33, no. 2 (February 1918), 23.

44. Cooper to Penney, August 11, 1915, Box 2, Folder 30, TAS-SD Records.

45. In addition to being an escape artist, Franzen was well known in San Diego for her record-setting swimming achievements. “Runaway Girl Returns Home,” San Diego Weekly Union, May 27, 1915, 2.

46. Ibid.

47. Minnie Moore, Station Report, May 26, 1915, Box 2, Folder 30, TAS-SD Records. Moore’s doubts provide a window into the training that travelers’ aid workers received. In her report, Moore wonders if she should have been more forceful with the girl and insisted on accompanying her home. Or perhaps she should have followed the girl in secret? According to Moore, both of these choices would have violated her training, which taught her “not to force our service on anyone, and not to play detective.” Her report concludes with the single line, “What should I have done?”


49. Moore, Station Report, May 26, 1915, Box 2, Folder 30, TAS-SD Records.

50. TAS-SD Board of Directors, Minutes, January 26, 1915.

51. Amero, Balboa Park, Chapter 4; McClain, “A Room of Their Own,” 266-67; Horace Baker, Executive Secretary Report (handwritten), June 1915, in Box 2, Folder 20, TAS-SD Records.

52. Baker, Executive Secretary Report (handwritten), June 1915. The decision to leave the fairgrounds
was made easier by the fact that the worker had only assisted eight people in the prior month. Baker, Executive Secretary Report (typed), May 1915.

53. TAS-SD Executive Committee, Minutes, June 1, July 6, 1915.
54. TAS-SD Executive Committee, Minutes, August 4, August 27, 1915.
55. TAS-SD Executive Committee, Minutes, September 23, October 5, 1915.
56. TAS-SD Executive Committee, Minutes, October 19, 1915; Executive Committee, Minutes, January 4, 1916; TAS-SD Board of Directors, Minutes, January 20, 1916. Baker’s resignation was also announced in The San Diego Union. See “Club Notes,” The San Diego Union, February 6, 1916, 3.
57. TAS-SD Executive Committee, Minutes, September 8, 1915; Executive Committee, Minutes, January 4, 1916.
58. Dr. Baker (no relation to Horace or Orin) was also a member of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union. Klauber was the chair of the Woman’s Board’s Art Committee and a “minor public celebrity” at the Panama-California Exposition. McClain, “A Room of Their Own,” 255, 258, 261, 264, 267-68.
61. “Aid to Travelers Secretary Comes,” 4.
63. USO Travelers’ Aid Units were established in Vallejo, California, Fayetteville, North Carolina, and Ayers, Massachusetts for example. McCall, History of National Travelers Aid, 148-55, 164.
65. Ibid., 19, 25, 51. The Heglands note that this volunteer force was biracial, composed of both black and white women.
Peter C. Remondino, MD: the Man and his Library

By George W. Kaplan

San Diego has had many interesting and colorful personalities during its history including Dr. Peter Charles Remondino (1846-1926), the first president of the San Diego Board of Health and co-founder of San Diego’s first private hospital. He is best known as the author of a bestselling book on the history of circumcision, with the result that he has been characterized either as a dilettante or a quack. The former is an underestimation of his interests and abilities while the latter is an uncharitable characterization of his views and beliefs. This article reveals that he was neither, but rather a devoted physician, an entrepreneur, and a scholar.

Peter Remondino was born in Turin, Italy, on February 10, 1846, the child of Angelo and Carolina (Ellena) Remondino. The Remondinos traced their lineage back to Mondino de Liuzzi (c. 1270-1326), a professor of anatomy at the University of Bologna who reintroduced the systematic study of anatomy and dissection into the medical curriculum. Prior to that time, anatomy was taught using the second-century...

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writings of the Greek physician Galen that were based on the dissection of animals, not humans, leading to erroneous assumptions about human anatomy.²

Peter Remondino was educated in Italy until the age of eight. In 1854, his mother died and he and his father left Turin. They immigrated to the United States on a ship that also carried a cargo of marble to be used in the construction of the United States Capitol. During his first year in the United States, while living in New York City, Peter attended a private school where he learned to speak English.³ The following year, he and his father moved to Wabasha, Minnesota, a small farming community located thirty miles northeast of Rochester. Named in honor of an Indian Chief of the Sioux Nation, Wabasha had a mixed population of French Canadians and Native Americans. Angelo Remondino engaged in the mercantile business while Peter continued his education in the territorial district school.⁴ In his autobiography, Remondino recalled that a single teacher taught all grades from primary school through college. He wrote, “It was in this primitive Comenian order of an humble one-man taught school wherein individualism—instead of being smothered…thru [sic] too much modern standardization—was encouraged, taught, and unconsciously cultivated, that as a lad, the future physician laid the foundation of his present ideas that education to be efficient should be freer and more sensible…”⁵ Remondino learned both the Sioux language and the French vernacular and made use of the large collection of Italian and French books that his father had brought with him from Europe.⁶

Remondino briefly considered taking religious orders but, instead, decided that medicine would be a more appropriate career. As was the practice at that time, he was apprenticed at age fifteen to Dr. Francis H. Milligan, a physician in Wabasha and a graduate of Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia. For many physicians of that era, an apprenticeship was their entire medical education.⁷ Sometime after Peter began his apprenticeship, Dr. Milligan was called up to provide full time medical care to the Minnesota Battalion in the Sioux campaign of 1862, leaving his practice behind. He did, however, encourage Peter, now left without a mentor, to continue his medical education. As a result, on Dr. Milligan’s advice and with his support, Remondino enrolled at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia in 1863.⁸

The curriculum in most nineteenth-century medical schools consisted of a series of lectures delivered over the course of one year and repeated annually. After two years of attending the identical lecture series twice, one would earn the degree Doctor of Medicine.⁹ In 1864, because the Civil War was still being fought and medical personnel were needed, Peter left Philadelphia after his first year at medical college to volunteer as a medical cadet in the Union Army. He served in the Battle of the Wilderness and was subsequently stationed in
Annapolis, Maryland, and later at City Point, Virginia. Upon release from active duty, he returned to Jefferson Medical College for his final year. In March 1865, on the eve of his graduation from medical school, he skipped the traditional graduation dinner and left Philadelphia to re-enter the Medical Corps as an Acting Assistant Surgeon. He was initially stationed at the Hampton General Hospital, Virginia, then re-assigned to the Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery. During that second tour of duty he developed malaria. He later described it as a “terrific congestive chill followed by a fever all of which struck him [sic] like a tornado.”

Discharged from service in November 1865, Remondino returned to Wabasha hoping to recover his health. He joined Dr. Milligan in a lucrative and rewarding medical practice, but continued to be plagued with recurrences of his malaria and, in his words, “the attending depression of spirits and morale.” Dr. Milligan advised that a change in climate might favorably affect his health. Having become a U.S. citizen in 1870, Remondino decided to go to France to offer his services as a physician to the army of the newly formed Third Republic. The governor of Minnesota and former professors at Jefferson Medical College, among others, provided him with references.

Hailing from a family who valued republican principles and constitutional government, Remondino proudly served the Third Republic during the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71). After meeting with Leon Gambetta, a liberal French politician, Remondino was assigned to a volunteer force fighting in the south, between Tours and Paris. By the end of the conflict, he had become army surgeon of Fort St. Addresse, the principal fortress of Le Havre, with a rank of captain. The only American citizen to be commissioned by the French government as a surgeon, he later received the Medal Militaire from the French Army for his service as a volunteer. After the war, he spent two months in England visiting clinics in London before traveling through Switzerland and Italy to visit universities. He remained relatively healthy for the duration of his stay in Europe.

