The Journal of San Diego History

Founded in 1928 as the San Diego Historical Society, today’s San Diego History Center is one of the largest and oldest historical organizations on the West Coast. It houses vast regionally significant collections of objects, photographs, documents, films, oral histories, historic clothing, paintings, and other works of art. The San Diego History Center operates two major facilities in national historic landmark districts: The Research Library and History Museum in Balboa Park and the Serra Museum in Presidio Park. The San Diego History Center presents dynamic changing exhibitions that tell the diverse stories of San Diego’s past, present, and future, and it provides educational programs for K-12 schoolchildren as well as adults and families.

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Front Cover: The dolls, Olive Hap (right) and Olive Mishap (left), as they appear today, photographed at the historic Cave Store near where they originally lived as part of La Jolla’s Green Dragon Colony. Olive Hap wears blue cotton dress with smocking that Green Dragon Colony founder Anna Held identified as being made in Stratford-on-Avon in the late nineteenth century by a Shakespeare descendant. Olive Mishap’s attire consists of a green duster coat that she originally wore for a photograph in a London studio in 1888 and a red frock hand-stitched by British Shakespearean actress Ellen Terry as she awaited her cue to go on stage at the Lyceum theater in the late 1880s. Both dolls and their vintage wardrobe are in the collection of the La Jolla Historical Society. Photograph by Nick Agelidis.

Back Cover: Plaque at the San Diego Air and Space Museum, Balboa Park.

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Editorial Assistants:
Cynthia van Stralen
Travis Degheri
Joey Seymour

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Farewell to Readers

This is the final issue of *The Journal of San Diego History* that Dr. Molly McClain and Dr. Iris Engstrand will be editing. We have enjoyed bringing 42 issues of San Diego history to you in all its forms and themes during the past fourteen years. We have tried to include a variety of times, places, and authors that represent the region. We have come to know an abundance of people who have lived in San Diego’s past. We have covered much but there still are stories to be told.

We want to introduce you to the new editors David Miller and Theodore Strathman. They have served as the book review editors during the time that we were editors. David is a Lecturer, Department of History, the University of San Diego, with email davidmiller@sandiego.edu. Theodore (Andy) Strathman is a Lecturer, Department of History, California State University San Marcos, with email astrathm@csusm.edu. Both have extensive experience with San Diego and California history. We will remain on the editorial board as advisors.
“Memories That Will Never Go Away”
The Crash of PSA Flight 182 and Its Aftermath
Alexander D. Bevil

To those unfamiliar with the San Diego community of North Park, Dwight Street (between Boundary and Nile Streets) is a quiet streetscape composed primarily of unassuming single-story homes. On Monday morning, September 25, 1978, at 09:02:07 hours, however it resembled a Hell on earth.¹

Pacific Southwest Airways Flight 182 to San Diego

Approximately nine minutes earlier, a Pacific Southwest Airlines [PSA] Boeing 727-214 jet airliner, call sign N533PS, entered San Diego airspace just off Encinitas. PSA Flight 182 was a regularly scheduled flight from Sacramento to San Diego with a short stop at Los Angeles. It carried 135 passengers and crew. Command pilot Captain James McFeron immediately radioed the San Diego Approach Control Center at NAS Miramar requesting guidance for the final approach to San Diego's Lindbergh Field.²

A radar-equipped civilian air traffic control facility, the San Diego Approach Center was responsible for directing all private and commercial aircraft descending or departing Lindbergh Field or any of the other smaller outlying feeder airports within San Diego County. Expanded and relocated adjacent to the present Marine Corps Air Station Miramar, it is now known as the Southern California Terminal Radar Approach Control or TRACON.³

Because it was a clear Santa Ana wind morning, Miramar directed Captain McFeron to switch from Instrument Flight Rules (IFR) to Visual Flight Rules

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Alexander Bevil, retired California State Parks historian, is active in local historical organizations seeking to prevent demolition of historic landmarks. His most recent articles are “Lest We Forget: the San Diego Veterans War Memorial Building,” Vol. 60, No. 4 and “Help the Horse to Save the Soldier” Vol. 63, Nos. 3 & 4, in The Journal of San Diego History.
(VRF) procedures, and to begin his descent from 11,000 to 7,000 feet. Miramar’s direction to utilize Visual Flight Rules (VFR) meant that weather conditions over San Diego were clear enough for PSA 182’s flight crew to utilize ground features and landmarks as navigational references. While utilizing VFR, it would have to navigate and manipulate the aircraft utilizing a “see and avoid” approach to visually avoid obstructions, especially other aircraft.

PSA 182’s assigned flight corridor would take it diagonally across eastern Pacific Beach to Mission Valley, before turning eastward toward El Cajon. At a point over North Park, it would start a slow banking right turn into a western approach paralleling Highway 94 to Lindbergh Field’s Runway 27.

In addition to Captain McFeron, PSA Flight 182’s cabin crew consisted of First Officer Robert E. Fox, who was piloting the aircraft, Flight Engineer Martin J. Wahne, and four flight attendants. A regularly scheduled flight from Sacramento to San Diego, via Los Angeles, 37 of its 128 passengers were PSA employees. Many were off duty flight crews “deadheading,” or flying for free, to San Diego.

The reason why Flight 182 was acting as a shuttle service for so many PSA employees was because of the recent expansion of its services throughout the state. Due to mandated FAA limitations on working hours, some flight crew personnel were restricted from operating the aircraft on return flights to San Diego. Other PSA employees were Los Angeles area residents commuting to work or planning to attend an operations training seminar at the company’s Lindbergh Field headquarters.
A well-recognized aircraft flying over San Diego at the time, Flight 182’s 10-year-old Boeing 727-214’s distinguishing features included a sleek 153-foot-long narrow fuselage, swept-back wings, and two opposing external engines mounted on either side of the rear fuselage below a high “T”-shaped” vertical stabilizer. What appeared to be a tubular engine cowling built into the base of the tail’s leading edge was actually the opening of an “S-shaped” intake duct leading to a third internal tail engine set in line horizontally with the two external engines. Like all PSA aircraft, it featured colorful “fruit stripe” fuchsia, orange, red, and white stripes and black-trimmed white PSA logos along its fuselage, with a whimsical black button “nose” and “smiley face” painted under the cockpit.

Introduced in 1972, PSA’s “Grinningbirds” were synonymous with the company’s self-promoting ad campaign as the “World’s Friendliest Airline.” The epitome of the “Swinging Sixties,” the airline often had been criticized for being “too friendly:” low air fares, comic cabin patter broadcast over the in-flight intercom, and attractive mini-skirt and later hot pants-wearing flight attendants instructed to “make nice” with the male passengers.

The San Diego-based airline was proud that it did not have a serious accident during its then 29-year-old history. There was a close call, however, on January 15, 1969. One of PSA’s Boeing 727-100 airliners flying from San Francisco to Ontario had bumped the right wing of a Cessna 182L aircraft while the latter was climbing to its cruising altitude. The shaken Cessna pilot returned immediately to the San Francisco airport. The PSA pilot, after assessing that the damage was negligible, chose to continue to his intended destination. A post-collision report determined that both pilots had “failed to see and avoid the other aircraft.” This incident was chillingly similar to what would take place over San Diego nine years later.
On September 25, 1978, as Flight 182 descended to 4,000 feet above Mission Bay, Miramar directed Captain McFeron to notify Lindbergh Field’s air traffic control that he was now entering its Terminal Service Area, which would provide him with radar vectoring, sequencing and traffic advisories prior to his landing on runway 27. Before transitioning control, Miramar advised Captain McFeron that a Cessna 172 Skylark, call sign N7711G, was heading in his direction.

Gibbs Flite Center Cessna N7711G

The Cessna N7711G was owned by the Gibbs Flite Center which operated a flight school out of Montgomery Field, a small general aviation airport located four miles northeast of Lindbergh. Inside the Cessna’s cramped 4-seat cabin were David Lee Boswell and Martin Kazy. Although he had only worked at Gibbs for slightly over a year, Kazy, who held a commercial pilot license with single and multi-engine instruments, had worked for several years previously as a certified flight instructor in Ohio. Kazy was instructing Boswell, a 35-year-old United States Marine gunnery sergeant on extended leave from Camp Pendleton. Boswell also held a commercial pilot license with single and multi-engine land rating. He was learning the intricacies of the aircraft’s ILS or Instrument Landing System. Once certified, Boswell could land any ILS-equipped aircraft at night or under adverse weather conditions following an airport-emitted radio beam without seeing its runway until just before touching down.

Although it was the nation’s busiest single runway airport, Lindbergh Field was the only airport in San Diego County set up for ILS certification training. That
meant the little Cessna would have to compete with larger commercial aircraft for air space over the airport. Under Kazy’s supervision, Boswell had made several practice landing approaches to Lindbergh Field’s runway wearing a special hooded plastic visor that focused his attention solely on the dashboard-mounted ILS dial.19

Both Cessna N7711G and PSA Flight 182’s Boeing 727-214 were equipped with on-board transponders hooked up to their respective dashboard-mounted ILS instrument gauges that indicated each plane’s heading, altitude and glide path. The transponders relayed information identifying each aircraft’s Call Number and computed air speed and altitude to both Lindbergh and Miramar, the ground-based air traffic controllers. That information, however, was not shared with the approaching aircraft.20

Satisfied with his use of the on-board ILS system, Boswell notified Lindbergh Tower that he was climbing the Cessna away from the airport in a northeasterly direction for its flight back to Montgomery Field. In response, at 08:59:01 Lindbergh Tower instructed him to maintain VFR procedures no higher than 3,500 feet and to contact the Miramar Approach Control Center for further instructions.21 After doing so, at 08:59:57 Miramar told him that they had him on radar at an altitude of 1,500 feet, and reiterated Lindbergh’s directions to stay below 3,500 feet along a northeasterly 70 degree heading.22

A Series of Unfortunate Events

Previously, at 08:59.30, Miramar had notified PSA 182 of “traffic [at] twelve o’clock, one mile, northbound.” Captain McFeron responded, “We’re looking.” Six seconds later, Miramar reported Cessna N7711G (Boswell and Kazy’s aircraft) as “additional traffic” on a northeast course at an altitude of 1,400 feet and climbing. At 08:59:50, First Officer Fox responded, “Ok, we’ve got that other twelve.” This
would indicate that there were two smaller private aircraft flying dead ahead and below his aircraft.23

Peering through his aircraft’s narrow windshield, at 09:00:21 Flight Officer Fox informed Captain McFeron, “Got ‘em,” after which he radioed Miramar, “Traffic in sight.”24 Miramar then directed Captain McFeron to “maintain visual separation” from any approaching air traffic, and to contact Lindbergh Field’s control tower that he was beginning his final approach.25

It is important to note that to “maintain visual separation” meant that, despite ground radar-based controllers who could provide them with either vertical or lateral separation criteria, the burden of maintaining separation was solely on Captain McFeron and his flight crew. Known as a “see and avoid” situation, they had to maintain constant visual surveillance on the Cessna until it landed or proceeded on a diverging course. Basically, in layman’s terms, they had to keep the Cessna in their sight and not hit it.26

While Lindbergh Control was now responsible for PSA Flight 182’s final approach, Cessna N7711G was under Miramar’s guidance, which, at 09:00:00 directed it to continue to maintain its 70 degree heading under VFR at or below 3,500 feet.27 At 09:00:31, Miramar informed Boswell that there was “traffic at six o’clock [directly behind them], two miles, eastbound; a PSA jet inbound to Lindbergh Field, out of 3,200 [feet altitude that], has you in sight.” Boswell immediately radioed his acknowledgment.28

As PSA Flight 182 began its diagonal transit across Mission Valley, Captain McFeron informed Lindbergh Control that it was beginning its downwind approach. At 09:00:38 the latter acknowledged and advised him that there was “traffic, twelve o’clock, one mile, a Cessna.”29 Peering out the cabin windshield, Captain McFeron asked, “Is that the one [we’re] looking at?” “Yeah,” Fox replied, “but I don’t see him now.” At 09:00:44, McFeron reportedly told Lindbergh Control, “Okay, we had it there a minute ago.” Followed by, “I think he’s pass[ed] off to our right” or “I think he’s passing off to our right.”30

According to later testimony given by the air traffic controller monitoring PSA Flight 182’s approach, he thought he heard Captain McFeron use the word “passing,” which he interpreted as Captain McFeron had observed Cessna N7711G passing to his right. Because the controller believed that the flight crew “knew as much or more about the traffic than I did…,” he “did not relay any further information to him.” All of this helped to seal both aircrafts’ doom.31

There seemed to be a state of confusion among PSA 182’s cabin crew. At 09:00:52 Captain McFeron remarked, “He [the Cessna] was right over there a minute ago.” Twenty seconds later, Fox asked, “Are we clear of that Cessna?” Flight Engineer Wahne responded with, “Supposed to be” while the captain said,
“I guess.” An off-duty captain, also in the cockpit, added, “I hope.”

Perhaps to ease the tension, at 09:01:21 Captain McFeron stated, “Oh, yeah, before we turned downwind, I saw him about one o’clock, probably behind us now.” It has been suggested that Captain McFeron might have been referring to a Cessna 401, call sign N3208Q, that was also conducting ILS approach landings while in radio contact with Lindbergh Field between 08:58 and 09:05. An experienced PSA flight crew, however, should have been able to differentiate between the larger twin-engine, low-wing, six-to-eight-passenger Cessna 401 and the smaller single-engine, high-wing, four-passenger Cessna 172 at close range.

It is entirely possible that, at 09:01:38, seven seconds after lowering the airliner’s landing gear, Flight Officer Fox’s radio transmission, “There’s one underneath” and “I was looking at that inbound there,” could have meant that he was referring to the Cessna 401 flying along a western heading to conduct practice ILS landings. If Captain McFeron had informed Lindbergh Control that he had lost visual contact with Cessna N7711G, the latter would have stopped PSA 182’s descent and told them to hold their position.

The question remained, where was Cessna N7711G?

According to later ground radar tracking printouts, Cessna N7711G was climbing at 120 mph about 1,300 feet below and ahead of Flight 182. Without informing Miramar, its heading had changed from 70° to 90° due east, which placed it directly in the path of the rapidly descending Boeing jetliner. While PSA Flight 182’s deck crew could monitor both Miramar and Lindbergh Field’s control tower transmissions, the Cessna’s on-board radio was only tuned to the Miramar air traffic controllers’ transmissions. If Boswell or Kazy had had access to Lindbergh Field’s transmissions, they likely would have identified their location in relation to PSA Flight 182. Since Miramar had informed them that Flight 182 had them in sight, presumably neither felt compelled to actively locate the huge jet airliner bearing down on them.

Visibility was a problem for both planes. During its descent, the Boeing jet airliner was in a “nose up deck approach” which meant that it was almost next to impossible for its flight crew to see the small Cessna flying directly below it. The overhead position of the climbing Cessna 172 Skyhawk’s cantilevered wing would have restricted Boswell and Kazy’s rear view.

At 09:01:28, Miramar’s radar-activated automated conflict alert alarm sounded, warning of an impending collision between the two aircraft. Installed only a month earlier, the system gave the ground controller no more than 40 seconds notice to warn the approaching aircraft. Instead of immediately notifying either aircraft of an impending collision, nineteen seconds after the alarm Miramar
reportedly only advised Cessna N7711G that there was “traffic in your vicinity, a PSA jet has you in sight [which was erroneous], he’s descending for Lindbergh.” Neither Boswell nor Kazy acknowledged the transmission. Incredulously, Miramar did not inform PSA 182 or Lindbergh Control about the conflict alert warning.42

“Tower, We’re Going Down, This Is PSA.”

At 09:01:47.9, just as PSA Flight 182 tipped its right wing down into banked turn roughly 2,600 feet above the intersection of 30th Street and El Cajon Boulevard, it overtook and struck Cessna N7711G with its nose wheel. The 110-ton jet liner hooked and flipped the 2,100-pound Cessna upside down into the airliner’s right wing. The resulting impact tore the Cessna in half, causing one of its internal fuel tanks to rupture and explode along the right wing’s leading edge.43

As the sound of the 175-180 mph impact and explosion reverberated throughout the jet airliner’s cockpit, Flight Engineer Wahne swore. Captain McFeron plaintively muttered “Easy baby, easy baby,” with a hopeful “Yeah” (perhaps from Flight Officer Fox), as Fox struggled to control the increasingly unresponsive aircraft.44

Observers on the ground noted that the small Cessna’s bifurcated tail section seemed to drop “like a rag doll” before landing near the intersection of Ohio Street and Polk Avenue.45 In the crumpled wreckage, police officers found Boswell’s mangled body still strapped to its seat.46 Kazy’s body traveled in the flaming nose section almost 10 blocks further east across the 805 Freeway before the section separated and crashed through a house’s front porch north of Polk Avenue and 33rd Street.47
Inside the stricken PSA jet airliner, at 09:01:51, Captain McFeron asked about the extent of the damage to his aircraft. Flight Officer Fox responded, “It’s bad.” When asked to elaborate, he emphatically stated, “We’re hit, man; we are hit!” Three seconds later, Captain McFeron calmly notified Lindbergh Field, “Tower, we’re going down, this is PSA.” Lindbergh Control responded with, “Okay, we’ll call the equipment for you.”

PSA Flight 182’s true condition made it impossible that it would reach Lindberg Field. According to two now-famous photographs taken by San Diego County staff photographer George Wendt, the impacting Cessna had torn away or damaged about 30 feet of hydraulically actuated control slats and flaps along the starboard wing’s leading edge. Used to enhance the aircraft’s lifting and anti-stalling properties at low-speeds, their loss, plus the severing of associated hydraulic and electrical lines, caused the wing to drop. Despite the cabin crew’s best efforts to regain control, the aircraft, according to ground witnesses, “just nose-dived to [its] right” trailing a plume of smoke from a fire in its wing root.

As his aircraft streaked towards the ground at over 300 mph, Captain McFeron’s last known radio transmission to Lindbergh Control was, “This is it, baby.” Seconds before impact, Captain McFeron gave his last command, “Brace yourself.” Followed by someone in the cabin muttering, “Hey baby,” and a plaintive, “Ma, I love yah.”

At 09:02:07, the jet liner—after traveling some 3,500 feet from the initial mid-air collision point on a heading of about 200 degrees in a right wing-low, nose down attitude—slammed nose-first approximately 80 feet northeast of the intersection.
of Nile and Dwight Streets. The compressive impact and resulting explosion of thousands of gallons of jet fuel sent a shock wave that registered two miles away on the San Diego Museum of Natural History’s seismograph 3.5 seconds later.55

“This Is Not Happening”

Almost immediately, San Diego Fire Department (SDFD) fire crews rushed toward the rising mushroom cloud of oily black smoke.56 Among these was Firefighter John Rankin who along with his partner Steve Smith dealt with a hellish scene of burning homes amid acrid black smoke smelling of kerosene and charred flesh.57 Starting at Boundary Street, Rankin and Smith split up to conduct house-to-house searches along both sides of Dwight Street. While dragging a fire hose along the street, Rankin noticed, “My feet didn’t feel right on what was supporting me.” According to his later recollections, it was as if he were “walking on an unstable mound.” As the smoke cleared, he realized that he was “stepping on maybe thirty bodies piled ten to twelve feet round and about a foot and a half high... just a mound of body parts.”58

A ten-year SDFD veteran, Rankin was hardened to the sight of dead and mutilated human bodies. The PSA crash would test his endurance. While rushing toward a burning house, he stopped in his tracks. In front of him was a tall
tree filled with “human bodies strung from the tree like decorations.” Standing transfixed, he “just closed [his] eyes and thought, ‘this is not happening.’” Shaking it off, he entered the house and spent the next two hours putting out fires and conducting additional house-to-house searches.  

Rankin was focused on his job when he met up with Smith at the end of Dwight Street. Rankin paused to look at the still smoldering crash site behind him before exclaiming, “Holy [expletive]! Where did all these people come from?” What Rankin was referring to were hundreds of first responders, civilian, military and religious volunteers who were bravely putting out fires, searching for victims, saying prayers over and recovering bodies, as well as keeping looters or souvenir hunters out of the area well into the night.  

There were conflicting reports regarding looting at the crash site. One day after the crash, the San Diego edition of *The Los Angeles Times* reported, “five persons were arrested for looting, but officers said others escaped in the confusion.” It quoted SDPD spokesperson Bill Robinson, “People were taking anything they could grab.” Some, according to Robinson, were “seen carrying off armfuls of valuables.”  

Incensed by a Chicago-based, nationwide news broadcast that “battle-hardened Marines were guarding the crash site from looters,” San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson ordered his staff to investigate the allegations. Within a month, Robinson recanted, explaining that a police officer who had been involved in
transporting prisoners had given him the information at a prisoner-processing center. According to Robinson, police had made between 40 to 43 arrests that day on charges of failing to disperse. There were 3 other arrests for removing aircraft debris, or evidence, from the scene of an accident. No arrest reports charged anyone with looting human remains or damaged homes. ⁶³

“That’s One of Ours”

After setting up a fire command center at the Sav-On drug store parking lot at University Avenue and 32nd Street, SDFD Battalion Chief Robert Osby jogged seven blocks south to the crash site to ascertain the situation. ⁶⁴ Arriving ahead of most city fire companies, Chief Osby was stunned to see a huge aircraft tail section lying in the street. Recognizing the letters “PSA” on its dorsal intake, he thought, “Damn! That’s San Diego’s airline; that’s one of ours.” ⁶⁵

Because of the aircraft’s speed and steep angle of descent, damage was confined to a relatively small area. As the aircraft exploded, however, it burst like a hand grenade, sending fiery debris-like shrapnel fanning out along a 500-foot-long conical lane on both sides of Dwight Street, from Nile to Boundary Streets. ⁶⁶ Chief Osby was surprised to see that, amid the fires and choking black smoke, a U. S. Navy firefighting crew was already on the scene. So was San Diego Police Department (SDPD) Deputy Chief Duke Nyhus who directed the officers and
civilians who bravely climbed into burning houses to look for victims. Osby had warned the latter that they were dangerously close to downed electric power lines or pools of raw aviation fuel. Volunteers covered bodies with sheets or blankets and brought pitchers of iced water to first responders laboring in 101-degree heat. Osby yelled at several individuals spraying garden hoses near burning magnesium aircraft parts. If sprayed, the latter could react violently to water, causing blinding explosions.

As the ranking firefighter, Chief Osby met and ordered every additional arriving fire engine company coming down both Nile and Boundary Streets to proceed carefully due to the downed and ruptured power and gas lines. He also did not want any of their vehicles running over any bodies strewn across the streets. He later said, “[The fire crews] really didn’t need orders from me—they saw the fires, they saw the hydrants, and they went into action, laying down lines of hoses and beginning to fight the fires.” After encircling and converging upon the fire’s core, they were able to keep the fires confined to Dwight Street.

Several local radio and television crews broadcast from the site. Among them were journalist John Britton and cameraman Steve Howell. KSDD radio news director Joe Gillespie calmly relayed up-to-date information from the crash site via a two-way car radio to his station’s morning news announcer, Hal Brown. Newspaper reporters, meanwhile, scrambled to write a series of informative and poignant articles in time for the late edition of The San Diego Evening Tribune. The newspaper’s coverage later earned it the Pulitzer Prize. The reports and images shocked the nation and the world.

**Grim Duty**

Of the hundreds of law enforcement officers providing perimeter security around a nine-block area, or helping in the search and rescue efforts, fifteen novice SDPD recruits assisted the San Diego County Coroner’s Office in combing through the wreckage for any evidence that could help identify the victims. Among these was Gary Jaus. Although he had worked previously at the Clairemont Mortuary, he was shocked at the amount of human *disjecta membra* amid the wreckage surrounding him. According to Jaus,

> Only a few bodies were recognizable as human. There were no faces on the bodies. There were few bodies to speak of—only pieces...I was no stranger to dead bodies, but I wasn’t ready to see the torso of a stewardess slammed against a car.

George Cassity, a young sailor scheduled for deployment the following day,
was among the civilian volunteers. With no other protection than a pair of surgical gloves, he placed small, same-colored flags near dismembered body parts that looked like they might belong to a nearby corpse. He then tagged and placed the body parts in a plastic body bag along with the corpse. At first, he and other volunteers believed that they should treat the body parts with care and respect. However, “It was just too hot [and] there were too many [pieces]” Cassidy said. “After a time they just became objects of a rote task: pick it, identify it, pluck it, put it in a [yellow body] bag [and], zip it up.”

All 135 passengers and crew perished in the crash. The scattered remains also included those of seven North Park residents ranging in age from a 3-year-old at a daycare center to an 82-year-old grandmother in her home. Ambulances waiting to transport injured crash victims instead carried their bagged remains about a half mile southwest to the St. Augustine Roman Catholic High School gym building at 33rd and Nutmeg Streets. Originally set up as an emergency command post and Red Cross triage facility, it soon became an overcrowded temporary morgue.

At the gym, nurses numbered and inventoried each bag’s contents. Priests then said prayers and daubed holy oil on the remains before zippers were closed. The numbered bags were loaded into one of four large refrigerated tractor-trailer trucks parked outside. By nightfall, the trucks delivered some 220 body bags to

St. Augustine Roman Catholic High School one-half mile southwest of the crash site. Public domain.
either the county morgue or private mortuaries. Post-mortem forensic specialists then began the tedious process of identifying the remains.\textsuperscript{78}

Besides the local county coroner’s staff, the forensic investigation team included members of the Los Angeles County coroner’s office, two dentists, and the FBI’s “Disaster Squad,” which compared victims’ fingerprints with fingerprint files sent from the bureau’s Washington, D. C. headquarters.\textsuperscript{79} Local American Red Cross chapter volunteers looked at post office records and missing person reports. They also interviewed neighbors to make an exact determination of those killed on the ground.\textsuperscript{80} Once identified, arrangements were made to send the remains to local or out-of-town funeral homes.\textsuperscript{81}

National Transportation Safety Board [NTSB] and Boeing forensic investigators combed through the Boeing 727-214’s recovered remains. These were moved to an empty building associated with the General Dynamics-Convair plant at Lindbergh Field. During their initial investigation, investigators discovered pieces of the Cessna embedded in the jet airliner’s nose landing gear, which confirmed that the nose gear had struck the smaller aircraft before smashing into the starboard wing.\textsuperscript{82}

Inside PSA’s Lindbergh Field headquarters building, special financial assistant Don Simonian, along with other staff, responded to a stream of phone calls asking the status of friends or loved ones on board PSA 182. By that afternoon, they were calling the next of kin of all those confirmed dead.\textsuperscript{83} “Of course our first concern

Navy Corpsmen search for remains at the corner of Nile and Dwight looking at part of tail engine marking point of impact. Author’s collection.
is for the families of our regular passengers,” PSA President William Shimp stated during a subsequent press interview, “but we like to feel we [at PSA] are a family too, and…feel it as a family loss.” PSA employees resolutely continued to schedule flights in and out of Lindbergh Field.