Soon after his arrival in San Diego, Remondino discovered that one of the few physicians in the city was a classmate from medical school, Dr. A.J. Gregg, who convinced him to abandon his ranching plans and return to medicine. In
1874, Remondino opened a medical office on the first floor of the Fisher Opera House on Fifth Avenue between B and C Streets. During his first year in San Diego he witnessed a robbery at the Customs House and, as a public-spirited citizen, testified at the trial. He presented lectures to the San Diego Academy on anatomy and physiology, and to the San Diego Lyceum of Natural History on “Elements of Natural History.”

Given his previous military experience, Remondino’s practice was weighted toward surgery. Gunshot wounds were an occasional occurrence in his practice and at least two of his cases were reported in the local newspaper. In 1875, he treated William Gregg (unrelated to Dr. Gregg) after a shootout on Fifth Avenue and D Street that resulted from a difference of opinion about a lawsuit. In 1877, Dr. Remondino was called to treat G.F.W. Richardson whose thigh was shattered by a gunshot wound in an altercation with the superintendent of the water works; the wound was severe enough to necessitate amputation. Remondino’s reputation extended beyond the confines of San Diego; he was once called to Ensenada to operate on a patient with a cyst of the pancreas caused by Ecchinococcus, a parasitic tapeworm that sometimes affects
sheepherders. He also was appointed editor of the National Popular Review by Nathan Smith Davis, MD, a Chicago physician who was one of the founders of the American Medical Association. Its main topics were preventive medicine and applied sociology, subjects on which Remondino was regarded as an authority. He served as editor of the journal for three and a half years.

Due to his own experience with malaria, Remondino became very interested in sanitation, longevity, and the relationship of climate to health. He wrote and subsequently published several books on these topics, including *Longevity and Climate* (1890); *The Adventures of John Henry Smith* (1891), a novel with a medical and climatic theme; *The Mediterranean Shores of America* (1892); and *The Modern Climatic Treatment of Invalids with Pulmonary Consumption in Southern California* (1893). He wrote one article, “On the Relation of Pugilism to Longevity,” in which he reviewed the lives and deaths of leading boxing ring celebrities, and another entitled “Savage Life of San Diego County,” a study of local Native American tribes. Interested in many clinical problems, he published works on impotence, incontinence, uremia, venereal disease, drug addiction, influenza, empyema, parasitic pancreatic cysts, and suicide.

Remondino served as the first president of the San Diego Board of Health (1875-76) and county physician for several consecutive terms. He was known to be vocal in his opinions and participated in many debates at early medical society meetings. He was especially outspoken about charlatanism, commercialism, and hypocrisy in medicine and used the *National Popular Review* to voice his opinions. Remondino was named president of the San Diego Medical Society, president...
of the Southern California Medical Society, and vice president of the California Medical Association. He served eight years (two terms) as a member of the State Board of Health and for thirty-five years as a member of the Board of U.S. Pension Examiners. He also held posts as Surgeon to the California Southern Rail Road Company, the U.S. Marine Hospital, and the Pacific Coast Steamship Company. He also occupied the chair of the History of Medicine and Medical Bibliography in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Los Angeles, now the University of Southern California.  

In 1879, Remondino established the first private hospital in San Diego in conjunction with Dr. Thomas C. Stockton. The hospital faced a plaza near Columbia and F Streets and had a capacity of 50 beds. After a few years, however, the owners realized that they could not compete on a cost basis with the city infirmary, the only other hospital in the city. Remondino sold his share in the hospital to Stockton; less than a year later, the hospital was converted into a hotel. 

Remondino may be best known for *The History of Circumcision from the Earliest Times to the Present* (1891). The book was very popular; its first printing in 1891 sold over 50,000 copies resulting in a second printing in 1900. Reportedly over a half million copies were sold. It was reprinted in 1974, 2001, and 2008. At 346 pages, this tome was considered to have almost singlehandedly popularized circumcision in the United States at a time when the intact foreskin was the norm and circumcision was an aberration. Remondino performed the surgery on adult men many times. He wrote, “In adults with a very narrow, thin, not overlong prepuce, a very good result often follows… I have repeatedly performed it on lawyers, book-keepers, clerks, and even laboring men, who have gone from the office to the courts, counting rooms, or stores without the least resulting inconvenience or loss of time.” He was such an enthusiast for circumcision that some called the operation “Remondino’s Procedure.” 

In 1877, Remondino met Sophia Ann Earle, the niece of a retired Anglican bishop and the granddaughter of Sir David Earle, one time president of the Royal College of Surgeons. Born in Devonshire, England, her ancestry included Sir Walter Raleigh and John Hunter, the seventeenth-century anatomist and surgeon.
Sophia, a teenager when she met Peter, was initially uninterested in a man twenty years her senior, but Remondino pursued her until she finally agreed to marry him. They had four children, two girls and two boys. Their home, one of the first constructed on Cortez Hill at the northeast corner of Fifth Avenue and Beech Street (one block north of the current El Cortez Hotel) was a gathering place for music and the arts. They annually hosted two large receptions in their home.

Remondino developed one of the largest and finest private medical libraries in California. He began purchasing the nucleus of his library at the end of the Franco-Prussian War, when he visited major medical centers in England, Italy, and Switzerland. On a subsequent trip to Europe, he purchased another 3,000 volumes and made contact with a number of book dealers who subsequently supplied him with still more volumes for his library. Later, he used an agent in Paris to facilitate acquisitions. Dr. Remondino related that there were many times in his early practice when he skipped meals to afford another volume for his library. His collection included works on travel, biography (there were nearly three shelves dedicated to Napoleon), the military, history, ethnology, archaeology, religion, mythology, the social sciences, fine arts, opera, the great works of literature, music and the sciences.

The library grew to roughly 15,000 volumes and included approximately 3,000 medical volumes from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century including Mondino’s Anatomy; a French translation of Hippocrates; and the works of many notables in the history of medicine and surgery including: William Beaumont, a surgeon in the U.S Army known as the father of gastric physiology; Henri De
Mondeville, a medieval French surgeon; Hieronymus Brunschwig, a sixteenth-century German surgeon who first wrote about gunshot wounds; and the eighteenth-century French surgeon Henri François Le Dran who did pioneering work on cancer and shock.

These volumes were initially kept at the St. James Hotel but were eventually housed in floor-to-ceiling bookshelves in several rooms of Remondino’s home. Some were stacked in piles in the middle of rooms and still more overflowed into the basement and the attic. Remondino sometimes worked in the living room while his wife played classics on the phonograph. At other times, he would hide away in his library with a scarf about his head to shut out sound. In his later years he actually hired a librarian and secretary, Jeanette Barry, to care for the collection and make volumes available to him as he wrote. It was said that he actually knew the exact location of each of the volumes and, when necessary, would use opera glasses to scan the shelves.29

His library reportedly proved useful in less traditional ways as well. In 1888, there was a smallpox epidemic in San Diego. Remondino was consulted by the City Health Officer Chester L. Magee, MD, about a case of presumed hemorrhagic smallpox. The patient lived in a large apartment house which Remondino and
Magee recommended be quarantined based upon their diagnosis and the extreme danger of contagion associated with smallpox. The other tenants of the house fled, leaving it vacant. The patient died. An autopsy performed by a physician of the “eclectic school” (a non-traditional branch of medicine that used only herbal remedies and physical therapy) concluded that the patient did not have smallpox. The owner of the apartment then sued for $50,000 in damages. Dr. G.L. Cole of Los Angeles was called to testify at the trial. Remondino met Dr. Cole at the train station with a team of chestnut horses and a coachman and took him to the St. James Hotel where his library was then housed. There were many volumes on smallpox spread across a table in the library. Reportedly Remondino said, “Dr. Cole, if there is anything you don’t know about smallpox you will find it discussed in these books. If you are satisfied with what you know, let’s sit down and discuss the problem.” Although the ensuing trial was heated and acrimonious it resulted in a judgment of nonsuit against the defendants based largely upon Dr. Cole’s testimony.30
Remondino also had a large collection of weapons—over 250 items—that included guns, swords, sabers, lances, and armor. He had planned to produce a history of the portable arms of the U.S. Army and Navy that would demonstrate the expected type of wound produced by each weapon, but he never completed the volume. Another unfinished project was a 60-70 volume history of medicine organized both topically and chronologically with a cross index that would allow survey of any subject instantly. The notes that he had accrued in the course of his research occupied five large filing cases. He also planned to compile an illustrated history of Mary Magdalene that would include over 600 paintings and statues. In the process, he gathered together copies of every known Mary Magdalene painted or sculpted. He also acquired a large stamp collection that he donated to the San Diego Lyceum of Natural Sciences in 1874.