Family and friends of the seven individuals killed on the ground grieved. Gary Bruce Walker lost his 3-year-old son and his mother. He was one of many victims’ surviving family members who brought a lawsuit against PSA. Other North Park residents suffered the loss of their homes. The crash damaged or destroyed about 28 houses. The airline would eventually pay over $5.5 million in settlements to claimants for property damage as well as wrongful death suits.

Nine people were injured in the crash, most of whom survived by crawling out of the back windows of their burning homes. Some just missed getting hit by debris or bodies hurtling through the air. Two bodies slammed into a car on Boundary Street. When rescue workers removed a torso from the windshield, they were shocked to see the car’s driver, Mary Fuller, still alive. The 33-year-old mother and her eight-month-old son had only suffered minor lacerations to their hands and foreheads, though they were splattered with blood.
Hidden Wounds

Wounds of another kind affected dozens of police, firefighters, clergy, volunteers, and other first responders mentally shaken from the horrors they witnessed that day. St. Augustine High School priests Father James Clifford and Father John Ranallo suffered shock after what they saw before them. As he knelt over a yellow plastic body bag containing what looked like a human being, Father Clifford confided, “John, I don’t think I can do this.” “I can’t either,” said the young priest, “but, maybe we can do it together.” They administered last rites at the temporary morgue for the rest of the day. They regarded the simple act as “The last touch that can be given to a fellow human being in the name of the family who couldn’t say goodbye to them.” Father Ranallo later confessed that “At least [it] was something we could do when we saw the futility” [of our being there].

Weeks, months, and years later, many first responders suffered from bouts of melancholia, crying for no reason or waking up from nightmares brought about by what is now called Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. As one first responder, a uniformed serviceman, noted at the crash site, “Now you know what we went through in Vietnam.”

Years later, another first responder, SDPD officer Bill Farrar, lamented,

I drive by the crash location about once a year. I usually get out and walk past the rebuilt homes and past the sidewalks and streets where so many died. I get in fresh touch with memories that will never go away. I know that there are many others, just like me, who felt so helpless that Monday. We will never get over it.

A cloud of shock and depression also affected PSA’s employees and regular customers. Many had personally worked with at least one person on Flight 182. San Diegans who regarded PSA as their regional airline shared their loss.

Images of the crash remained vivid for eyewitnesses who saw the mid-air collision, the falling aircraft, and the monstrous explosion that produced a towering column of black smoke from miles away. It also affected those unable to turn away from up-to-the-minute live news reports on their television sets that day.

The Aftermath

The PSA disaster, the worst crash in United States commercial aviation history at the time, reignited the often-acrimonious debate over the location of Lindbergh Field. Many people demanded that the airport be moved to a less populated area,
anticipating that increased air traffic would result in an even greater disaster.97 Opponents, including then-Mayor Pete Wilson, countered that the location of the airport was not the problem. Lindbergh Field is presently in its original location.98 Following a one-year investigation, the NTSB concluded that PSA 182’s cabin crew was primarily responsible for the mid-air collision that led to the crash because they had not notified Lindbergh Control that they had lost visual contact with Cessna N7711G.99

Pressure from flight crew and airline pilot associations, however, compelled the NTSB to reopen the case.100 The Air Line Pilots Association, for example, pointed out a major flaw in the “see-and-avoid approach.” They argued that such an approach frequently produced “erroneous identification by pilots of air traffic reported by controllers.”101 Another critic, J. W. Olcott, proposed in the August 1979 issue of Business and Commercial Aviation that the PSA flight crew had a “significant factor working against them…the subconscious belief that [Air Traffic Control] and the radar environment…would protect them from the catastrophe of a midair collision.”102

While it did not exonerate the PSA flight crew, an amended NTSB 1982 report cited other factors that contributed to the crash. These included the local air traffic controllers’ use of visual separation procedures when radar was available, and their failure to advise the flight crew of Cessna N7711G’s direction of movement. They also noted the improper resolution of the conflict alert warning.103

Conspicuous by its absence from the report was disgruntled former PSA pilot Robert P. Chapman’s prior claim that the NTSB had totally ignored pilot fatigue as a factor that contributed to the crash. A 14-year veteran pilot, Chapman had filed a lawsuit against PSA in 1981 for wrongful termination and emotional distress. He claimed that he was fired after reporting the difficult working conditions that most likely contributed to the PSA flight crew’s mental and physical impairment. Supporting Chapman’s claim was an unsuccessful 50-day strike by PSA pilots seeking improved work schedules.104

San Jose State University biologists also supported the case for pilot fatigue. Professors W. J. Price, a pilot, and D.C. Holley were biological scientists who studied the effects of work on the mind. In a treatise presented at the 1982 International Symposium of Night and Shift Work in Kyoto, Japan, they argued that that PSA’s poor shift scheduling had resulted in chronic sleep and nutritional deprivation. As evidence they cited a remark by Captain McFeron before taking off from Los Angeles. He was overheard saying to a stewardess, “It was a short night…I’m draggin’!” Thirty minutes later he and 143 people were dead, deaths that Price, Holley, and Chapman believed were preventable.105
The Legacy

Like most tragic aviation-related accidents, the crash of PSA Flight 182 led to immediate and long-range improvements to both local and national air traffic control procedures. These included the immediate implementation of a Terminal Radar Service Area around Lindbergh Field, as well as a review and similar upgrade of other national airports. Instead of relying primarily on pilots’ use of the flawed “see and avoid” procedure, air traffic controllers would now use mandatory ground-based positive radar control to monitor and direct all approaching and departing aircraft.106

On May 15, 1980, the FAA established a Class B (Class Bravo) Airspace over Lindbergh Field. Created over several airports in the aftermath of a 1960 mid-air collision over New York City, a Class B airspace designation provided better separation and control in high traffic areas. By placing this designation over Lindbergh Field airspace, all aircraft flying within it had to be equipped with an operating on-board transponder, making them clearly visible on ground controllers’ radar screens. The San Diego Approach Control at Miramar would be responsible for all aircraft flying within this invisible 30-mile diameter zone between 12,500 and 2,500 feet altitude. Once aircraft got below 2,500 feet, Lindbergh Field’s control tower would take over all landing approach control procedures. Controllers at both facilities were now able to view the same radar picture, which, through the transponders, identified each aircraft by its flight number, altitude, and heading.107

To prevent a reoccurrence of a mid-air collision over San Diego (or any other major US city), the FAA banned all “blind” ILS practice landing and non-ILS-certified aircraft from all Class B airspace. Such activities were relegated to smaller “feeder” airfields, like San Diego’s Montgomery and Brown Fields, El Cajon’s Gillespie Field, and Carlsbad’s McClellan-Palomar Airport, all of which were upgraded to facilitate ILS control pilot training.108

Arguably, the most important historical aftereffect of the crash of PSA Flight 182—and an eerily similar mid-air collision between an Aeroméxico jet airliner and a private aircraft over Cerritos on August 31, 1986—was the accelerated development of an effective modern aircraft Traffic Collision Avoidance System (TCAS).109 Early versions of the TCAS had been in development since June 30, 1956, when two commercial airliners collided over the Grand Canyon. But those versions were impractical due to their complexity.110 The current TCAS, introduced in 1987, is now installed in all commercial passenger and most commercial cargo airplanes. Its on-board radar beacon sensors, encoding altimeters, transponders, and computers automatically give pilots direct, immediate knowledge of potential mid-air collisions. It also recommends avoidance maneuvers.111
The crash of PSA Flight 182 also played a role in the development of anti-collision technology for automobiles. In 1991, a local San Diego firm, Intelligent Vehicle Highway Systems or IVHS Technologies, developed and introduced similar anti-collision technology for automobiles. Known as VORAD (Vehicle On-Board Radar), it works like a police radar gun, emitting low-output microwave signals that continuously scout for obstacles closer than 300 feet ahead of a vehicle. If an approaching vehicle gets too close, the system automatically engages the vehicle’s braking system, thereby avoiding a dangerous collision. First installed in Greyhound buses in 1992, IVHS Technologies’ VORAD has become standard safety components in all modern domestic and foreign-made automobiles operating within the United States.¹¹²

Knowing that changes made after the September 25, 1978, mid-air collision over North Park might have contributed to saving thousands of lives since offers some solace to those still scarred emotionally by the loss of family and friends that day. It is difficult for many people to go back to the crash site in North Park. Surviving resident Stanley Cichy reports that the rebuilt neighborhood, “Looks normal again…different, but normal.” On or near the September 25 anniversary date, people often leave signs and flowers, or scrawl the names of the crash victims in colored chalk at the corner sidewalk across from Nile and Dwight Streets. But some eye witnesses, surviving family members and first responders hesitate to attend these impromptu gatherings.¹¹³

There is no memorial on Dwight Street to honor the victims, first responders, or volunteers.¹¹⁴ The three bronze memorial plaques dedicated to the crash victims are located some distance from the crash site. The closest is a small plaque sitting in front of a memorial tree planted outside the North Park branch library. The two furthest away are large bronze plaques now on display at a PSA exhibit in Balboa Park’s San Diego Air & Space Museum. The museum rescued one that had been removed from its original location near the entrance to the PSA headquarters building on Harbor Drive after USAir purchased PSA in 1987.¹¹⁵ If a future memorial is built on or closer to the crash site, its design and placement should not intrude upon what is once again a quiet unassuming streetscape. If nothing else, a memorial might acknowledge, and perhaps lessen the trauma that, for some, will never go away.
NOTES

1. United States National Transportation Safety Board (USNTSB) Aircraft Accident Report, No. NTSB-AAR-79-5 (Washington, D.C.: USNTSB, April 20, 1979), 2, 4-5, 65; “Jet Crash Site History Recalled,” The San Diego Union, September 26, 1978, A-6. All further time references are Pacific Standard Time based on a 24-hour clock, with seconds and half seconds added. For example, the crash’s actual time of two minutes, five and one-half seconds after nine a.m. is written as 09:02:05.5.

2. USNTSB, Aircraft Accident Report (1979), 1-2, 52, 69, 70. Located three miles northwest of downtown San Diego, Lindbergh Field (aka the San Diego International Airport) has been San Diego County’s main commercial airport since 1928. See: USNTSB, Aircraft Accident Report (1979), 6; San Diego International Airport, “Airport History,” in http://www.san.org/Education/History (accessed March 27, 2018).


15. USNTSB, Aircraft Accident Report (1979), 6, 15.

16. Ibid., 2, 54.


22. Ibid.


25. Ibid.


28. Ibid. It is important to call out that, according to the aircraft accident report, Flight 182 was traveling in an eastward direction away from Lindbergh Field at the time. Several post-accident accounts erroneously have the jet flying towards the airport.

29. USNTSB, Aircraft Accident Report (1979), 3, 60, 70.

30. Ibid., 3, 18, 60. This indicates that PSA 182’s flight crew was uncertain of Cessna N7711G’s location at this time.

31. Ibid., 3 and 18.

32. Ibid., 2-4 and 61-62; Kissel, Poor Sailors’ Airline, 239.


40. USNTSB, Aircraft Accident Report (1979), 30; “Death over San Diego,” 16; “Cessna Skyhawk,” in Textron Aviation. It has been suggested that Boswell may have still been wearing his vision-impairing hooded visor at the time, rendering him oblivious to anything but the dashboard’s instruments. However, since he was no longer practicing ILS procedures, and he was heading away from Lindbergh to Montgomery Field, which did not have ILS transmitters at the time, there was no need for him to continue to wear his hooded visor.

41. USNTSB, Aircraft Accident Report (1979), 4.


45. Kissel, Poor Sailors’ Airline, 240; David Frensina, Return to Dwight & Nile: The Crash of PSA Flight 182 (Nantascot Film, 2010); Michael Bagnas (crash eyewitness) interviewed by author, April 12, 2018.


55. Ibid., 8; “Death over San Diego, 16; Schuck, interviewed by author. The crash was eerily reminiscent of one that occurred 13 blocks northeast 1,800 feet over Wabash Canyon 49 years earlier on April 22, 1929, when hundreds of shocked San Diegans witnessed the first mid-air collision of a commercial airliner in the United States as a single-engine Army fighter rammed a Phoenix-bound Maddux Airlines Ford Trimotor. The Army pilot, along with the trimotor’s two pilots and three passengers, died in the ensuing crash. Leigh Fenly, “Horror in the Air Eerily Echoes 1929,” *The San Diego Union*, September 26, 1978, A-9; Pescador, *Aviation in San Diego*, 80; Scott, *San Diego: Air Capital of the West*, 79.
57. Ibid.; Hudson and Funabiki, “150 Die as 2 Planes Collide,” A-1; Shess, “This Is It!”.
58. Frensina, *Return to Dwight & Nile*.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
The Crash of Flight 182 and Its Aftermath

64. Shess, “This Is It!”
65. Ibid.
69. Shess, “This Is It!”
70. Frensina, *Return to Dwight & Nile*; Shess, “This Is It!”
73. Shess, “This Is It!”.
74. Ibid. Even after the City offered free psychological counseling for police and firefighters, several of the rookie and eleven veteran police officers quit or retired soon after the crash.
75. Shess, “This Is It!”; Frensina, *Return to Dwight & Nile*.
81. Frensina, *Return to Dwight & Nile*.


84. USNTSB, Aircraft Accident Report (1979), 1; Grant, “30 Aboard Were in the PSA Family,” A-3. In addition to the seven-person flight crew, the company lost three PSA flight crews, a platoon of flight attendants, mechanics and other fellow employees, as well as their new personnel director Robert Benner and his wife, Sue.