Dr. Fred Baker, a San Diego physician, described Remondino as a scholar, a bibliophile, and an omnivorous reader with memory of remarkable accuracy such that he could quote at length from almost anything he had ever read and could even recall references immediately. He “upheld the finest traditions of his calling by paying devoted attention to many cases when little or no monetary remuneration for his services could be expected.”

Physically Remondino was 5’8” tall with a large head, high forehead, and bushy black hair that turned white with age. He had a heavy “beetled” brow.
with deep-set hazel eyes, a prominent nose and a medium mouth with a Roman chin. His face was full and his complexion florid. His torso was long and bulky while his legs were short and his feet small. Some described him as picturesque, intellectually audacious, egocentric, genius and eccentric. He was known to have trained crickets. He would often venture out for an evening walk in a blue French military cloak with one side thrown over a shoulder to show the inner red lining while wearing a Derby hat and carrying a cane. He had a cheerful, sunny disposition and was sympathetic and understanding to patients. His watchwords to his patients were “be cheerful.”

Remondino was progressive and entrepreneurial. He was one of only two physicians who were subscribers to the telephone system in 1881. In addition to building the first private hospital in San Diego, he saw the need for an excellent hotel to accommodate visitors to the city; the Horton House apparently had seen better days. He purchased the Santa Rosa Hotel at the corner of Sixth Avenue and E Street, remodeled it by adding a $25,000 addition, and renamed it the St. James Hotel in 1886. At five stories tall, it was the city’s first skyscraper.

Remondino was justifiably proud of his library and had planned to bequeath it to a local library but it is not clear which one. Reportedly, he presented a set
of volumes of his own writings to that library; a few months later he found the volumes that he had donated in a used bookstore marked “discarded” and changed his mind about the fate of his collection. After his death the family wanted the library to remain intact. It was offered to several medical schools but they were all ambivalent because of the restriction. A cousin of one of Peter’s sons-in-law reportedly interested John Scripps of La Jolla in the collection. Scripps bought the collection and—with the aid of Jacob Zeitlin, a Los Angeles rare book dealer—arranged for its subsequent donation to The College of Medical Evangelists (now Loma Linda University) where it currently resides.36

The doctor retired from practice in his late 60s, only briefly resuming his practice in 1918 during the influenza pandemic. He took charge of an improvised hospital located in the Mission Brewery near Five Points where most of the patients, Italians, were being treated with garlic and red wine. In 1922 Remondino was injured in an automobile accident at Tenth Avenue and B Street in which he sustained cuts about the head and face. At age 78, he sustained a stroke and developed cardiac failure but remained alert. He continued his literary work
from his bed until a second stroke resulted in his death two months before his 81st birthday.\(^3\)

Remondino was an interesting individual who had an important impact on San Diego medicine and the community at large. Whether from a sense of duty or the desire for adventure, he served in two different wars and gained invaluable surgical experience as a result. His intellectual curiosity took him from a one-room schoolhouse to the city of San Diego where he became the author, and collector, of books that had a significant effect on public attitudes, both then and today. His legacy is evidenced through the collection of books that now resides at Loma Linda University.

**NOTES**

16. *San Diego Union*, July 18, 1874; *San Diego Union*, January 3, 1875; *San Diego Union*, October 1, 1875.
19. Remondino, Autobiography, pt. 5; Arey, Northwestern University Medical School, 10-11.
22. Van Dyck, et al., The City and County of San Diego, 189; Press Reference Library, Notables of the West, 2:343.
23. Van Dyck, et al., The City and County of San Diego, 189; Miller, “San Diego’s Early Years as a Health Resort,” 236-38.
26. Remondino, The History of Circumcision, 307. San Diego has played a seminal role in the debate over the merits (or lack thereof) of circumcision. David Gollaher, PhD., a resident of San Diego became interested in the subject and produced a scholarly work, Circumcision: A History of the World’s Most Controversial Surgery (New York: Basic Books, 2000). The author of this article was a member of the American Academy of Pediatrics Task Force on Circumcision whose report in 1999 satisfied neither the pro-circumcision nor the anti-circumcision contingents. Matthew Hess, another San Diegan, produced an anti-circumcision comic book, Foreskin Man, and was a driving force in the attempt to ban circumcision in San Francisco and Santa Monica.
30. Ibid., 19-20.
34. McGrew, City of San Diego and San Diego County, 1:113-114.
37. Ibid., 24.
Matanza: A Reinterpretation of a Presidio Site

By Paul G. Chace

Introduction

A thriving cattle economy characterized the early days of San Diego under Spain and Mexico. From the founding of the San Diego Presidio through the era of private Mexican land-grant ranchos, the raising of cattle for domestic food and leather and for the international maritime trade in cattle hides and tallow occupied almost everyone: retired Spanish soldiers, pioneer settlers from Mexico, the church missionaries, and the missions‘ neophyte Native Americans. Cattle introduced by the Spanish thrived, and the herds expanded rapidly in the verdant coastal valleys and plains of California. The number of cattle owned by the San Diego Presidio and the nearby San Diego Mission multiplied quickly from fewer than 200 in 1770 to over 1,000 twenty years later, and probably

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more than 7,000 by 1800. One activity closely associated with cattle ranching was *matanza*, the term denoting the killing or killing ground, particularly for the slaughtering and rendering of cattle.

The San Diego Presidio was founded in 1769 on a defensive hill position overlooking San Diego Bay. The military soon built it into a rectangular fortification with corner cannon bastions. This citadel was about double the size of a football field. Inside the defensive walls were about 45 adobe-walled apartments, a large chapel, and an elegant abode for the military’s *comandante*. About 200 inhabitants occupied the Presidio in the 1790s: soldiers, civilian craftsmen, and their families. In 1825, under Mexico, the resident population swelled to over 500 when Governor José María Echeandía made the San Diego Presidio both his residence and the capital of Alta California. In the following decade, the settlers moved down to the lower flat lands, forming what is today’s “Old Town,” and the Presidio was abandoned. Archaeological investigations within the Presidio quadrangle have recovered immense amounts of cattle bones in the kitchen garbage, underlining the importance of the cattle economy at the Presidio.

*Population statistics at the Presidio of San Diego on December 31, 1798. Courtesy of the San Diego History Center Research Archives.*
Matanza

In Spanish, the word *matanza* has a focal definition as a killing ground, a butchering place, particularly for slaughtering cattle. The term also can be used for the action of slaughtering, the event itself, or even a butchering rack and equipment. The term typically is utilized for the slaughtering of cattle, but other animals are included such as sheep, goats, pigs, and even chickens. The word is still common among Spanish speakers in modern California.