85. Grant, “30 Aboard Were in the PSA Family,” A-3. One wonders what was going through the minds of the flight crews and passengers peering down from their cabin windows while flying past the roaring flames and towering smoke over North Park on their way to Lindbergh Field that morning.

86. Walker’s 3-year-old son Derek and his mother died during the crash while she was dropping him off at a local babysitter. Mitch Himaka, “Man Awarded $100,000 in PSA Jet Crash,” The San Diego Union, February 15, 1980, B-3; “Court Makes $379,700 Award,” B-3. In addition to the seven-person flight crew, the company lost three PSA flight crews, a platoon of flight attendants, mechanics and other fellow employees, as well as their new personnel director Robert Benner and his wife, Sue.


88. USNTSB, Aircraft Accident Report (1979), 1; Jones, “147 Die in San Diego Air Collision”; Clark, “Suddenly a Ball of Flame Appeared,” A-9; “Death over San Diego,” 16; Shess, “This Is It!”


90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

92. Smollar, “10 Years and Many Nightmares Later,” 1; Kissel, Poor Sailors’ Airline, 241-242. One year after his experience, Father Ranollo stated, “Here I was a priest and always helping everyone else. Now what were they going to do about me?” Scarr, “Crash Left Wounds that Are Still Healing,” A-3.

93. Mike Klein, “It Was Not Death as We Envision It,” The San Diego Union, October 1, 1978, A-1.


95. Kissel, Poor Sailors’ Airline, 242; Grant, “30 Aboard Were in the PSA Family,” A-3.


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**PSA FLIGHT 182**

On September 25th, 1978, PSA Flight 182 en-route from Sacramento to San Diego with a stop in Los Angeles, collided with a Cessna 172 and crashed in the San Diego neighborhood of North Park while downwind for landing at San Diego’s Lindbergh Field.

All 135 passengers and crew on board the Boeing 727, in addition to two pilots on board the Cessna and seven people on the ground, perished in the accident. These plaques commemorate all those involved.

Plaque at San Diego Air and Space Museum.
Two Dolls, One Story: The Precarious Lives of Olive Hap and Olive Mishap

Carol Olten

Hap and mishap govern the world, according to the words of an old English proverb. William Shakespeare carried this idea into the dialogue of many of his plays in which characters exist in various states of haps and mishaps ranging from the dark fates in “Hamlet” to the light happenstances of “As You Like It.”

In the late 1880s, two dolls named “Hap” and “Mishap” joined the acting company of London’s Lyceum Theater, led by the great Shakespearean actors Ellen Terry and Henry Irving. Anna Held, who later established the Green Dragon Colony in La Jolla, was at that time a thespian sidekick. Actors made doll costumes out of their old cloaks and capes worn in the Shakespeare productions and imagined their shape shifting progeny in their own roles. At some point, Terry decided two dolls resembled her little niece, Olive Morris. And, thus, they became Olive Hap and Olive Mishap.

When Held came to La Jolla in 1894 to establish a haven for bohemian artists, musicians, writers, occasional royals, and other members of the intelligentsia, she brought both dolls with her. She and her numerous guests continued to play dress-up and act out scenes with them. The dolls soon became celebrities though Mishap, with her penchant for getting into quick trouble and out of it, appears to have been the lead player.

Time passed. Held made more and more transatlantic crossings to join her ever-growing circle of international family and friends. She married the celebrated

Carol Olten is a writer and journalist who presently serves as the historian for The La Jolla Historical Society. She also is the editor of the Society’s Timekeeper magazine. A graduate of the University of Missouri School of Journalism with a background in Western art and architecture, she began her career as a reporter and writer for The San Diego Union newspaper and, later, became the metropolitan daily’s film critic. Her present home is the historic H. Austin Adams house on Park Row built in 1908 that she shares with her Samoyed dog, Jingles.
baritone and composer Max Heinrich, sold the Green Dragon in 1912, lived for a brief time in a small cottage on Torrey Pines Road, and took up residence in Bankers Hill. In 1939, she moved to England to live with lifelong friend Dorothy Palmer. Anna Held died in Oxford on December 14, 1941, at the age of 93.¹

For nearly a hundred years, the dolls were lost, seemingly vanished. The last mention of the possible whereabouts of Olive Mishap appeared in “Nostalgia Lane” columns written in the mid-1960s by Marie Breden for The La Jolla Light. She suggested that Held had sent Olive Mishap as a gift to a Chicago matron. No acknowledgement was made about Olive Hap.

About seven years ago, as the historian for the La Jolla Historical Society, I took on a mission to find Olive Mishap, not knowing at the time that a second doll even existed. The project developed like an Agatha Christie thriller—all jagged twists and turns complicated by confusing dates on old photographs, great gaps of historical information, unreliable distilled reminiscences from many years gone by, and enough subplots to make Hercule Poirot cringe. The dolls’ story still leaves a few questions unanswered, for example, how did Hap first appear on the scene? But my mission was accomplished. Both Olive Hap and Olive Mishap have been found and currently lie secure within the archive of the La Jolla Historical Society.

¹ Since the time of submission of this essay, a significant amount of information about Anna Held and Olive Mishap has come to light. It is now clear that Held did not send Olive Mishap to a Chicago matron as depicted in the La Jolla Light column. Instead, she seems to have sent it to a friend in England. The story of Olive Mishap continues to evolve, and further exploration is warranted. The La Jolla Historical Society is actively working to uncover all aspects of this intriguing tale.
Society along with much of the valuable antique wardrobe that was created for them in those halcyon days at the Lyceum.

My initial interest in Olive Mishap was piqued by the many photos of the doll taken in the early 1900s at the Green Dragon. In Held’s collection of more than 200 dolls—many handmade—Olive clearly stood out. She was much larger than the rest with a remarkable face distinguished by huge lucid eyes and pouty lips. There were several photos of this Olive “at tea” with various children, including one showing a special guest in the form of a cat. An earlier photo taken in a London studio in 1888 showed a doll identified only as “Olive” that was photographed with a Jack Russell terrier called Drummy. I soon learned that Drummy had been one of Ellen Terry’s beloved Jack Russells. The actress gave him to her friend Anna Held. Together, they crossed the Atlantic seven times. Drummy died at a very old age in New York City.²

Anna Held, age thirty-two, holding one-year-old Dorothy Palmer, the second daughter of William Jackson Palmer and Mary “Queen” Palmer, 1881. Held lived with the family at Glen Eyrie, outside of Colorado Springs, CO. Courtesy of the Colorado Springs Pioneer Museum, Tim Nicholson Collection, #S997.97.46.
Held first met Terry after a performance of “Twelfth Night” in Washington, DC, in 1884. At that time, Held was working as a governess for the children of railroad entrepreneur William Jackson Palmer and his wife Mary “Queen” Palmer. Held and the actress soon became close friends. In 1888, Held moved to London to work as Terry’s secretary and companion. She also acted in bit parts although, because of her German accent, she was given non-speaking roles. She

appeared as a lady-in-waiting in the Lyceum’s heralded 1888-89 production of “Macbeth” in which Henry Irving played the title role. Terry, as Lady Macbeth, was costumed in a dress shimmering with more than a thousand iridescent green beetle wings. It was Held who stood in for Terry while John Singer Sargent painted the actress as Lady Macbeth, a portrait that is on display in London’s Tate Gallery.

Shortly after the “Macbeth” production, Terry, Irving and Held embarked on a vacation to the Continent. They stopped in Paris where Ellen and Anna visited a toy shop and were “enraptured by the dolls there displayed.” Havrah Hubbard, who penned a biographical sketch of Held entitled “The Joyous Child,” tells this story:

Making a selection was rather difficult, so they ordered several of them sent to the hotel for further consideration and choice. In the afternoon Mr. Irving came over from his hotel, and upon entering the room he spied upon the bed the varied and striking array of dolls, most of them ‘just as they came from their maker’s hand.’ He suddenly stopped and exclaimed: ‘Ladies! Ladies! what is all of this? It looks as though there had been a series of ‘mishaps’ in Paris!’

Delighted laughter greeted the comment. Irving was compelled to select the best “baby” in the group. When he chose one, it was solemnly christened “Mishap.” Later the name Olive was added. Hubbard wrote, “Miss Olive Mishap came into being in Ellen Terry’s room in the Hotel Des Deux Mondes on that afternoon of August 16, 1889.”

Settled again in London, Terry and Held “found unending pleasure in making dresses for Olive,” according to Hubbard. The actress...

...took of her own golden tresses enough hair to have a special wig made; she gave cloth from her dress she wore in Nance Oldfield; a bit from the gorgeous robe of Lady Macbeth; a fragment of Portia’s robe; cloth from Hamlet’s cloak worn by Irving. These with countless other ‘snitches’ of famous fabric were fashioned by the loving fingers of Lady Nell [Terry] herself, and by Anna [Held].

As a result, Olive Mishap had a wardrobe “such as no other doll ever had before or since.” From time to time, other actors, singers and literary celebrities contributed materials and “Olive became ever more and more lavishly and famously attired.” The doll traveled, visiting the Polish stage actress Helena Modjeska and other admirers in the United States. Olive was a central figure in
countless doll exhibits. Finally, she stopped for a visit with Chicago social worker and philanthropist Lydia Avery Coonley-Ward who intended to put her in a museum. By 1938, however, the doll had been lost. Hubbard wrote, “The fate of poor Olive since then is unknown. She mysteriously disappeared and no trace of her could be found.”

But some 75 years later I picked up a trace, in fact, several traces. Some suggested the doll might have ended up in the estate of the late Harle Garth Montgomery, a La Jolla native who had lived on Torrey Pines Road not far from where Anna’s second or “junior” Green Dragon had been located. Others hinted it could have become part of Modjeska’s doll collection at her house, Arden, now a National Historic Landmark on the western slope of the Santa Ana Mountains in Orange County, CA. Still others suggested that the doll might be sleeping in somebody’s attic in Chicago. It was also possible that Amy Strong, who had inherited many of Held’s possessions after the latter left San Diego, received the doll. In turn, Strong might have given it to some child who played too lovingly with it, in which case it probably was in a landfill by now. I traced all the likelihoods and found...

Nothing.

I spread the word of my search through a column in the La Jolla Village News. A few weeks later, the broken body of Olive Mishap was brought to my door in an
Adidas shoe box, along with a plastic bag containing remnants of Terry’s human hair wig. La Jolla resident and philanthropist Harle Montgomery had given her daughter, Terre Edwards, the doll years ago with the idea she might send it to a conservator for restoration, then make a gift of it to the La Jolla Historical Society. Edwards gave the doll to the Society along with a generous donation for its conservation.10

The doll matched photographs in the Society collection. The head and torso were intact, but the limbs needed restringing. Not knowing much about antique dolls, I called La Jolla appraiser and estate liquidator James McDonald for an initial opinion about its value. He suggested looking at the back of the doll’s head for a possible identification or number. The mark I found was “J. Steiner BTSGDG, Paris, Fre A17.” This Olive was a doll with a pedigree!

“J. Steiner” was Jules Nicholas Steiner, a late nineteenth-century Parisian horologist turned dollmaker. He was known for fashioning highly collectible life-size “bebes,” or dolls, made of wax over papier mâché heads with fabric and bisque bodies. Some versions had bisque heads with fabric and composition bodies. They were dressed in elaborate period costumes and some reflected contemporary interpretations of ethnicity. The Steiner dolls were first researched and chronicled by Dorothy A. McGonagle in her definitive book, The Dolls of Jules Nicolas Steiner (1988).11 McGonagle herself is an enthusiastic Steiner doll collector. When I contacted her in New York about the new Steiner discovery, she suggested

Five dolls belonging to Anna Held sit on a small bench outside her house. At left is Olive Hap or Olive Mishap. The other dolls were made of unbleached muslin with faces painted by friends and acquaintances. Held often knitted their suits, caps, and shoes. Courtesy of the La Jolla Historical Society.
finding a professional conservator in Southern California to restore the doll to a presentable appearance. Irena Calinescue, who has been operating her Fine Arts Conservation LLC practice in Los Angeles since 1998 and has done work for the J. Paul Getty Museum and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, came to the rescue. She re-strung the body, removed surface debris and residue from its head and torso, and stabilized the overall form to discourage further age damage.

Olive Mishap made her debut once again in La Jolla as part of the historical society’s 50th anniversary celebrations in 2014. She wore a new dress designed by fashion icon Zandra Rhodes. The long-lost doll had been found and resurrected with much celebration. End of story? No, only half of it.

About two years later, a handwritten letter arrived at my home from Celia Crawford of Washington, DC, explaining that she was in possession of “Anna Held’s doll.” Crawford wrote that she was downsizing and looking for suggestions for what to do with it. My first reaction was that this couldn’t be the doll; we had already solved the mystery of Held’s doll with the discovery of Olive Mishap. But Crawford had evidence of a letter written by Held in 1916 saying she had given a doll named Olive Hap to Elizabeth Ferry Coonley (the granddaughter of Lydia Avery Coonley-Ward) who had played with it during a visit to the Green Dragon.12 Celia Crawford is Elizabeth’s daughter and had inherited Olive Hap as part of her mother’s estate.

Olive Hap, having rested for nearly a hundred years, was in much better condition than Olive Mishap and was accompanied by her trunk of late nineteenth-century doll clothes and various artifacts. She also bore the Steiner pedigree, a mark at the back of the neck: “Steiner PARIS SODG Frea 17.”

Crawford donated Olive Hap and her wardrobe and possessions to the La Jolla Historical Society in April 2016, along with Held’s descriptive letter that told of the doll’s history. Held wrote:

In the summer of 1888 in London I was parting with some little children of whom I was very fond, and it almost broke my heart, so Ellen Terry said, ‘We will go off for a holiday in Switzerland and have a good time and you will forget all about it.’ In Paris she bought me this doll, saying, ‘I can’t adopt a baby for you, but this is next to it.’ When we returned to London Miss Terry had a wig made for the doll from her own hair, and she called the doll Olive because, she said, she looked just like her little niece, Olive Morris. Whenever we went Olive went along with us: we never went driving without her between us (like fools, I suppose).13
Terry and Held had two Steiner dolls from the start. The idea that they looked alike no doubt added to the make-believe. Was it Hap in the photograph with Drummy, or Mishap? Who was taking tea today, Hap or Mishap? The dolls were probably interchangeably dressed, photographed, and sent, as Held recalled, “a-journeying.” Jokes must have abounded about Hap and Mishap as mistaken identities. Dolls dallying amidst Shakespearean actors in fragments of their theater costumes cast in imagined roles of merrymakers, jesters, pranksters, and fools—what fun! It could make a comedy of “Hamlet.” No matter that it was usually adults—not children—as the players.

Held recalled that Mme. Modjeska had formed an attachment to Olive Hap after she had spent a summer at the Green Dragon colony. She took the doll home with her to her country retreat, Arden. When the doll came back, Held wrote, “she was fitted out with a brand new Leghorn hat…and her wardrobe was all washed and ironed and cleaned.”

Held took great care in describing the wardrobe that she entrusted to Elizabeth Coonley:

The old green kimono-sort of thing, with its trimming, were from an old dressing gown of Miss Terry’s which she wore for years and years—in the theater and everywhere she went. She made the red dress with the tiny white polka dot entirely herself, many a
time keeping the stage waiting while she took another stitch. The little blue dress was smocked in Stratford-on-Avon by a descendant of the woman who had smocked Shakespeare’s clothes. The pink and white striped dress was made by the Countess Resse in Italy when Olive and I were visiting her. The blue-gray velvet dress is a piece of the Lady Macbeth cloak. The blue-gray flannel cloak is from one of Sir Henry’s.\textsuperscript{15}

When Olive Hap arrived with this wardrobe at the historical society more than a hundred years after it had been made, the doll costumes were in remarkably good condition, quite probably equal to, or beyond, the value of the doll itself. Hap arrived attired in the blue dress Held described as smocked in Stratford-on-Avon and a fine pair of brown leather boots. The rest of the wardrobe, as described by Held, was neatly boxed. A small trunk marked “OH” contained items Held referred to as “Olive’s property.” It contained a dozen handkerchiefs embroidered with her initials, a small stein from Bayreuth, kid gloves, and a miniature hot water bottle. The trunk also contained “her library”: a Shakespeare book, a prayer book inscribed “with love from her godmother Ellen Terry. London ‘90,” and some little German books.

How did Olive Hap end up with all the clothes when Mishap had nothing but a plastic bag full of hair? Several explanations come to mind. In sending
Olive Hap to Coonley, Held anticipated she would eventually be placed in a doll museum, hence the VIP wardrobe went with her. In the flurry of activity that accompanied Held’s sale of the Green Dragon in 1912 and her numerous transatlantic journeys, Mishap suffered the worst of mishaps—she was left behind. When Dr. William Leroy Garth, Sr. and Wilma Harle Garth (Harle Garth Montgomery’s parents) bought the Ivan Rice estate in the 1920s, the property included a small structure that had been Held’s “junior” Green Dragon. Olive Mishap most likely had been left there to be discovered by Harle as a child, played with to the point of falling apart and, much later, given to her daughter Terre Edwards as a project for conservation. Montgomery died before I began my doll search so I was unable to obtain the answers to these questions from her.

More intriguing is Held’s lifelong love of children and dolls as “bebes” or extensions of them. As a young woman in Berlin in the mid-nineteenth century she developed a great interest in the educational work with young children pioneered by the German pedagogue Friedrich Froebel. Held diligently studied Froebel’s theories and put them into practice at the Kullak School near her parents’ home, soon becoming recognized as one of the best teachers of the progressive form of education at earlier ages. A chance meeting with an American woman seeking help to raise and tutor two young children led to Held’s first passage to New York. She was quick to land jobs with other wealthy families as a teacher and nanny. In the 1870s Held established her own kindergarten in Nashua, New Hampshire, before receiving an invitation to go to Boston and conduct a normal school where other young women could learn to be kindergarten teachers. When the Centennial Exposition was held in Philadelphia in 1876, Held was invited to conduct daily demonstrations on the principles and workings of the Froebel Kindergarten System of Child Training.16

In his biographical sketch of

Anna Held holds a cat on her lap and sits next to either Olive Mishap or Olive Hap and a handmade doll. Courtesy of the La Jolla Historical Society.
Held, Hubbard wrote that her “love for children was of intensity that amounted almost to obsession. She could never meet a little child without longing to take it in her arms to cuddle and caress. All the emotion and all sentiment of her nature climaxed in this adoration for babies and small children.” He reflected, “She was ever at heart a child—and throughout her life has remained so. In other words, she never ‘grew up.’”

Held never had children of her own; she spent her life caring for others, including the children of Ulysses S. Grant, Jr. and his wife Fannie. When the Grants came to San Diego in 1893, Held accompanied them as a nanny. It was during this period in the 1890s that Held began dollmaking—fashioning rag dolls out of unbleached muslin with faces of various sorts painted by friends and acquaintances. Some were sold, but many were given away to children.

Vintage photographs taken of Anna Held at the Green Dragon often show her with the dolls seated in a line on an old wooden bench outdoors, having a tea party with children or playing her beloved piano inside her cottage, Wahnfried. Olive Hap or Olive Mishap occupy a chair nearby, “listening” to Wagner or Schumann or Weber, all among Held’s favorite composers.

In probably the last public interview before Held made her final transatlantic crossing in 1939, Held’s love for dolls was chronicled in a story for Eileen Jackson’s “Tete-a-Tete” column in The San Diego Union: “Tante loves people,” Jackson wrote. “…And next to people she loves dolls.”

Over the course of her 93 years, Anna Held observed many people living lives of haps and mishaps. Her own life had its share of ups and downs as well. So did her two beloved dolls bearing the names of Hap and Mishap. What stories they would tell—if only the two Olives could talk!
The Precarious Lives of Olive Haps and Olive Mishaps

Olive Hap sits on a table with kittens, c. 1902. The doll was very popular with Held’s friends and acquaintances. Courtesy of the La Jolla Historical Society.

Green Dragon Colony scene with dolls. Courtesy of the La Jolla Historical Society.
NOTES


2. H[avrah] H[ubbard], “The Joyous Child (Das froeliche Kind): A Personality Sketch of Anna Held Heinrich” (1938), 65, 68, San Diego History Center, Subject Files, DOC Heinrich, Anna Held. This work was later published as *The Joyous Child (“Das froeliche Kind”): A Personality Sketch of Anna Held Heinrich* (Lugano, Switzerland: private printing, 1939). A copy is available at the La Jolla Historical Society.

3. Hubbard, “The Joyous Child,” 51. Queen Palmer and Anna Held attended the performance with Olive Seward who was friends with Ellen Terry.

4. Ibid., 58-59.


7. Ibid., 64.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., 65.


12. Elizabeth Ferry Coonley was the daughter of Avery Coonley and his wife Queene Ferry Coonley. Her parents commissioned Frank Lloyd Wright to build the Coonley House (1908-11) in Riverside, IL.

13. Anna Held Heinrich to Elizabeth Ferry Coonley, 1916, Green Dragon Colony Collection, La Jolla Historical Society.


15. Anna Held Heinrich to Elizabeth Ferry Coonley, 1916, La Jolla Historical Society.


17. Ibid., 42.

18. Ibid., 71-72, 91.

Among the most important leather-jacket soldiers—soldados de cuera—to arrive with the first overland expedition to settle Alta California were two members of the Osuna family. The younger of the two—Juan Ismerio de Osuna—was born about 1745 in El Rosario [Sinaloa] and was part of the company stationed at Loreto. He traveled to San Diego in 1769, probably with the first group under the leadership of Fernando Javier de Rivera y Moncada, who had been elevated to captain of the Presidio of Loreto in 1752 after serving ten years in the Baja California capital. Juan Ismerio continued on to San Francisco under Rivera and Portolá on July 14, 1769. He later traveled on February 11, 1770, with Rivera to San Fernando Velicatá, the only mission founded by the Franciscans in Baja California, and then returned to San Diego with his commander in July 1770. Juan Ismerio also spent much of his time as a soldier in Loreto. In 1774 Governor Felipe de Barri sent him as a courier to both Mexico City and to Alta California. In the 1780s he served both at the
Presidio of San Diego and with the mission guard at San Gabriel. Juan Ismerio, listed as Español in the census, married Maria Ignacia Alvarado and together they had six children, including Jose María. Osuna’s last child was baptized in 1788 at Mission San Gabriel. Juan Ismerio died in 1790.¹

Juan Luis de Osuna, born in 1715 probably at El Rosario, married Ana María Alvarado and they became the parents of José Francisco and Bernardo. Juan Luis served as a godfather at Mission San José de Comondú on November 28, 1749, and witnessed a wedding at Mission San Francisco Borja on September 6, 1762. He was put in charge of Mission de Santa Gertrudis by Gaspar de Portolá at the time of the Jesuit expulsion in 1768 and signed as a witness to Rivera’s inventory on January 16 of that year. Juan Luis traveled to Alta California in 1769 with Rivera and then on to San Francisco with the combined troops under Portolá and Rivera that departed on July 14, 1769. He returned to Velicatá in February 1770 and served as a godfather at Mission Santa Rosalia de Mulege in March 1773. Juan Luis died sometime after 1774, last appearing on the rolls at Loreto on February 28.²

But the Osuna story does not begin in the eighteenth century—nor does it end there during the early days of California settlement. In 1528, shortly after the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan became Mexico City, three Osuna brothers sailed from their native Spain and made landfall at Veracruz on the Caribbean coast. One brother settled in Mexico City while another journeyed north to open a business in Monterrey, south of the Rio Grande. The third moved to Mazatlan but his descendants had little business success. These two Osuna cousins eventually moved to Baja California, joined the army under the Jesuits, and when the Franciscans took over in 1768, became a part of the Portolá/Serra expedition to Alta California in 1769.

²
The three branches of the Osuna family continued to live separately for almost 450 years until a chance encounter brought them together at San Diego’s Fiesta 200 celebrating the city’s 200th anniversary on July 16, 1969. In a quiet corner of the Presidio Park grounds, the city’s official ambassador Ernesto Osuna, in the dress of El Hidalgo de San Diego, shook hands with Felipe Osuna of Mexico City who was in San Diego with his University of Mexico singing group La Estudiantina de Arquitectura.3

At that occasion, Mrs. Stanley French of the San Diego Thursday Club, who sponsored the visit of the singers, began to ponder the possibility of their relationship. She had heard the story of the three brothers while visiting with Felipe in Mexico City. When the two men met in San Diego, both were wearing Spanish clothing—one from the sixteenth century and one from the eighteenth century—but had a strong resemblance to each other. After some discussion, they realized that they had been living parallel lives unknown to each other since the families had parted after arrival in Mexico so long before.

An added dimension to the Osuna story is the family connection between Alfred Osuna and the mayor of Tijuana Don Aciano Antonio Osuna. Born on the Osuna family ranch in Tijuana, Alfred was brought by his father to San Diego at the age of 9 for medical treatment. Their connections to San Diego were strong—Alfred’s paternal grandfather, Juan María Osuna, was the mayor (alcalde) of San Diego in 1834 and lived in the renowned Osuna adobe home in Rancho Santa Fe.4 In addition, Alfred’s great-great grandfather José Guadalupe Estudillo was county treasurer before being elected treasurer of the state of California in 1874.5 Alfred Osuna was the youngest of five children and never married. He died at the age of 90 in 1994.6

One of the most prominent members of the Osuna family who achieved considerable fame during her lifetime was Felipa Osuna, the granddaughter of Juan Ismerio de Osuna.7 In 1806 his son Juan María married Juliana Josefa López at Mission San Diego.8 Their second child, Maria Felipa de Jesus Catarina Osuna, was born in 1809 and grew up among the rancho families of San Diego. In 1834, Felipa Osuna married
Juan María Marrón, grantee of Rancho Agua Hedionda, located near El Camino Real between today’s Oceanside and Carlsbad. Marrón had been a seaman and trader who settled in San Diego around 1821 just as Mexico was fighting a war for independence against Spain. Felipa’s father, Juan María Osuna, had received Rancho San Dieguito in the early 1830s and, as mentioned above, became the first elected mayor of the Pueblo of San Diego in 1834. Her husband, Juan María Marrón became the administrator of the former mission of San Luis Rey and was elected mayor (alcalde) of San Diego in 1846.9
While living at the ranch, Felipa Osuna became concerned about the health and welfare of Father Jose Maria Zalvidea, a Franciscan missionary with 40 years of service in California. Felipa and her husband took care of the padre during his final years with their own funds.10 Like other ranch families, the Marrón Osuna family owned a lot and small frame house in Old Town. Theirs was at the northwest corner of Congress and Twiggs streets opposite Casa de Cota. In the first official county census of 1860, Felipa’s real estate is shown valued at $2,000 and her personal estate at $1,000. According to local lore, Felipa owned the first carriage brought to San Diego. Having transportation from the ranch, located near Carlsbad, made it possible for her to visit relatives and attend church in Old Town.11
The references to the men of the Osuna family in Hubert Howe Bancroft’s *History of California*, Volume 1 1542-1800, are numerous and listed according to generation. These are: Juan Ismerio (1), Juan Luis (2), Miguel, tailor (3), José Joaquin, (3), José María (4), and Juan Nepomucena (4). Since Bancroft’s history was written during the 1880s, many more generations of Osunas have been found living in present-day San Diego and the Baja California region. Individual stories are found in later volumes.