The archaeology of a *matanza* would involve a concentration of animal bones, with the slaughtering marks of primary butchering. A *matanza* was often in a shallow wide pit in a convenient locale that could be utilized repeatedly, even over years, so there could be numerous layers of butchered bones. Any accumulation of waste and meat scraps could be quite smelly and attractive to insects, so the *matanza* waste might often be intentionally incinerated. The resulting bones could be altered into tiny calcined fragments, mixed with darkly incinerated meat residue, ash, and possibly wood charcoal. This incineration or pit cleansing would occur particularly if the *matanza* was located close to a residential locale. In this case it would have been the Pueblo of San Diego. Alternatively, if the bony waste in the *matanza* somehow was quickly covered over by a soil deposition, the odor could be eliminated and the bones might appear almost as if freshly butchered and preserved. Thus, a *matanza* locale might include multiple layers of calcined bone fragments, with darkly stained soils, ash, charcoal, and even layers of preserved bones.

This article describes a locale outside the San Diego Presidio that was partially explored in a brief archaeological test excavation in 2000. This site contained multiple layers of calcined bony remains; fortunately, it also contained some identifiable unburned bones. In interpreting this partially exposed archaeological feature, it is proposed that this was a *matanza*, a slaughtering station utilized during the occupation of the San Diego Presidio. For comparisons, two similar *matanza* archaeological features from Mexican era ranchos are known, one from the Ontiveros Rancho and one from Rancho Los Cerritos.

In California, the term *matanza*, as a special case, was applied also to the annual summer slaughter of cattle by the hundreds and even thousands for their hides and tallow, products exported in the international maritime trade of the 1820s to the 1860s. Historical descriptions indicate that the cattle were rounded up, typically in an open field at a considerable distance from habitations, where they were slaughtered, the hides removed, and the carcasses often simply left on the ground to rot.
The project locale interpreted here as a *matanza* is at the base of the hill below the former San Diego Presidio, and has been officially recorded as the P-37-019194 site in the State’s archaeological inventory. This location is approximately 45 meters distant and west of the Presidio gateway in the center of its western defensive wall. At the Presidio gateway, the ground surface is about 22 meters in elevation, while this meat-butcher station is at the base of a steep hillside, approximately 15 meters lower in elevation. In its time, this locale would have been very near the bank of the San Diego River, probably on a bench or river terrace about 3 to 6 meters higher than the nearby river.

This site was discovered in early 2000 during archaeological monitoring of a narrow trench for a proposed City of San Diego sewer alignment project along Taylor Street. Observable in the upper portions of the mechanical backhoe excavated trench were the current Taylor Street pavement and its foundation.
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materials. Underlying this modern roadbed were what appeared to be earlier soil strata representing older constructed roadways along the base of the hill. These multiple deposits were essentially sterile and extended to a depth of slightly more than a meter below the modern paved surface of Taylor Street.

The Archaeological Program

When important archaeological resources were revealed beginning at a depth of nearly a meter, professional archaeological hand excavations were initiated within the project trench. The hand excavations were carried downward in arbitrary 10-centimeter levels, essentially from 90 to 170 centimeters in depth from an established data, and the recognized archaeological resources were recovered for recording. The soils were wet-screened over one-eighth-inch mesh screens, and the recovered archaeological materials were transported to the consultant’s laboratory for careful sorting and analyses. For the hand excavations, the project trench was 19 meters long but just 65 centimeters wide. The narrow trench and its archaeological contents were arbitrarily divided into meter-long units for recording and analysis.

Upon recognizing the potential for further disruption of significant cultural resources from the planned sewer project, San Diego city officials determined that this portion of the proposed project alignment should be abandoned. The initial work trench was carefully back filled and sealed, and the contracted archaeological mitigation and recording program was curtailed. The lower levels of the trench units were not completely excavated. Virtually all of the recovered cultural materials recorded were in the seven levels from 90 to 160 centimeters in depth. Due to budget constraints, however, only certain portions of the recovered bone materials were sorted and analyzed in the laboratory. Also, as the project trench was very narrow, the lateral dimensions and full extent of the encountered archaeological depositions were not determined. Certainly, it would have been challenging to recognize and define distinct cultural strata within this confined deep trench. Notwithstanding these challenges, a good report on the archaeology accomplished was authored in 2001 by Johanna Buysse and Brian Smith of the firm of Brian F. Smith and Associates.

The Initially Recognized Archaeology

The archaeological program recognized and reported on two distinct features: (1) a concentration of “floor tiles” near the middle of the trench; and (2) an intense “trash scatter” at the northern end of the excavated trench. In addition, there were
recovered a variety of archaeological materials scattered throughout the 19-meter length of the trench: faunal food bones, many ceramic sherds (from fancy Majolica to plain Native brown ware), fragments of glass bottles and pieces of one drinking glass, as well as many other artifacts. The distinctive characteristics of a matanza, as such, and its extent, were not fully recognized in the initial archaeology report.

The stratigraphy of soil deposits encountered showed that each retained a “good” degree of integrity. Three metal utility pipe installations that crossed the project trench were revealed, largely in the lower portions of the roadway soil strata or just slightly lower. The report detailed that these intrusive pipelines “appear to have missed both the tile feature and the trash pit, although these pipelines have disturbed the general scatter of historic artifacts between the two features and the southwest of the tile feature.”

The exposed tile feature was composed of at least two layers of rather intact, fired, flat, floor tiles built up from a depth of approximately 115 centimeters. The surrounding soil was stained dark reddish brown, as though by intense heat. Over the top and near the two horizontal layers of exposed tiles was virtually no trash. It would be reasonable to suggest that for this construction and activity area, any local rubble would have been cleared and the ground surface leveled. This feature may represent the latest Presidio archaeological stratum encountered. The obvious tile pavement feature was preserved in place and, importantly, the strata beneath it were not investigated. The purpose of this tile feature was not obvious from the small area exposed, but it was posed that it might be part of a kiln or a Presidio workshop.

The described “trash scatter” feature in the northern portion of the project trench was comprised of one zone of historic artifacts overlying several broader strata of burned bone and charcoal. The lower strata represented “several dumping and burning episodes, evidenced by multiple layers of burned bone and charcoal.” The description of this feature is focused upon the deeper strata of intensively burned material, mostly bone.

The artifact materials present within the upper portion of the “trash scatter” feature essentially were similar to those encountered throughout the entire trench. This artifact material included household trash and architectural debris, almost all of which was highly fragmented. The household trash elements, such as fragments of ceramic tablewares and glass items, actually were more frequent in the southern portion of the project trench. A review of the catalog for all units suggests that the vast majority, well over three-quarters, of this household trash and architectural rubble occurred in the levels directly below the sterile roadbed strata, between the depth levels of 90 to 130 centimeters. Indeed, much of this jumble of household trash and architectural rubble may have tumbled down the steep hillside and would
represent a secondary deposition. Very little household trash was recovered in the lower excavation levels, those levels below 130 centimeters, where bony debris may have been the common “trash” element. Due to project constraints, the lowest levels were not fully excavated, and the bone materials recovered from most of the units in the trench were not sorted or cataloged.

The recovered artifacts of household trash were typical of late Presidio era materials. Over 1,600 fragmented Native ceramics, Tizon Brown Ware, dominated the assemblage, along with somewhat less than 100 sherds of fancy Majolica Wares, mostly Pueblo Blue-on White tablewares, with some possible San Elizario Polychrome and Aranama Polychrome types. The additional presence both of (a) European/America white tableware ceramics, and (b) imported glass bottles suggests that this trash includes materials dating from 1820-1830 when the Presidio inhabitants began participating in international maritime trade. A considerable amount of weighty, broken, architectural rubble was recovered here also, including floor and roof tile fragments, plus small pieces of adobe blocks. These architectural materials suggest that much of this deposition may have developed in the 1830s when the Presidio structures were abandoned and salvaged for building materials for newer homes in Old Town.