**NOTES**

2. Ibid., pp. 161-162. See also pages 112 and 113.
4. A later showplace owned by Bing Crosby.
5. Estudillo, a prominent Old Town resident, was a City Trustee at the founding of Balboa Park in 1868.
7. Juan Ismerio’s wife Maria Ignacio Alvarado is listed in the Census of 1790 of the Presidio of San Diego as *española* from Loreto, a widow, 28, with four children, *españoles*, José María Osuna, 12; Francisca Osuna, 7; Juan María Osuna, 6; and Juan Nepomuceno Osuna, 3.
8. Julian López was the daughter of Francisco López and Maria Feliciana de Arballo.
Castigating the Insolent Ones: Native Resistance and the Spanish Military
The Pa’mu Incident

Richard L. Carrico

Introduction

In March 1778 a squad of soldiers from the Presidio de San Diego marched from their presidial fortification along the San Diego River and northeast into the backcountry near present day Ramona, California. The stated purpose of their more than 30 mile trek was to enter the Ipai village of Pa’mu and interrogate several tribal leaders. An Ipai villager from a native settlement along the San Diego coast had reported to Spanish authorities that the leaders at Pa’mu were plotting an insurrection. This is an analysis of that military action, the subsequent arrest and treatment of four Ipai leaders, the roles of Lt. José Francisco Ortega, Father Junípero Serra, and Father Fermin Lasuén in that treatment, and the ultimate disposition of native men deemed as rebellious and insolent. In addition, this article corrects a serious mistake made more than a hundred years ago by the noted historian Hubert H. Bancroft when he erroneously declared that the four Ipai men were executed—thus alleging the first public execution in California.

The Boltonian School

Discussions of Spanish colonial efforts and the effects of imposing their New World institutions on the native peoples of California provide for rousing and

Richard L. Carrico, author of Strangers in a Stolen Land (2014), is a faculty member at San Diego State University with an area of specialization in Native American history and ethnohistory. Carrico is a principal in the firm Recuerdos Research and active in Indian studies. The author would like to thank Dr. Iris Engstrand for encouraging him to publish this paper and the late Dr. Paul Ezell, who fostered his interest in this research. Also Stephen O’Neil, Dr. James Sandos, and Dr. Paul Chace offered helpful suggestions while Olimpia Ojeda Vazquez assisted in Spanish translations.
widely divergent views of history. Traditionally the followers of historian Herbert Bolton ascribe to the view that the Spanish colonial system sought to preserve native peoples, and through introduction of Spanish civilization, to better the natives. The followers of Bolton have often evolved into mission apologists and, at times, conflated Spanish intentions and regulations with actual events and results, and shown minimal understanding of the cultural, economic, and social havoc that colonization brought to many native peoples. Nor does the Boltonian school of thought ascribe any agency to native people portraying them instead as either passive or unable to cope with Europeans. A noted scholar of Spanish borderlands, David Weber labeled this approach and those classified as Boltonians as “Christophilic Triumphalists.”

In stark contrast, doctrinaire followers of the so-called Sherburne F. Cook school of thought, keep alive the Leyenda Negra or Black Legend. The Leyenda Negra professes that Spaniards were intrinsically, and without exception, inhumane conquerors. Some adherents go so far as believing that the Spaniards were analogous to members of Hitler’s Third Reich. Epithets such as Holocaust and Genocide pepper the writings of Cook’s followers. James Sandos wrote that this grouping of scholars could be called “Christophobic Nihilists.”

While an understanding of the scholarship associated with these two divergent schools of thought is important, at least in a historiographical sense, an analysis of the actual interaction between California’s Native Americans and Spanish colonists is better viewed from geographically local and regional perspectives. A local approach, such as this one that follows for San Diego, better illuminates the diversity of Indian peoples in Alta California, a diversity that led to differing responses towards and from the European intruders.

Furthermore, the 21 Spanish missions and 4 presidios that administered to more than 30 tribal or cultural groups stretching over 600 miles of Alta California should not be presented as a single entity operating within an all-encompassing eighteenth-century world system. Despite uniform codes and regulations, the men, both religious and secular, who administered and governed the frontier, possessed their own attitudes towards justice and towards native peoples.

Background to the Pa’mu Incident

Spanish military history in Alta California beginning in 1769 includes daily presidial activities, overland expeditions, and occasional forays against local native people, primarily the Diegueño, or as they are now known, the Kumeyaay with Ipai applied to northern peoples and Tipai applied to more southerly people. Under orders to maintain peace on the frontier and to protect Spanish interests in the San Diego presidial district, it may have been natural that soldiers and
The Pa’mu Incident

Kumeyaay developed an adversarial relationship. After all, some researchers have suggested that the Kumeyaay were the “most troublesome challengers of Spanish authority.”

Within weeks of arriving in San Diego in 1769 relations between the coastal Kumeyaay and the Spaniards soured. In August Father Junípero Serra and his colonists were attacked by Kumeyaay in search of cloth and other items not available to native people. After detailing the Kumeyaay distaste for colonial food, Father Francisco Palou wrote, “If their aversion to our food was great, their desire for our clothing was no less notable.” It seems likely that by August 1769 the Kumeyaay from the nearby village of Kosaii, often glossed as Cosoy, and possibly others had decided that the Spaniards were going to be neither beneficial trading partners nor reciprocal in gift giving.

Unsuccessful attacks by Kumeyaay on August 12 and 13, 1769 and a more violent attack again on August 15 were described by Palou as acts of plunder and that is probably a correct assessment. Traditionally, the Kumeyaay felt animus towards intruders into their territory who had little to offer. The Kumeyaay fell
upon the sick and weak Spaniards knowing full well that only four Spanish guards protected the newly built brush mission. The raiders fought with “...their arrows and wooden instruments, fashioned like sabres, which cut like steel.”

In the coming years battles or skirmishes with Kumeyaay warriors or combatants were actually uncommon in San Diego. In part this was because of the relatively peaceful nature of the Kumeyaay and their apparently mixed strategy of passive resistance and accommodation when it suited their needs. In addition, the majority of the Kumeyaay people in the immediate area of the presidio often avoided contact with Spaniards (and particularly the soldiers). With some exceptions, the Spanish sphere of influence existed along a narrow coastal strip no wider than thirty miles and about twenty miles east along the San Diego River. While priests may have gone further afield in search of converts, soldiers rarely penetrated into San Diego’s populous backcountry. One contemporary observer noted that “Even in going only as far as the Valle de las Viejas [about 15 miles east of the presidio] it was considered dangerous and the greatest precaution was used by the soldiers....”

After six years of uneasy relations, highlighted by occasional isolated incidents, violence broke out on November 4-5, 1775 when native villagers from at least eighteen Tipai rancherías attacked Mission San Diego de Alcalá. As is clearly documented in the annals of the time and in later historical analysis, destruction
of the newly established mission and the murder of Father Luis Jayme and two others struck a severe, but not definitive, blow to the Spanish colonial efforts.

The Tipai insurrection tested the Spanish legal and moral systems as they applied to native people and increased pressure from military officials to mount punitive expeditions against local tribes. Father Junípero Serra, however, strongly opposed military action and convinced political and therefore military leaders to take a more moderate path. Almost two years later, on the heels of the trials of the 1775 insurrectionists (in absentia) and as the new Mission San Diego rose from the ashes of the razed mission, another incident flared up.

In the spring of 1778, Rafael and Luis, co-conspirators in the sacking of Mission San Diego and Jayme’s alleged murderers, surrendered and were sentenced along with Carlos, another influential insurrectionist. The three Kumeyaay were exiled to the presidio at Loreto in Baja California Sur where they were imprisoned and later worked as seamen.

The Ipai of Pa’mu and Mesa Grande practiced elaborate and complex dances as part of their culture. These dances have roots going back thousands of years and are still danced at ceremonies today. Photo courtesy of the Ramona Pioneer Historical Society.
Several months later a native leader from Arroyo de San Juan Bautista, presumably a Juaneño, was arrested for the earlier death of Corporal Briones. These actions, the torture and imprisonment and then the exile of Kumeyaay leaders and the flare ups of native resistance, created a tense and watchful mood in San Diego. It is in the context of this tenseness and uncertainty that a second case of alleged conspiracy occurred, a conspiracy that Bancroft mistakenly believed led to California’s first public execution.

The Pa’mu Incident

Pa’mu, meaning either “resting place” or “singing place” was the winter and early spring village for the Ipai (northern Diegueño or northern Kumeyaay) from Tekemuk (meaning “sheltered place”) a large settlement in the mountains at Mesa Grande. Pa’mu was an important ranchería in the Santa María Valley near present-day Ramona.

Pa’mu first appeared in military records on March 22, 1776, when Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada marched through the Santa María Valley and recorded a field of wheat near a native settlement. Rivera noted, “una corta milpa de trigo bien sembrado y con alguna cerca (a finely sown cut field of wheat with some [wheat] nearby)” This wheat crop most likely came from contact with the...
Colorado River Quechan and not from the meager seed crop at the struggling San Diego mission. It is also possible, however, that an opportunistic Ipai laborer expropriated some mission wheat seeds for planting at Pa’mu. The Kumeyaay, as agents of cultural change and adaptation, like many California tribes were quick to adopt useful introduced plants.

The first baptisms at Pa’mu occurred two years later in 1778 and the last in 1834. Over that period of fifty-six years 131 villagers were baptized and duly added in the mission records. Ipai family or clan names included Metehuir, meaning strong or hard earth and later changed to Duro, Llachap (present-day LaChappa), U’u, a type of owl, Shrichak, also a type of owl, and Kwitlp or Quilp/Culip, the name of a shrub. The presence of these five clans, all of which were prominent, suggested a large population at the village, perhaps as many as 200 seasonal residents.

On March 16, 1778, Benito, a newly Christianized coastal Ipai kwaapay (leader) from the village of ‘aqwilawa or Ahwell ewa meaning “twine’s house,” (known to the Spaniards as Sellegua or Jellegua and later as San Dieguito just east of Del Mar near present-day Rancho Santa Fe), reported to Father Fermin Lasuén that villagers from Pa’mu (sometimes glossed as Pamo), were arming themselves against the colonists. Benito further informed the priest that the Pa’mu leaders had killed a fugitive Indian from Mission San Juan Capistrano. According to Benito, who prior to his baptism in December 1777 was known by his native name of Jamacuain Culip (Kwitlp/Quilp), the leaders at Pa’mu sought to ally themselves with at least three nearby mountain villages and strike out against the weakened Spanish forces.

When warned by Spanish officials to remain peaceful and loyal, Pa’mu’s second in command, Jaran Metehuir, threw down the gauntlet replying that Spanish troops should come out of their hiding place at the Presidio and into the mountains and meet their death. Rather than wait for the supposed insurrection to possibly develop further, and fearful that Jaran might rally other villages, Lt. José Ortega ordered Sergeant Mariano Carrillo to take preemptive military action.

In many ways this action mirrors the previous orders of presidial comandante Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada in August 1776 upon hearing that villagers from South Bay near present-day Chula Vista were arming for another attack, he ordered Sergeant Carrillo to march to the village of La Punta (Chiap/Chyap) at the end of San Diego Bay and arrest the town’s captain. Carrillo failed to capture the leader of Chiap (probably Manneguay) but did manage to arrest Nagusajo, a highly influential Tipai leader. The arrest of native leaders based on hearsay was clearly considered rightful and expedient by Spanish military authorities.
Certainly, this was the case in the military operation against Pa’mu. Leaving the coastal presidio on March 30, 1778, Sergeant Carrillo marched thirty miles east and north into the mountains with eight soldiers, an interpreter, and two guides. His orders were to “castigate the insolent ones.”\(^19\) A veteran of several punitive expeditions, Carrillo was under specific orders to subdue and question the cabecillas (leaders) at Pa’mu and, if they admitted guilt, to bring them back to the presidio to receive a flogging of 30-40 azotes (lashes).

Carrillo and his men entered the village at three in the morning on April 1 and woefully outnumbered in the midst of a darkened enemy village in a strange territory, Sergeant Carrillo may have lost sight of the non-punitive nature of his mission. During a brief skirmish at least two Ipai were killed outright and Carrillo, as Bancroft dryly reported, “…burned a few who refused to come out of the hut in which they had taken refuge.”\(^20\)

Carrillo’s forces reportedly captured 80 bows, 1500 arrows, and an unspecified number of clubs, perhaps an arms cache in preparation for an insurrection. Or maybe only a typical stockpile within a village of about 200 persons with probably
50 hunters/warriors that depended on hunting for a large part of their subsistence. Despite denying that they were plotting any attacks on Spanish forces, five Ipai leaders were flogged on the spot and four alleged rebel leaders, Hachil Llachap, Kumeyaay kwaapaay and the first in command, Jaran Metehuir (sometimes glossed as Metehuix and Mathuir) his second in command, and two assistant leaders, Taguagui and Alcuirin were shackled and marched to the presidio for further interrogation.21

Aftermath

The four men were placed in the presidio jail and questioned extensively before their trial. On April 6 all four leaders were found guilty of disobedience and disloyalty, rather than the far more serious crime of conspiracy. To set an example for other native leaders, Kumeyaay men and women from nearby villages (Kosaii and Nipawai were the closest) were brought to the presidio to witness the public flogging. In a recent careful analysis of punishment at the San Diego Presidio in this period, Claudio Saunt suggested that public flogging was particularly demoralizing to Kumeyaay leaders.22 This was especially true for Kumeyaay leaders who may have viewed the Spaniards as lesser, dishonorable foes.