A Matanza, A Meat-Butchering Station Newly Interpreted

A re-examination of the report’s lowest archaeological depositional episodes and the vertical distribution of recovered materials revealed the partial extent of the possible matanza, a Presidio meat-butchering station. Actually, the deeper portions of the trench were not excavated, so the full extent of this matanza feature was unrevealed. The lower portions of the recognized “trash scatter” feature in the northern portion of the project trench was comprised of several strata of burned bone and charcoal. Yet, only the bone debris in the two northern most units was fully sorted and cataloged; the bone material in the other units was not analyzed. Additional bone material was recovered in the deeper levels of the units at the southern portion of the trench, while the middle portion of the trench beneath the tile feature was not investigated. Thus, it can be suggested that debris from the matanza possibly extended through the breadth and the entire length of the project trench.

Only in the deeper levels of the northern portion of the project trench were remnant strata of the meat-butchering feature detailed in the report: “concentrations of burned bone and charcoal lenses scattered throughout the units between 130 and 150 centimeters...bone is also associated with the trash scatter, but is concentrated directly below 140 centimeters...charcoal lens...extends...to a depth
of 170 centimeters...and is associated throughout with small fragments of burned animal bone,” and “several dumping and burning episodes, evidenced by multiple layers of burned bone and charcoal.” These intense burning episodes often resulted in much of the bone debris becoming highly fragmented. Commenting generally, the report stated, “most bone recovered was very fragmented and generally incinerated and thus categorized as unidentifiable bone.” Some bone specimens, however, could be classified as cow and pig.

Mixed with the bones within the deep strata of the presumed matanza were a number of sherds of Tizon Brown Ware. Therefore, bowls of Native pottery might have been associated with the butchering operations, occasionally breaking at this locale. It can be supposed that such ceramic containers were utilized to hold the fatty scraps to be rendered into tallow.

Two Comparable Matanza Sites

Two very similar matanza sites from Mexican era ranchos are known, one from the Ontiveros Rancho and one from Rancho Los Cerritos.

Patricio Ontiveros was a soldier on the San Diego Presidio roster and retired
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after 20 years of service in 1809. Shortly afterwards he was appointed as the *mayordomo* of Mission San Juan Capistrano, an esteemed position to oversee the mission’s vast cattle herds and manage its economy. Soon thereafter he had workers build the large Ontiveros Rancho *hacienda*, which the family occupied until about 1835. Located about 100 miles to the north of the San Diego Presidio, south of Mission San Gabriel, it is recorded as the LAn-1016aH site. Feature 1 at the Ontiveros Adobe was a meat-butcher ing pit recognized as a *matanza*. This pit deposit extended over seven meters and was located about 25 meters distant from the house. The pit contained multiple strata of highly calcined, as well as unburned, bones and skull parts, plus blackly stained soil. Interestingly, as at the San Diego Presidio feature, sherds of Native ceramics also were common, as well as some household trash. Cow bones dominated the identifiable assemblage, with at least 16 individual cows represented (MNI=16); horn cores, skulls, jaws, and teeth were present. The bones of sheep, pig, and chicken also were represented.

Jonathan Temple sailed from the East Coast as a maritime trader, arrived in Los Angeles in 1827, and prospered as a highly successful Los Angeles trader and merchant. He became a naturalized Mexican citizen, was baptized a Catholic at Mission San Diego, and married into the prominent Cota family. Temple traded in and appreciated the cattle economy and the land it supported. In 1843 he purchased Rancho Los Cerritos along the Los Angeles River, in modern Long Beach, about 100 miles west-northwest of the San Diego Presidio. Temple initiated the construction of a grand adobe *hacienda*. The “Island” trash pit about 15 meters west of this big house was utilized as a *matanza*, as well as an open pit for household trash. This pit was filled with multiple layers of calcined and unburned bone and slag-like material, along with domestic trash. This big pit feature was five meters or more in width; it may have been circular, but it was incompletely investigated. The depositions dated from the mid-1840s through the late-1850s. From one middle stratum of unburned bones, about 700 identifiable faunal bone specimens were cataloged. Cattle bones dominated this analyzed sample, with at least five individuals represented (MNI=5); horn core fragments also were present. Many bones evidenced hacking and butchering marks but no saw marks. Other domestic animals, smaller mammals, and avian bones remain to be analyzed. Sherds of Tizon Brown Ware, Native ceramics, were common throughout the pit; and their direct association with the bone debris is probable but unproven.

**Commentary and Conclusions**

This analysis of the Taylor Street report on the P-37-019194 site investigation has reinterpreted the archaeology encountered beneath the current and earlier
roadway strata. Deep beneath the Taylor Street pavement were well preserved archaeological strata rich in artifactual resources and retaining good integrity. There were three types of historic Presidio episodes preserved beneath the roadbeds. Thus, the P-37-019194 locale and its investigation are an important part of the Presidio heritage story.

The stratigraphically highest and most recent Presidio episode is represented by the remnants of double layers of fired floor tiles. This tile pavement was situated at a depth of about 105 to 115 centimeters below the project data. Possibly this was part of a firing kiln for the production of architectural floor tiles but it may have been just a paved walkway, or a portion of a workshop or even a much larger structure. Only a small portion of this tile feature was investigated.

Somewhat earlier in time and probably underlying the tile feature were deposits of a “trash scatter” that probably extended the length of the entire excavated trench. This scatter of artifactual material included highly fragmented household trash plus architectural debris. Over three-quarters of this trash and rubble occurred between the levels of 90 to 130 centimeters in the project trench. This trash includes imported materials from the international maritime trade of the 1820s-30s. It also included architectural debris probably developed in the 1830s when the Presidio structures were salvaged for building materials. It is proposed here that much of this jumbled rubble simply may have tumbled down the steep hillside and represent a secondary deposition.

Still deeper in the project trench, essentially in the levels between 120 and 170 centimeters and probably extending deeper and through the entire length of the project trench, was only partially uncovered archaeological remnants of an earlier use of the locale as a *matanza*, a Presidio era meat butchering station. Although not directly dated, the remnants of this *matanza* underlie the “trash scatter” with materials dating from the 1830s, so this *matanza* probably was in use prior to 1830. The nature of this lowest and earliest archaeology was not fully recognized in the original project report. It is proposed here that the multiple exposed strata of highly incinerated bones, darkened soil and charcoal, and some preserved bones can be interpreted as the archaeological remnants of multiple episodes in the use of the locale as a *matanza*, a butchering station. Fortunately, preserved in some soil strata were a few unburnt and identifiable bones; about two-thirds represented cattle, while one-third could be identified as pig.

These deepest layers of the Taylor Street locale, a proposed Presidio *matanza*, have the following *matanza* characteristics: (1) multiple layers of highly incinerated bone; (2) darkly stained soil layers, probably burned meat scrapes; (3) charcoal and ash layers; (4) some sherds of broken Native ceramics containers; (5) some identifiable bones preserved under soil layers; and (6) a location within only a
modest distance from residential structures. The Taylor Street archaeological \textit{matanza} feature shares these six characteristics with the \textit{matanza} features archaeologically investigated at the Ontiveros Rancho and at Rancho Los Cerritos. Being a modest distance from a habitation, sometimes kitchen garbage may be added to such trash pits, but it appears that household debris is not directly associated with the layers of incinerated bone. Within the Presidio, in interesting contrast, most of the abundant cattle bones encountered in deposits of household garbage, as most of the other kinds of animal bones present, were unburned.\footnote{Vance G. Bente, \textit{Test Excavation of LAn-101aH: The Ontiveros Adobe, Santa Fe Springs, California} (1980), report prepared by Greenwood and Associates, [Pacific Palisades]; Jay D. Frierman, \textit{The Ontiveros Adobe: Early Rancho Life in Alta California} (1982), report prepared by Greenwood and Associates, Pacific Palisades.}

A key characteristic in appreciating \textit{matanza} features would appear to be the relational distance to residential structures. As a \textit{matanza} for slaughtering and butchering meat for household consumption, such a \textit{matanza} apparently would be located only a modest distance from kitchen facilities. Yet, that nearness would be smelly and attract flies, insects, and other vermin to the scrappy butchering debris; thus, it was necessary to fully incinerate the debris, or cover it with soil, or both. The smell and the incineration smoke would be within a modest distance from the residence but quite temporary. The relational distances for these three examples range from about 15 to 45 meters distant from residences. In general agreement, two historical accounts of pre-1848 California household’s slaughterings for meat consumption mention the distance as “not over sixty feet” and “about 100 feet distant.”\footnote{Johanna L. Buysse and Brian F. Smith, \textit{An Archaeological Report for the Mitigation, Monitoring, and Reporting Program at the Water & Sewer Group Job 530A, Old Town San Diego, DEP #94-0663} (2001), report prepared by Brian F. Smith and Associates, San Diego.} In contrast, the California \textit{matanzas} for the slaughtering of hundreds of cattle for their leather hides typically were located in open fields apparently quite distance from residences, and often no extra efforts to incineration of the rotting carcasses were exerted.

In conclusion, the Taylor Street report on the P-37-019194 site investigation, even though only a very limited project, represents a superb example of a Presidio era slaughtering locale for household meat consumption, a \textit{matanza} located just a modest distance outside the citadel walls of the San Diego Presidio.

\textbf{NOTES}


7. Ibid., 6.0-2 and 6.0-11-12.

8. Ibid., 6.0-1.

9. Ibid., 6.0-11-12; Figure 6.0-1; Plate 6.0-4, Plate 6.0-8.

10. Ibid., 6.0-11-12, 6.0-14, Figures 6.0-1 and 6.0-2.

11. Ibid., Tables 6.0-7 and 6.0-8.


13. Ibid., Table 6.0-2.


16. Ibid., 5.0-2, 6.0-2, 6.0-8-11, and Table 6.0-9.

17. Ibid., Table 6.0-5.

18. Ibid., 6.0-11-12, 6.0-14; and Figure 6.0-2.

19. Ibid., 5.0-2.

20. Ibid., 6.0-8, and Table 6.0-5.


27. Evans, Jr., et al., “Cattle Bone at Rancho Los Cerritos: Preliminary Observations.”


29. For additional aspects of this Cerritos “Island” feature, see William S. Evans, Jr., and Paul G. Chace, *Rancho Los Cerritos Archaeological Collection Transfer to The City of Long Beach*, report prepared by Paul G. Chace, Escondido, 2005.


EXHIBIT REVIEWS

Frank Lloyd Wright’s Legacy in San Diego: the Taliesin Apprentices

La Jolla Historical Society

September 26, 2015, to January 17, 2016

Frank Lloyd Wright trained a generation of architects who later designed and built a fabulous array of structures in San Diego, among them Vincent Bonini, Frederick Liebhardt, Loch Crane, Sim Bruce Richards and Bill Slatton. The La Jolla Historical Society’s upcoming exhibit, Frank Lloyd Wright’s Legacy in San Diego: the Taliesin Apprentices, will examine the work of men who studied in the Taliesin apprentice program in Spring Green, Wisconsin, and Scottsdale, Arizona, and later lived and/or worked in San Diego.

The exhibition also explores the work of Frank Lloyd Wright and his two sons,
Lloyd and John. It frames their remarkably rich portfolio of work with architectural drawings, photographs, and ephemera. The exhibition will display—for the first time in San Diego—Frank Lloyd Wright’s unbuilt designs for the region.

*Frank Lloyd Wright’s Legacy in San Diego: the Taliesin Apprentices* at the La Jolla Historical Society Wisteria Cottage galleries will be on exhibition September 26, 2015—January 17, 2016. Wisteria Cottage is located at 780 Prospect Street in La Jolla. Public hours are Thursday—Sunday, 12:00 noon—4:00pm. Admission is free. For more information, see www.lajollahistory.org.


Exhibit Reviews

**Water: A California Story.** An exhibition at the San Diego Natural History Museum.

Reviewed by Jim Taylor, former assistant general counsel, San Diego County Water Authority.

An exhibition on California’s water is nothing if not timely in light of the extraordinary drought the state is facing and the restrictions on water use that were recently imposed by the governor. The availability of fresh water is vital to the health of California’s economy, and an indispensable component of agricultural and industrial production as well as urban and suburban life. During the last half century, popular sentiment and federal and state laws have also demanded that a share of the fresh water supply be reserved for the preservation of wildlife and its habitats. With increasing demands and limited supplies, extended drought only exacerbates the problem of apportioning a precious resource among several important purposes.

The exhibition *California: A Water Story* at the San Diego Natural History Museum provides a broad overview of the region’s water supply. While San Diego has an endless supply of water from the Pacific Ocean, salt water is for the most part not usable to meet the community’s needs. Because the local supply of fresh water is very limited in our near-desert environment, the region has relied on imported water since the 1940s. The situation is graphically displayed by a wall exhibit that overlays an intricate set of pipes and plumbing onto a map showing the hundreds of miles that Colorado River water travels to reach the urban coast.

*The San Diego Natural History Museum Water Exhibit. Photo by Michael Field.*
Less graphic but similarly informative is a description of the region's other major source of imported water, the State Water Project, that transports precipitation from the Sierra Nevada Mountains of Northern California. The increasing production of reclaimed water also receives attention, along with a discussion of how this supply is purified and distributed.

The fresh water that is available to the San Diego region requires careful management and wise use. The exhibition offers several suggestions for conserving water at the residential level, from water-efficient washing machines, toilets, and shower heads inside the home, to low water use landscaping and gardening outside. We are advised to use our limited water supply to “grow food, not lawns.”

Although our fresh water supply is the primary focus, the exhibition also devotes space to the ocean. The emphasis here is not on the supply, which is virtually limitless, but on human induced pollution. Displays illustrate the harm to birds and mammals resulting from ingestion and entanglement in garbage, especially plastic garbage, that makes its way into the ocean. The lesson to be learned is that while the ocean is vast, our carelessness can and does cause harm.

*California: A Water Story* necessarily paints its message with a broad brush. The story of how we obtain our water supply, and how we use and misuse it, is the subject of countless studies, documentaries, dramas, and controversies. Explaining in 30 minutes or an hour the importance and fragility of a resource most of us take for granted is a monumental challenge, and the exhibition accomplishes its purpose well. There are, however, a couple of significant omissions. The biggest new challenge to the state’s water supply is the ongoing four-year drought, which is magnified by the recent historically dry winter in the Sierra Nevadas. The special problems and hard choices made necessary by our extended drought are not discussed in the exhibition. Also, there is no mention of the Carlsbad ocean desalination facility, the largest such project in the western hemisphere, which will come on line late this year. Ocean desalination may be the major new water source of the future, but with that benefit come concerns over the energy required to remove salt from ocean water and the impact on the environment. Because San Diego is the nation’s leader in developing ocean desalination, the Carlsbad project deserved a place in the exhibition. Admittedly, space is at a premium in the exhibit room, but simply removing the skull of a finback whale that extends almost the width of the room would have created ample space for additional displays.