The four chastised leaders were then sentenced to death by Lieutenant José Ortega, a penalty far exceeding prescribed punishments for disobedience and disloyalty. The military officer’s execution order, which he was not legally empowered to impose, may have been an act of bravado and an attempt to intimidate the Kumeyaay.23 Ortega’s order stated, “Judging it convenient to better serve God, the King and the public welfare I sentence them [the four cabecillas] to die at 9:00 on the morning of the 11th day, by two rifle shots, with the presence of the troops armed for war and all the Christian ranchers [villagers] corresponding to the San Diego Mission, so it may serve them as incentive to behave well” [author’s translation].24

Lieutenant Ortega’s justification was that the Pa’mu leaders had supposedly been pardoned in the past for alleged plots against the Crown. Specifically, they had been accused of plotting with the people of Soledad (Ystagua/Istawa, meaning “worm’s house”) in Sorrento Valley, to attack the Spaniards.25 No record of this plot has been found except for Ortega’s after the fact statement. From his office in Monterey, Father Junípero Serra wrote to Father Lasuén at Mission San Diego that he doubted if the death sentence would in fact be carried out but cautioned Lasuén to be prepared to conduct last rites for the accused in their cells just in case.26

For more than a century the writings of historians from Hubert H. Bancroft to Edward Castillo have maintained that the four Pa’mu leaders were actually executed on April 11, 1778. Bancroft alleged that the execution was “California’s
first” and it has thusly entered the literature as a result of those who wrote subsequent to Bancroft and relied solely on secondary sources and his footnotes. In conducting his research just before the turn of the nineteenth century, Bancroft, or one of his translators, apparently misread Ortega’s execution order as a completed action.27

Two noted historians of the early 1900s, Zephyrin Engelhardt and Tomas Temple, came closer to the truth when Engelhardt wrote that “Probably the execution was postponed…”28 and with more certainty Temple noted that “their execution was not carried out, and we find them three years later as stubborn and bellicose as ever.”29 Temple did not entirely avoid the vicissitudes of research however. In footnotes to his quite accurate translations of Ortega’s letters, he incorrectly names Guillermo Carrillo as the captor of the Pa’mu leaders when it was actually Guillermo’s brother Mariano Carrillo.

Native American scholar Edward Castillo in his discussion of the native response to Spanish colonization in Alta California, compounded Bancroft’s error by writing that Father Fermin Lasuén blessed the non-existent execution.30 In reality, Junípero Serra tasked Lasuén, who was stationed at Mission San Diego, to offer religious services to the condemned men to include baptism. In doing so Serra was echoing his own actions when, in August 1776, he had attempted to forgive and convert Naguasajo another rebel leader.

So what did happen to the four Ipai leaders imprisoned at the presidio? It is uncertain if the native men were flogged a second time or not but such punishment would have been consistent with Ortega’s previous treatment of prisoners.31 Taguagui, sometimes spelled as Tabaco, after a month of incarceration fell ill in his cell and agreed to baptism by Father Juan Figuer on May 16, 1778. Tabaco died four days later on May 20, 1778 without receiving last rites.32 Ironically, 21 months earlier, Kumeyaay kwaapaay Naguasajo of Kosaii who had been captured at Chiap/ Chyap hanged himself in the same prison having refused Catholic conversion. Records indicate that Taguagui is buried under his missionized name of Juan Nepomuceno at an unspecified location within the presidio complex, probably in the campo santo.

After four months of imprisonment, Hachil and Jaran accepted baptism on August 15, 1778, assuming the missionized names of Mariano de la Asumpcíon and Buenaaventura María respectively.33 Giving Hachil, the leader of Pa’mu, the appellation “de la Asumpcion” was consistent with the priests’ habit of naming a village leader after the given name of the village. In Spanish records Pa’mu had become Pamo de la Asunción.

A cryptic annotation in the baptismal record for Hachil notes that Lt. Ortega refused permission for the two prisoners to receive baptism in the presidio
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church. In doing so Lt. Ortega ensured that the men were kept in their cells and not given access to the larger military establishment. Hachil and Jaran were subsequently released along with the third prisoner Alcuirin, about whom no baptism data is available. The three leaders returned to their mountain settlement no doubt relating their imprisonment and the death of Taguagui to their villagers.

Despite a complaint from Lt. Ortega to Governor Neve three years later in 1781 that the same Pa’mu leaders refused to attend Mass and that they were once again plotting “nefarious and insolent designs,” the leaders remained obdurate. Over the next two decades Pa’mu became a largely Christianized village. The death of Hachil Lchhap in 1796 led to a change of leadership and a Christian Ipai Jopajar assumed control of the village perhaps leading to further Christianization.

Between 1778 and 1834, 131 Pu’mu villagers took baptism and at least 31 couples were married by Spanish priests. Sometime between 1820 and mission secularization in 1835, the village or Pa’mu relocated further back into the hills and deep valleys northeast of Ramona. Today Valle de Pamo is the name of the broad valley where the original village of Pa’mu once stood. Pamo Valley further to the northeast probably represents the later home of Jaran and his descendents before they were removed from their traditional lands in the American period circa 1875.

Analysis

In the documents of the time and in some later histories, the four cabecillas from Pa’mu are portrayed as rebels and insurrectionists. Their so-called insolence sprang from their autonomous nature and their belief in their native sovereignty—a concept at odds with Spanish colonization. From a native perspective these men were patriots and defenders of their homeland—not criminals. Taguagui paid the ultimate price for this conflict of cultures when he died in the presidio jail cell. In spite of the statements of later historians, the outcome of the Pa’mu incident was not, however, California’s first public execution—the execution never occurred.

The warnings from Benito of San Dieguito that Pa’mu’s leaders were seeking alliances with tribes of the Colorado River may or may not be factual. Certainly, the people of Pa’mu had strong ties to their Yuman-speaking Quechan cousins. Spanish fear of the Colorado River Quechan and upriver Mojave was well-founded as evidenced by the successful Quechan attack on Father Garcés and Rivera y Moncada in 1781. It is just as likely, however, that Benito sought to enhance the danger of Pa’mu’s military efforts by bringing up the specter of alliances with the river tribes.
Conclusion

The Pa’mu incident involving Ipai leaders, the Spanish military, and the Franciscan clergy nine years after initial contact represents a microcosm of such relations in the early colonial period. The rebel Ipai wished to be left alone in their mountain enclave but by calling attention to themselves ended up in conflict with the Spanish military. On the coast, Benito, the Christianized Ipai leader sought to curry favor with the Spaniards by informing on the Pa’mu leaders. In converting to Catholicism while imprisoned, or at least appearing to, Jaran and Hachil made a drastic and lasting shift. Taguagui, with a virtual death bed baptism, may have performed a convenient spiritual acquiescence. While the people of Pa’mu may have harbored ill feelings for the Spanish colonists and particularly Lt. Ortega and his soldiers, they never threatened the settlements again.

In the case of Mariano Carrillo, while he probably overstepped his specific orders from Lt. Ortega in burning portions of the Pa’mu village and slicing off ears, the record is silent on that issue. Lt. Ortega himself certainly overreached and overacted when he sentenced the rebel leaders to death. This harsh attitude is, however, consistent with Ortega’s refusal to allow Jaran and Achil to be baptized in the presidio chapel and his previous torture of his prisoners following the 1775 insurrection.37

For Father Junípero Serra, the imprisonment and proposed execution of Ipai men offered him an opportunity to exert Christian charity and to bring what he believed to be recalcitrant native rebels into the Catholic fold. Because of Serra’s pleas, Father Lasuén was able to baptize Taguagui before he died and Jaran and Hachil before they returned to the mountains. When he died in March 1796 at forty years of age, Hachil Llachap was actually buried at Mission San Diego perhaps reflecting his genuine conversion to the faith.38 Further, given that several residents of Pa’mu later sought not only to be baptized but also to be married as a Catholic, Serra’s efforts bore fruit.

The Pa’mu incident provides valuable insights into the relationship among the Spanish military and the

Narciso la Chappa, 1908. ©SDHC #OP 12550-110. Photo by Edward H. Davis.
native people, the Spanish military and the clergy, and intra-village relations among the Kumeyaay themselves. The story is one of possible betrayal, Kumeyaay patriotism, military action, and clerical intervention and is far more complex than a supposed execution or alleged plot—it is the story of native and foreign interaction on the frontier of the Spanish empire and in the heartland of the Kumeyaay.

**Notes About Spelling and Word Glosses**

The spelling of native Kumeyaay names and places varied in Spanish documents of the time and in later transcriptions by historians and anthropologists. For example the tribal leader named as Jaran Metehuir in this article also had his name written as Aaran, Aran, and Aron with his clan name (which is rarely provided in documents) as Metehuix and Methuir. For the purposes of consistency and also in an attempt to provide a spelling or glossing closer to actual Kumeyaay orthography, I have used the spelling as it occurred in contemporary documents for the first usage and then used the more accurate orthography for subsequent uses. For example, Jaran Metehuir, Hachil Llachap (present-day LaChappa), Taguagui, and Alcuirin. Similarly, present-day Pamo is more accurately written as Pa’mu with a glottal stop between the “a” and the “m.”
NOTES


7. This event is discussed by Paul Chace in his paper “International Alliance: International Assault: A sovereign Kosaii Kumeyaay Perspective on the Beginning of the Spanish Presidio-Mission at San Diego.” Paper presented at the California Missions Foundation 34th Annual Conference, Mission Santa Inés, 2017. The name of the Kumeyaay settlement closest to the presidio has been written and recorded as Cosoy, Cosai, Kosoy, and most recently and accurately as Kosaii, which means the “drying place” or the “dry place.”


9. Ibid.


12. Provincial State Papers, Benicia, Military, Tomo 1, MS 1:97.

13. Information about Pa’mu can be found in the 1925-1927 notes of John P. Harrington based on his interviews with native consultants who remembered the village and knew Ipai born there. See “The Papers of John Peabody Harrington.” Originals held at the Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives, Washington D. C. Also available online through the Smithsonian as John P. Harrington Papers, Reel 169 for Diegueño in the United States and Reel 170 for Diegueño in Baja California and in Edward W. Gifford. “Clans and Moieties in Southern California.” University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 14 (2). (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1918). Archaeological excavation at the assumed location of Pa’mu verified the presence of this extensive village near the Santa Maria Creek, see Theodore Cooley and Richard L. Carrico, Excavations at the Village of Pa’mu: Ramona, California. Report on file at the South Coastal Information Center, San Diego State University.


15. Libros de Bautismos, Mission San Diego. Records on file at Mission San Diego Diocesan Offices and also online through the Early Population Project, Huntington Library, San Diego.
Marino, California. As James Sandos has pointed out, baptism of native peoples should not be necessarily equated with conversion or even acceptance of the Catholic faith. See James J. Sandos, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*. (Yale University Press: New Haven, 2004).

23. Ejecución de Reos, April 12, 1778, Letter to Governor Neve from Ortega. Provincial State Papers, Benicia, Military, Vol. 1:44.
24. Ibid.
31. Saunt, “My Medicine is Punishment.”
32. *Libros de Bautismos, Misión de San Diego*: Baptism 00610.
33. *Libros de Bautismos, Misión de San Diego*: Baptisms 00633 and 00634.
34. *Libros de Bautismos, Misión de San Diego*.
35. Temple, “Two Letters.”
37. Saunt, “My Medicine is Punishment.”
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BOOK REVIEWS


Reviewed by Robert D. Miller, Lecturer, Department of History, California State University San Marcos.

With *A Call for Reform* Valerie Sherer Mathes and Phil Brigandi add to the extensive body of scholarship analyzing Helen Hunt Jackson, her reform work on behalf of Native communities, and her mythologizing of Southern California. After publishing *A Century of Dishonor* in 1881 to critique federal policies and highlight the government’s intransigence regarding treaties with Native peoples, Jackson traveled to Southern California to visit Indian reservations and villages. During a subsequent visit in 1883 Jackson served as agent of the Interior Department tasked with investigating the conditions facing the Mission Indians, a term formerly used to refer to all Native peoples within Southern California. These trips led to the publication of a series of magazine articles and a government report that included ten specific recommendations for improving the treatment of Southern California Indians. *A Call for Reform* includes the first-ever annotated publication of seven of these articles, providing students, Jackson enthusiasts, and local historians with an accessible collection that provides insight into the research that culminated in the publication of *Ramona,* Jackson’s famous romantic novel. One of these articles, entitled “Justifiable Homicide in Southern California,” is particularly noteworthy, as the murder of Juan Diego, a Cahuilla Indian, directly inspired Jackson’s depiction of the killing of the fictional Alessandro.

Mathes and Brigandi’s introduction provides an overview of Jackson’s life and, more importantly, an adept discussion of her Southern California travels that produced the magazine articles republished within the book. The editors’ annotations are useful in noting alternate spellings, identifying modern-day place names for locations Jackson visited, and providing biographical sketches of individuals she encountered. The editors also identify some of Jackson’s errors that could confuse modern readers. For example, Jackson’s articles frequently included Italian spellings of Spanish words. In addition, Jackson likely misunderstood the Native meaning of Temecula, as she interpreted the name as signifying “mourning” rather than “morning.”