This reviewer’s quibbling aside, *California: A Water Story* teaches the lesson that our water supply must be appreciated and treated like the vital but endangered resource it is. It is a lesson more of us must learn soon, because the consequences of abuse and waste would be disastrous.
The San Diego Natural History Museum Water Exhibit. Photo by Michael Field.

The San Diego Natural History Museum Water Exhibit. Photo by Michael Field.
In 1915 San Diego hosted an exposition that put the city on the map

Crowds crossed the Cabrillo Bridge to see San Diego's "Fantasy City" in Balboa Park

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BOOK REVIEWS


Reviewed by David Miller, Adjunct Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of San Diego.

Sitting just off the coast of Southern California, oftentimes within view of the mainland, the Channel Islands are nonetheless an overlooked subject of historical study. What coverage do they get in most California history classes? The half dozen or so extant books about the Islands are guide books, providing tourist information as well as offering insight into the Islands’ geologic beauty, flora and fauna, and natural history. Frederic Caire Chiles has changed that by providing a refreshing new look at the Islands in this insightful new history, arguing that while overlooked and understudied, the Channel Islands are nonetheless an important and interesting part of California history.

Chiles organizes the book in a clear and accessible way. Its ten chapters include an introduction explaining the geology of the Islands, a chapter on indigenous history, and eight more chapters each devoted to a particular island, beginning with San Miguel in the northwest and working in order down to San Clemente at the southern end of the chain. Each chapter then follows the same organization beginning with a map, brief geological history, and a chronological accounting of each of the four phases of human habitation. Chiles identifies these as the prehistoric indigenous phase (which includes initial contact with the Spanish), the Spanish occupation of California following the Portolá expedition, the brief Mexican era, and finally the American phase. With this organization each chapter, while connected, is discrete and could be read or referenced in any order. Chiles includes an extensive index and table of contents showing maps, photos, and illustrations again adding to the clarity of organization and ease of accessibility. Although organized identically, each chapter varies in length and coverage. And the majority of information in each chapter covers the American period. This should not be surprising given that each island and phase varies in terms of materials available and actual history of human occupation. One minor complaint is that the book lacks a comprehensive map of the entire chain and their relation to the coast. Given the abundance of maps and images of each individual island, one wonders about the omission of a basic reference map. Nonetheless, Chiles
has assembled a well-organized, clear, and accessible history.

Perhaps Chiles’s most important contribution is his history of the native peoples of the Islands. He has compiled oral traditions, archeological studies, and Spanish accounts to reveal the richness and importance of indigenous life on the Islands. Some of the first inhabitants of what is now California lived on the Islands as far back as 9-13,000 years ago. In fact, Chiles notes, “Santa Rosa and San Miguel Islands have the highest concentration of prehistoric sites in all of North America” (p. 13). The Chumash and Tongva people inhabited all the Islands by 5,000 years ago, and archeological records show sophisticated societies who adapted to climate change, technological development, and food availability. Chiles’s discussion of the plank canoe provides a case in point. Developed between 1,500-3,000 years ago and called a “tomol,” these vessels were 15 feet long and could carry up to one ton of cargo (pp. 15-16). This invention made deep sea travel possible, opening up new trade links, new fishing opportunities, and a new layer of social hierarchy as only the powerful tribe members controlled the boats. This history of the tomol provides insight into indigenous diet, trade, concepts of ownership, tools, and divisions of labor. In short, it is important cultural, economic, and social history. The chapter follows the history of the Chumash and Tongva people to Spanish contact when disease decimated the native population. Finally, during the colonial period, the presence of Europeans signaled the end of over 10,000 years of civilization when the last natives left the Islands in 1829.

Readers will also be interested in the colorful history of the Channel Islands since the arrival of the Spanish. Chiles’s great grandfather once owned Santa Cruz Island, and the author devotes a substantial amount of space to the details and intrigue of his family history. In it the reader sees not only a fascinating local history but broader connections to important themes in California history, including immigration and the gold rush. In the chapter on Santa Catalina Island Chiles writes an enjoyable section on the history of the Wrigley family and their efforts to bring the first tourists to the islands. This is a colorful history of Avalon and the now famous day-trip to Catalina. Readers will also find plenty of material relating to the other important aspects of Channel Island history, from Mexican land grants and sheep farming to the presence of the U.S. military and 20th century efforts to preserve and protect the Islands.

While this book does not answer any larger scholarly questions about the history and development of California since the Spanish period, it does fill a gap in our collective understanding of the history of the Channel Islands and their connection to California. And it does that well. Historians of California as well as anyone interested in learning more about this often neglected part of California history will find it useful. So too will locals interested in a trip to the
Islands benefit from the book. This reviewer for one has a new curiosity about the Channel Islands and I will take it along as a useful guide and resource on my first visit.


Reviewed by Stephen Cox, Professor, Department of Literature, University of California, San Diego.

Everyone who has visited the University of California, Berkeley has seen Sather Gate and Sather Tower – elegant monuments to the name of Peder Sather. Who was this person, and what was his connection to the university?

That is the question Karin Sveen sets out to answer. In a way, she answers it. Sather (1810-1886) was an immigrant born in rural Norway. He landed in New York in 1832 and became a small-time banker. In 1851 he went to San Francisco, where he became a banker of much more impressive means. When he died he left an estate worth more than a hundred million dollars in today’s money, the result of wise investments in a California economy that he had helped to achieve maturity. In 1860 he joined a committee attempting to create a University of California. He served on the committee for three years. Like many other wealthy people of the time, he joined a variety of civic groups: organizations for aid to soldiers in the Civil War, for aid to destitute sailors, for the support of former slaves, for the study of natural sciences, and so on. One would like to know what all this meant to the once-impoverished Norwegian immigrant, but neither he nor any of his acquaintances provided a substantial account of his life.

Sveen, herself a Norwegian, has searched for evidence of that life, and she has found enough to reconstruct significant parts of it. She presents many basic facts, and sometimes she is able to evoke the atmosphere of daily existence in the commercial New York and San Francisco of Sather’s time. Her descriptions of Sather’s homes and offices and relations with his friends and employees are interesting in themselves, and useful correctives to often misunderstood aspects of the American West.

Yet Sather remains a distant figure, his specific actions, motives, feelings, and priorities largely unknown. Even his relationship with the University of California remains hazy. Those beautiful memorials on the Berkeley campus were
the gifts of his second wife, Jane K. Sather. Whether he himself actually did much of anything for the university is a question that Sveen leaves unanswered. She thinks he donated land, but she isn’t sure. One wonders: Are there no surviving title deeds? No relevant minutes of university meetings? And if such records are missing for some reason, shouldn’t his biographer tell us how that happened? But she doesn’t.

There are other things absent from her work. Sather was a religious man, a convert to the Baptist church and apparently a pillar of the church in San Francisco, but the book reveals nothing definite about the character of that church, or of Sather’s involvement with it. Are there no records bearing on these things? Sveen refers to William Kip, an important figure in Sather’s circle, as “the bishop of California,” without specifying his denomination (Episcopal). Neither does she mention his autobiography, an important source of information on early California. It’s all rather hazy.

The fundamental problem is that Sveen’s book shows no evidence of effective editorial attention. On the contrary: the narrative is rambling and repetitious, and the treatment of history abounds with errors of fact, many of them obvious. Abraham Lincoln did not conduct his presidential campaign by insisting that slavery be abolished throughout the country (p. 149). The Franco-Prussian War was not “raging” when Sather traveled in Europe; he returned to America three months before it started (p. 213). The “Know Nothing” Party was not prominent in New York when Sather arrived; its moment came two decades later (p. 23). The “attempt . . . to form an Anti-Masonic Party” was not “doomed to failure”; it succeeded, with damaging effects on Freemasonry (p. 99). The Erie Canal (opened in 1825) was not financed (in the 1830s) by sales of “vast tracts of public land to private individuals,” nor did “speculators” make “fabulous profits” on such deals (p. 40). Donations of land were made to the Erie Canal but proved almost worthless. Few speculators got rich on the period’s sales of government land; many, such as Daniel Webster, went broke on them. “The entire American financial sector” did not “gr[í]nd to a halt” during the Panic of 1857 (p. 133). When inflation happens, prices do not go down – if that is Sveen’s meaning when she says that “with so much gold in circulation” in California, “prices plummeted, inflation rose, and it was only a matter of time before the market would collapse” (p. 124).

Even more remarkable than these confusions is the scarcity of useful references to the extensive research that Sveen has done and that future scholars will want to build upon. Sources are mentioned, often vaguely, but one looks in vain for footnotes. The back of the book contains a thirty-seven page bibliography, but a list of titles does little to indicate whether particular passages of Sveen’s text are reproductions of documentary evidence, deductions from evidence, or more or
less plausible speculations. The result—which might, again, have been prevented by effective editorial advice—is a promising but disappointing book.


Reviewed by Theodore A. Strathman, Lecturer, Department of History, California State University San Marcos.

In the past several years, the University of California Press has reprinted the Works Progress Administration’s guides to Los Angeles (reviewed in this journal in 2011), San Francisco, and California. San Diego’s WPA guidebook was released in 1937, two years before the statewide guide and four years before the Los Angeles book. As such, San Diego: A California City (the title under which the book was first released) captures the region immediately before the “blitz-boom” of the war years wrought profound changes. This timing is part of what makes the guide so valuable to those interested in San Diego history: it paints a portrait of a city still struggling to cast off its identity as a regional backwater and develop an economic foundation.

The guide consists of several sections, the first of which, “General Information,” offers helpful information to the 1937 visitor, explaining transportation options to and around the city, local accommodations, and relevant regulations. The following sections describe San Diego’s “Contemporary Scene,” geography, and natural setting. That the fifth section, “Historical,” is the longest of the book (apart from that describing driving tours in the area) is no real surprise, since the San Diego Historical Society sponsored and published the original guide. Chapters on the region’s economy and social and cultural characteristics, together with a chronology and descriptions of nine tours in and around the city, complete the book.

This organizational scheme means that the book is guilty of some repetition. For instance, the sections on the local economy and on culture and society contain information also found in the guide’s chapter on history. This flaw is remedied in part by a thorough index that allows the reader to find passages relevant to a given subject in multiple chapters.
Students and scholars of San Diego’s past will naturally be drawn to the chapter on history, and as David Kipen’s excellent introduction points out, the value here is both in the events recorded and the “attitudes [the book] embodies” (p. xv). For example, modern readers may cringe at some of the dismissive descriptions of Native American culture – “Tribal organization was almost unknown,” the guide tells us, and their religious “beliefs did not follow logical sequence” (p. 23) – and assessments such as that claiming the American legal system was “beyond the comprehension” of Californios (p. 55). In places, though, the writers of the guide reveal more sympathy towards the residents of “Old California” who found themselves displaced by the American conquest. The guide does not hesitate, for example, to acknowledge the deceit and fraud some Anglo Americans employed to acquire Californios’ rancho lands. Apart from issues of cultural bias, the guide’s history has some additional shortcomings. For instance, its discussion of the secularization of the missions is quite brief and seems to level undue criticism at Governor José Figueroa, who apparently was sincere in his desire to protect neophytes, even if his policies failed to do so. In addition, the guide does not provide a very satisfactory discussion on the system of Indian peonage that developed on the ranchos. Finally, the section on the period after 1900 is quite brief and does not provide much analysis and contextualization.

As a primary source, though, the guide offers innumerable rewards, and readers interested in history should not dismiss the sections on contemporary (1937) San Diego. The opening sentence of the guide, for example, describes railroad travel to San Diego: “four trains daily for Los Angeles and points E., connecting at Los Angeles with the Southern Pacific Lines for points N.; San Diego and Eastern Ry… one train daily for Calexico, Calif., and Yuma, Ariz., where it connects with trains E.” The guide, in short, begins with a tacit acknowledgement of San Diego’s relative isolation and subservience to Los Angeles. The driving tours that close the book will delight the reader with an evocative picture of the city and its backcountry. Here too may be found colorful tidbits, from a note about a mulberry grove and silk factory in San Marcos to an aside about Carlsbad changing its name to the less Germanic “Carl” during the First World War. Meanwhile, the section on the region’s economy does well to suggest issues that would be at the heart of local development in the coming years. The writers noted the resistance of some locals to industrial development, the necessity for continued development of water supplies, and the growing importance of the aviation industry and the San Diego-naval partnership.

While San Diego in the 1930s will not in itself correct the lack of academic scholarship on the history of this region (and those who bemoan this lack will surely note the slender nature of this volume compared to its counterparts dealing
with Los Angeles and San Francisco), it should provide a new generation of scholars some useful raw materials in an easily accessible format. General readers will also find much to enjoy and much to ponder in this welcome reprint.
BOOK NOTES

*Death of a Suburban Dream: Race and Schools in Compton, California.* Politics and Culture in Modern America series. By Emily E. Straus. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. Illustrations, maps, notes, and index. viii + 313 pp. $55.00 cloth. Historian Emily Straus of the State University of New York at Fredonia explores the intersection of race and schooling in the Los Angeles suburb of Compton. The monograph traces demographic change— as African Americans succeeded whites in Compton before substantial numbers of Latinos arrived—and examines how these groups struggled to shape educational policy in the face of profound economic change.

*Empress San Francisco: The Pacific Rim, the Great West, and California at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.* By Abigail M. Markwyn. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2014. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, and index. xi + 335 pp. $35.00 cloth. *Empress San Francisco* is one of several recent books interpreting San Francisco’s exposition in celebration of the completion of the Panama Canal. This study pays particular attention to how a diverse range of groups attempted to shape the content of the fair, thus revealing the complexity of a city and a nation presenting a notion of American identity to visitors from around the world.

*A Great Aridness: Climate Change and the Future of the American Southwest.* By William deBuys. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, and index. xii + 369 pp. $27.95 cloth, $19.95 paper. In an introduction and eleven chapters set in twelve places, William deBuys offers a sobering look into the future of the Southwest, as climate change and increasing human populations set the stage for various environmental catastrophes.

*Jon Lewis: Photographs of the California Grape Strike.* By Richard Steven Street. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2013. Illustrations, notes, and index. xx + 439 pp. $49.95 cloth. This book explores the work of Jon Lewis, a former marine and photography student who came to Delano in 1966 and spent the next two years documenting the United Farm Workers’ strike against grape growers. Richard Steven Street, himself a photographer, tells the story of Lewis’s work and his professional relationship with César Chávez while simultaneously chronicling the plight of California’s migrant farmworkers.
Mono Lake: From Dead Sea to Environmental Treasure. By Abraham Hoffman. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, and index. xvi + 168 pp. $34.95 cloth. Abraham Hoffman, an authority on the history of the Los Angeles Aqueduct, has now published this monograph on the history of Mono Lake. The book explores how various groups, from Paiutes to gold miners to tourists, have used and abused the lake, and Hoffman examines how environmentalists succeeded in slowing the city of Los Angeles’s diversions from the streams that feed Mono Lake.

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