This annotated volume would benefit, however, from additional notes analyzing Jackson’s problematic historical interpretations. For example, Jackson romanticized
the mission period by contrasting the “tranquil industry and comfort of the Indians’ lives” found under the Franciscans with the dispossession and poverty many Native communities faced in the decades after statehood (p. 94). A growing body of research has highlighted the missions’ devastating impacts on California Indians, from the toll of epidemic disease to the disruption of native economies. Furthermore, Jackson ignored the consequences that the Mexican government’s secularization of the missions brought to the neophytes, the baptized California Indians who had once lived within these institutions. The editors also missed several opportunities to guide readers to scholarship linking Southern California’s history to that of the state or the nation. For example, the editors refer to the weekly auction of Indian labor in Los Angeles without referencing An Act for the Government and Protection of Indians, California’s 1850 law permitting, in part, the indenture of Indian children, the auctioning of California Indians identified as vagrants for a period of up to four months, and a prohibition of using a California Indian’s testimony to convict a white person. While many scholars know of the law and its consequences, general readers could benefit from additional context that might stimulate further reading. Finally, the inclusion of maps overlaying the locations Jackson visited in the early 1880s with present-day cities could prove beneficial due to Southern California’s substantial population growth and development. For example, Jackson wrote about the 1875 eviction of the Pechanga Band of Luiseño Indians, but a present-day map of Temecula could help readers visualize the Pechanga Indian Reservation and its casino in relation to the original community located near Temecula Creek and Highway 79 South. Despite this, A Call for Reform provides a useful resource for local historians and fans of Ramona to trace Jackson’s travels and gain insight into the research that inspired her novel. In addition, the book would provide a useful primary source collection for undergraduates to analyze. The articles clearly demonstrate Jackson’s sympathy for Native communities, but many of her word choices and interpretations reveal problematic assumptions that limited her analysis, thus offering ample fodder for research papers.

By Ingmar Sorenseene, M.A. Candidate, Department of History, University of San Diego.

In Civil War Wests we learn about the Civil War in a place few think to look, the Far West. From the Oregon Territory to California, and back to the Great Plains, we encounter political figures and military events that shed new light on the old narrative that is American Civil War history. This collection of essays explores familiar topics but nonetheless gives the reader a new perspective of the American Civil War and its history in the near and far West. Through these essays we learn of the various cultural, racial, and regional experiences of many westerners and how collective western Civil War history is as important as its eastern counterparts.

The work opens with the political, military, and cultural history of the antebellum West. Historian James Robbins Jewell reveals the importance of the West upon the international stage as the conflict over a pig led to a secessionist plot of annexation of Vancouver Island, British Columbia before the war had even begun. In Chapter Five, historian Nicholas Guyatt discusses the Republican colonization scheme of the relocation of former slaves to Mexico as an aversion to conflict with racist and cultural sentiments of the period. This essay alone is worth expanding into its own researched text. It clearly shows the quality of the work and research which has gone into every essay contained within Civil War Wests.

One would assume as a collection of essays about the Civil War that most of the material therein would focus solely on the war itself. However, several authors treat us to the veteran experience of the great conflict and how it affected their lives and careers after the war, including an account of the first publicly recognizable effects of combat related post-traumatic stress disorder the post-war nation would confront. It demonstrates how those men who had risen to power within the Union army and who had continued their careers afterwards in the military stationed in the West, were affected by the war. The war molded them into men who had become accustomed to violence, violence that they would use to pursue westward expansion. In the case of some veterans, it was an opportunity to create a new life in the golden west.

Through the essays of historians Martha A. Weiss and Virginia Scharff we see the Civil War as a springboard for social and political change for many minorities in the Re-United States and how that change affected Reconstruction.
in the American South as well as the far West. In these chapters you find the story of not only emancipated former slaves and their struggle, but how those in power in the post-war nation attempted to influence policies toward Native Americans with a familiar racist tone and attitude. This, despite pre-war treaties and agreements which had become inconvenient in the face of American national policy of encouraging settlement and expansion into the West. A constant theme in the writings of the various authors is the question of citizenship and how it applied to Native Peoples, Freedmen, Hispanics, and women. These essays evoke in the reader a reexamination of what it means to be a citizen of the United States and what that meant in the mid to late 1860’s, arguing convincingly that citizenship equals recognition. The rights of a citizen are also important, but for so many in the far West the recognition of their right to exist, as well as the possibility of equality in this new post-war society was far more important than constitutional guarantees. It meant federal recognition of personal rights and in the case of Native Americans the basic right to life and existence.

In this collection of essays, the reader will not only come away with a new perspective on one of America’s most consuming conflicts but also on the aftermath of the American Civil War in the West. This work adds to the narrative of the post-Civil War experience without attempting to separate the war from those who were most directly affected by it, and those who would be made to accept the new nation led by that war’s victors and its effects upon them. It is a wonderful collection of various scholars coming together to produce a collection of research and experiences which those of us who study the Civil War often forget in the action paced narrative of the war in the East. This conflict was not simply an eastern war fought on great battlefields. This was a war which stretched from coast to coast and directly affected the lives of every one of its inhabitants, whether through active participation or through the resounding consequences of that terrible war. The American Civil War shaped the West and the latter half of nineteenth-century America and it temporarily slowed western expansion. Through these readings we find a western population affected equally as those in the east and south in the lead up to the war, during, and after the conflict.
BOOK NOTES

_Coyote America: A Natural & Supernatural History_. By Dan Flores. New York, Basic Books, 2016. Illustrations, bibliography, and index. vii + 271 pp. $27.50 cloth. $16.99 paper. $16.99 e-book. During his time at the University of Montana, Dan Flores established himself as a leading scholar on the environmental history of the American West. In this book, he explores the remarkable resilience of the coyote, a species that has not only survived campaigns of extermination but has begun to inhabit urban, suburban, and rural places outside its historic range. Flores weaves cultural and policy history with biology and personal observation to suggest that coyotes have always sought out humans and that private and state efforts to eliminate them have backfired because of the animal’s ability to adapt its breeding patterns in response to changing environmental conditions.

_Defiant Braceros: How Migrant Workers Fought for Racial, Sexual, and Political Freedom_. By Mireya Loza. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. xi + 237 pp. $85 cloth. $29.95 paper. This monograph investigates the disparity between the Mexican government’s goals for braceros (and their families) and the lived experiences of the guest workers themselves. According to Loza, while Mexican officials hoped the Bracero Program would solidify traditional family structures, the workers who participated engaged in nontraditional sexual practices while those they left in Mexico had to adjust family relations to compensate for the absence of husbands and fathers. _Defiant Braceros_ also examines the Bracero Justice Movement, which has sought to ensure that the Mexican government upheld its promises to the guest workers.

_The Man Who Built the Sierra Club: A Life of David Brower_. By Robert Wyss. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016. Illustrations, chronology, notes, bibliography, and index. xiv + 410 pp. $35.00 cloth. David Brower’s tenure as executive director of the Sierra Club witnessed the emergence of the organization as a major—and frequently successful—advocate for environmental protection. This biography chronicles Brower’s upbringing in northern California, his mountaineering career, and his sometimes cavalier leadership of the Sierra Club. While Brower did guide the organization to some significant victories such as helping craft the 1964 Wilderness Act and preventing the construction of dams in the Grand Canyon, his leadership style alienated some members of the Sierra Club and eventually led to his resignation as executive director.
Old Magic: Lives of the Desert Shamans. By Nicholas Clapp. San Diego: Sunbelt Publications, 2015. Photographs, notes, bibliography, and index. xxiii + 209 pp. $22.95 paper. Documentary filmmaker and author Nicholas Clapp’s book is a historical and anthropological account of the practices and beliefs of shamans of the American West. It discusses the rituals, use of native plants, and accumulated knowledge that permitted shamans of various tribes (including the Desert Cahuilla of Imperial and Riverside Counties) to treat the ill, to venture beyond the realm of the living, and to interpret dreams and natural signs.

The Revolution Has Come: Black Power, Gender, and the Black Panther Party in Oakland. By Robyn Ceanne Spencer. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016. Photographs, notes, bibliography, and index. xvi + 260 pp. $89.95 cloth. $24.95 paper. Robyn Spencer’s The Revolution Has Come is an organizational history of the Black Panther Party in Oakland from its origins in 1966 to its dissolution in 1982. Spencer pays particular attention to how the political ideology of the party was received and shaped by rank and file members, how women helped sustain the Oakland chapter, and how government repression (and the Panthers’ responses to that repression) contributed to the organization’s demise.

Uprooting Community: Japanese Mexicans, World War II, and the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands. By Selfa A. Chew. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. x + 236 pp. $24.95 paper. Selfa Chew’s Uprooting Community contributes to the growing literature on Japanese internment during World War II by exploring the fate of Japanese Mexicans. Responding to pressure from the United States government, Mexico’s president ordered the creation of internment camps and the relocation of Japanese Mexicans. The process was arguably more complicated in Mexico than in the United States, given the fact that Japanese Mexicans were more integrated (often through intermarriage) into Mexican communities than their counterparts north of the border.
EXHIBIT REVIEW


Reviewed by David Miller, Lecturer, Department of History, University of San Diego.

How do we as a society think about Mexican peoples in San Diego? Do we, consciously or not, assign them to a particular place? Or time? Occupation? Value? If Spanish writer Ramón del Valle Inclán was right that “Nothing is as it was, merely as it is remembered,” then how we collectively remember, or forget, history can inform our answer to this question. The La Jolla Historical Society’s recent exhibit, In Plain Sight: Mexicano/Chicano Stories in San Diego, encouraged visitors to cross geographic, temporal, class, gender, and disciplinary borders to contemplate the presence and contributions of Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Chicanos to San Diego’s history. This local Latinx community (an inclusive term meant to denote a more general Latino heritage in a gender-neutral manner) is an important part of San Diego history and who we are, today, as a city. In Plain Sight told this narrative through the lens of five core stories, each highlighting a person, place, or event in the city’s history: Priscilla Yañez and the Latina telephone monitors of the Second World War, National Humanities Awardee Dr. Ramón Ruiz, La Jolla’s Pottery Canyon, Chicano Park, and the Lemon Grove school desegregation case of Roberto Alvarez. In Plain Sight reminded us that Latinx agency is all around us, in many forms, and has been for some time.

In Plain Sight challenged viewers to rethink what they know about Latinx history with three creative techniques. The first method was in the curators’ selection of subjects. Each story displaced the visitor’s assumptions until, collectively, they coalesced as historical truths in new perspectives. The Lemon Grove integration case reminded us that Latinx history in San Diego is Civil Rights history; is Black history; is American history. In the same way, the story of Priscilla Yañez is as interesting as it is enlightening. Yañez lived in Logan Heights and in 1942 left her job as a secretary to earn nearly twice her salary as a telephone monitor. Her job description read, “To record and control all international telephone conversations passing over the boundary of the United States, specifically between California and Mexico.” Government officials determined that San Diego’s strategic importance demanded such surveillance. And here Mexican-American women seized their chance to improve their station and perform their patriotic duty by using the very language and cultural identity that denied them full inclusion in the body politic. Or consider Dr. Ruiz, who served in the war as a B-29 pilot and was not just a prominent citizen and scholar worthy of our attention; as a Mexican American historian telling the Latinx story, he embodies the transcendence of narrative and the meta-levels
of agency. Ruiz reflected, “To forget where you come from not only discourages pride in your culture, but more to the point, means a loss of yourself.” All of these stories shift what we think we know about who Mexican San Diegans were, and are.

Second, the gallery space and exhibit layout itself challenged visitors’ preconceived frameworks about what history and memory are. When one guest asked “Where do I start?” the answer was “Anywhere you want; with whatever strikes you.” This was not a linear or chronological layout, nor was it an unfolding narrative of cause and effect. Visitors were free to wander the open space, a beautifully repurposed historic home on Prospect Avenue, and the story unfolded as thematic revelations, unique to each visitor. As such, visitors were freed from any traditional narrative constraints and could contemplate each story on its own merits and their own. While wandering you realized history wanders too, right up to the moment you recognized that what you thought was “the past” is now.

Art is the third instrument of creative adjustment. A range of artistic forms and media accompanied the core stories, adding texture and erasing frameworks. A short film by Omar López ran on a loop adjacent to the Priscilla Yañez exhibit panels. Shot in black and white, it followed an actress dressed as Yañez narrating the story of her life in current locations around town, seamlessly blending the past and present. Local pottery sat on display in front of photos of the Cornelio Rodriguez and La Jolla Canyon Clay Products Co., making history tangible. Three scale models of muraled Coronado Bridge struts added vibrancy to the story of Chicano Park. Photographs and short reflections created by students from Hoover High School in San Diego and San Pasqual Academy in North County bridge time since the 1931 desegregation case and link Lemon Grove to San Diego County at large.

Together the subjects, organization, and medium effectively pushed exhibit participants to rethink the presence, and meaning, of Latinx San Diego history. In Plain Sight reminded us “of the power of memory as well as history to shape our knowledge of who we are and where we have come from.” The exhibit successfully confronted the limits of historical memory and placed the contributions of Latinx San Diegans in plain sight, where they have in fact always been.

In Plain Sight highlighted a significant local Latinx history and demonstrated the important and creative work coming out of the La Jolla Historical Society. Upcoming exhibits not to miss include La Jolla Canyons: Place, Diversity, Connections from June 9 to September 2, 2018 and from September 22, 2018 to January 20, 2019, San Diego: The Architecture of Four Ecologies, inspired by Reyner Banham’s seminal work on Los Angeles. And best of all, if you can believe it, exhibit entry is free.
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